

(feather) as a right eye and the left as a left eye.¹⁰ Thou hast thy beauty, O Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands; naked, thou art covered; clothed, thou art (further) clothed. Now I am verily a priest; it was the king who sent me to see the god."¹¹

Circumcision in Egypt

References to circumcision are rare in ancient Egypt. In the following text the man wishes to record the fact that he came successfully through that rite. The inscription should be studied in conjunction with a scene of circumcision mentioned in the notes to the translation.

The stela probably comes from Naga ed-Der in Middle Egypt and is now at the University of Chicago, Oriental Institute 16956. It was published by D. Dunham, *Naga-ed-Der Stelae of the First Intermediate Period* (London, 1937), Pl. xxxii, No. 84, pp. 102-04. Dunham considers the stela to date from the early part of the First Intermediate Period (23rd century B.C.).

An offering which the king and Anubis, Who is Upon His Mountain, He Who is In Ut, the Lord of the Holy Land, give: an invocation-offering to the Count, Seal-Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Companion, and Lector Priest, honored with the great god, the Lord of Heaven, Uha, who says:

"I was one beloved of his father, favored of his mother, whom his brothers and sisters loved. When I was circumcised,¹ together with one hundred and twenty men, there was none thereof who hit out, there was none thereof who was hit, there was none (5) thereof who scratched, there was none thereof who was scratched.² I was a commoner of repute, who lived on his (own) property, plowed with (his own) span of oxen, and sailed in his (own) ship, and not through that which I had found in the possession of my father, the honored Uha."³

¹⁰ Confusing to the modern. The god's headdress consisted of a crown flanked with two feathers. Each feather was an "eye" and the composite headdress the "Eye."

¹¹ cf. n.3 above. The sense may be: "To be sure, I am (only) a priest, (but) it was the king who sent me to see the god."

¹ As Dunham points out, this word *sab* may be connected with the Coptic word for "circumcise," *sebbe* or *sebi*. Further, it is probably the same word as the *sebet* attached as a legend to the scene referred to in the following note.

² Dunham suggests that these phrases may have referred to the circumcision ceremony or may have been general, that Uha in his career abused no one and was abused by no one. We have taken it as meaning that it was remarkable that so large a group should have been circumcised without injury to the youths or without any youth reacting violently. In support of that possibility, there may be cited the Sixth Dynasty scene at Sakkarah, in the tomb of Ankh-ma-Hor (J. Capart, *Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah* [Brussels, 1897], II, Pl. LXVI; W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, III [Leipzig, 1936-], 25-26). This scene shows that the youth might fear the operation sufficiently so that he might have to be held firmly. The legend to the scene is "circumcision," the word being the one of n.1 above, and its determinative suggesting that a flint knife was used. The operator is, interestingly enough, a "mortuary priest," who says to the attendant who is holding the youth: "Hold on to him; do not let him faint." The attendant answers: "I shall act to thy pleasure!" In the neighboring scene the youth says to the operator "Rub off what is (there) thoroughly." The operator answers: "I shall make (it) heal." These passages indicate that the fear of pain was present. An interesting point in our inscription is the large number who were circumcised at one time. One might conclude that circumcision was effected periodically in a mass ceremony, rather than individually.

³ An expression of the independent spirit of the end of the Old Kingdom and the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.

Charms Against Snakes

The fear of snakes and scorpions in the ground, of crocodiles in the water, and of lions in the desert was ever-present in ancient Egypt. For an example of a charm which might be used against snakes or scorpions, see pp. 12-14 above.⁴ Since the dead were buried in the ground, they also needed protection against the beasts of the ground, so that the mortuary texts in tombs provided adequate magic against snakes.

The following charms come from the pyramids of pharaohs Unis, Teti, and Pepi I of the Fifth-Sixth Dynasties (25th-24th centuries B.C.) at Sakkarah. They are published in K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte* (Leipzig, 1908), I, and translated in his *Uebersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten* (Glückstadt, n.d.), I-II. (a) is Sethe's *Spruch* 228 (§228), (b) is *Spruch* 229 (§229), and (c) is *Spruch* 293 (§§434-35).

a

Words to be spoken: "A face has fallen against a face; a face has seen a face.² The mottled knife, black and green, goes forth against it. It has swallowed for itself that which it tasted."³

b

Words to be spoken: "This is the fingernail of Atum, which was on the backbone of *Nehebu-kau* and which brought to an end the strife in Hermopolis.⁴ Fall, roll up!"

c

Words to be spoken: "Back with thee, hidden snake! Hide thyself! Thou shalt not make King Unis see thee. Back with thee, hidden snake! Hide thyself! Thou shalt not come to the place where King Unis is, lest he tell that name of thine against thee: *Nemi*, the son of *Nemiu*.⁵ The *servant of the Ennead* fell into the Nile.⁶ Turn about, turn about! O monster, lie down!"

Curses and Threats

a

In the Sakkarah pyramid of the pharaoh Unis (25th century B.C.), the earth-god Geb is cited as the authority to restrain mortals from abusing the name of the deceased king. The text is in K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte* (Leipzig, 1908), I, §§137-38; translation in Sethe, *Uebersetzung und*

¹ For amuletic tablets of late times, used against stings or bites, cf. the article by K. C. Seele, Horus on the Crocodiles, in *JNES*, VI (1947), 43-52.

² The lurking snake is seen, so that hostile action may be taken against it.

³ We do not know the significance of the coloring of the knife which consumes the snake. Some mythological reference may be involved.

⁴ That which clamps the snake to the ground is likened to the finger (or toe) nail of the god Atum in a myth—otherwise unknown to us—in which he pinned down the snake called *Nehebu-kau* and thus concluded some mythological quarrel in Hermopolis. The magical application of known myth to exorcism is obvious in these texts.

⁵ The knowledge of a hidden name of power and the ability to release that name and thus weaken the power are themes also of the text in pp. 34-36 above. The hidden name of the snake may be: "Wanderer, the son of Wanderess"; its application is not known.

⁶ Another mythological parallel of which the significance escapes us, although it is obvious that, as such a being fell into the Nile, the snake cannot escape. The rendering of the designation of the being is uncertain, perhaps: "the majesty of the shining one." At any rate, the texts determine the designation with the picture of a pelican, which—in myth—must have suffered such a fate.

Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten (Glückstadt, n.d.), I, 4-5, 11-13.

Other curses will be found in the texts of pp. 25, 201, 377.

Everyone who shall speak evilly against the name of King Unis, when thou ascendest—Geb has decreed that he be a poor man in his town, (so that) he flees and is exhausted.

b

Even the gods were not immune to the threatening magic which might withhold from them their offerings and privileges.¹ The text, in the Sakkarah pyramid of Meri-Re Pepi I (25th-24th century B.C.), is in Sethe, *op. cit.*, II, §§1322-24; translation in H. Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter* (Leipzig, 1926), 108.

Every god who will not build the staircase of this Meri-Re for him, when he goes up and when he ascends to heaven—he shall have no offering bread, he shall have no sunshade, he shall not wash himself in the basin, he shall not smell the joint of meat, he shall not taste the leg of meat, earth shall not be hacked up for him, offerings shall not be struck for him—when he goes up, when this Meri-Re ascends to heaven. It is not really this Pepi who says this against you, O gods; it is magic which says this against you, O gods.

c

The tomb was a man's "house of eternity," and violators of a tomb were threatened with an afterlife judgment or with the other-world vengeance of the deceased, who dwelt with the gods. The following text, from the Sakkarah tomb of the Sixth Dynasty magistrate Nenki (24th-23rd century B.C.), appears in K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs* (*Urk.*, I, Leipzig, 1933), 260, and in A. H. Gardiner and K. Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* (London, 1928), 10, Pl. x, 1.

As for this tomb, which I have made in the necropolis of the West, I made it (in) a clean and central place. As for any noble, any official, or any man who shall rip out any stone or any brick from this tomb, I will be judged with him by the Great God,² I (will) seize his neck like a bird, and I will cause all the living who are upon earth to be afraid of the spirits who are in the West, *which is (still) far from them.*

d

The following text, from the Sakkarah tomb of the Sixth Dynasty vizier Ankh-ma-Hor, is published in Sethe, *op. cit.*, 201-02, and in Gardiner and Sethe, *op. cit.*, 10, Pl. x, 2.

[May it go well with you], my successors; may it prosper you, my predecessors! As for anything which ye may do against this my tomb (of) the necropolis, [the like shall be done] against your property. I was a successful and knowing lector priest. No magic was ever effectively secret from me.³ [As for] all [people] who

¹ For this attitude to the gods cf. H. Grapow, *Bedrohungen der Götter durch den Verstorbenen*, in *ZÄS*, XLIX (1911), 48-54.

² The "Great God" in these Old Kingdom contexts was probably the sun-god Re, although Osiris may have been meant (cf. Gardiner and Sethe, *op. cit.*, 11-12).

³ The lector priest was learned in magic.

may enter into this tomb in their *impurity*,⁴ when they have eaten *fish*,⁵ the abomination of an effective spirit—(thus) they are not pure for me as they would be pure for an effective spirit who does what his lord praises—[I will seize] him like a bird, (so that) the fear of me is cast into him, so that the spirits and those who are upon earth may see and may be afraid of me, an effective spirit; [I will be] judged with him in that august council of the Great God. But as for every man who may enter [into this tomb] being pure and satisfied with it, I will be his partisan in the necropolis, in the council of the Great God.

e

In addition to afterlife vengeance, perils upon earth might be invoked against an evildoer. The following text is from the Gizeh tomb of the Sixth Dynasty official Meni and is now in the Glyptothek at Munich. Published by Sethe, *op. cit.*, 23, and by A. Scharff in *MDIK*, VIII (1939), 17-33, Pl. 12.

The Eldest of the House Meni says: The crocodile be against him in the water, the snake be against him on land—(against) him who may do a thing to this (tomb). I never did a thing to him. It is the god who will judge (him).

f

The divine king of Egypt might—in effect—excommunicate any violators of a royal decree. The following text is a promise on behalf of the property of a vizier of the First Intermediate Period (23rd century B.C.). It was found in the Temple of Koptos and is now Cairo Museum 41894. Published by R. Weill, *Les décrets royaux de l'ancien empire égyptien* (Paris, 1912), 59-67, Pls. iv, ix, and by Sethe, *op. cit.*, 304-06.

As to all people of this entire land who may do an injurious or evil thing to any statues, offering-stones, chapels, *woodwork*, or monuments of thine which are in any temple precincts or any temples, my majesty does not permit that their property or that of their fathers remain with them, that they join the spirits in the necropolis, or that they remain among the living [*upon earth*].

g

In royal decrees the pharaoh might set mundane legal penalties against acts which could be established by evidence. However, where the evidence might be obscure, he could invoke divine vengeance. The following text is from a decree of Seti I (about 1318-1301 B.C.) at Nauri near the Third Cataract in the Sudan, and is on behalf of a temple of Osiris at Abydos. It was published by F. Ll. Griffith in *JEA*, XIII (1927), 193-206, and translated by W. F. Edgerton in *JNES*, VI (1947), 219-30. This extract is from lines 109-19.

[As to any people] who are in the entire land, to whom shall *come* anybody of the House-of-Men-maat-Re-Heart's-Content-in-Abydos⁶ to say: "[A certain agent] wronged [me], (for) he took my ox, . . . he took

⁴ The word here and in similar contexts is written as if "purity," but it is obviously undesirable and, by the principle of invoking opposites for magic prophylaxis, probably means "impurity."

⁵ Or "abominations." The two words are written identically.

⁶ The name of the temple protected by this decree.

my goat"—or anything which may be taken from people, or (to say): "A certain agent took my man by (unlawful) seizure"—and they do not fly at his word to have his opponent brought quickly, in order to judge him—Osiris, the Foremost of the Westerners, the owner of the people and the owner of the property,⁷ shall be after him, after his wife, and after his children, to wipe out his name, to destroy his soul, and to prevent his corpse from resting in the necropolis.

But as to any [*magistrate*] who is in any city, to [whom] shall come anybody of the House-of-Men-maat-Re-Heart's-Ease-in-Abydos in order to make complaint to him—and he shall be deaf to him, in order not to fly at his word to do his *business* quickly—the law shall be carried out against him by beating him with one hundred blows, *he being removed* from his office and made a peasant-farmer in [the House-of]-Men-maat-Re-Heart's-Ease-in-Abydos.

h

By a nice application of magic, divine vengeance might be apportioned to a triad of gods. This text, from a temple of Seti I at Wadi Abbad east of Redesiyeh on the Nile, was last published by C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Historische Inschriften der 19. Dynastie (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, iv, Brussels, 1933), 29*; was translated by Breasted, *AR, III, §194*, and by B. Gunn and A. H. Gardiner in *JEA, iv (1917), 248*.

As to anyone who shall be deaf to this decree, Osiris shall be after him, Isis after his wife, and Horus after his children,⁸ and the great ones, the lords of the Holy Land, will make their reckoning with him.

Magical Protection for a Child

A brief extract will serve as an example of protective magic, in this case the mother protecting her sleeping child at night.

Berlin Papyrus 3027, perhaps from the 16th century B.C., was published by A. Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind (APAW, 1901)*. The following extract, recto i 9-ii 6, is also in K. Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1928), 51-52. There is a translation in G. Roeder, *Urkunden zur Religion des alten Aegypten* (Jena, 1923), 116-19.

ANOTHER (CHARM). Mayest thou flow away, he who comes in the darkness and enters in furtively, with his nose behind him, and his face reversed, failing in that for which he came!¹

Mayest thou flow away, she who comes in the darkness and enters in furtively, with her nose behind her, and her face turned backwards, failing in that for which she came!

Hast thou come to kiss this child? I will not let thee

⁷ Osiris, as the god of the temple, would act to preserve his property.

⁸ Similarly in a 20th dynasty tomb at Aniba in Nubia (G. Steindorff, *Aniba* [Glückstadt, 1937], Pl. 101; Breasted, *op. cit.*, iv, §483): "As to anyone who shall speak against it, Amon-Re, King of the Gods, shall be after (him) to destroy him, Mut shall be after his wife, and Khonsu after his child, (so that) he shall hunger, he shall thirst, he shall become weak, and he shall suffer."

¹ Male or female ghosts—it is indicated below that they may be the dead—looking back as the dead look backward, and coveting a child, might slip in at night.

kiss him! Hast thou come to silence (him)? I will not let thee set silence over him!² Hast thou come to injure him? I will not let thee injure him! Hast thou come to take him away? I will not let thee take him away from me!

I have made his magical protection against thee out of *clover*—that is what *sets an obstacle*³—out of onions—what injures thee⁴—out of honey—sweet for men, (but) bitter for those who are yonder⁵—out of the *roc* of the *abdju*-fish, out of the jawbone of the *meret*-fish, and out of the backbone of the perch.

The Execration of Asiatic Princes

In the Middle Kingdom period the Egyptians practiced the magical cursing of their actual or potential enemies. In the Berlin Museum are fragments of pottery bowls which had been inscribed with the names of such foes and then smashed. In the Cairo and Brussels Museums inscribed figurines carry the same kind of curse. As they smashed such pottery, so they thought to break the power of their enemies. The exorcised elements were Nubians, Asiatics, Libyans, hostile Egyptians, and evil forces. The translation below, from the Berlin material, gives some Asiatics, some Egyptians, and the forces.

The Berlin fragments were purchased in Thebes; the Cairo and Brussels fragments came from Sakkarah. The period was the latter part of the Twelfth Dynasty or the Thirteenth Dynasty (19th-18th centuries B.C.).¹ The Berlin material was published by K. Sethe, *Die Achtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge . . . (APAW, 1926)*. The numbering below is that of Sethe. The figurines were published by G. Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie . . . (Brussels, 1940)*, with added remarks by B. van de Walle. Many of the identifications are still *sub judice*, with an extensive literature of comment and identification. We follow here S. H. Horn, *The Relations between Egypt and Asia during the Egyptian Middle Kingdom* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Chicago, 1951), which takes account of the discussion up to 1951.

Asiatics

(e 1) The Ruler of Iy-'anaq,² 'Erum, and all the *retainers*³ who are with him; the Ruler of Iy-'anaq, Abi-yamimu, and all the *retainers* who are with him; the Ruler of Iy-'anaq, 'Akirum, and all the *retainers* who are with him;

² This may be either soothing the child, just as the spirit desired to kiss the child and thus gain its affection, or imposing the silence of death.

³ Some of the magic packet, which kept the spirits away, had known efficacy, here specifically stated.

⁴ Here the magic efficacy arises out of a pun: *hedju* "onions," and *hedjet* "what injures."

⁵ The dead.

¹ Posener, *op. cit.*, 31-35, believes that the figurines cannot be earlier than Sen-Usert III (about 1880-1840 B.C.), but may be later, and that the bowls may be slightly older. W. F. Edgerton, in *JAOS, LX (1940), 492, n.44*, states that the Berlin texts "cannot be earlier than Sesostris [=Sen-Usert] III and are more probably to be placed in the Second Intermediate Period." W. F. Albright, in *BASOR, 88 (1942), 32*, places the figurines in the mid-19th century B.C.

² Many of the geographic names are unknown, and identifications for most of the others must be tentative. The present name has been related to the 'Anaqim "giants" who were in the land of Canaan at the time of the Conquest: e.g. Deut. 2:10.

³ Taken as the Egyptian word for "trusted men." Perhaps the same word as the **hanik* of Gen. 14:14; see the comments by T. O. Lambdin in *JAOS, LXXIII (1953), 150*.

(4) the Ruler of Shutu,⁴ Ayyabum,⁵ and all the *retainers* who are with him; the Ruler of Shutu, Kushar, and all the *retainers* who are with him; the Ruler of Shutu, Zabulanu,⁶ and all the *retainers* who are with him; . . .

(23) the Ruler of Asqanu,⁷ *Khalu-kim*, and all the *retainers* who are with him; . . .

(27) the Ruler of Jerusalem, Yaqar-'Ammu, and all the *retainers* who are with him; the Ruler of Jerusalem, *Setj-'Anu*, and all the *retainers* who are with him; . . .⁸

(31) all the rulers of *Iysipi*⁹ and all the *retainers* who are with them;

(f 1) all the Asiatics—of Byblos, of Ullaza, of *Iy-'anaq*, of Shutu, of *Iymu'aru*, of *Qehermu*, of *Rehob*,¹⁰ of Yarimuta,¹¹ of *Inhia*, of *Aqhi*, of 'Arqata,¹² of Yarimuta, of *Isinu*,¹³ of Asqanu, of *Demitiu*, of *Mut-ilu*, of Jerusalem of '*Akhmut*, of *Iahenu*, and of *Iysipi*;

(g 1) their strong men, their swift runners, their allies, their associates, and the Mentu¹⁴ in Asia;

(h 1) who may rebel, who may plot, who may fight, who may talk of fighting, or who may talk of rebelling—in this entire land.

Egyptians

(m 1) All men, all people, all folk, all males, all *eunuchs*, all women, and all officials,

(n 1) who may rebel, who may plot, who may fight, who may talk of fighting, or who may talk of rebelling, and every rebel who talks of rebelling—in this entire land.

(o 1) Ameni shall die, the tutor of Sit-Bastet, the *chancellor* of Sit-Hat-Hor, (daughter of) Nefru.¹⁵

Sen-Usert the younger, called Ketu, shall die, the tutor of Sit-Ipi, (daughter of) Sit-Hat-Hor, and tutor of Sit-Ipi, (daughter of) Sit-Ameni, the *chancellor* of Ii-menet, (daughter of) Sit-Hat-Hor. . . .

(8) Ameni, born to Hetep and son of Sen-Usert, shall die.

Baneful Forces

(p 1) Every evil word, every evil speech, every evil slander, every evil thought, every evil plot, every evil

⁴ Probably Moab; cf. the "sons of Sheth" in Num. 24:17.

⁵ Job; cuneiform Ayyab.

⁶ Similarly cuneiform, for Zebulon.

⁷ Ashkelon; cuneiform Ashqaluna.

⁸ The figurines in Brussels and Cairo have further identifiable names. (Posener's E6) "the Ruler of Shechem, *Abesh-Hadad*"; (E8) "the Ruler of Pella, *Apiru-'Anu*"; (E9) "the Ruler of Aphek, *Yanki-ilu*"; (E11) "the Ruler of Achshaph, *Y'apanu*"; (E15) "the Ruler of Hazor, *Getji*"; (E25) "the Ruler of Ashtaroth, . . ."; (E34) "the Ruler of Southern Ube, *Akhu-kalkol*"; (E35) "the Ruler of Tyre, . . ."; (E49) "the Ruler of Acre, *Turi-'Ammu*"; (E55) "the Ruler of Shamkhuna, *Abu-reheni* (Abraham)"; (E59) "the Ruler of Laish, . . ."; (E60) "the Ruler of Beth-Shemesh, *Yetep-ilu*"; (E61) "the tribe of 'Arqata"; (E63) "the tribe of Byblos."

⁹ The region is unknown. Why "rulers" in the plural?

¹⁰ Probably any one of several Rehobs.

¹¹ cf. the Yarmuta of p. 255, n.3.

¹² Or 'Iraqtum, another name for the same, in Phoenicia.

¹³ This has been compared to (Beth)-Shan.

¹⁴ The "Mentu in Setet" is an old designation for Egypt's immediate neighbors to the northeast.

¹⁵ There are two significant factors about these specifically named Egyptians. First, the names are names characteristic of the 12th dynasty royal family. Second, several of them are functionaries of women who seem to be princesses or queens. One thinks of a harem conspiracy as the setting for such curses. cf. p. 419, n.11.

fight, every evil quarrel, every evil plan, every evil thing, all evil dreams, and all evil slumber.

Religious Drama in Egypt

Much of Egyptian religious ceremonial was carried on in dramatic form. Priests and other initiated persons assumed roles and recited parts in a drama appropriate to a religious purpose. For the most part, such a use of the ceremonial texts is not stated; only occasionally is our evidence more explicit.¹ The following Twelfth Dynasty text records the satisfaction of an official at his opportunity to take part in a passion play of Osiris at Abydos.

The stela of Ii-kher-nofret was found at Abydos and is now 1204 in the Berlin Museum. It was published by H. Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostri III* (*Untersuch.*, iv, Leipzig, 1904), and the text appears in K. Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1928), 70-71. Translated by Breasted, *AR*, I, §§661-70.

For a text to present religious drama in an Egyptian temple, see pp. 4-6 above.

For other texts used for magical purposes see pp. 6-7, 12-14, and 29-31 above. For further references to magic, see p. 215, n.11; p. 215, n.15-16; p. 442, n.18.

Live the Horus: Divine of Form; the Two Goddesses: Divine of Birth; the Horus of Gold: Who Comes into Being; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Kha-kau-Re; the Son of Re: Sen-Usert, given life like Re forever.² Royal decree to the Hereditary Prince and Count, Seal-Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Companion, Overseer of the Two Houses of Gold, Overseer of the Two Houses of Silver, and Chief Treasurer, Ii-kher-nofret, the possessor of reverence:

"My majesty has commanded that thou be sent upstream to Abydos of the Thinite nome, to make monuments for my father Osiris, the Foremost of the Westerners, and to embellish his mysterious image with the fine gold which he caused my majesty to bring out of the land of Nubia in victory and in triumph. Now thou shalt do this in (5) the truest way to do a thing, . . . inasmuch as it is the case that thou hast had recourse to the teaching of my majesty—for thou didst really grow up as my majesty's ward, the sole pupil of my palace, and I made thee a *courtier* when thou wert a youth of twenty-six years. . . . Go thou, and return when thou hast acted according to all that my majesty has commanded."

(10) I acted according to all that his majesty commanded in accomplishing what my lord had commanded for his father Osiris, the Foremost of the Westerners, the Lord of Abydos, the great power residing in the Thinite nome.

I acted as the "Son-Whom-He-Loves"³ for Osiris, the Foremost of the Westerners. I adorned his great barque of eternity and everlastingness. I made for him a port-

¹ For example, in the two documents studied by K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysterienspielen* (*Untersuch.*, x, Leipzig, 1928); cf. pp. 4-5 above.

² Sen-Usert III (about 1880-1840 B.C.).

³ The pious son who performs funerary rites for his father—here the role of Horus for his father Osiris.

able shrine which would carry the beauty of the Foremost of the Westerners, of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, *carob*-wood, and *meru*-wood. The gods who attended him were fashioned, and their shrines were made anew. I laid [*a charge upon*] the hour-priests of the temple to do their duties, and they were made to know the regulations for every day and the feasts of the beginnings of the seasons. I conducted the work on the *neshmet*-barque,⁴ and I fashioned the cabin. (15) I decked the breast of the Lord of Abydos with lapis lazuli and turquoise, fine gold, and all costly stones which are the ornaments of a god's body. I clothed the god with his regalia in my office of privy councilor and my duty of *ritualist*. I was pure of hand in decking the god, a *sem*-priest purified of fingers.

I celebrated the Procession of Up-wawet, when he went forth to champion his father.⁵ I opposed those rebellious to the *neshmet*-barque, and I overthrew the enemies of Osiris. I celebrated the Great Procession, following the god in his footsteps. I caused the god's

⁴ Osiris' sacred barque at Abydos.

⁵ The god Up-wawet, the "Opener of the Ways," led off with the "First Procession" at the Osiris mysteries. cf. the text published by A. N. Dakin in *JEA*, xxiv (1938), 190-97: "Kissing the ground to the Foremost of the Westerners in the Great Procession, when the god is ferried across to Peqer, and seeing the beauty of Up-wawet in the First Procession."

boat to sail, while Thoth guided the journey.⁶ I outfitted with a cabin the barque (named) "Appearing in Truth, the Lord of Abydos." (20) His beautiful regalia was fixed, when he proceeded to the *domain* of Peqer.⁷ I cleared the ways of the god to his tomb which is in Peqer. I championed Wen-nofer⁸ on that day of the Great Fight, and I overthrew all his enemies on the *flats* of Nedit.⁹ I caused him to proceed into the *weret*-barque,¹⁰ and it carried his beauty. I made the eastern deserts glad; I [*caused* re]joicing in the western deserts, when they saw the beauty of the *neshmet*-barque, as it landed at Abydos and brought [Osiris, the Foremost of the Westerners, the Lord] of Abydos, to his palace. I accompanied the god into his house. When his purification had taken place and his place had been widened, I loosened the knot within the . . . , [*and he came to rest* among] his [*retinue*] and among his court.

⁶ A priestly actor playing the role of the god Thoth. Perhaps this was *li-kher-nofret* himself, as it is possible to translate: "a Thoth in guiding the journey."

⁷ The part of Abydos in which the Egyptians located the tomb of Osiris, probably the area in which the tombs of the kings of the first two dynasties lay.

⁸ Osiris.

⁹ In Egyptian mythology, Seth slew Osiris on the "shore of Nedit." Here it is the scene of a drama in which Osiris repulses attack.

¹⁰ Perhaps a separate boat from the *neshmet*. cf. J. A. Wilson in *JNES*, III (1944), 206-07.

Akkadian Rituals

TRANSLATOR: A. SACHS

Temple Program for the New Year's Festivals at Babylon

Copies, transcriptions, and translations: F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (Paris, 1921), 127-154; translation only: E. Ebeling, *AOT*, 295-303. Two duplicate texts are involved, one in Paris and the other in London, both tablets dating to the Seleucid period. The program described may go back to a much earlier time.

On the second day of the month Nisannu, two hours of the night (remaining?), the *urigallu*-priest shall arise and wash with river water. He shall enter into the presence of the god Bel, and he shall . . . a linen *gadalū* in front of Bel. He shall recite the following prayer.

- O Bel, who has no equal when angry, (5)
O Bel, excellent king, lord of the countries,
Who makes the great gods friendly, (10)
O Bel, who fells the mighty with his glance,
Lord of the kings, light of mankind, who divides the
portions—
O Bel, your dwelling is the city of Babylon, your
tiara is the (neighboring) city of Borsippa, (15)
Broad heaven is the "totality of your liver."
O Bel, with your eyes you see all things,
[With] your oracles you *verify* the oracles, (20)
[With] your glance you hand down the law.
[With] your . . . you . . . the mighty;
When you look (at them), you grant them mercy;
You show them the light, (and) they speak of your
valor. (25)
Lord of the countries, light of the Igigi deities (who)
bless—
Who (does not speak) of you, does not speak of your
valor?
Who does not speak of your glory, does not glorify
your sovereignty?
Lord of the countries, who dwells in the temple
Eudul, who grasps the hand of the fallen,
Grant mercy to your city, Babylon! (30)
Turn your face to the temple Esagil, your house!
Establish the "liberty" of the people of Babylon, your
subordinates.

(Colophon:) Twenty-one lines (of writing): secrets of the temple Esagil. [Whoever rev]eres the god Bel (35) shall show (them) to nobody except the *urigallu*-priest of the temple Ekua.

[After] he speaks the recitation, he shall [open the gate]. The *ēribbiti*-priests [shall arise] and perform their rites, in the traditional manner, [before] the deities

Bel and Beltiya. (40) [The *kalū*-priests and the] singers (shall do) likewise.

(eight lines missing or hopelessly broken)

. . . he shall place . . . ; a seal . . . (50) in the tiara of the god Anu . . . of the second day, upon . . . he shall place . . . before them. Three times he shall speak. . . .

The evil enemies . . . (55) who in their strength . . . this which in . . . of the exorcism . . . because the enemy and the bandit . . . the great lord, Marduk . . . (60) has uttered a curse that cannot be altered . . . has decreed a fate that cannot be withdrawn . . . who . . . the god Bel, my lord; who . . . the lord of the countries, who . . . the city of Babylon. (65) In the middle of the earth . . . who . . . the temple Eudul, the purification of . . . like heaven and earth . . . (70) who extracts . . . the temples of . . . the forgetting of their rites . . . who overwhelms . . . the people dwelling in . . . (75) the maid-servants . . . of the city Babylon . . . who . . . the temple Eudul, he bound (all) of you . . . (all) of you dwell. . . .
(about 75 lines missing)

(157) On the [third] day of the month Nisannu, [at . . . o'clock, the *urigallu*-priest] shall arise [and] wash with [. . . . He shall speak the following] prayer to the god Bel.

(about 25 lines missing or hopeless)

. . . He shall open the doors. [All the *ēribbiti*-priests] (185) shall enter and perform [their rites in the traditional manner. The *kalū*-priests and the singers shall do likewise.]

(two lines missing)

(190) When it is three hours after sunrise, [he shall call] a metalworker and give him precious stones and gold [from] the treasury of the god Marduk to make two images for (the ceremonies of) the sixth day (of Nisannu). He shall call a woodworker and give him (some) cedar and tamarisk (pieces). (195) He shall call a goldsmith and give him (some) gold. From the third day (of the month Nisannu) to the sixth day, (pieces of meat) from (the slaughtered sheep offered) before the god Bel (are to be distributed as follows:) the *tail* to the metalworker, the breast to the goldsmith, the thigh to the woodworker, the rib(s) to the weaver. These (pieces of meat) from (the slaughtered sheep offered) before the god Bel shall be delivered to the *urigallu*-priest (200) for the artisans.

Those two images (which the artisans are to make) shall be 7 finger(-widths) high. One (shall be made) of cedar, one of tamarisk. *Four dušū*-stones shall be mounted in settings of gold weighing *four* shekels. (205) [One image] shall hold in its left hand a snake (made) of cedar, raising its right [hand] to the god Nabu. The second (image) shall hold in its [left hand]

a scorpion, raising its right hand [to the god] Nabu. They shall be clothed in red garments, [bou]nd in the middle [with] a palm [br]anch. (210) Until the sixth day (of the month Nisannu), [they shall be placed] in the house of the god Madan. *Food* (from) the tray of the god Madan shall be presented to them. On the sixth day (of the month), when the god Nabu reaches the temple Ehursagtila, the slaughterer . . . shall strike off their heads. Then, a *fire* having been started (215) in the presence of the god Nabu, they shall be thrown into it.

On the fourth day of the month Nisannu, three and one-third hours of the night (remaining?), the *urigallu*-priest shall arise and wash with river water. A linen *gadalū* he shall . . . in front of the god Bel and the goddess Beltiya. (220) He shall recite the following prayer, while lifting his hand, to the god Bel.

Powerful master of the Igigi gods, exalted among the great gods,
 Lord of the world, king of the gods, divine Marduk,
 who establishes the plan, (225)
 Important, elevated, exalted, superior,
 Who holds kingship, grasps lordship,
 Bright light, god Marduk, who dwells in the temple Eudul,
 . . . who sweeps the enemy's land,
 . . . (three lines missing) . . .
 Who . . . s heaven, heaps up the earth, (240)
 Who measures the waters of the sea, cultivates the fields,
 Who dwells in the temple Eudul; lord of Babylon,
 exalted Marduk,
 Who decrees the fates of all the gods,
 Who turns over the pure scepter to the king who reveres him—
 I am the *urigallu*-priest of the temple Ekua, who *blesses* you. (245)
 To your city, Babylon, grant release!
 To Esaggil, your temple, grant mercy!
 At your exalted command, O lord of the great gods,
 Let light be set before the people of Babylon.

(250) He shall (then) withdraw from the presence of the god Bel and recite the following prayer to the goddess Beltiya.

Powerful, goddess, (most) exalted of the female divinities,
 Sarpanitu, who shines brilliantly (among) the stars,
 who dwells in the temple Eudul,
 . . . of the goddesses, whose garment is (bright) light,
 Who . . . s heaven, heaps up the earth,
 Sarpanitu, whose position is exalted, (255)
 Bright, Beltiya, sublime and elevated—
 There is none like her among the female divinities—
 Who brings complaints, who defends,
 Who impoverishes the rich, who causes the poor to become wealthy,

Who fells the enemy who does not fear her divinity, (260)
 Who releases the prisoner, grasps the hand of the fallen—
Bless the slave who *blesses* you!
 Decree the destiny for the king who reveres you!
 Grant life to the people of Babylon, who are your subordinates,
 Defend them in the presence of Marduk, king of the gods! (265)
 May (the people) speak your praise, magnify your lordship,
 Speak of your heroism, exalt your name.
 Grant mercy to the servant who blesses you,
 Take his hand (when he is) in great difficulty and need!
 Present him with life when he is sick and in pain, (270)
 (So that) he may constantly walk in happiness and joy,
 Speaking of your heroism to all people.

He shall (then) go out to the Exalted Courtyard, turn to the north (275) and bless the temple Esagil three times with the blessing: "Iku-star, Esagil, image of heaven and earth." He shall (then) open the doors. All the *ēribbīti*-priests shall enter and perform their rites in the traditional manner. The *kalū*-priests and the singers (shall do) likewise.

When this is done, (280) [and after] the second meal of the late afternoon, the *urigallu*-priest of the temple Ekua shall recite (while lifting his hand?) to the god Bel the (composition entitled) *Enūma eliš*. While he recites *Enūma eliš* to the god Bel, the front of the tiara of the god Anu and the resting place of the god Enlil shall be covered.

(285) On the fifth day of the month Nisannu, four hours of the night (remaining?), the *urigallu*-priest shall arise and wash with water from the Tigris and Euphrates. [He shall enter into the presence of the god Bel, and] he shall . . . a linen *gadalū* in front of the god Bel and the goddess Beltiya. He shall recite the following prayer [to Bel].

My Lord, is he not my lord?
 My Lord, . . . , is not his name My Lord? (290)
 My Lord, . . . , My Lord, king of the countries,
 My Lord, . . . , My Lord, . . . ,
 Is it not My Lord who gives, My Lord who . . . ?
 My Lord, . . . , My Lord, . . . ,
 My Lord, . . . , My Lord, . . . , (295)
 My Lord, . . . , My Lord, who dwells in the temple Eudul,
 My Lord, . . . , My Lord, . . . ,
 My Lord, . . . , My Lord, who gives,
 My Lord, . . . , My Lord, who dwells in the chapel,
 My Lord, . . . , My Lord, he is my lord. (300)
 God of heaven and earth, who decrees the fates—My Lord, be calm!

The star Musirkeshda, who carries the (royal) scepter and circle, My Lord—My Lord, be calm!
 The Eridu star, the possessor of wisdom, My Lord—My Lord, be calm!
 Asari, who grants the gift of cultivation, My Lord—My Lord, be calm!
 Planet Jupiter, who carries the *sign* for all, My Lord—My Lord, be calm! (305)
 Planet Mercury, who causes it to rain, My Lord—My Lord, be calm!
 Planet Saturn, star of justice and righteousness, My Lord—My Lord, be calm!
 Planet Mars, fierce flame, My Lord—My Lord, be calm!
 The star Sirius, who measures the waters of the sea, My Lord—My Lord, be calm!
 The star Shupa, lord of the Enlil gods, My Lord—My Lord, be calm! (310)
 The star Nenegar, who was self-created, My Lord—My Lord, be calm!
 The star Numushda, who causes the rains to *continue*, My Lord—My Lord, be calm!
 The *Sting-of-the-Scorpion* star, who . . . the breast of the ocean, My Lord—My Lord, be calm!
 Sun, light of the world, My Lord—My Lord, be calm!
 Moon, who brings the darkness, My Lord—My Lord, be calm! (315)
 My Lord is my god, My Lord is my lord. Who, except for you, is lord?

To the goddess he shall recite the following prayer.

My *merciful* Lady—My Lady, be calm!
 My Lady, who does not become angry, who is calm,
 My Lady, who gives, My Lady, who is so very good, (320)
 My Lady, . . . , My Lady, who is so very good,
 The *calm* lady, who does not become angry, My Lady, who confers *gifts*,
 My Lady, (who receives) prayer, My Lady, who confers *gifts*,
 Damkianna, mistress of heaven and earth, whose name is My Lady,
 Planet Venus, who shines brilliantly (among) the stars, whose name is My Lady, (325)
 The star Ban, who fells the mighty, whose name is My Lady.
 The star Uz, who views heaven, whose name is My Lady,
 The star Hegala, the star of abundance, whose name is My Lady,
 The star Baltesha, the star of *sensuousness*, whose name is My Lady,
 The star Margidda, the bond of heaven, whose name is My Lady, (330)
 The star Eru, who creates sperm, whose name is My Lady,

The star Ninmah, who makes a gift of life, whose name is My Lady,
 My Lady, her name is My Lady. Is not her name My Lady?

After the recitation has been recited, he shall open the doors. (335) All the *ēribbīti*-priests shall (then) enter and perform their rites in the traditional manner. The *kalū*-priests and the singers (shall do) likewise.

When it is two hours after sunrise, after the trays of the god Bel and the goddess Beltiya have been set, he shall call (340) a *mašmašu*-priest to purify the temple and sprinkle water, (taken from) a cistern of the Tigris and a cistern of the Euphrates, on the temple. He shall beat the kettle-drum inside the temple. He shall have a censer and a torch brought into the temple. [He(?)] shall *remain* in the courtyard; he shall not enter the sanctuary of the deities Bel (345) and Beltiya. When the purification of the temple is completed, he shall enter the temple Ezida, into the sanctuary of the god Nabu, with censer, torch, and *egubbū*-vessel to purify the temple, and he shall sprinkle water (from) the Tigris and Euphrates cisterns on the sanctuary. (350) He shall smear all the doors of the sanctuary with cedar *resin*. In the court of the sanctuary, he shall place a silver censer, upon which he shall mix aromatic ingredients and cypress. He shall call a slaughterer to decapitate a ram, the body of which the *mašmašu*-priest shall use in performing the *ḫuppuru*-ritual for the temple. (355) He shall recite the incantations for exorcising the temple. He shall purify the whole sanctuary, including its environs, and shall remove the censer. The *mašmašu*-priest shall lift up the body of the aforementioned ram and proceed to the river. Facing west, he shall throw the body of the ram into the river. (360) He shall (then) go out into the open country. The slaughterer shall do the same thing with the ram's head. The *mašmašu*-priest and the slaughterer shall go out into the open country. As long as the god Nabu is in Babylon, they shall not enter Babylon, but stay in the open country from the fifth to the twelfth day (of the month Nisannu). The *urigallu*-priest of the temple Ekuā shall not view the purification of the temple. (365) If he does view (it), he is no (longer) pure. After the purification of the temple, when it is three and one-third hours after sunrise, the *urigallu*-priest of the temple Ekuā shall go out and call all the artisans. They shall bring forth the Golden Heaven from the treasury of the god Marduk (370) and (use it to?) cover the temple Ezida, the sanctuary of the god Nabu, from (its) . . . to the foundation of the temple. The *urigallu*-priest and the artisans shall recite the following *loud* recital.

They purify the temple,
 The god Marduk from Eridu, who dwells in the temple Eudul, (375)
 The god Kusug . . . ,
 The deity Ningirim, who listens to prayers,

The god Marduk purifies the temple,
 The god Kusug draws the plans,
 The deity Ningirim casts the spell. (380)
 Go forth, evil that happens to be in this temple!
 May the god Bel kill you, evil demon!
 Wherever you are, be suppressed!
 All the artisans shall (then) go out to the gate.

(385) [. . . hours . . .] the day, the *urigallu*-priest [shall enter] into the presence of the god Bel, and shall . . . [in front of B]el. He shall [prepare] the golden tray, placing upon it *roasted* meat, [. . .], twelve of the usual *loaves*, a gold . . . filled with salt, (390) a gold . . . filled with honey, . . . , four gold dishes. He shall place a gold censer . . . in front of the tray; aromatic ingredients and cypress. . . . He shall make a libation of wine. (395) He shall recite the following.

[Marduk], exalted among the gods,
 [Who dwells in the temple Esag]il, who creates the laws,
 [Who . . .] to the great gods,
 [. . .] I praise your heroism.
 [May] your heart [be sympathetic] to whoever seizes your hands. (400)
 [In Esiz]kur, the temple of prayer,
 [In . . .], your place, may he raise up his head.

After he recites the [recitation], he shall clear the tray. He shall summon all the artisans and shall turn (405) the whole tray over to them to bring to the god Nabu. The artisans shall take it, and in . . . they shall go. When Nabu arrives [at . . .], they shall . . . it to Nabu. (410) [When] they have set the tray before the god Nabu, they shall lift up the *loaves* (which are on?) the tray as soon as Nabu [leaves] the ship called Iddahedu, and then on the tray. . . . They shall bring water (for washing) the king's hands and then shall accompany him [to the temple Esag]il. The artisans shall go out to the gate. (415) When he (that is, the king) reaches [the presence of the god Bel], the *urigallu*-priest shall leave (the sanctuary) and take away the scepter, the circle, and the sword [from the king]. He shall bring them [before the god Bel] and place them [on] a chair. He shall leave (the sanctuary) and strike the king's cheek. (420) He shall place the . . . behind him. He shall accompany him (that is, the king) into the presence of the god Bel. . . . he shall drag (him by) the ears and make him bow down to the ground. . . . The king shall speak the following (only) once: "I did [not] sin, lord of the countries. I was not neglectful (of the requirements) of your godship. [I did not] destroy Babylon; I did not command its overthrow (425) [I did not . . .] the temple Esagil, I did not forget its rites. [I did not] rain blows on the cheek of a subordinate. . . . I did [not] humiliate them. [I watched out] for Babylon; I did not smash its walls." . . . (About five lines are missing. The *urigallu*-priest is speaking when the text begins again.) ". . . Have no fear . . . (435) which the god

Bel. . . . The god Bel [will listen to] your prayer . . . he will magnify your lordship . . . he will exalt your kingship. . . . On the day of the *esšešū*-festival, do . . . (440) in the festival of the Opening of the Gate, purify [your] hands . . . day and night. . . . [The god Bel], whose city is Babylon . . . , whose temple is Esagil . . . whose dependents are the people of Babylon. . . . (445) The god Bel will bless you . . . forever. He will destroy your enemy, fell your adversary." After (the *urigallu*-priest) says (this), the king shall regain his *composure*. . . . The scepter, circle, and sword [shall be restored] to the king. He shall strike the king's cheek. If, when [he strikes] the king's cheek, (450) the tears flow, (it means that) the god Bel is friendly; if no tears appear, the god Bel is angry: the enemy will rise up and bring about his downfall.

When (these things) have been done, at *sunset*, the *urigallu*-priest shall tie together forty reeds—each three cubits long, uncut, (455) unbroken, straight—using a palm branch as the bond. A hole shall be dug in the Exalted Courtyard and he shall put (the bundle into it). He shall put (in it) honey, cream, first-quality oil. . . . He shall . . . a white bull [before the hole]. The king shall [set all this afire] with a burning reed. (460) The king [and the *urigallu*-priest shall recite] the following recitation.

O Divine Bull, brilliant light which lig[hts up the darkness], . . . (The remainder of the prayer and the ritual is broken away.)

Ritual to be Followed by the *Kalū*-Priest when Covering the Temple Kettle-Drum

This ritual is known from four texts, designated below as A, B, C, and D; all four texts are transcribed and translated by F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (Paris, 1921), 10 ff. Text A, now in the Louvre, was copied in the Seleucid period in the city of Uruk; the latest copy is by F. Thureau-Dangin, *TCL*, vi, No. 44, the latest translation by E. Ebeling, *AOT*, 303 ff. Text B, now in Berlin, was excavated at Ashur, where it had been copied from older Babylonian texts in the seventh century B.C.; a copy of the text was published by E. Ebeling, *KAR*, 1, No. 60. Text C consists of two duplicate texts, in Berlin and London, the former excavated at Ashur and the latter at Nineveh, both having been copied in the seventh century B.C. from older tablets which came from Babylonia; one was published by E. Ebeling, *KAR*, 1, No. 50, the other by H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der bab. Rel.*, Ritualtafeln No. 56. Text D, from Nineveh, was published in Vol. iv of Rawlinson, No. 1 of Plate 23; it is a copy of an older text which came from Babylonia.

TEXT A

(i) When you [are confronted with the task of] covering (that is, replacing the head of) the kettle-drum (used in the temple, proceed as follows). An expert shall inspect—from head to tip of tail—a sound black bull whose horns and hooves are whole. If its

body is black as pitch, it shall be taken for the ceremony. (5) If it is spotted by (as many as?) seven white tufts (which look like) stars, or if it has (ever?) been struck with a staff or touched by a goad, it shall not be taken for the ceremony.

When you have the bull led into the *mummu*-house, on an auspicious day you shall stand at its side, sweep the ground, sprinkle pure water, (and) . . . the *mummu*-house. You shall lay two bricks, (one) at the right, (the other) at the left of the doorway of the *mummu*-house. (10) You shall scatter flour for the god(s) of heaven, the god(s) of heaven and earth, and the great gods. You shall make a libation of prime beer. You shall (then) have the bull led into the *mummu*-house. You shall lay down a reed mat. You shall scatter sand beneath the reed mat, and you shall surround the reed mat with sand. You shall set the bull on the reed mat, tying his legs with a bond made of goat's hair. (15) Opposite the bull, you shall place beer (made of) . . . , in a bronze *drum*. You shall set up [two] *egubbū*-vessels for the deities Kusug and Ningirim. You shall set up [two] stands; on each you shall place seven loaves of barley bread, seven loaves of emmer bread, a paste of honey and cream, dates, and *šasqū*-flour. You shall set up (vessels containing?) [beer, wine,] and milk. You shall set up an *adagurru*-vessel. (Of lines 20-36 only the following ends of lines are preserved:) . . . cypress . . . you shall set up a drinking cup . . . one-third of a pound of white wool . . . seven and one-half (pounds?) of goat's hair you shall put down . . . beer (made of) . . . tamarisk . . . reed . . . thorn . . . you shall lay down an *egubbū*-vessel . . . cedar *sap*, honey, cream . . . you shall lay down; [you shall purify] with a censer and a torch . . . thigh, . . . , and *roasted* meat you shall offer; you shall make a libation of [prime beer, wine], and milk . . . you shall lay down . . . *egubbū*-vessel . . . you shall lay twelve bricks. (ii) On (the bricks) you shall lay twelve (pieces of) linen. On them you shall seat all twelve gods. You shall lift up the *egubbū*-vessel of the deity Ningirim and with its water you shall clean the equipment prepared for the ceremony. You shall sprinkle some (aromatic?) barley seed. You shall set up the kettle-drum. (5) You shall lay a brick for the deity Lumha. You shall set up a stand. You shall slaughter a sheep. You shall offer the thigh, . . . , and *roasted* meat. You shall make a libation of prime beer, wine, and milk. Before these (gods) you shall place water. You shall draw the curtains shut. On the bull you shall perform the rite of Washing the Mouth. You shall whisper through a reed tube into the bull's right ear the incantation entitled "*Gugal gumah u kiuš kuga*." (10) You shall whisper through a reed tube into the bull's left ear the incantation entitled "*Alpu ilittu Zī attāma*." You shall besprinkle the bull with cedar *resin*. You shall purify the bull, using a brazier and a torch. You shall draw a ring of *zisurra*-flour around the bull. Standing at its head, you shall sing (the composition called) "*Nitugki*

niginna" to the accompaniment of a bronze *halhallatu*. (15) After that, you shall recite (the composition entitled) "*Dimmer . . . ankia mundimma*." Then you shall cut open that bull and start a fire with cedar. You shall burn the bull's heart with cedar, cypress, and *mašhatu*-flour before the kettle-drum. You shall remove the tendon of its left shoulder and shall bury the body of that bull (wrapped) in a single red . . . cloth. (20) You shall throw some *gunnu*-oil on it (and) arrange it so that its face points to the west. You shall take the hide of that bull and dip it in fine flour made from clean barley, in water, prime beer, (and) wine. You shall then lay it in the pure fat of a bull and aromatic ingredients, (taken) from the hearts of plants, with four *qa*-measures of ground malt, four *qa*-measures of *bitqa*-flour, (and) one (*qa*-measure?) of. . . (25) You shall press (it) with gall-nuts and alum from the land of the Hittites. (With it) you shall cover the bronze kettle-drum. On it you shall stretch a linen cord. Drum-sticks (or pegs?) of *musukannu*-wood, . . . -wood, cedar, and *ušu*-wood, and all the rest of the *drum-sticks* (of?) *maštu*-wood for the bronze kettle-drum you shall cover with *varnish*. (30) With the tendon of (the bull's) left shoulder you shall . . . its *opening*. You shall loosen the (linen) cord, and lay it on a *napdū*. You shall bury the You shall make preparations for a sacrifice to the god Lumha. You shall sacrifice a sheep and shall offer the thigh, the . . . , and *roasted* meat. (35) You shall make a libation of prime beer, wine, and milk.

(iii) Anu, Enlil, and Ea, the great gods. The deities Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea. The deity Zisummu (or) Ninsig, who is in the city Nippur. (5) The deity Bigirhush (or) Shuzianna, of the *apsū*-ocean. The deity Sabarragingimme (or) Ennugi, who cultivates the fields. The deity Urbadda (or) Kusug, the exalted lord. (10) The deity Urbadgumgum (or) Ninsar, the son of the temple Eshabba. The deity Gubbagarrae (or) Ninkasi, the son of the new city. The deity Abarralah (or) Nusku, *born* on the thirtieth day (of the month, when the moon is) invisible.

(15) On the fifteenth day, you shall cause the bronze kettle-drum to be brought forth to the presence of the god Shamash. You shall prepare five sacrifices for the deities Ea, Shamash, Marduk, Lumha, and the Divine Kettle-Drum. You shall sacrifice a sheep and offer the thigh, the . . . , and *roasted* meat. You shall make a libation of (20) prime beer, wi[ne, and milk]. You shall perform the purifications with brazier and torch and with water from the *egubbū*-vessel. You shall recite three times (the composition entitled) "*Enki Utu . . . zadede*." You shall cause to be performed the rite of the Washing of the Mouth . . . on it (that is, the kettle-drum). You shall anoint it with *animal fat* and filtered oil. The *ḫalamahḫu*-priest (25) shall lay . . . upon the bronze kettle-drum. You shall (then) remove the (sacrificial) accoutrements (and) shall purify it (that is, the kettle-drum) with brazier and torch. You shall grasp the "hand" of the kettle-drum (and bring it?)

to the presence of the gods, setting it in (aromatic?) barley seed. You shall *perform* the lamentation (called?) "*Lugale dimmer ankia*."

(Colophon:) This ritual, which you perform, (only) the properly *qualified* person (30) shall view. An outsider who has nothing to do with the ritual shall not view (it); if he does, may his remaining days be few! The informed person may show (this tablet) to the informed person. The uninformed shall not see (it)—it is among the forbidden things of Anu, Enlil, and Ea, the great gods. (iv) [Whoever . . .], may his [remaining days] be many!

(Equipment to be assembled:) . . . the bronze kettle-drum . . . cypress, one-half pound of *sweet-smelling* reed, (5) . . . of *roses*, ten shekels of aromatic *annabu*, . . . of *kasishatu*, . . . of *kanaktu*, . . . of *suadi*, two *qa*-measures of filtered oil, . . . two *qa*-measures of wine, (10) . . . of *bitqa*-flour, four *qa*-measures of ground malt, . . . one-half *qa*-measure of cedar *sap*, . . . *varnish*, . . . the *wrappings* of the *drum-sticks*.

. . . white . . . -cloth, one red . . . -cloth, (15) . . . pounds of wool, seven pounds of . . . , . . . seven pounds of blue wool, . . . [goat's] hair, two *kur*-measures and four *pan*-measures of barley, one *pan*-measure of (aromatic?) barley seed, . . . emmer, salt, and cypress, one reed, . . . utensils (20) of iron . . . one-half pound of alum from the land of the Hittites, one pound of bright *varnish*; *drum-sticks*, three of *musukannu*-wood, three of . . . -wood, three of cedar, three of *usu*-wood, three of tamarisk—all the rest of the *drum-sticks* of *mastu*-wood; (25) ten linen cords, each cord ten cubits long; one linen cord, one-hundred cubits long; ten cords of goat's hair, four cubits long; one cord, with which the bull was bound; one . . . ; one cover.

The equipment (to be made by) the potter are: four *egubbū*-vessels, four *qandurū*-vessels, (30) four *sahharu*-vessels, twenty-four *habū*-vessels, 120 *malittu*-vessels, 300 *bagurru*-vessels, sixty braziers, five *šabittu*, six *aggannu*, six *nisippu*, two *šindū*, two *namharu*. The equipment (to be made by) the woodworker: one *qummu*, four iron pegs, wood for the pegs (or drum-sticks?). The equipment for the wickerworker: twenty-four stands, twenty-four *baskets*, five *hand baskets*, three mats, three covers.

(Colophon:) Ritual of the *kalū*-priest. Tablet belonging to Anuahaidin, the son of Rihatanu, the *kalamahhu*-priest of the deities Anu and Antu, citizen of Uruk. It was copied from an old(er) tablet, checked, and rechecked.

TEXT B

(beginning and end of tablet broken)

. . . water before them . . . the *kalū*-priest in a bronze *drum*. . . You shall lay down a reed mat, [strewing sand] beneath the mat and (5) surrounding the sides of the reed mat with sand. You shall set the bull upon the reed mat and besprinkle him with water from the *egubbū*-vessel; you shall wash the bull's mouth. You shall encircle the bull with a circle made of *zisurra*-flour

and lay a brick in front of the bull. You shall sprinkle some cypress on the brazier and make a libation of prime beer. (10) You shall whisper through a reed tube into the bull's right ear the incantation entitled "*Gugal gumah u kiuš kuga*." You shall whisper through a reed tube into his left ear the incantation entitled "*Alpu ilittu Zi attāma*." You shall place the bull before the god Lumha and . . . with cedar *sap*. (15) Then you shall *cut open* that bull and (burn) the bull's heart before the god Lumha with cypress, (cedar, and *mašhatu*-flour). You shall sprinkle (some cypress upon the brazier) and make a libation of beer. The *kalū*-priest shall remove his head, . . . he shall bow down and remain at the bull's head, reciting three times the composition entitled "*Mulu na*." Furthermore, he shall recite the following words three times: "These acts—it is the totality of the gods who have performed (them); it is not (really) I who performed them." You shall then take away the water and open the curtains. (5) You shall take the above-mentioned hide and *dip* it in crushed flour made from clean barley, in water, beer and first-class wine. You shall press (it) with fat from a clean bullock, alum from the land of the Hittites, and gall-nuts. (With it) you shall cover the bronze kettle-drum. With the left tendon of the (bull's) shoulder you shall . . . its *opening*. (10) You shall wrap the *drum-sticks* with *fluffy* wool and *cover* it with *varnish*; you shall. . . In an auspicious month, you shall find a favorable day, and then you shall perform all these acts. The *kalamahhu*-priest shall not eat any of the flesh of the above-mentioned bull. . . .

TEXT C

(obverse)

Incantation: You are the Exalted Bull, created by the great gods.

You were created for the service of the great gods. . . In the heavens your image . . . for the rites of divinity. (5)

When the gods Anu, Enlil, Ea, and Ninmah [decreed] the destinies of the great gods,

Your skin (and) your muscles were destined for the secrets of the great gods. (10)

Remain for everlasting days in this secret!

(O great gods,) fix the destiny of this image with the gods, his brothers!

As for this god, may his temple be holy and pure! (15)

May the evil tongue remain outside!

(reverse)

The ritual (is as follows). On a good day in the correct month, in the morning, before sunrise, you shall prepare three sacrificial stands for the gods Ea, Shamash, and Marduk. (On the stands,) you shall sprinkle some dates and *šasqū*-flour and shall set a mixture of honey and *cream*. (5) You shall slaughter three white sheep and offer the thighs, the . . . , and the *roasted* meat. You shall put down a brazier filled with cypress and

sprinkle some *mashatu*-flour (on it?). You shall pull the curtains shut. You shall scatter (about?) heaps of flour. You shall place the Exalted Bull in a place forbidden (to the outsider), and then you shall whisper three times into his right ear and his left one. You shall then cut (open?) the Exalted Bull (10) and take his hide and tendon for this work (which you are about to perform).

Incantation: "*Karzaginna kar . . .*" . . .

TEXT D

(beginning of col. i broken)

The deity Gabbagararac (or) Ninkasi, the son of the new city. (5) The deity Ebaralah (or) Nusku, *born* on the thirtieth day (of the month, when the moon) is invisible.

(These) seven gods, children of the god Enmesharra, are (represented by) the heaps of flour.

You shall lay the twelve bronze gods in the bronze kettle-drum and then you shall cover (that is, attach the head of) the bronze kettle-drum.

Great Bull, Exalted Bull, who treads upon clean pasture, (10)
Who walks upon the fields, who holds abundance,
The cultivator of grain, who causes the countryside to be *fertile*,
My clean hands have made a sacrifice before you. (15)

(The above is) the word of the *apsū*-ocean which you shall whisper through a reed tube into the right ear of the bull used to cover the bronze kettle-drum.

O Bull, you are the offspring of the deity Zu.
You have been chosen for the rites and ceremonies. (20)
The deity Ningizzida is your friend for eternity.
The great . . . , guard the (heavenly) plans!
. . . fix the scheme of heaven and earth!
. . . be entrusted to the god Lumha!
. . . be . . . to the god Bel. (25)

(The above is) [the word of the *apsū*-ocean which you shall whisper into] the left ear of the bull used to cover the bronze kettle-drum.

He who is lying down, the lord who is lying down,
how long will he remain lying down?
The great Mountain, the father, Mullil, who is lying down,
how long (will he remain lying down)? (30)
The Shepherd who decrees the destinies, who is lying down,
how long?

(ii) . . .

The god Mullil, who has given his city away—together (the foe) devoured it.

The person who had good clothing perished of cold, (5)
He who owned vast fields perished of hunger.

The above composition is for the occasion when the twelve bronze gods are laid in the bronze kettle-drum.

Faithful Shepherd, faithful Shepherd, (10)
God Enlil, faithful Shepherd,
Master of all countries, [faithful] Shepherd, (15)
Lord of all the Igigi deities, faithful Shepherd,
Lord of the . . . , faithful Shepherd,
The lord who drew the outline of his land, who . . . his land, (20)
The lord who drew the outline of his land, . . . ,
You gave the accumulated possessions [to the enemy], (25)
[You gave] the stored treasure [to the enemy].
[The enemy dwelt] in a clean house,
The enemy dwelt in a clean place, (30)
[The stranger lay] in a clean bedroom.

(iii)

(So) beautiful a city—[how could you turn it over to the enemy]?
May lord Ea, the king [of the *apsū*-ocean, calm you]!
May lord Marduk [pacify your liver]! (5)
May the lordly father Adad [calm you]!
May the lordly hero Shamash [pacify your liver]! (10)
May lord Ninurta [calm you]!
May exalted lord Shulpaē [calm you]!
Point my hands in the straight direction, [point my hands in the straight direction]! (15)
Point my hands in the straight direction, [point] my hands [in the straight direction]!
Make these words be right, [make] these words [be right]! (20)
As for the kettle-drum, [make] its word be right.

(The above is) the incantation (to recite) [when performing] the rite of the Mouth Washing of the bronze kettle-drum.

Before the god Lumha and the bronze kettle-drum, you (25) shall set up a stand and prepare it (for the ceremony). You shall sprinkle some *šasqū*-flour (on?) a paste of honey and *cream* and some dates. You shall [sacrifice] a sheep and [make an offering] of the thigh, the . . . , and *roasted* meat. . . .

(iv)

(The above—broken away in the text—is) the incantation (to recite) when placing water (on the stand) and when drawing the curtains shut. [Having placed the water (on the stand)], you shall draw the curtains shut.

Wash [your hands], wash your hands,
You are the god Enlil, wash [your hands], (5)

You are Enlil, . . . ,
 You are . . . , (10)
 . . . , wash [your hands]!
 . . . the earth . . . , (15)
 May all [the gods] rejoice in you!
 [O god Marduk], for your king speak (the words):
 "You are released." (20)
 O god Adad, for your king speak (the words): "You
 are released."

(The above is) the incantation (to recite) when removing the water. Having removed the water, you shall open the curtains.

(25) (The next tablet of this series begins with the words:) When you have had the bull led into the *mummu*-house.

(Colophon:) Ritual for the *kalū*-priesthood, copied from an older tablet and checked.

Temple Ritual for the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Days of an Unknown Month at Uruk

Latest copy: F. Thureau-Dangin, *TCL*, vi, No. 41. Copy, transcription, and translation: F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (Paris, 1921), p. 68 f. and 118 ff. Translation: E. Ebeling, *AOT*, 317 ff. The beginning and end of this text are not preserved. The tablet belongs to an archive of tablets from Uruk written (if not composed) in the Seleucid period.

(obverse)

. . . upon . . . he shall pay his respects to the Scepter, just as. . . The Scepter and the Shoe shall "arise," and then the gods and goddesses shall, exactly as before, proceed before him and behind him. They shall descend to the Exalted Court and shall turn toward the god Anu. The *mašmašu*-priest shall purify the Scepter; the Scepter shall enter and be seated. The deities Papsukkal, Nusku, (5) and Sha(?) shall be seated in the court of the god Anu. Furthermore, the Shoe, the divine Daughters of Anu, and the divine Daughters of Uruk shall return, and the Shoe shall enter the Enir, the house of the golden bed of the goddess Antu, and shall be placed upon a stool. The divine Daughters of Anu and the divine Daughters of Uruk shall be seated in the court of the goddess Antu. (The priest) shall mix wine and good oil, and shall make a libation at the gate of the sanctuary of Anu, Antu, and all the gods. (10) He shall smear (some of it) on the door-sockets of the gate of the sanctuary (and on) the doors and gates. He shall fill the golden censers, and then he shall sacrifice a bull and a ram to Anu, Antu, and all the gods. He shall serve the evening meal to Anu, Antu, and all the gods without interruption. He shall *spend* the night (there?). The door shall not be shut. He shall offer the meal to all the deities dwelling in the court.

In the first watch of the night, on the roof of the *topmost* stage of the temple-tower of the (15) Resh temple, when the star Great Anu of Heaven rises and the star Great Antu of Heaven rises in the constellation Wagon, (he shall recite the compositions beginning?) "*Ana tamšil zimu bunnē kaḫḫab šamāmi Anu šarru*" and "*Ittašā šalam banū*." You shall prepare a golden tray for the deities Anu and Antu of heaven. You shall present water (for washing) hands to the deities Anu and Antu of heaven, and then you shall set the tray, serving bull meat, ram meat, and fowl. You shall also serve prime beer (20) together with "pressed" wine. You shall heap up all (types of) garden produce. You shall sprinkle some cedar *resin* and *mašhatu*-flour upon a golden censer, and then you shall make a libation of "pressed" wine from a golden libation vessel. Upon seven large golden trays, you shall present water (for washing) hands to the planets Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Saturn, Mars, the moon, and the sun, *as soon as* they appear. Then you shall set the tray (25) and serve bull meat, ram meat, and fowl. You shall also serve prime beer together with "pressed" wine. You shall heap up all (types of) garden produce. You shall sprinkle cedar *resin* and *mašhatu*-flour upon seven golden censers, and then you shall make a libation of "pressed" wine from a golden libation vessel. The *mahḫū*-priest, wearing a *sash*, shall use a *naphtha* fire to light a large torch, in which spices have been inserted, which has been sprinkled with oil, and upon which the rite of "Washing of the Mouth" has been performed. (30) He shall then face the tray, raise his hand to the deity Great Anu of Heaven, and recite (the composition beginning?) "*Kaḫḫab Anu etellu šamāmi*." You shall (then) clear the large tray, and you shall present water (for washing) hands. The chief *eribbiti*-priest shall take the "hand" of the torch among the *mašmašu*-priests, the *kalū*-priests, and the singers (on leaving) the temple-tower, and then, (by) the Holy Gate which is behind the sanctuary, he shall enter the Exalted Court, and, at the side of the Kizalagga, he shall turn toward the deity Anu. In his presence, (reverse) a *ḫarū*-pot shall be broken. He shall speak a recitation. The chief *eribbiti*-priest shall then take the "hand" of the torch of the deities Papsukkal, Nusku, Sha(?), and Pisangunuqu, and they shall proceed to the sanctuary of the goddess Antu. He shall turn toward Antu. In her presence a *ḫarū*-pot shall be broken. The deities Papsukkal, (5) Nusku, Sha(?) and Pisangunuqu, with the torch, shall go forth toward the Ubshukkinakku. Near the Sanctuary of Destinies, a bull shall be sacrificed in their presence. The torch shall (be used to) start a fire in the Ubshukkinakku. The thigh of the bull, together with its skin, shall be removed and shall then be *scared* at the right and left of the fire. The deities Papsukkal, Nusku, Sha(?) and Pisangunuqu, with the torch, shall go forth from the Ubshukkinakku, by the High Gate, (10) into the street. Then, with Pisangunuqu at the head, Papsukkal,

Nusku, and Sha(?) shall proceed, circling the temple. They shall then return, Papsukkal by the High Gate, Nusku by the (ordinary?) gate, and Sha(?) by the *Main Gate*. The *ēribbiti*-priest shall use the torch to start a fire in their presence, and they shall be seated until daybreak. The priests of the temples of Uruk—and similarly the *ēribbiti*-priests of all the temples—(15) shall use the torch to start fires and shall carry (the fires) to their temples. Then they shall perform the ceremony of *šalām biti*. They shall light fires at the gates of their temples and shall recite (the compositions entitled) “*Anu uštapā ina napḥar mātāni*” and “*Ittašā šalam banū*.” The torch and the deity Pisangunuqu shall return, entering the court of Anu, turning toward the goddess Antu. The *mašmašu*-priest shall use water from the *egubbū*-vessels, prime beer, milk, wine, and oil to extinguish the torch. (20) The deity Pisangunuqu shall again move on and shall be seated in the *Ubshuk-kinakku* until daybreak. The deities Adad, Sin, Shamash, and Beletile shall be seated in the court until daybreak. The people of the land shall light fires in their homes and shall offer banquets to all the gods. They shall speak the recitations mentioned above. The guards of the city shall light fires (25) in the streets and squares. The gates of the city of Uruk shall not be . . . until daybreak. The guards of the gates shall set up reed *poles* to the left and right of the gates. They shall light fires in the gates (and keep them going) until daybreak.

On the seventeenth day (of the month), forty minutes after sunrise, the gate shall be opened before the deities Anu and Antu, bringing an end to the(ir) overnight stay. The main meal of the morning shall be offered to Anu, Antu, and all the gods. (30) When the main (meal) is over, the second meal shall be offered. The (priest) shall fill the golden censers and then shall sacrifice a bull and a ram. The singers shall [sing] (the hymn entitled) “*Elum gud sunna*.” (The priest) shall then fill the censers and shall sacrifice a bull and a ram. [He shall grasp?] the hands of the deities Adad, Sin, Shamash, Pisangunuqu, and Beletile *through* the linen curtain. . . .

Ritual for the Repair of a Temple

Two of the texts (A and B) come from Uruk and were written in the Seleucid period, the third (C) was excavated at Babylon and is probably only a century or two older. All of these texts are probably copies of older ones. The latest copies of A and B are by F. Thureau-Dangin, *TCL*, vi, Nos. 45 and 46; text C was published by F. H. Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, No. 12. For transcriptions and translations of all three texts, see F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (Paris, 1921), 34 ff.

TEXT A

(obverse)

When the wall of the temple of the god Anu falls into ruin—[for the purpose of demolishing and found-

ing anew the temple in question], you shall prepare three sac[rificial stands for the god of the temple, the goddess of the temple, and the household god of the temple] in an auspicious month, on a favorable day, in the night. You shall sacrifice [the sheep] (and) offer the thigh, the . . . , and *roas*[*ted* meat. You shall make a libation of beer, wine, and milk.] You shall light a fire for the gods Ea and Marduk, (5) sacrifice [a sheep to Ea and Marduk], and make a libation of prime beer, wine, (and) milk. You shall sing the lamentation (entitled) “*Utudim eta*” and the lamentation (entitled) “*U'uaba muḥul*.” In the morning, [on the roof of the temple in question, at a spot which is forbidden to the outsider], you shall sprinkle pure water (and) set up three sacrificial stands for the gods Ea, Shamash, and Marduk. You shall place [three pieces of linen] on the seats; and you shall put down some paste made of honey and *cream as well as* some [dates, *šasqū*-flour], and filtered oil. You shall put in place three *adagurru*-vessels (filled with) prime beer, wine, (and) milk. You shall put down [a brazier (containing) cypress]. (10) You shall scatter (about?) some (aromatic?) barley seed of *all* (kinds?). You shall sacrifice three sheep and offer the thigh, the . . . , and *roasted* meat; you shall make a libation of prime beer, wine, (and) milk. You shall have some water available. Then you shall draw the curtains shut. Facing the temple, you shall sing (the compositions entitled) “*Ezi gulgullude*,” “*Nibišu*,” and “*Er imšeše*.” After this, accompanied on the *ḥalḥallatu*-instrument, you shall sing for the gods Ea, Shamash, and Marduk (the compositions entitled) “*Nitug niginna*,” “*Utu lugalam*,” and “*Ešabḥungata*.” He(!) shall then stop (singing); you shall take up some water and shall open the curtains.

(15) (The above is) the ritual of the *kalū*-priest.

(An old omen reads:) if the earth trembles, (this means that) an enemy will arise and the dwelling(s) of the country will be unstable. (Another omen reads:) if the earth moves, (this means that) there will be *injustice* in the whole country, the country will go *mad*. On a favorable day, the king shall purify and cleanse himself and shall call out the admission of sin to the gods Anu, Enlil, and Ea. After that, you shall make preparations for two sacrifices to his god and his goddess. You shall sacrifice the sheep, and shall make a lamentation. You shall cause the king to *speak* the (special) poems of appeasement of these (deities).

(20) In the morning, you shall set up three sacrificial stands for the gods Anu, Enlil, and Ea. You shall sacrifice the sheep, offer the thigh, the . . . , and *roasted* meat, and then you shall make a libation of prime beer, wine, (and) milk. You shall make a lamentation. You shall cause the king to *speak* the poem of appeasement (called) “*Barra umun etamakil annam*” for the god Anu, “*Mecumunmu šišim*” for the gods Enlil (and) Ea, “*Mee ansar*” for the god Shamash. He (that is, the king) shall prostrate himself. He shall be shaved, (and) the hair of his body (25) you shall hide

away in a *lahansahar*-vessel. And (then) you shall leave it (that is, the vessel) at the enemy's border. He (that is, the king) shall go straight back to his palace. You shall offer a major sacrifice to the god Anu. You shall make a lamentation. After that, you shall make lamentations and special poems of appeasement on the Royal Fringed Garment (reverse) in all the cities. If you do all this, no evil will approach the king.

(The above is) the ritual of the *kalū*-priest.

(An omen reads:) If a dog enters a temple, (this means that) the gods will show no mercy to the land. (Another omen reads:) If a beast of the desert, different and rare, enters the city and . . . , (this means) the overthrow of the city and the destruction of the people.

(5) On a favorable day, you shall set up three sacrificial stands for the god of the city, the goddess of the city, and the household god of the city. You shall sacrifice the sheep and offer the thigh, the . . . , and *roasted* meat. You shall make a libation of prime beer, wine, (and) milk. You shall light a fire. You shall make a lamentation. You shall recite the special poems of appeasement on the Royal Fringed Garment.

In the morning, in the desert or on the bank of a river, at a place which is not public, you shall sprinkle the earth with pure water. You shall set up three sacrificial stands for the gods Anu, Enlil, and Ea. You shall sacrifice the sheep and offer the thigh, the . . . , and *roasted* meat. (10) You shall make a libation of prime beer, wine, (and) milk. You shall light a fire. You shall make a lamentation. You shall recite the special poems of appeasement on the Royal Fringed Garment. After that, you shall set up two sacrificial stands for the god and goddess of the desert. You shall sacrifice the sheep and offer the thigh, the . . . , and *roasted* meat. You shall make a libation of prime beer, wine, (and) milk. You shall make a lamentation. The *mašmašu*-priest and the *kalū*-priest shall perform the *kuppuru*-ritual for the city in question.

If you do all this, no evil will approach the king.

(An omen reads:) If the image of the king of the country in question or the image of his father or the image of his grandfather falls over and breaks, or if its *shape warps*, (this means that) the days of the king of that country will be few in number.

(An omen reads:) If . . . in a temple, (this denotes) divine anger, the king's treasure will go forth outside (the city). (Another omen reads:) If an evil sign, a strange sign, is seen in the temple, (this means that) nobody will be able to enter that temple.

On an auspicious day, during the night, you shall set up three sacrificial stands for the god (or?) goddess in question, for the deity . . . , and for the god Shamash. You shall sacrifice the sheep and offer the thigh, the . . . , and *roasted* meat. You shall make a libation of prime beer, wine, and milk. You shall make a lamentation. You shall cause special poems of appeasement to be *spoken on behalf* of the king.

(20) In the morning, you shall sprinkle clean water on the roof of the temple in question and shall set up

three sacrificial stands for the gods Ea, Shamash, and Marduk. You shall place three pieces of linen on the chairs. You shall sacrifice the sheep and offer the thigh, the . . . , and *roasted* meat. You shall make a libation of prime beer, wine, (and) milk. You shall light a fire and make a lamentation. You shall cause special poems of appeasement to be *spoken on behalf* of the king. You shall purify the temple in question. After that, the king shall call out the admission of sin and present a gift to the god in question.

(25) (Colophon:) Tablet belonging to Anubelshunu, son of Nidintuanu. (Written by) his own hand. (Dated at) Uruk, the month Adaru, the twenty-second day, Seleucus being king.

TEXT B

(obverse)

[When] the wall of the temple falls into ruin—for the purpose of demolishing and founding anew the temple in question, the *bārū*-priest shall *investigate* [*its plans*]. Then you shall set up three sacrificial stands [for] the god of the temple, the goddess of the temple, and the household god of the temple in an auspicious month, on a favorable day, at night. You shall sacrifice the sheep and offer the thigh, the . . . , and *roasted* meat. You shall make a libation of beer, wine, (and) milk. (5) You shall light a fire for the gods Ea and Marduk and shall sacrifice the sheep to Ea and Marduk. You shall make a libation of beer, wine, (and) milk. You shall sing the lamentation (called) "*Utudim eta*" and the lamentation (called) "*Ulili enzu marmar*." In the morning, on the roof of the temple in question, at a spot [which is forbidden to the outsider], you shall sprinkle pure water. You shall set up three sacrificial stands for the gods Ea, Shamash, and Marduk. You shall sacrifice three sheep. You shall scatter (about) some (aromatic?) barley seed of *all* (kinds?). You shall have some water available. (10) You shall light a fire. Facing the temple, you shall sing (the compositions called) "*Ezi gulgullede*," "*Nibišu*," and "*Er imšeše*." After that, accompanied on the *halhallatu*-instrument, you shall sing for the gods Ea, Shamash, and Marduk (the compositions entitled) "*Nizug niginna*," "*Utu lugalam*," and "*Ešabhungata*." He(!) shall then stop (singing); you shall take up some water and shall open the curtains. The director of the reconstruction of the temple in question shall put on clean clothes, place a *tin* bracelet on his hand, (15) take up an axe of basalt, shall *lift up* the first brick, and put (it) away in an inaccessible place. You shall set up a single sacrificial stand in front of the brick for the god of the foundations and shall sacrifice the sheep. (On it?) you shall scatter some (aromatic?) barley seed of *all* (sorts?) and shall make a libation of beer, [wine], and milk. He(!) shall prostrate (himself). While you are engaged in the job of demolishing and reconstructing, you shall . . . water. The *kalū*-priest shall strew some (aromatic?) *flour*. They shall make a libation of honey, *cream*, milk, beer, wine, and [good] oil on (the brick).

[(Standing) before the brick], the *kalū*-priest [shall recite] the (composition called) "*Enūma Anu ibnū šamē*."

(20) (The above is) the ritual of the *kalū*-priest.

... the demolition of the temple and the accomplishment of the rites. When the wall of the temple falls into ruin—for the purpose of demolishing and founding the temple anew, the *bārū*-priest shall sacrifice a lamb upon the Fringed Garment of the king, and then . . . he shall recite [the incantation] of the *bārū*-priesthood for the case of a temple wall's falling into ruin. (25) . . . this lamb (and) shall inspect (the internal organs). If (the inspection) reveals good omens, this [work] of demolition and founding anew will be for the good of the king and his country. . . . while the demolishing and refounding (are going on), offerings and lamentations shall be made, (and) the *kalū*-priest shall not cease strewing (aromatic?) flour (about?) and making libations and recitations.

(reverse)

(The above is) a tablet (describing) what is required of the *kalū*-priest.

When the foundations of a temple collapse, you shall open up the foundations in an auspicious month, on a favorable day. When you are laying the foundations of the temple, you shall prepare during the night five sacrifices for the deities Sin, Marduk, Ninmah, Kulla, and Ninshubur. You shall sacrifice the sheep, strew some (aromatic?) barley seed of all (sorts?), start a fire, (and) make a libation of beer, wine, (and) milk. (5) You shall sing the lamentation (called) "*Uddam kimuš*" and the lamentation (called) "*Umun barkugga*." After this, you shall set up three sacrificial stands for the god of the temple, the goddess of the temple, (and) the household god of the temple. You shall light a fire, make some water available, (and) draw the curtains shut. Facing the temple, you shall sing (the composition entitled) "*Ešabhungata*," accompanied on the *halhallatu*-instrument. After this, you shall prepare three sacrifices for the gods Anu, Enlil, and [Ea] in the morning. You shall sing the lamentations (called) "*Umunšermallašu ankia*" and "*Nitug niginam*." (10) You shall sing (the composition entitled) "*Ud Ana Enlilla Enki ankia mundimdimene*." . . . You shall remove the sacrificial accoutrements and shall lay the foundation until the temple is completed. You shall not interrupt making sacrifices and lamentations. Once the foundation is laid, you shall purify that place with purification rituals.

(The above is) the ritual of the *kalū*-priest.

(The next tablet of this series begins with the words:)

(15) when the door-sockets are installed.

(Colophon:) Tablet belonging to Nidintuanu. (Written by) the hand of Anubelshunu, his son, the apprentice *kalū*-priest. (Dated at) Uruk, the month of Simannu, twenty-eighth day, the year eighty-one (of the Seleucid period, corresponding to 231 B.C.), Seleucus being the king.

TEXT C

When the wall of the temple falls into ruin—for the purpose of demolishing and founding anew the temple in question, the *bārū*-priest shall investigate its plans. Then, in an auspicious month, on a favorable day, during the night, they shall light a fire for the gods Ea and Marduk and make a sacrifice to Ea and Marduk. The *kalū*-priest shall make a lamentation, and (5) the singer shall make groaning noises. In the morning you shall make preparations on the roof of the temple in question for three sacrifices to the gods Ea, Shamash, and Marduk. You shall strew (about) nine loaves of emmer bread, dates, (and) *šasqū*-flour. [You shall lay down] a mixture of honey, cream, and filtered oil. You shall set down three *adagurru*-vessels. [You shall make a libation] of prime beer, [wine, and milk]. (10) You shall put down a brazier (filled with) cypress. [You shall strew (about?) (aromatic?) barley seed of all (sorts?)]. You shall slaughter two sheep. The *kalū*-priest, accompanied on the *halhallatu*-instrument, shall sing [for the gods Ea], Shamash, and Marduk [the (compositions entitled) "*Nitug niginna*," "*Utu lugalam*," (and) "*Ešabhungata*"]. After this, he shall sing (the compositions called) "*Ezi [gulgullude]*," "*Nibišu*," and "*Er imšeše*." He shall (then) stop. [The director of the reconstruction] of the temple in question (15) shall put on clean clothes, place a *tin* [bracelet] on his hand, take up a basalt axe, shall lift up [the first brick], shall mourn [for the] house, shall say "Woe," and shall put that brick away in an inaccessible place. (20) Then the *kalū*-priest shall strew some (aromatic?) flour [on] the brazier. He shall pour [honey], cream, milk, prime beer, wine, and good oil [on] it (that is, the brick). And then he shall recite in front of the brick (the composition called) "*Enūma Anu ibnū šamē*." (This composition now follows.)

When the god Anu created heaven,

(When) the god Nudimmud created the *apsū*-ocean,
his dwelling, (25)

The god Ea pinched off a piece of clay in the *apsū*
ocean,

Created the (brick-god) Kulla for the restoration of
[temples],

Created the reed marsh and the forest for the work
of their construction,

Created the gods Ninildu, Ninsimug, and Arazu to
be the completers of their construction work,

Created mountains and oceans for
everything . . . , (30)

Created the deities Gushkinbanda, Ninagal, Ninza-
dim, and Ninkurra for their work,

(Created) the abundant products (of mountain and
ocean) to be offerings . . . ,

Created the deities Ashnan, Lahar, Siris, Ningizzida,
Ninsar, . . .

For making their revenues abundant . . . ,

Created the deities Umunmutamku and Umunmu-
tamnag to be presenters of offerings, (35)

Created the god Kusug, high-priest of the great gods,
to be the one who completes their rites and ceremonies.
Created the king to be the provider . . . ,
Created the men to be the makers . . . ,
. . . the gods Anu, Enlil, Ea, . . .
. . .

(40)

Program of the Pageant of the Statue of the God Anu at Uruk

A copy of this text was published by Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, iv, No. 7; for a transcription and translation, see F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, xx (1923), 107 ff. and A. Falkenstein, *Topographie von Uruk*, 1 (Leipzig, 1941), 45 ff.; for another translation, see E. Ebeling, *AOT*, 313 f.

(45) At the command of the deities Anu and Antu, may (everything which I do) go well!¹

(1) . . . after the (statue of the) god Anu has left the chapel (called) Enamenna and has reached the Exalted Gate, all the *mašmašu*-priests shall recite three times the incantation (entitled) “*Šarru ittašā*.” The *mašmašu*-priests shall (then) stop (reciting), and the *urigallu*-priest, the *mašmašu*-priests, the *ēribbīti*-priests, and the brewers—who are harnessed to the cross-beam (supporting the moving statue of Anu)—(5) shall bless Anu with the blessing (entitled) “*Anu rabū šamē u eršetu likrubūka*.”²

After the blessing, the *mašmašu*-priests shall (again) recite four times the incantation (entitled) “*Šarru ittašā*” as far as the Street of the Gods. The *urigallu*-priest, the *mašmašu*-priests, the *ēribbīti*-priests, and the brewers—who are harnessed to the cross-beam—shall (again) bless Anu with the blessing (entitled) “*Anu rabū šamē u eršetu likrubūka*.”²

After the blessing, the *mašmašu*-priests (10) shall recite four times the incantation (entitled) “*Lugale ankia lugaltaea*” when they are in the Street of the Gods. They shall (then) stop (reciting) the incantation, and the *urigallu*-priest, the *mašmašu*-priests, the *ēribbīti*-priests, and the people carrying the cross-beam shall bless Anu exactly as before.

After the blessing, the *mašmašu*-priests shall recite seven times both the incantation (entitled) “*Lugale ezen šinmundu*” and the incantation (entitled) “*Egubbaḳugata*” as far as the Holy Quay, the Dike of the Ship of Anu, the Path of the Gods. They shall (then) stop (reciting) the incantation, and the *urigallu*-priest, (15) the *mašmašu*-priests, the *ēribbīti*-priests, and the people carrying the cross-beam shall bless Anu.

As soon as Anu is on the Dike of the Ship of Anu, the *mašmašu*-priests (and) the *ēribbīti*-priests shall recite with hand-raising gestures the incantation (en-

titled) “*Magur munu*” to Anu. Thereafter, the *urigallu*-priest, the *mašmašu*-priests, the *ēribbīti*-priests, and the people carrying the cross-beam shall bless Anu exactly as before.

(20) From the Upper Dike of the Holy Quay to the Royal Gate, the *mašmašu*-priests shall recite seven times the incantation (entitled) “*Lugaltaea sila ḳuga badi-bata*.” They shall (then) stop (reciting) the incantation, and, in the Royal Gate, the *urigallu*-priest, the *mašmašu*-priests, the *ēribbīti*-priests, and the people carrying the cross-beam shall bless Anu exactly as before.

From the Royal Gate to the Akitu House (outside the city), the house of worship, the *mašmašu*-priests shall recite the incantations (25) (which they recited before) in the Street of the Gods. They shall (then) stop (reciting) the incantation, and the *urigallu*-priest, the *mašmašu*-priests, the *ēribbīti*-priests, and the brewers—who are harnessed to the cross-beam—shall bless Anu seven full times.

As soon as Anu has reached the Akitu House, the *mašmašu*-priests shall recite the incantation (entitled) “*Eḳuga edingirene*,” the incantation (entitled) “*An lugalmu šadugazuše*,” the incantation (entitled) (30) “*Unu ḳinsigannaḳe*,” the incantation (entitled) “*Šubtu ša ilāni*.”

(30) The following is the blessing with which the *urigallu*-priest, the *mašmašu*-priests, the *ēribbīti*-priests, (40) and the brewers—who are harnessed to the cross-beam—shall bless Anu seven times, on the way to the Akitu House from the Resh House:

Great Anu, may heaven and earth bless you! (32)
May the deities Enlil, Ea, and Beletile bless you joyfully!
May both the gods Sin and Shamash bless you when you appear!
May the deities Nergal and Sibi bless you with firm hearts! (35)
May the Igigi gods of heaven and the Anunnaki gods of earth bless you!
May the gods of the Deep and the gods of the Holy Shrine bless you!
May they bless you daily (every) day, month, and year!

(The next tablet of these instructions begins with the words:) Incantation (entitled) “*Šarru ittašā šarru ittašā*.”

(Colophon:) Copied from an old tablet, verified and collated. Copy of an old tablet which is the property of (the temple of) Anu and Antu. (This) tablet (belongs) to Anuahaushabshi, the son of Kidinanu, the descendant of Ekurzakir, the *mašmašu*-priest of Anu and Antu, the *urigallu*-priest of the Resh Temple, citizen of the city Uruk. (This tablet was written by) the hand of Anubalatsuiqbi, his son. He wrote (this tablet) for his own instruction, for the prolongation of his days, for the continuation of his life, (and) for the “establishment of his foundation(s);” and then he deposited it in the city of Uruk, in the Resh Temple,

¹ This is an invocation that appears quite frequently at the beginning of literary and scientific texts of the Seleucid period at Uruk.

² This blessing is given in full in lines 32-38.

the house of his (that is, Anu's) divinity. Whoever reveres Anu shall not steal it! (Dated at) Uruk, in the month Du'uzu, the twenty-fifth day, the year sixty-one (of the Seleucid Era, corresponding to the year 251 B.C.), Antiochus (being) king of the lands (at that time).

Daily Sacrifices to the Gods of the City of Uruk

For a complete edition of this text, see F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (Paris, 1921), 62 ff. and 74 ff.; the copy was later republished by F. Thureau-Dangin, *TCL*, vi, No. 38; for another translation, see E. Ebeling, *AOT*, 305 ff.

(obverse)

Every day in the year, for the main meal of the morning, you shall prepare—in addition to the *sappu*-vessels of the *maqānē*—eighteen gold *sappu*-vessels on the tray of the god Anu. Of these (eighteen vessels), you shall prepare before the god Anu seven *sappu*-vessels on the right—three for barley-beer and four for mixed beer—and seven *sappu*-vessels on the left—three for barley-beer, one for mixed beer, one for *nāšu*-beer, one for *zababu*-beer, and one alabaster *sappu*-vessel for milk—and (5) four gold *sappu*-vessels for “pressed” wine. Similar (preparations shall be made) for the second (meal) of the morning as well as for the main and second (meals) of the evening. No milk shall be served at the main and second (meals) of the evening. Among the gold *sappu*-vessels for the tray, there are five gold *sappu*-vessels which are bound with (strings of?) *inexpensive* stone(s).

He shall grasp the five gold *sappu*-vessels, each with a capacity of one *qa*-measure, and [shall perform] the *maqānē* of the sanctuary [of the god Anu]. (10) (These five vessels should contain different liquids:) one for barley-beer, one for mixed beer, one for *nāšu*-beer, one for “pressed” wine, [and one for milk]. He shall grasp a *sappu*-vessel with a capacity of five *akālu*-measures (=one-half *qa*), containing wine of the land Azallu. Four [gold] *tigidū*-vessels of the sanctuary of the god Anu, of which one gold *tigidū*-vessel . . . , one gold *tigidū*-vessel is painted with blossoms, one gold *tigidū*-vessel has rope wrapped around its neck, (and) one [gold] *tigidū*-vessel is. . . (15) (This makes a) total of four gold *tigidū*-vessels on a *ḫandurū*-vessel . . . of the deities Anu and Antu. . .

You shall prepare fourteen gold *sappu*-vessels upon the tray of the goddess Antu. (These are to contain) prime beer, exactly [as in the case of the tray of Anu]. Twelve gold *sappu*-vessels (are to be set) before the goddess Ishtar, ten gold *sappu*-vessels before [the goddess Nana]. (These vessels do) not include the gold *sappu*-vessels (used) throughout the year for the (other) deities dwelling in [the city of Uruk].

(20) (Furthermore, these vessels do) not include the gold *sappu*-vessels (which are filled) with the food

prepared for the god's trip or the two *tigidū*-vessels. . .

Every day in the year, a *būru*-vessel containing three *gur*-measures and three *pan*-measures of barley [and emmer]—(in other words, expressed sexagesimally), 1,48 *sāt*-measures, or, (expressed decimally), one hundred and eight *sāt*-measures—the *basic* quantity for the regular offerings, according to the *sāt*-measure of “ten pounds” . . . which the millers in the kitchen shall turn over to the chefs every day for the four meals of the deities [Anu], Antu, Ishtar, Nana, and the (other) deities dwelling in the city of Uruk.

(25) Of these (108 *sāt*-measures, there shall be) eighty-one *sāt*-measures of barley flour and twenty-seven *sāt*-measures of emmer flour which the chef shall use in baking two hundred and forty-three *šibtu*-loaves. Of these (loaves), the chef shall supply for the four (daily) meals thirty *šibtu*-loaves to be placed on the tray before the god Anu. (To itemize these more specifically,) the chef shall supply eight *šibtu*-loaves for the main meal of the morning and (eight for) the second meal of the morning; the chef shall supply seven *šibtu*-loaves for the main meal of the evening and (seven) for the second meal of the evening. (30) (Furthermore,) the chef shall supply thirty *šibtu*-loaves (to be set) before the goddess Antu, thirty *šibtu*-loaves (to be set) before the goddess Ishtar, thirty *šibtu*-loaves (to be set) before the goddess Nana, twelve *šibtu*-loaves (to be set) before the seat of the god Anu and the household god of the sanctuary of the goddess Antu, four *šibtu*-loaves (to be set) before the two tiaras of the god Anu, sixteen loaves (to be set) before the temple-tower and the household god of the temple-tower, (and) sixteen loaves (to be set) before the other (gods) of the sanctuary of the deities Anu and Antu—totalling one hundred and sixty-eight *šibtu*-loaves for the four (daily) meals. (These loaves are) in addition to the seventy-five *šibtu*-loaves which shall be offered to the (other) deities dwelling in the city of Uruk, in their temples at the (35) four (daily) meals. (These loaves are also) in addition to the loave(s) of(?) the *rabbū* and the date cakes (to be prepared) for the god's trip, for the *guqqānū*-sacrifice, for the *eššešu*-festivals, for (the ceremonies of) the Opening of the Gate, for (the ceremony) of the Clothing, for the *egubbū*-vessel (ceremonies?), for the overnight (ceremonies), for the brazier (ceremonies?), for the ritual of the (divine) marriage, for the “blessers,” for the sacrifices of the king, . . . And one thousand and two hundred . . . oil, which is placed beneath the (ordinary) dates and the dates of the land of Tilmun, and filtered oil shall be offered upon the *ḫalakḫu* of Anu, Antu, and the (other) deities of the city of Uruk. And *mašhatu*-flour in storage baskets which the miller shall supply every day of the year to the *ēribbiti*-priest. The miller, while grinding flour on the millstone, shall recite (the composition entitled?) “. . . *mulapin ina šēri epinni zēri išmidu.*” (45) And the chef, while (working at) the kneading trough with the lumps (of dough) and while *withdrawing* the hot (loaves?), shall recite (the composition

beginning with the words?) "*Nisaba hengal duššū mākalū ellu.*"

Every day of the year, for the four (daily) meals, 1.48 *sāt*-measures—(that is, expressed decimally,) one hundred and eight *sāt*-measures—of ordinary dates, dates from the land of Tilmun, figs, and raisins, in addition to the . . . and the . . . , shall be offered to the deities Anu, (50) Antu, Ishtar, Nana, and the (other) deities dwelling in the city of Uruk.

(reverse)

(Below are enumerated) the bulls and rams for the regular offerings (to be made) every day of the year to the deities Anu, Antu, Ishtar, Nana, and the (other) gods dwelling in the Resh Temple, the Irigal Temple, and the Esharra Temple, (which is) the *topmost stage* of the temple-tower of the god Anu. From the first day of the month Nisannu through the thirtieth day of the month Adaru, (they shall be offered) for the main meal of the morning.

For the main meal of the morning, throughout the year: seven first-class, fat, clean rams (5) which have been fed barley for two years; one fat, milk-fed *kalū*-ram, of the regular offering—totalling eight rams for the regular offerings. (Furthermore,) one large bull, one milk-fed bullock, and ten fat rams which, unlike the others, have not been fed barley. Grand total for the main meal of the morning throughout the year: eighteen rams, of which one is a milk-fed *kalū*-ram of the regular offering, one large bull, (and) one milk-fed bullock. While slaughtering the bull(s) and the ram(s), the slaughterer shall recite the (composition beginning with the words?) "*Mār Šamaš bēlu būli ina šēri ušabša ri'iti.*"

Similarly, while slaughtering the bull(s) and ram(s), the chief slaughterer shall speak (a prayer for?) life to the deities Anu, Antu, the Great Star, and the planet Venus; he shall recite (it) to no other god.

(For) the second meal of the morning, the regular offering to the deities Anu and Antu and the household gods of the Resh Temple, the Irigal Temple, and the *topmost stage* of the temple-tower; throughout the year: six fat, clean rams which have been fed barley for two years; (15) one fat, milk-fed ram, of the regular offering; and five fat rams which, unlike the others, have not been fed barley; one large bull; eight lambs; five ducks which have been fed . . .-grain; two ducks, of a lower quality than those just mentioned; three *cranes* which have been fed . . .-flour; four *wild boars*; thirty *marratu*-birds; twenty . . .-birds; three ostrich eggs; (and) three duck eggs.

(For) the main meal of the evening, the regular offering to the deities Anu (and) Antu and the household gods (of the temples), throughout the year: four fat, clean rams which have been fed barley for two years; one fat, milk-fed *kalū*-ram (20) of the regular offering; five other rams which, unlike the previously mentioned, have not been fed barley; and ten . . .-birds.

(For) the second meal of the evening, the regular offering to the deities Anu (and) Antu and the household gods (of the temples), throughout the year: four fat, clean rams which have been fed barley for two years; one fat, milk-fed *kalū*-ram of the regular offering; and five other rams which, unlike those just mentioned, have not been fed barley.

The daily total, throughout the year, for the four meals per day: twenty-one first-class, fat, clean rams (25) which have been fed barley for two years; two large bulls; one milk-fed bullock; eight lambs; thirty *marratu*-birds; thirty . . .-birds; three *cranes* which have been fed . . .-grain; five ducks which have been fed . . .-flour; two ducks of a lower quality than those just mentioned; four *wild boars*; three ostrich eggs; three duck eggs.

Every day throughout the year, ten fat, clean rams, whose horns and hooves are whole, (30) shall be sacrificed in the . . . to the deities Anu and Antu of heaven, to the planets Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Saturn, and Mars, to the sunrise, and to the appearance of the moon.

On the sixteenth day of each month, ten first-class, fat, clean rams, whose horns and hooves are whole, shall—after (the sacrificer's) hands have been cleaned—be offered boiled to the deities Anu and Antu of heaven and to the seven planets¹ on the *topmost stage* of the temple-tower of the god Anu—exactly as on the sixteenth day of the month Tebetu.

(35) (All these are) in addition to the rams of the regular offerings throughout the year, in the Eanna Temple and the (other) temples of the city of Uruk; and (they are also) in addition to the bulls and rams which shall be offered for the *guqqānū*-sacrifices, for the *eššešu*-festivals, for (the ceremonies of) the Opening of the Gate, for the (ceremony) of the Clothing, for the *egubbū*-vessel (ceremonies?), for the brazier (ceremonies?), for the ritual of the (divine) marriage, for the "blessers," and for the sacrifices of the king, which are written down in the ritual instructions for the whole year, in the Resh Temple, the Irigal Temple, the Eanna Temple, and the (other) temples of the city of Uruk, to the deities Anu and Antu and all the (other) gods.

(40) In the temple of the god Shamash, ram's meat shall never be offered to the deity Shakkan. In the temple of the god Sin, bull's meat shall never be offered to the god Harru. Fowl flesh shall never be offered to the goddess Beletseri. Neither bull's meat nor fowl flesh shall ever be offered to the goddess Ereshkigal.

(Colophon:) Tablet written by the hand of Shamashetir, son of Inaqibitanu, son of *Shipkatanu*. Tablet (containing) instructions for the worship of Anu; for the holy ritual; for the ceremonies of kingship, together with the rituals of the divinities of the Resh Temple, the Irigal Temple, the (45) Eanna Temple, and the (other) temples of the city of Uruk. (Also)

¹ Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the sun, and the moon.

the procedures (to be followed) by the *mašmašu*-priests, the *kalū*-priests, the singers, and all the artisans behind the . . . , not to mention all things having to do with the novices of the *bārū*-priesthood. (This tablet was copied) from tablets which Nabuaplausur, king of the Sea Land, carried off as plunder from the city

of Uruk; but *now* Kidinanu, a citizen of Uruk, a *mašmašu*-priest of Anu and Antu, a descendant of Ekurzakir, an *urigallu*-priest of the Resh Temple, looked at these tablets in the land of Elam, copied them in the reign of the kings Seleucus and Antiochus, and brought (his copies) back to the city of Uruk.

Hittite Rituals, Incantations, and Description of Festivals

TRANSLATOR: ALBRECHT GOETZE

Ritual for the Purification of God and Man

Text: *KUB*, xxix, 7. Only the better-preserved parts, beginning with reverse 12, are translated here.

At nightfall they [. . .] and they w[ipe clean] the god. F[or the sake of the king] they treat him¹ with herbs against words of *blasphemy* (and) curse. Also [for the sake] of the queen's implements [they treat him with herbs]. (15) [She² hand]s a soda-plant to the one who holds the queen's implements during the ceremony and while doing so she speaks as follows: "If in the pr[esence of the god anyone, king or queen, has said in mal]jice: 'Let *blasphemy* and uncleanness enter that temple (and) grow there like a soda-plant! Let it thrive (there) [like] a soda-[plant] so that it becomes abundant! Let no one be able [to uproot] the soda-plant!'

(20) "Now look, [this is what has happ]ened: The god has [. . .] cut down that thriving (and) abundant soda-plant like a harvester, and then reduced it to ashes. Like that soda-plant let him also reduce to ashes and make into soap evil word, oath, cu[rse] (and) uncleanness! So let it then no longer exist for my god; neither let it exist for the sacrificer's person! Let god and sacrificer be free (of them)! Just as he has re[duced] this soda-plant (25) [to ashes] and made it into soap, even so let evil word, oath, curse and uncl[eanliness] be made into soap! Let god and sacrificer be free of that matter!"

Afterward they hand to him an o[nion], and while this is being done, she speaks as follows: "If in the presence of the god anyone sp[eaks] as follows: 'Just as this onion consists of skins which are wrapped together, one being [un]able to get loose from another—as (in) an on[ion] let evil, oath, curse (and) uncleanness be wrapped around that temple!' See now, (30) I have picked this onion apart and have [no]w left only one *wretched stem*. Even so let him³ pick apart evil word, oath, curse (and) uncleanness from the god's [temple]! Let god and sacrificer be free of that matter!"

After that they hand him a co[rd] which is twisted together toward the left. While this is being done, she speaks as follows: "If anyone has afflicted th[is] god

with evil word, oath, curse (35) and uncleanness and has twisted them together like a cord, (if) it was . . . [. . .] twisted toward the left, I have it now untwisted toward the right. Let evil word, oa[th], curse and uncleanness no longer exist for my god; neither let it exist for the sacrificer's person! Let god and sacrificer be free of that matter!"

After that they make a basin in front of [the . . .], and from the basin they build a [sma]ll ditch (40) leading to the river. Into it they put a boat lined with a little silver (and) gold. They also make small "oaths" and "curses" of silver (and) gold and place them into the boat. Then the ditch which empties the basin carries the ship from the basin into the river. When it disappears, she pours out a little fine oil and honey and while doing so speaks as follows: "Just as the river has carried away the ship (45) and no trace of it can be found any more—whoever has committed evil word, oath, curse and uncleanness in the presence of the god—even so let the river carry them away! And just as no trace of the ship can be found any more, let evil word no longer exist for my god; neither let it exist for the sacrificer's person! Let god and sacrificer be free of that matter!"

"See! I have poured out fine oil and honey after them. The trail behind them (50) is anointed with fine oil and honey. Let the evil word be turned away (to places) beyond! Just as the river does not flow backward, even so let it carry away these evil words! Let them not come back!" After that the sacrificer lifts up a piece of silver three shekels in weight, and from a pitcher he pours water over that piece of silver three shekels in weight. While this is being done, she⁴ speaks as follows: "Whoever has spoken evil in the presence of the god, just as the dark earth (55) has swallowed up this water, even so let the earth swallow up that evil word! Let these words be free and *unattached*! Let god and sacrificer be free of that matter!"

As a substitute for the king he hands over one ox, and as a substitute for the queen's implements he hands over one cow, one ewe and one goat. While this is being done, she speaks as follows: "With whatever evil word, oath, curse (60) (and) uncleanness the god was afflicted, let the substitutes carry them away from the god! Let god and sacrificer be free of that matter!" Afterward the sacrificer recites a hymn, (accompanying it) with (an offering consisting of) a small sacrificial loaf and a small cheese.

¹ The sacrificer, i.e. the one who ordered the ritual.

² The priestess, called Old Woman, who usually performs these rituals.

³ The sacrificer.

⁴ The priestess.

Ritual to Counteract Sorcery

Text: *KUB*, xvii, 27. This is a fragment which comprises less than half of the original composition.

(beginning lost)

(ii) [She¹ takes clay from the pit and ties it to the sacrificer. Thereafter we release it. She throws it into the hole which has been dug in the ground² and speaks as follows: "Just as . . . brought up this clay] from the pit [and] is presenting [it to the sacrificer, even so let . . . bring up] this man's recovery [(and) vigor!]"

She takes mud from the spring (5) and ties [it] to [the sacrificer]. Thereafter [we] release it. She throws it [into the hole] which has been dug in the ground and speaks as follows: "Just as [the spring brought] up this mud from the nether world, [and] people are presenting [it to the sacrificer], even so let it bring up this man's [recovery] (10) (and) vigor!"

Then she takes wine-*dregs* and ties them [to the sacrificer]. Then she goes to the vineyard, takes a [. . .] loaf, breaks it, scatters (the crumbs) about and [says as foll]ows: "Eat ye, gods of the trees! [Just as] ye, gods, (15) let vanish every [trace of the dregs], even so let this man's evil [vanish]!"

She . . . takes branches from all (of them)—but . . . she does not take—, makes a *float* and puts [it into the river]. She returns to the clay pit, deposits a broken loaf for the demons of the clay pit and speaks as follows:

(20) "Eat ye, demons of the clay pit! If the wicked sorcerer made over this man's form either to the clay pit or to the current of the river, give it back to him!"

Whatever she had taken to the open country, she carries back to the city and deposits it in the city within the inner chamber at a secret spot. (25) The Old Woman goes forth and assembles in front of the Sun three pieces of bitumen, (holds) a bronze dagger (in readiness), and also kindles a fire. She throws the water³ and the broken loaf into it and speaks as follows:

"Whatever words the sorcerer spoke, whatever he twined together, whatever he *wove*, whatever he made in whatever place, (30) those (things) he did not (properly) know, the sorcerer. He built up sorcery like a pillar, twined it together like a string. I am thwarting him. I have *pushed over* these words of sorcery like a pillar, I have untwined them like a string."

(35) The Old Woman *pushes* the pieces of bitumen *over*, breaks them and puts them into the fire. The Old Woman takes the cord, untwines it the left-hand way and untwines it the right-hand way and speaks as follows: "If the sorcerer twined it from the right, (40) I am now untwining it [the right-hand way]. If

he twined it from the left, I am now un[twining] it the left-hand way."

(iii) [The Old Woman throws the threads into the fire and says as follows: ". . .] Just as (5) I have [bu]rned [these threads] and they will not [come back], [even so] let also these words of the sorcerer [be burned] up!" [She then] ext[inguishes] the fire with water.

[She say]s: "I have vanquished them, the words of sorcery. The spell [that was superi]or, my spell-binding has vanquished (it). (10) [Since] I cast a double counterspell—I spat upon them and I trampled them under [foot]—let the ass bloody them and let the ox muck [them]! Let man [not] (even) walk over them, (15) let him [sp]it on them! Let them be spat upon, the words of sorcery and the sorcerer (himself)!"

Afterward the [Old] Woman spits once and [speak]s as fo[l]lows: "Let the thousand gods [cur]se him, the sorcerer! Let [hea]ven and earth curse him! . . ."

(The rest of the text is hopelessly mutilated or completely lost.)

Ritual Against Pestilence

Text: *KUB*, ix, 31 ii, 43-iii 14 and its duplicate *HT*, i, ii 17-47. Literature: J. Friedrich, *Aus dem hethitischen Schrifttum*, 2 (*AO*, xxv/2 [1925]), 10.

These are the words of Uhha-muwas, the Arzawa man. If people are dying in the country and if some enemy (45) god has caused that, I act as follows:

They drive up one ram. They twine together blue wool, red wool, yellow wool, black wool and white wool, make it into a crown and crown the ram with it. They drive the ram on to the road leading to the enemy (50) and while doing so they speak as follows: "Whatever god of the enemy land has caused this plague—see! We have now driven up this crowned ram to pacify thee, O god! Just as the herd (55) is strong, but keeps peace with the ram, do thou, the god who has caused this plague, keep peace with the Hatti land! In favor turn again toward the Hatti land!" (60) They drive that one crowned ram toward the enemy.

Afterward they bring fodder for the god's horses and mutton tallow, and while doing so they speak as follows: (iii) "Thou hast harnessed (thy) horses; let them eat this fodder and let their hunger be satisfied! Let also thy chariot be greased with this mutton tallow! (5) Turn toward thy land, O Storm-god! In favor turn toward the Hatti land!"

Afterward they drive up one full-grown goat and two sheep. He consecrates the goat to the Seven;¹ he consecrates one sheep to the Sun-god. (10) The other sheep they kill and cook. Then they bring 1 cheese, 1 curd, 1 *pulla* (vessel), leavened bread, 1 amphora of wine, 1 amphora of beer, (and) fruit. With these they make provision for the god's journey.

¹ The priestess called Old Woman.

² The hole has been dug in order to dispose of the materials used in the ritual, materials which are now contaminated and dangerous.

³ This must have been mentioned in the lost beginning of the text.

¹ The Pleiades.

Purification Ritual Engaging the Help of Protective Demons

Text: *KUB*, xxvii, 67. This ritual consists of four parts. The first three of them run mainly parallel with one another except that they are addressed to different demons. In the first section (i) Tarpatassis is invoked, in the second (ii) Alauwaimis, and in the third (most of iii) "he¹ who turns in front of the Tarpatassis demons." The fourth part (iii 67-iv 43) again invokes Tarpatassis. Only the second and the fourth parts are translated here.

(ii 2) [Aft]erward she² pours out a libation for Alauwaimis. She places pine cones upon a large pan and thereupon she strews grains of *KAR*;³ these they roast. She then extinguishes the cones with water and says: "Just as I have quenched these, even so let evil also be quenched for the sacrificers!"

Balls of kneaded dough, (10) a bow of . . . (with the string taut), three arrows of . . . (with the balls of dough in front of them), a bolt, a *tarzu* (with a piece of *fur* fastened to it)—all this she places upon a tray of reeds.

(15) She takes a cord and strings it from the sacrificers' feet to their heads on either side. She also strings it down their backs. She takes it off them and places it on the tray of reeds (saying):

(20) "Loosen the evil tension of [his] head, his hands (and) his [feet]. Give it to (their) wicked adversaries! But to the sacrificers give [li]fe, vigor (and) long years!" She treats the bowstring in the same manner, and speaks in the same way.

(25) [The]n she treats the piece of (fur-)cloth in the same manner and says: "Just as the dressers scrape the cloth⁴ and clear the tufts [away] so that it becomes white, even so let the gods clear away [this] man's evil sickness (30) from his [bo]dy!"

"[Ala]uwaimis! Fight them no longer! [Go!] Fight this *tarzu*! Drive the evil away from them!"

She wraps up a small piece of tin in the bowstring (35) and attaches it to the sacrificers' right hands (and) feet.

She takes it off them (again) and attaches it to a mouse (with the words): "I have taken the evil off you and transferred it to this mouse. Let this mouse carry it on a long journey to the high mountains, (40) hills and dales!"

She turns the mouse loose (saying): "Alauwaimis! This one pursue! I shall give thee a goat to eat!"

She sets up an *altar* of wood and breaks one long sacrificial loaf for the Alauwaimis gods, she breaks one sacrificial loaf for Alauwaimis, she breaks one sacrificial loaf for Mammās and she puts them upon the *altars*.

She then consecrates a goat for Alauwaimis (saying): "Eat thou!" In front of the loaves she cuts it up and

¹ Or: she.

² The priestess called Old Woman.

³ A cereal.

⁴ This should be the piece of fur mentioned above.

takes off the right shoulder. She cooks it on a fire (50) and puts [it] in a place apart from the loaves. The liver she offers in the same manner.

They cook [the left] shoulder also and she places the shank (upon the altar) for the (Alauwaimis) gods. She places the upper shoulder (upon the altar) for Alauwaimis. She places the . . . (upon the altar) for Mammās. Then she pours out a libation.

[Afterward] she offers the *heart* in the same way. She places one leg (55) [(and) one-half of the head(?) (upon the altar) for the (Alauwaimis) gods. [She places] the other half of the head (upon the altar) [for Alauwaimis] (and) the womb (upon the altar) [for Mammās]; furthermore she pours out a libation.

[Then] they cook [the goat] in a cauldron and [eat] (and) drink. Then she scatters silver (and) gold, (60) [lapis], Babylon stone, *lulluri* stone, "life" stone, [Barahsi stone], iron, tin, copper (and) bronze—a little [of everything] (saying):

"[Alauwa]imis! Here [I have given] thee silver, gold, (and) lapis. Go! Say a good word for me before the gods!"

"Grant [me . . .] . . . ; grant me to appear before thy face! Should someone else speak unfavorably of [me],—since thou art strong, [go] (and) speak a good word for me [before] all the gods!"

(iii 67) When she⁵ comes home, she takes a *fir* tree—at the top it is in its natural state, at the bottom it is *trimmed*—and rams it (into the ground) at the right-hand side of the first gate. (70) Under the tree she places a pot.

(gap of about 15 lines)

(A tree is apparently set up at the left-hand side too.)

(iv 3) She goes away [and while *walking off*] she does not turn around [or . . .], (5) or curse. [In another place] she sets up [an *alta*]r and breaks three sacrificial loaves. Of these she breaks [one long sacrificial loaf] for the (Alauwaimis) gods, one sacrificial loaf for [Tarpatas]sis (and) one sacrificial loaf for Ma[mmas] (saying):

"Tarpatassis! Accept [this] *fir* tree from me (10) and set me free! Let not [evil] sickness get to me! Stand by the side of my [wif]e, my children, (and) my children's children! Thou, who art a strong god—thou, Tarpatassis, [who] . . .⁶, say a [favorable word] before all the gods!"

(15) She consecrates a buck to Tar[patassis] and [cuts] it up before the god. She lets the blood run into a bronze cup [and empties it] into the pots on either side of [the ga]te.

[She takes off the right shoulder and] cooks [it on a fire]. (20) [. . . the left] shoulder she [cooks likewise]. She puts the shank (upon the altar) for the (Alauwaimis) gods; she puts [the upper sh]oulder (upon the altar) [for Alauwaimis]; [she puts the . . .

⁵ It is not quite clear whether "she" or "he" be translated. In the first case the Old Woman is referred to, in the second the sacrificer.

⁶ Literally: [who] turnest in front of [. . .].

(upon the altar)] for Mammas. Furthermore she pours out a libation.

She offers *heart* (and) liver [in the same way]. (25) [She puts one-half of the head(?) [(upon the altar) for the (Alauwaimis) gods; she puts the other half] of the head (and) the breast [(upon the altar) for . . .] . . .⁷ [Then they cook the buck] in a cauldron and ea[t (and) drink].

[When they] *clean up*, [the fir tree] is removed from the gate. On either side [of the gate] he d[rives] seven copper pegs (30) . . . into the ground (saying): "Tarpatassis! Let neither [death], evil [fever] nor sickness enter my hou[se]! Drive [them] off into the land of the [. . .] . . . enemy!"

He scatters [silver] (and) gold, lapis, carneol, Babylon stone, (35) Barahsi stone, *lulluri* stone, iron, tin, copper (and) bronze—[a little] (of everything). He [spreads] these (materials) here and there (saying):

"[See, I have given thee silver (and) gold, lapis, carneol (and) 'life' stone. [Speak thou, Tarp]atassis, [a good word for me] before all the gods! [Grant] me⁸ life, vigor [(and) long years]! Stand by my house [(and) my children]!"

[Then] they consume the [goat which they have cooked].

Ritual Against Impotence

Text: *KUB*, vii, 5 + *KUB*, vii, 8 + *KUB*, ix, 27. Literature: J. Friedrich, *Aus dem hethitischen Schrifttum*, 2 (*AO*, xxv/2 [1925]), 16.

¹These are the words of Pissuwattis, the Arzawa woman who lives in Parassa: If a man possesses no reproductive power or has no desire for women,

I bring libations to Uliliyassis on his behalf (5) and entreat him for three days. On the first day I prepare as follows: Rations for one man are assembled and to it the following is added: 3 sweet sacrificial loaves of flour (and) water weighing one *tarnaš*, figs, grapes, . . . the god's meal, a little of everything; (10) the fleece of an unblemished sheep, a pitcher of wine, [the headdress] or the shirt of the male sacrificer (in question)—they are put upon the rations.

A virgin takes up [these materials], and the sacrificer—(15) having taken [a ba]th—walks behind them; [then] he bathes again. We shall take the materials to another place in the open country. We shall remain standing while [the . . .]. holds the rations up. I shall build a gate of reeds.

I shall twine together [a cord] of red wool (and) of white wool. (20) I shall place a mirror (and) a distaff² in the sacrificer's [hand]. He will pass under the gate. When he comes [for]th through the gate, I shall take the mirror (and) the distaff away from him. (25)

⁷ It is again not clear whether the sacrificer or the Old Woman is meant.

⁸ To the sacrificer.

¹ The beginning of column i is published as *KUB*, ix, 27.

² These two implements are considered as symbolic for womanhood.

I shall [gi]ve him a bow [and arrows] and while doing so I shall speak as follows: "See! I have taken womanliness away from thee and given thee back manliness. Thou hast cast off the ways of a woman, now [show] the ways of a man!"

(30)³ Later we [present a *eun*]uch (as) a defend[ant] and [. . .] While doing so I shall speak as follows: "Here [we present a *eunuch*. He has made his nature] the subject of an oracle; (whether) by . . . [the ways] of a man were indicated, or (those) of a girl were indicated for him. For his part he went down to her *bedchamber*, but all this fellow could produce was excrement (and) urine. Such (will) not be (10) found to be the case with thee!"

"Now see, he has gone down on his knees and is seeking thee for the sake of thy divine power. Whether thou art in the mountain, whether thou art in the meadow, whether thou art in the valley, (15) or wherever else thou mayest be, in favor come to this man! Let driving wind and rain not hold thee back!

"He will go and worship thee, O god! He will provide a place for thee, (20) he will give thee a house. He will give thee slaves (and) slave-girls. He will give thee cattle (and) sheep. He will make vows to thee.

"See! I am entreating (and) alluring thee. So come! Bring with thee the moon, the star of the nether world, (and) the sun! (25) Let slave-girls (and) slaves run before thee! Let gods [(and) goddesses] (ii)⁴ run before thee! Come down to this man! Make his wife conceive a child, look after her! (5) Turn to him and speak to him! Let him have thy maid, and let her bear his yoke! Let him take his wife and beget sons (and) daughters for himself! (10) They will be thy servants and thy handmaids; they will always be giving thee offerings, sacrificial loaves, meal (and) libations.

"See! This man (15) knew thee not. See! Now he has sought after thee. Since then this (man) has sought after thee. So stand by him, in favor, O god! (20) In this matter in which he has come to thee, O god, show thy divine power and set all aright! Let him experience thy divine power, make it good! Let him see thy divine nature, and he will come [and worship] thee. (25) . . ."

⁵I⁶ shall take [the materials] from upon the rations and we shall go back into the house. (5) In the house in which I make offerings a new table is set up and I shall put the rations upon that table; in front of it I shall put a pitcher.

The broken sacrificial loaves (10) which are lying on the rations, I shall take a little of them and give it to the male sacrificer. He will put it into his mouth, and he will drink (for) Uliliyassis three times. When night falls, the sacrificer (15) will lie down in front of the table; they will set up a bed for him in front of the table.

³ *KUB*, ix, 27 i 30 = *KUB*, vii, 5 i 3.

⁴ The beginning of the second column is found on *KUB*, vii, 8.

⁵ From here on the text follows *KUB*, vii, 5 ii.

⁶ The priestess who is the author of the ritual is speaking.

The headdress or the shirt that is lying upon the rations, he will spread (it) out at night time. (20) I shall do that for three days. But daily I shall entreat three times, once at dawn, once at midday (and) once at nightfall. While doing so I shall speak the same words.

(25) One set of loaves I shall break at dawn, another set at noon, and another set at nightfall. I shall also strew another portion of meal. (iii) Then I shall consecrate one sheep to Uliliyassis, and they will slaughter it down in front of the table. They will finally remove the sheep (5) [cut] it up and then [cook] it. From the meat [they will select . . .]. breast (and) shoulder and place it upon the table [. . .]. Liver [(and) heart . . .] they will cook [on a fire . . .], two sacrificial loaves [they will break and put them] on the table for him.

(The following 15-20 lines are badly mutilated. The remnants point to a ceremony similar to that described in the earlier parts of the text, probably belonging to a second ritual. The preserved end of the text⁷ contains the incantation which goes with that ritual:)

" . . . (5) Let him have [thy maid], and let her bear his yoke! Let him take his wife and beget children for himself! Let him beget sons (and) daughters for himself. (10) Thou, O god, prove thy divine power!

"Let him experience thy might! and he will make thee his personal god. He will make vows to thee." They will spread out a bed for him (15) in front of the table and they will also spread out the headdress or the shirt that had been lying on the rations. (iv) The sacrificer will lie down, (to see) whether he will experience the bodily presence of the deity in his dream, coming to him and sleeping with him. (5) During the three days on which he is entreating the deity he tells all the dreams which he has, whether the deity appears to him and whether the deity (10) sleeps with him.

He will go (and) worship the god. Furthermore, if sacrificial vessels are in order, he will set up sacrificial vessels; if not, (15) he will set up a stone pillar or erect a statue. But the new table which stood throughout the entreaty, becomes the property of the deity.

(After three mutilated lines, the text is completely destroyed and thus the end of the composition is missing.)

Ritual Against Domestic Quarrel

Texts: *KBo*, II, 3 and its duplicates *KUB*, x, 76 + *KUB*, XII, 34 + 59 + *KUB*, xv, 39 + *IBOT*, II, 109 ff.; *KUB*, xxxiv, 84 +, etc. Literature: F. Hrozný, *Heth. Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (1919), 60-89; Liane Rost, *Mitt. des Instituts für Orientalforschung*, I (1953), 345-79.

These are the words of Mastiggas, the woman from Kizzuwatna: If a father and (his) son, or a husband and his wife, or a brother and (his) sister quarrel, when I reconcile them, I treat them as follows:

⁷ *KUB*, VII, 8 iii followed by *KUB*, VII, 5 iv.

(5) She¹ takes black wool and wraps it in mutton fat; *iššatwa* they call it.² She presents it to the sacrificer and speaks as follows: "Whatever thou spokest with (thy) mouth (and) tongue³—see, here is *iššatwa*! Let it be cut out (10) of your body these days!" She throws the tongues into the hearth.

Afterward the Old Woman takes salt, tissue, *fat* and wax. She makes the wax into tongues and waves [them over the two] sacrificers. She also waves the salt and the [fat and] the tissue over them, [present]s it to them and they [flatten it] with (their) left (15) hands.

The Old Woman speaks as follows: "In whatever curses you indulged, let now the Sun-god turn those curses (and) tongues toward the left!"⁴ And she throws them into the hearth.

The red wool (and) the blue wool that (20) had been placed upon the bodies of the two sacrificers,⁵ the two figures of dough that had been placed before them, and the hands and tongues of dough that had been placed upon their heads, those the Old Woman removes. She cuts the strings off them, the Old Woman breaks the two hands and the tongues of dough to pieces.

(25) She then waves them over them and speaks as follows: "Let the tongues of these [days] be cut off! Let the words of these days be cut off!" And she throws them [into the hearth].

Afterward the Old Woman takes [a tray] and [places] (30) seven tongues [and seven hands . . .] upon it. She waves it over the two sacrificers and [speaks] as follows: "The day at which ye satisfied your hunger—see here the tongues and the hands of that day. See, the father Sun has now nailed them down." And she puts them into the hearth.

The Old Woman takes water and dough. She sprinkles the water upon them⁶ (36) and purified them. Then she waves the dough over them and speaks as follows: "Be ye cleansed of mouth and tongue!" And she puts the dough into the hearth.

They drive up a (white) sheep. The Old Woman presents it to the two sacrificers and speaks as follows: "Here is a substitute for you, (40) a substitute for your persons. Let that tongue and that curse stay in (its) mouth!" They spit into its mouth.

She speaks as follows: "Spit ye out those evil curses!" They dig a hole in the ground, cut the sheep up over it, and then put it into it.

(45) They put 1 thin sacrificial loaf down with it, she also pours out a libation of wine and they level the ground.

They drive up a black sheep, the Old Woman presents it to them⁶ and speaks as follows: "For your heads and

¹ The priestess; the text changes abruptly into the third person.*

² Probably in the Hurrian language.

³ The text ends a section here, dividing the same sentence over two sections.

⁴ i.e. destroy them.

⁵ The persons who ordered the ritual performed.

⁶ i.e. the sacrificers.

all parts of your bodies the black sheep is a substitute. In its mouth (and its) tongue (50) is the tongue of curses." She waves it over them.

The two sacrificers [spi]t into its mouth. They cut up the sheep and dismember it. They [kindle] the hearth and [burn] it.

They pour honey (and) olive oil over it. She [brea]ks a sacrificial loaf (55) and throws it into the hearth. She also pours out a libation of wine.

The Old Woman takes a small pig, she presents it to them⁶ and speaks as follows: "See! It has been fattened with grass (and) grain. Just as this one shall not see the sky and shall not see the (other) small pigs again, (ii) even so let the evil curses not see these sacrificers either!"

She waves the small pig over them, and then they kill it. They dig a hole in the ground (5) and put it down into it. They put a sacrificial loaf down with it, she also pours out a libation of wine and they level the ground.

The Old Woman makes a kneading-pan of clay. She puts into it a little dough into which she throws a little black *cumin*. She waves it over the two sacrificers (10) and speaks as follows:

"Just as this clay does not return to the clay pit and this *cumin* does not turn white and cannot be used for seed a second time;

"(as) this dough does not get into a sacrificial loaf for the gods, even so let the evil tongue not get to the body of the two sacrificers!"

(The following sections⁷ are not intelligible as yet.)

The Old Woman [waves] water over the two sacrificers and purifies them. She also [waves] the dough over them.

(30) Afterward she again makes a kneading-pan of clay and pours oil into it. She severs the blue wool and throws the severed end in. The Old Woman hides it under the coats of the two sacrificers.

and she speaks as follows: "This is the kneading-pan of Ishtar.⁸ May they get away to good life! May they hide from evil matter likewise!"

Afterwards she takes a *hupuwai* vessel and fills it with wine, plain olive oil (and) honey; she adds figs, raisins, tissue, salt (and) mutton-fat.

(40) She pours the (content of the) *hupuwai* into the hearth, breaks the *hupuwai* to pieces and speaks as follows: "Let the *hupuwai* be broken with mouth (and) tongue!"

When the Old Woman has broken the *hupuwai* to pieces, (45) she also breaks a sweet loaf and throws (the crumbs) into the hearth.

They drive up a sheep and call it "substitute." The Old Woman takes 1 sweet sacrificial loaf (and) 1 jug of wine.

While offering the sheep to the Sun-god the Old Woman speaks as follows: (50) "O Sun-god! Here is

⁷ *KUB*, xv, 39 + *IBOT*, II, 109 II 21 ff.

⁸ The allusion which may have a mythological background is unintelligible.

a substitute in their place, with mouth and tongue." She consecrates the sheep, breaks the loaf and pours out the wine. A white sheep they do not kill again; the Old Woman gets it.

(The next sections are mutilated and therefore omitted here.)

(iii 10) They light fires on the right and on the left; in between they set seven stone pillars in the ground. The Old Woman presents one sacrificial loaf weighing 1 *tarnaš* and a cheese to the two sacrificers and they touch it with their hands.

(15) The Old Woman breaks the sacrificial loaf, pours out a libation of wine and speaks as follows:

"Whoever erected these stone pillars in this one place—see, now they totter. Whatever issued from the mouths (and) the tongues of the two sacrificers on that day—let those words totter in the same way!"

The two sacrificers overturn the stone pillars with (their) feet and throw them into the fire. (25) The fine garments which they are wearing they cast off and the Old Woman gets them.

She waves a pot over them, takes the *DUG.LIŠ.GAL*⁹ off their heads and sp[eaks] as follows: "See! [I have taken the *DUG.LIŠ.GAL*] off your heads. [Let the evil] words [be taken off in the same way]!" (35) [. . .] the two sacrificers break the pot with their feet and [she says as follows: "Let them break] all the words [of mouth (and) tongue in the same way]!"

The Old Woman takes the Sun's *hay*,¹⁰ calls it *tiwariya*¹¹ and rubs down the limbs of the two sacrificers.

She speaks as follows: "Let the evil words of mouth (and) tongue be rubbed away from you!"

(iv) The Old Woman takes water with a cup or an amphora and presents it to the two sacrificers; salt is also put in. The two sacrificers pour the water over their heads, (5) they also rinse their hands (and) their eyes.

Then they pour it into the horn of an ox. The two sacrificers seal it up and the Old Woman speaks as follows:

(10) "On the day when the olden kings return and examine the state of the land,—then, and then only, shall this seal be broken."

Evocatio

Text: *KUB*, xv, 34 and its duplicates *KUB*, xv, 33a, 33b and 38. Literature: L. Zuntz, *Un testo ittita di scongiuri* (= *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti*, xcvi/2 [1937]).

When the diviners attract the gods by means of nine trails from the meadows, the mountains (and) the rivers, from the sea, from the springs, from fire, from heaven and from the earth, they take the following things: He takes a basket and in the basket (materials)

⁹ This is usually considered as a kind of vessel; this apparently does not fit here.

¹⁰ Reading in doubt.

¹¹ Again in Hurrian?

are made ready as follows: (5) there lies (in it) one *hupparaš*, upon it lies one sacrificial loaf made of fine flour, upon the loaf a (piece of) cedar is fastened and to the front (of the piece) of cedar red wool is tied.

It (the wool) is led down (to the ground). Fine oil . . . is poured into a *bitumen cup* and he *soaks* it (the wool) in it; (10) fine flour is strewn over it. Upon it 30 thin loaves of fine flour are placed. A . . . of the gods . . . , the wing of an eagle (and) the fleece of an unblemished sheep, are (also) placed there all wrapped together.

Apart (from these) are (kept) one wine jug (and) one pitcher filled with wine, (10) honey (and) fine oil mixed together, one jar of fine oil, one jar of honey; also fruit, figs, grapes, olives, barley, a broken leavened loaf, one pot filled with fat cake.

They go down from the Tawinia gate and set up a wickerwork table for the "cedar" gods on the road. (20) Upon it they place the prepared basket and in front of it they construct a fireplace for (burning) wood. They draw a length of cloth down from the wickerwork table and make it into a trail. Then they draw a trail in fine flour in front of the cloth; on the one side of the flour trail they draw a trail in honey, but on the other side they draw a trail in wine (25) (and) fine oil mixed together.

He then breaks one thin (loaf), puts fat cake upon it and places it on the ends of the trails. He breaks one thin loaf, strews it upon the trail and pours out a libation of wine. He breaks one thin loaf, puts fat cake upon it, and places it upon the path, he also pours out a libation of wine. (30) One diviner takes the red wool that had been tied to the (piece of) cedarwood from the [. . .]. *bitumen cup*, out of the fine oil, and sprinkles [the trails] with fine oil. One diviner lifts up the wing of the eagle on which the . . . is lying and squeals; the diviner speaks the . . . [. . .]. prayer. (35) He places a length of cloth over the wickerwork table, takes pebbles from the trail and the path and places them upon the table. He strews out leavened bread (and) cheese, also fruit and barley, for the god, pours out a libation of wine (and) speaks as follows:

(40) "O Cedar-gods! See! I have covered your ways with the scarf that goes with the long gown and have spread for you fine flour (and) fine oil. So walk ye over it to this place! Let no fallen tree impede your feet, let no stones inconvenience your feet! (45) The mountains shall be leveled before you, [the rivers] shall be bridged before you!" He breaks thin loaves, strews out fat cake, also pours out a libation and says:

"Let the vigorous Cedar-gods eat and drink the trails! Let them satisfy their hunger and quench their thirst! O gods, (50) in favor turn ye toward the king and the queen! Wherever ye may be, O Cedar-gods, whether in heaven or on earth, whether on mountains or in rivers, whether in the Mitanni country¹ or in the country of Kinza,² the country of Tunip, the

¹ The region between the Euphrates and Assyria in the east.

² Qadesh on the Orontes, today Tell Nebi Mendo.

country of Ugarit,³ the country of Zinzira, the country of Dunanapa, the country of Idarukatta, the country of Gatanna, the country of Alalha,⁴ (55) the country of Kinahhi,⁵ the country of Amurru, the country of Sidon, the country of Tyre, the country of Nuhasse, the country of Ugulziti, the country of Arrapha,⁶ the country of Zuzurhi;

"Whether ye are in the country of Ashur, the country of Babylon, the country of Shanbara, the country of Egypt, the country of Alasiya,⁷ the country of Alziya,⁸ the country of Papahhi, the country of Kumma, the country of Hayasa, the country of Lulluwa,⁹ the country of Arzawa, the country [of . . .], (60) [the country of . . .] . . . , the country of Talawa, the country of Masa, the country of Galkisa, the country of Kuntara, the country of Iyalanta, the country of Wilusa,¹⁰ the country of Uraya, the country of Suhma, the country of Sappuwa, [the country of . . .], the country of Partahuina, the country of Kasula, the country of Himuwa, the country of Lalha, in the Kashkean country¹¹ or in whatever other countries—(65) come ye now back to the Hatti land!

"If anyone, either [a foreigner] or a Hittite, [either a common man] or a member of the nobility, has drawn you away, entreated you, lured you away [. . .] (70) into his house [. . .], see, here we are [drawing you back] . . . (and) we are squealing.

(small gap if any)

(ii) "Turn your backs on the enemy country and on the wicked p[people]; turn your eyes toward the king and the queen! They will give you holy offerings. So [come here] in favor and receive your offerings with both hands [and . . .]! (5) Come ye forth from the enemy country and from evil uncleanness!

"Come ye to the blessed, holy, fine (and) wonderful Hatti land! Bring with you life, good health, long years, *power of procreation*, sons (and) daughters, grandchildren (and) great-grandchildren, the gods' love, the gods' kindness, (10) valor (and) . . . obedience! Lift ye from [the king (and) the queen] (their) thousand *shortcomings*! Look ye upon the king (and) the qu[een] with favor!

"Come ye back to your fine and wonderful sanctuaries! Sit ye down again on your thrones and chairs! Sit ye down again on your holy, fine (and) wonderful seats!

"Provide ye for the king (and) the queen life, good health, long years, *power of procreation*, sons (and) daughters, grandchildren (and) great-grandchildren! For the man manliness (and) valor, for the woman womanliness (and) *motherhood*!

³ Today Ras Shamra.

⁴ The capital of Mukis(hi) excavated at Atchana (Tell Aḥana).

⁵ The Hurrian form of Canaan.

⁶ Today Kirkuk in Iraq.

⁷ The island of Cyprus.

⁸ The region on the upper Tigris.

⁹ The three last mentioned countries are situated in the region where Turkey, Iran and Iraq meet today.

¹⁰ This group comprises the main countries of southern and western Anatolia.

¹¹ The region along the Black Sea in Pontus.

(20) "Throughout the land give ye love and loyalty, the gods' love, the gods' kindness, high spirits in god (and) high spirits in man, valor, its victorious arms, fertility (and) prosperity in the country, fertility of man, cattle, sheep, grain (and) wine! Grant ye to him (the king) the loyalty (25) (and) obedience of his charioteers (and) foot soldiers!"

He sprinkles fine oil (about) with the red wool and says: "Just as brightness has been imparted to this wool, even so let brightness be imparted to the persons of the Cedar-gods!"

"Just as this fine oil is soothing, (as) it is agreeable to gods (30) and agreeable to men, even so let the king and the queen of the Hatti land be agreeable to the gods! Let the soothing effect of the cedar, the *music* of the *lyres* (and) the words of the diviner be such an [alluring] inducement to the gods that they will get them called here! Wherever else ye may be, come (ye) here! If ye do not hear the first time, hear the second time! If ye do not hear the second time, (35) hear the third, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth, the seventh time! So come ye! Come back to your holy, fine (and) wonderful temples, thrones (and) chairs!"

"Turn with favor toward the king and the queen! (40) Give them life, good health, long years (and) d[ays]!" At the feet of the gods they strew out a leavened loaf (and) cheese, fruit [and figs]; they pour out wine, honey and fine oil mixed together, and he speaks as follows:

"See! At your feet I have placed for you, Cedar-gods, [a leavened loaf] (and) a cheese. So abandon ye the enemy country (45) and come back to the blessed, fine (and) wonderful Hatti land! Evil, evil sickness, fever, *hunger*, plague, pest, bad word . . . wipe out at the Hatti land and give it [to al]l [the enemy]! Those who (50) do not perform [the proper rites], those who do not [break] sacrificial loaves, [let] those [. . .]."

(considerable gap)

(The reverse of the tablet describes ceremonies designed to attract the gods from the rivers [iii 1-20], the sea [iii 21-22], the springs [iii 23-47], the mountains [iii 48-58], gap, the nether world [iv 1-26], the heaven [iv 27-40]. The tablet closes with "the bringing up of the gods," presumably to their permanent dwelling places.)

The Soldiers' Oath

Text: *KBo*, vi, 34 and its duplicate *KUB*, vii, 59. Literature: J. Friedrich, *ZA*, NF 1 (1924), 161-192, reprinted with additions in the same author's *Hethitische Studien* (1924). Excerpts are also found in Zimmern's contribution to Lehmann-Haas, *Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte*, 2nd ed. (1922), 335 f. and in J. Friedrich, *Aus dem hethitischen Schrifttum*, 2 (*AO*, xxv/2 [1925]), 16 ff. The tablet in question is marked as the second of a series entitled "When they lead the troops to the (ceremony of taking the) oath." At the beginning about 17 lines are missing.

[He¹ . . .]s and says: "[Just as this . . . cou]ld [see] and was able to find [(its) food], and (as) they have now blinded it at the place of the oath,—(15) whoever breaks these oaths, betrays the king of the Hatti land, and turns his eyes in hostile fashion upon the Hatti land, let these oaths seize him! Let them blind this man's army (20) and make it deaf! Let them not see each other, let them not hear each other! Let them make a cruel fate their lot! Below let them fetter their feet, and above let them bind their hands! (25) Just as the gods of the oath bound the hands and feet of the army of the Arzawa country² and made them unable to move, even so let them bind that man's army and make them unable to move!"

He places yeast in their hands, they *squeeze* it (30) and he says: "Is not this that you have here yeast? Just as they take this little piece of yeast, mix it (into the dough) in the kneading bowl and let the bowl stand for a day (so that) it can ferment—whoever breaks these oaths, (35) shows disrespect to the king of the Hatti land, and turns his eyes in hostile fashion upon the Hatti land, let these oaths seize him! Let him be ridden with disease! Make a cruel fate his lot!" The men (40) declare: "So be it!"

Then he places wax and mutton fat in their hands. He throws them on a flame and says: "Just as this wax melts, and just as the mutton fat dissolves,—(45) whoever breaks these oaths, (ii) [shows disrespect to the king] of the Hatti [land], let [him] melt lik[e wax], let him dissolve like [mutton fat]!" [The me]n declare: "So be it!"

(5) He places sinews (and) salt in their hands. He throws them on a flame and speaks as follows: "Just as these sinews split into fragments on the hearth, and just as the salt (10) is scattered on the hearth—whoever breaks these oaths, shows disrespect to the king of the Hatti land, and turns his eyes in hostile fashion upon the Hatti land, let these oaths seize him! (15) Let him split into fragments like the sinews, let him be scattered like the salt! Just as salt has no seed, even so let that man's name, seed, house, cattle (and) sheep perish!"

He places malt (and) malt loaf in their hands, (20) they *crush* them and he speaks as follows: "Just as they grind this malt loaf between mill stones, mix it with water, bake it and break it up—whoever breaks these oaths and does evil to the king (and) the queen, (25) the princes (and) to the Hatti land, let these oaths seize him! Let them grind their bones in the same way! Let him *soak* in the same way! Let him be broken up in the same way! Let a cruel fate be his lot!" The men declare: "So be it!"

"Just as this malt no (longer) has the power of growth, (as) one cannot take it to a field and use it as

¹ The officiating priest.

² The most important group of countries in the southern part of Anatolia bordering on the Mediterranean Sea.

seed, (as) one cannot use it as bread or store it in the storehouse—whoever (35) breaks these oaths and does evil to the king (and) the queen and the princes, even so let the gods of the oath also destroy that man's future! Let not his wife bear sons and daughters! Let his land (and) his fields have no crop, (40) and his pastures no grass! Let not his cattle (and) sheep bear calves (and) lambs!"

They bring the garments of a woman, a distaff and a mirror, they break an arrow and you speak as follows: "Is not this that you see here (45) garments of a woman? We have them here for (the ceremony of taking) the oath. Whoever breaks these oaths and does evil to the king (and) the queen (and) the princes, let these oaths change him from a man into a woman! Let them change his troops into women, (50) let them dress them in the fashion of women and cover their heads with a length of cloth! Let them break the bows, arrows (and) clubs in their hands and (iii) [let them put] in their hands distaff and mirror!"

They parade in front of them a [blind woman] and a deaf man and [you speak] as follows: "See! here is a blind woman (5) and a deaf man. Whoever does evil to the king (and) the queen, let the oaths seize him! Let them make him blind! Let them [ma]ke him [deaf]! Let them [blind] him like a blind man! Let them [deafen] him like a deaf man! Let them [annihilate him], the man (himself) (10) together with his wife, [his children] (and) his kin!"

He places a . . . stone [of a man] full of . . . in their hands and speaks as follows: "Did not this man whom you see here take the oath? (15) [At some other time] he was sworn in before the gods and then broke his oath. The oaths seized him and his inner parts are sagging out in front, he has to hold his entrails in his hands. Whoever (20) breaks these oaths, let these oaths seize him! Let his inner parts sag out in front! Let 'Ishara sons'³ [live] in his inner parts and eat him up!"

He presents to them [a . . .]. Before their eyes (25) he [throws] it on the ground; they trample it under foot and he speaks as follows: "Whoever breaks these oaths, even so let the Hatti people come and trample that man's town under foot! Let them make it bare of people!"

(30) They light [a fire]brand and trample it under foot so that it scatters here and there and he says: "Just as this one flies apart(?)—whoever breaks these oaths, even so let this man's house be robbed(?) of men, (35) cattle (and) sheep!"

You will place before them an oven. Also a plow, a cart (and) a chariot you will place before the congregation. These things they break and he speaks as follows: "Whoever breaks these oaths, let the Storm-god break his plow! Just as grass does not come [out of] the oven, let not spelt (and) barley (45) [come out] of his field, let *sahlū*⁴ come forth!"

(one mutilated section)

³ Apparently some kind of worms. ⁴ A weed commonly found on ruins.

(iv) He sprinkles water on the fire (5) and speaks to them as follows: "Just as this burning fire is snuffed out—whoever breaks these oaths, even so let these oaths seize him! Let this man's vitality, vigor (10) and future happiness be snuffed out together with (that of) his wife and his children! Let the oaths put an evil curse upon him! Let no offspring thrive in his corral, his fold (15) (and) his barnyard! From his field let grass not come forth, not even from (one) furrow!"

Ritual before Battle

Text: *KUB*, iv, 1 and duplicate *KUB*, xxxi, 156. Literature: M. Witzel, *Hethitische Keilschrift-Urkunden* (*Keilschriftliche Studien*, 4, 1924) 60-65; E. von Schuler, *Die Kaşkärer* (1965), 168-74.

When they perform the ritual at the boundary of the enemy country he consecrates one sheep to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and to the Storm-god, god Inar (and) all the gods, to Telepinus (and) the gods and goddesses of Turmitta, (5) to all . . . gods (and) the . . . gods, to all the mountains (and) rivers.

But one sheep they consecrate to Zithariyas.

(10) They speak as follows: "See! Zithariyas is appealing to all the gods. The offerings which had long been assigned to Zithariyas' worship, the countries which have fallen into turmoil—in all of them they would celebrate great festivals for him.

(16) "But now the Kashkeans¹ have taken them. The Kashkeans have begun war. They boast of their power (and) strength. They have made light of you, O gods!

"See! Zithariyas (20) is appealing to all the gods; he brings his complaints before you. So pass judgment on his case, all ye gods! Let it be of great concern to the gods!

"In fact they (the sanctuaries) have been taken away by these people not from Zithariyas alone, (25) they have been taken away from all you gods, all of you; from the Sun-goddess of Arinna, from the Storm-god of Nerik, from the Storm-god (and) from god Inar, from Telepinus (and) from all the (other) gods. From you (also) have his cities been taken.

(30) "See! Zithariyas is bringing his case before all of you, gods. Take your own case to heart! Pass judgment on your own case in passing judgment on the case of Zithariyas!

(35) "Blot out the Kashkean country, O gods! Let every single god take thought for his place of worship and win it back!

"Let Zithariyas win back his place of worship! Let him again roam those countries (40) at will! Let people again celebrate [his] great festivals! . . ."

(Gap that must have contained a ritual in which the enemy gods are summoned.)

(ii) And he speaks as follows: "O gods of the Kashkean country! We have summoned you before this assembly.

¹ A group of wild tribes living in the mountains along the shore of the Black Sea who incessantly raid and plunder on Hittite territory.

Come ye, eat (and) drink! Hear ye the accusation (5) which we bring against you!

"The gods of the Hatti land have done nothing against you, the gods of the Kashkean country. (10) They have not put you under constraint.

"But ye, the gods of the Kashkean country, began war. Ye drove the gods of the Hatti land out of their realm and took over their realm for yourselves.

(15) "The Kashkean people also began war. From the Hittites ye took away their cities and ye drove them out of their field (and) fallow and out of their vineyards.

"The gods of the Hatti land and the (Hittite) people (20) call for bloody vengeance. The [vengeance] of the Hatti gods and the vengeance of the (Hittite) people [will be wrought] on you, the gods [of the Kashkean country] and the [Kashkean people]."

(Gap that must have contained, beside the end of the preceding, a ritual of purification which intends to enable the army again to vanquish the enemy.)

(iii) "Let him eat (and) d[rink! . . . Let him] re[turn to the army] and battle the enemy!"

(5) When he has finished he goes again before the Hatti gods, and they eat up the meat and the bread. He offers libations to the Hatti gods, the Storm-god of the army (and) the Warrior-god.² They give them to drink (10) as much as they think fitting. The "master of the gods"³ receives the implements used at the feast (and) the sheepskins. They return to the army, and go to battle in this condition.

Removal of the Threat Implied in an Evil Omen

Text: *KUB*, ix, 13 + *KUB*, xxiv, 5. Literature: M. Vieyra, *RHR*, cxix (1939), 121-153. The upper third of the obverse and the corresponding part of the reverse are lost. The missing beginning must have stated the main theme of the text: a threat to the king implied in an evil omen. It must also have contained part of the treatment. It consists in the attempt at deflecting the predicted misfortune to persons who substitute for the king. The first preserved lines seem to finish the treatment of a first group of such substitutes. The better preserved part (beginning with obverse 6) deals already with a second group.

[During the night¹ the king] takes the . . . [substitutes] and goes to the *sanctuary* of the Moon-god. [He presents them to the Moon-god and] says: "In the matter about which [I prayed] to you, listen to me, Moon-god, my lord! [That omen which thou] gavest—if thou foundest fault with me, (10) (witness) that I have given [thee] straightaway [these substitutes]. These take, [but let me go fr]ee!" They drive up to the *sanctuary* a live steer [and conse]crate it [. . .].

² His Hittite name is not known; in Hattian it was Wurunkatte "king of the country."

³ Apparently the officiating priest.

¹ Restored because of the beginning of the second following section.

The king goes up to the *sanctuary* [and speaks as follows: "That] omen which thou gavest, O Moon-god—if thou foundest fault with me [and] wishedst to behold with thine own eyes [the sinner's] *abatement*, (15) [see, I, the king,] have come in person [to thy *sanctuary*] and have [given] thee these substitutes. Consider [the substitu]tion! Let these die! But, let me not die!" They hand [the substitutes over to the . . .] and he takes them away. [When] he has finished . . . ing [them], he² casts (spells of) deliverance (over him).³

He [brings a healthy prisoner to the *sanctuary*]. They anoint the prisoner with the fine oil of kingship, (20) and [he⁴ speaks] as follows: "This man (is) the king. To him [have I given] a royal name. Him have I clad [in the vestments] of kingship. Him have I crowned with the diadem. Remember ye this: That evil omen [signifies] short years (and) short days. Pursue ye this substitute!" The one shekel of silver, the one shekel of gold, the one mina of copper, (25) the one mina of tin, the one mina of iron, the one mina of *lead*, all this is *removed* from his [body].⁵ The one healthy prisoner is released, and he has him taken back to his country. The king submits to the *waving ceremony*, and afterward the king goes to bathe.

When it dawns, the king submits to the *waving ceremony* and afterward he performs the "Ritual of the House" (and) the "Pure Ritual." When it is light, the king performs the "[. . .] Rite." (30) When he goes away he takes a bath and consecrates one . . . sheep to the Sun-god under the open sky.

Words [of . . .] he speaks as follows: "Sun-god of Heaven, my lord! That omen which the Moon-god gave—if he found fault with me, accept ye, Sun-god of Heaven and (all) ye gods, these substitutes that I have given (35) and let me go free! To (appearing before) thee, I might *prefer* appearing before the Sun-goddess of Arinna." (reverse) [Afterward] he goes into [. . .] and [consecr]ates [one . . . sheep] to Eresh-kigal.⁶ He prays as follows: "Eresh-kigal, my lady! That omen which the Moon-god gave,—if (5) he found fault with me, (remember) that the Gods of Heaven have delivered me into thy hands. Take these substitutes that I have handed over to thee and let me go free! I want to see the Sun-god of Heaven with mine eyes!" They offer pieces of raw and cooked meat, (10) and the king arranges for cups at his own expense.

When night comes, he consecrates one . . . sheep for the Moon-god under the open sky and speaks as follows: "Moon-god, my lord! That omen which thou gavest—if thou foundest fault with me, (remember that) thou didst deliver me (15) into the hands of the gods of the nether world and Eresh-kigal. I made my peace with the gods of the nether world (and) handed over substitutes (to them). Take those, but let me go free! To (appearing before) thee I might *prefer* (appearing

² The officiating priest.

³ The king.

⁴ The officiating priest.

⁵ These pieces of metal must have been mentioned in the lost beginning of the text.

⁶ The Sumero-Akkadian goddess of the nether world. Read probably Lelwanis.

before) the Sun-god of Heaven." The king offers pieces of raw and cooked meat (20) and arranges for cups.

(end of text lost)

Ritual for the Erection of a House

Text: *KBo*, iv, 1 and its duplicates *KUB*, ii, 2 and *KUB*, ix, 33. Literature: M. Witzel, *Hethitische Keilschrift-Urkunden* (= *Keilschriftliche Studien*, 4 [1924]), 76-87.

(obverse)

When they rebuild a temple that had been destroyed or (build) a new house in a different place and they lay the foundations, they deposit under the foundations as follows: 1 mina of refined copper, 4 bronze pegs, 1 small iron hammer. In the center, at the place of the *kurakki* (5) he digs up the ground. He deposits the copper therein, nails it down on all sides with the pegs and afterward hits it with the hammer. While doing so he speaks as follows:

"Just as this copper is secured, (as) moreover it is firm, even so let this temple be secure! (10) Let it be firm upon the dark earth!"

He mentions the name of the sacrificer: "He who built this temple, let him be firm before the gods likewise! Graciously let him draw upon himself before the gods (the potency of) this temple for enduring life!

"Just as the four corner(stones) of the house are firm on the ground (15) and as they will not be overturned, even so let the sacrificer's well-being not overturn in future before the gods! Graciously, O god, let him draw upon himself before the gods (the potency of) this house for life, good health (and) vigor on the part of the lordship over the Hatti land (and) on the part of the throne of kingship!"

Beneath the four corner(stones), each one of them, (20) he deposits as follows: 1 foundation stone of silver, 1 foundation stone of gold, 1 foundation stone of lapis, 1 foundation stone of jasper, 1 foundation stone of marble, 1 foundation stone of iron, 1 foundation stone of copper, 1 foundation stone of bronze, 1 foundation stone of diorite. The four corner(stones) are (each) provided with these in the same way.

Beneath the four *kurakki*, each one of them, (25) he deposits as follows: he deposits 1 *kurakki* of silver, 1 *kurakki* of gold, 1 *kurakki* of lapis, 1 *kurakki* of jasper, 1 *kurakki* of iron, 1 *kurakki* of diorite, 1 *kurakki* of copper, 1 *kurakki* of bronze. While doing so he speaks as follows:

"See! This temple which we have built for thee, the god (he mentions the name of the god for whom they build it)—it is not we (30) who have (really) built it, all the gods have built it.

"The gods—those (who are) craftsmen—have built it. Telepinus has laid the foundations. The walls above them, Ea, the king of wisdom, has built (them). Timber

and stones, all the mountains have brought (them). But the mortar, the goddesses have brought (it).

(35) "They have laid foundations of silver and gold; the gold they brought from Birunduma,¹ the silver they brought from. . . . The lapis they brought from Mount Takniyara.¹ The marble they brought from the country of Kanisha.¹ The jasper they brought from the country of Elam.² The diorite they brought from the earth. The black iron of heaven they brought from heaven. Copper (and) bronze (40) they brought from Mount Taggata in Alasiya.³

"See! beneath the foundations they have deposited gold for (firm) founding. Just as the gold is firm, (as) moreover it is clean (and) strong, (as) the mind of the gods is set on it, and (as) it is dear to god and man, even so let the gods be set on this temple (and) let it be dear (to them)!"

(45) "Let the sacrificer, and (his) children and children's children likewise be dear to the gods (and gain) enduring life by their grace!"

9 *props* of silver, each one 1 shekel of weight; 9 *props* of gold, each one 1 shekel in weight; 9 *props* of iron; 9 *props* of bronze. (reverse) Beneath the cult stand he deposits 4 *props*, among them one of silver, one of gold, one of iron (and) one of bronze. At the front *kurakki* in the center he deposits 4 *props* in the same manner. Also against the *kurakki*, on the right (and) the left sides, on either he deposits 4 *props* in the same manner.

(5) Also at the four corner(stones), at each corner(stone), he deposits 4 *props* in the same manner.

A lion of gold weighing 1 shekel, 2 pairs of oxen of iron, yoked under a yoke of silver, every ox weighing 1 shekel,—beneath them are plates, and two oxen stand on one plate, (10) (while) the two other oxen stand on (the other) plate.

The weight of the plate is not laid down, nor is the weight of the yoke by which the oxen are yoked laid down. He deposits them under the front *kurakki* in the center.

Beneath the cult stand he deposits 1 cult stand of silver, 1 cult stand of gold, (15) 1 cult stand of lapis, 1 cult stand of jasper, 1 cult stand of iron, 1 cult stand of copper, 1 cult stand of bronze, 1 cult stand of marble, 1 cult stand of diorite.

Beneath the hearth (he deposits) 1 hearth of silver weighing 1 shekel, 1 hearth of gold weighing 1 shekel, 1 hearth of lapis, 1 hearth of jasper, 1 hearth of marble, 1 hearth of iron, 1 hearth of bronze, 1 hearth of diorite. (20) 4 *props*, among them one of silver, one of gold, one of iron (and) one of bronze, each one weighing 1 shekel (are also deposited there). The hearths made of stone, each one also weighs 1 shekel.

Beneath the door (he deposits) 1 door of silver weighing 1 shekel, 1 door of gold weighing 1 shekel, 1 door of lapis weighing 1 shekel, 1 door of jasper weighing 1 shekel, (25) 1 door of iron weighing 1

¹ Not otherwise known.

² The country toward the east of Babylonia.

³ The island of Cyprus.

shekel, 1 door of bronze weighing 1 shekel, 1 door of marble weighing 1 shekel, 1 door of diorite also weighing 1 shekel.

2 . . . of bronze he deposits in the gate; their weight is not laid down.

16 . . . , among them 4 of gold, 4 of silver, (30) 4 of iron (and) 4 of bronze (are also deposited); their weight is not laid down.

Ritual for the Erection of a New Palace

Text: *KUB*, xxix, 1 and its duplicates *KUB*, xxix, 2 and 3. Literature: B. Schwartz, *Orientalia*, NS xvi (1947), 23-55; the lines i 26-41 and ii 39-54 are dealt with by H. G. Güterbock, *RHA*, vi (1942-43), 102-9.

[When the king] builds [a new palace and when the time comes for roofing it] with timber, [they speak as follows:] "By consulting [the Sun-god] and the Storm-god they have found out [that it is the right time for roofing the palace which] you are building."

A. ERECTION OF THE PALACE

Plastering the Walls

(5) When you have finished [building] the palace, and [when you plaster (it)] on the inside, plaster (it) with long years [(and) plast]er (it) [with well-being]! [When you plaster (it)] on the outside, plaster (it) with awe, plaster (it) [with lordlin]ess!

Procuring Timber for the Roof

(It comes from the Mountain where the Throne rules.)

(10) The king says to the Throne: "Come! Let us go! But stay thou behind the mountains! Thou must not become my *rival*, thou must not become my in-law! Remain my [equal] (and) my friend!

"Come! Let us go to the Mountain! I, the king, will give thee glassware. Let us eat from glassware! Rule thou over the Mountain!

"To me, the king, have the gods—Sun-god and Storm-god—entrusted the land and my house. I, the king, shall rule over my land and my house. Thou shouldst not come to my house, (20) and I shall not come to thy house.

"To me, the king, have the gods granted long years; to these years there is no limit.

"To me, the king, has the Throne brought from the Sea the (insignia of) authority (and) the coach;¹ thereupon have they opened to me the land of my mother² and called me (25) Labarnas, the King.

"From then on I have *been directing my request* to the Storm-god, my father. The king has been asking the Storm-god for the timber which the rains have made strong (and) tall.

¹ Apparently considered as characteristic for a king.

² The meaning of this phrase is not at all clear.

"Under the heavens ye³ *grew*. The lion would rest beneath you, the *panther* would rest beneath you, the *bear* (30) would *hide* in you. The Storm-god, my father, kept evil away from you.

"Cattle pastured beneath you, sheep pastured beneath you. Now I, the Labarnas, the King, have claimed my share of you. I hailed the Throne, my friend (and said):

(35) "'Art thou not a friend of me, the king? Let me have that tree (that) I may cut it down!'" And the Throne answers the King: "Cut it down, cut (it) down! The Sun-god and the Storm-god have placed it at thy disposal."

Charm Spoken over the Trees

"Now come ye up from that country of yours! The Storm-god has placed you (40) at the King's disposal. They will assign work to you. He will *procure* (*experts*) for you and they will pronounce charms over you.

"Whatever is in your heart, cast it out! If (it is) a *flaw*, remove it! If (it is) an evil (45) . . . , cast it out! If (it is) a *curse*, cast it out!

"If weakness is in your heart, or (if) the ailment of the sun is in your heart, sweep it out! I, the Labarnas, the King, will come (and) put steel⁴ and iron in your heart."

B. ENTRY INTO THE NEW PALACE

(50) When the king makes his entry into the house, the Throne hails the Eagle: "Go! I am sending thee to the Sea. When thou gettest there, drive out of field and woods those who still remain there!"

(ii) That one (i.e. the Eagle) answers: "I have driven (them) out. Only Isdustaya (and) Papaya who are the eternal gods of the nether world still remain there crouching."

(5) The Throne says: "What are they doing?" That one (i.e. the Eagle) answers him: "She⁵ is holding a distaff; they are holding mirrors (and) *combs*.

"They are *spinning* the king's years. There is no limit to these years, no number (10) holds good for them."

The Throne says to the king: "Now bring all the king's sons to the palace window!"

The skilled weaver women are divided into two parties. Before (one of) them he⁶ places glassware and strews figs thereon. (15) Before the (other) he places crockery and strews grapes and fruit thereon (saying): "Soothe ye the king!

"Soothe his eyes! Keep sickness from him! Keep *terror* from him! Keep . . . from him! Keep the head-sickness from him! (20) Keep man's evil word from him! . . . keep the knee-sickness (from him)! Keep the heart-sickness (from him)!"

"Stay, great star!"⁷ (he says) and halts the mountains in their place. "Mount Pentaya, stay in thy place! (25) Thou shalt not raise the great one!⁸ Mount Harga,

³ The trees are addressed.

⁴ Literally: tin.

⁵ The feminine is chosen because of the feminine implement.

⁶ The officiating priest?

⁷ The sun is meant.

⁸ Again the sun.

stay in thy place! Thou shalt not raise the great one! Mount Tudhaliya, stay in thy place! Thou shalt not raise the great one!

"Mount [Sid]duweni⁹ (and) Mount Piskurunuwa, stay ye in your places! Ye shall not raise the great one!"

(30) [When] the king goes to the mountain to raise the great Sun, he¹⁰ performs various charms (and) incantations (all of the general kind): "Such (and) such a one has taken an ailment away from the king."

"Affliction this one has taken away. Concern this one has taken away. Awe this one has taken away. Fear (35) this one has taken away. Heart-sickness this one has taken away. Sickness this one has taken away. Old age this one has taken away. Vigor this one has given back to him. Prowess this one has given back to him."

"Come thou, Eagle! Go forth! One of my charms (40) has failed. Go to the ghats¹¹ and bring a piece of crockery!

"Upon it *put together* a lion's tail (and) a panther's tail! Keep hold of them!

"Twine them together and make them one. Place them at man's heart. (45) Let the king's heart and soul be reunited!

"Let the Sun-god and the Storm-god enter into accord with the king! Let their word become one! Entrust ye, Sun-god and Storm-god, the land to the king! (50) They have restored his years, they have restored his awesomeness.

"They have made his frame of steel.¹² They have made his head of iron. They have made his eyes those of an eagle. They have made his teeth those of a lion.

(iii) "Let Telepinu¹³ come and open [the store]house, take out wine, nine *casks*, and bring (it) to the Mountain, all gods being assembled on the Mountain! They will make the king welcome (5) and give him their approval.

"The Sun-god and the Storm-god have taken care of the king. They have renewed his strength and set no limits to his years.

"They have strewn *šepit* and *euwan* and crushed it (saying) (10): 'He who plots evil against the king, let the gods abandon him to an evil fate! Let them crush him!'"

C. PROVISIONS FOR THE WORKMEN

In whatever town he¹⁸ builds a palace, the carpenter who goes to the mountain to cut the beams (15) receives from the palace one bull, three sheep, three jugs of wine, one jug of *marnuwan*,¹⁴ ten *wageš-šar* loaves, thirty "tooth loaves," and fifty "ration loaves."

When the carpenter goes to cut the ridgepole (and) the rafters, he receives from the palace (20) twenty-five "tooth loaves" and fifty "ration loaves."

⁹ The restoration of the name is quite uncertain.

¹⁰ The officiating priest, or perhaps the king.

¹¹ The place where the dead are cremated.

¹² Literally: tin.

¹³ The king.

¹⁴ An alcoholic beverage.

When they lay the foundations, they receive from the palace one bull, one cow, and ten sheep. They sacrifice the bull to the Storm-god, and the one cow to the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

(25) They sacrifice the sheep, everyone for another deity. Loaves and wine they receive from the palace.

When they stretch the beams across, they act in the same way again.

The Festival of the Warrior-God¹

Text: *KBo*, iv, 9. From v 9 on *KUB*, xxv, 1 is a duplicate, beginning with vi 30, also *KUB*, ii, 5. Literature: J. Friedrich, *Aus dem hethitischen Schrifttum*, 2 (= *AO*, xxv/2 [1925]), 5 ff.; A. Goetze, *Kulturgeschichte Kleinasiens* (1933), 155.

(The preserved text begins in the middle of a day.)

The king remains seated. "*waganna*"² is called, but he does not perform any libation. Then the king leaves the temple of the War-god.

(5) Two palace servants (and) one major-domo march before him. The king goes to the *halentuwa* house. And if the king is so inclined, he makes a circumambulation. Just as he pleases, so (10) he does; nothing definite is laid down (about it).

Afterward they sweep the temple of the War-god. They place the raw meat of a bull, of cows, of sheep and of goats in front of the cult stand (15) before the god (all) in one and the same place.

Two silver basins for libations filled with wine they place on the right-hand side and the left-hand side of the meat.

(20) They announce: "*talīša*." The cult servants set out the *bread baskets*.

The cooks put cooked meat upon the *bread baskets*.

(25) The staff-men set up "long chairs." The king (and) the queen put on their ritual dress in the *halentuwa* house. The forecourt of the guardsmen has previously been opened and all the noblemen, (30) palace servants and guardsmen are waiting there.

Then the king (and) the queen come forth from the *halentuwa* house. (35) Two palace servants (and) one guardsman march before the king.

The noblemen, the palace servants and the guardsmen walk behind the king.

The entertainers play the *arḫammi*, (40) the *huhupal* (and) the *galgalturi*³ before (and) behind the king.

. . . stand beside the king; they dance and play *tambourines*.

(45) Other entertainers are clad in red garments. They stand beside the king, hold the hands up and

¹ His name in Hittite is unknown; if the Hattic name is to be substituted as is likely it would be Wurunkatte, i.e. "king of the land."

² The meaning of this and the following cultic calls—probably in the Hattic language—is not known.

³ Three musical instruments.

whirl around on the spot; (50) they also *recite psalmodies*.

(ii) Before the king (and) the queen enter the temple of the War-god, entertainers, *psalmodists* (and) *kitas*-priests (5) have come in and taken their places.

Then the king (and) the queen enter the temple of the War-god. The king arrives at the gateway and the dancers (10) whirl around once.

The king (and) the queen halt in the forecourt of the temple of the War-god.

The major-domo (and) the priest of god Inar—he holds a coat and the priest of god Inar (15) holds some *tuhhuesšar*.⁴ Two palace servants bring to the king (and) the queen water for their hands. The king (and) the queen rinse their hands. The chief of the palace servants hands them a linen and they wipe their hands.

(20) The priest of god Inar presents [the *tuhhuesšar*]⁴ to the king. The king. . . .⁵

The chief of the palace servants presents to the king the pennant of a gold lance (25) and he wipes his hands.

A palace servant takes the *tuhhuesšar*⁴ from the priest of god Inar. The priest of god Inar pays homage to the king.

The palace servant (30) presents the *tuhhuesšar*⁴ to the queen. The queen. . . .⁵

Then the palace servant hands the *tuhhuesšar*⁴ back to the priest of god Inar. The chief of the palace servants (35) hands to the queen the pennant of a gold lance and the queen wipes her hands.

Then the king (and) the queen enter the temple of the War-god. They prostrate themselves once before the god. (40) The entertainer recites the *kitas* calls.

The king takes his stand at the throne, but the queen enters the inner temple.

The foreman of the cooks brings *ḫattapalaš* cuts. (45) He puts down one portion before the throne and before the War-god; he puts down one at the hearth, one at the throne, one at the window, one at the bolt of the door, furthermore (50) he puts down one by the side of the hearth.

The foreman of the cooks presents a libation vessel with wine to the king. The king touches it with the hand. (iii) The foreman of the cooks pours out three libations before the throne and three for the War-god.

The foreman of the cooks and the foreman of the table-men (5) sanctify themselves.

The foreman of the cooks pours out one libation for the hearth, one for the throne, one for the window, one for the bolt of the door. Furthermore (10) he pours out one libation by the side of the hearth.

Also for the statue of Hattusilis⁶ he pours out one libation.

⁴ A material used in a purification rite.

⁵ The missing verb related to the preceding noun signifies the purifying action for which it serves.

⁶ An early king, probably Hattusilis I, a contemporary of the late Hammurabi Dynasty of Babylon.

The king prostrates himself; the entertainer recites (15), the *kitas* calls.* (See Addenda).

Then they drive out the entertainer, the liturgist, the *psalmodist* (25) and the *kitas*.

The king (and) the queen sit down on the throne. Then a palace servant brings in the pennant of a gold lance and the *ḫalmuš*.⁷ He hands the pennant of the gold lance (30) to the king, but the *ḫalmuš* he places on the throne at the king's right.

This (palace servant) also leaves. He takes his stand before the *taršanzipaš* holding a gold lance (35) and calls "*ḫašmešša*."⁸

Then the great major-domo enters holding a gold lance and also holding a staff of *šuruhḫa* wood. (40) He takes his place opposite the king.

Two palace servants bring to the king (and) the queen water for (washing their) hands in a basin. The chief [of the palace] servants [holds a linen in readiness] behind them.

(one section destroyed)

(iv) The palace servants give [the king (and) the queen water] and the king (and) the queen rinse [their hands]. The chief of the [palace servants] hands [them a linen] and the king (and) the queen wipe [their] hands.

(5) They leave and the great major-domo also leaves. A palace servant brings a gold lance and a *mukar*.⁹ He proceeds to place (it) on the throne (10) beneath the *mari* . . . at the king's right, and he leaves (again). He takes his stand over the *bread baskets* (set out) for the palace servants.

The great major-domo comes forward (15) and takes his stand opposite the king. Two palace servants put two pieces of linen cloth upon the knees of the king (and) the queen.

The palace servants leave again and take their stand (20) over the *bread baskets* (set out) for palace servants.

The great major-domo gives a sign with (his) gold lance, and calls "*mišša*."¹⁰ He then brings the gold lance and puts it at the king's left (25) against the wall.

Then the foreman of the table-men brings in a sacred table. Three guardsmen walk at the right side of the table; they hold gold lances (30) and three staffs of *šuruhḫa* -wood.

The great major-domo comes forth to face the table and stands behind the foreman of the table-men. He marches before him and gets hold of the table from underneath (35) the foreman of the tablemen lifts it.

The chief of the palace servants and all the palace servants walk at the right-hand side of the table. The foreman of the table-men (40) sets up the table for the king. The chief of the palace servants leaves (again)

⁷ Apparently this is the Hittite word for the "lituus" which is so often seen in the hand of the king on contemporary monuments.

⁸ A cultic call of unknown meaning.

⁹ Probably a musical instrument, either a lyre or a drum.

¹⁰ Another cultic call of unknown meaning.

and takes his stand over the *bread baskets*. All the palace servants squat down.

(45) The great major-domo and the chief of the palace servants leave. The great major-domo stands behind the hearth and takes his place over the *bread baskets* (set out) for the great major-domo. But the foreman of the table-men (50) leaves.

The three guardsmen who had marched at the right of the table, leave (again). (v) They squat down over their *bread baskets*.

A single guardsman takes from them the lances and the staffs which they hold (5) and proceeds to put them with the gold lance of the great major-domo against the wall. That (guardsman) squats down over his *bread basket*.

A herald comes forward (10) and the table-men of first rank take their stand.

The sweeper brings one sweet loaf. He hands it to a palace servant. The palace servant hands it to the chief of the palace servants. But the chief of the palace servants breaks it *on* a gold lance for god Inar.

(15) The chief of the palace servants hands it back to the palace servant. The palace servant hands it back to the sweeper.

But in the forecourt *zeriyalli* covered with linen cloths have been standing ready beforehand.

(20) A herald goes in front of the princes and seats them.

Then the herald leaves (again) and marches in front of the cooks of higher rank. The cooks of higher rank take their stand.

Then the herald leaves (again) for another time (25) and marches before the holy priests, the Hittite EN (and) the mother-of-god of (god) Halkis¹¹ and seats them.

Then the great major-domo goes out to the forecourt and says to the herald: "*zinar zinar*."

But the herald goes before the gate (35) and says to the musicians: "*zinar zinar*." Then the musicians lift the ISHTAR instruments. The herald marches in front of the musicians who carry the ISHTAR instruments in.

(40) They take their place in front of the *taršanzipaš*.

The liturgists, the entertainers, the *psalmodists* and the *kitaš*-priests walk with the same ISHTAR instruments.

(45) They go and take their seats.

The cooks serve "pot," water (and) meat. They distribute cold fat.

The herald marches before the *ubarus*, the master of the *zahartiš* of the inner temple, and the dignitaries and seats them.

(vi) When the "pots" are distributed, the great major-domo announces the *marnuwan*¹² to the king: "Shall they serve the *marnuwan*?" and they serve the *marnuwan* to the congregation.

¹¹ The goddess of grain.

¹² An alcoholic beverage.

(5) The king throws the linen away. If he throws it toward the side where the palace servants have squatted down, the palace servants take it. But if (10) he throws it toward the side where the guardsmen have squatted down, the guardsmen take it. They hand it to the table-men.

The king gives a sign with his eyes. The sweepers (15) sweep the floor.

The great major-domo calls to the palace servants: "*mišša*."¹³ Two palace servants bring to the king (and) the queen water for (washing) the hands in a golden basin. (20) The chief of the palace servants holds a linen ready behind them. The king (and) the queen rinse their hands. The chief of the palace servants hands them the linen and they wipe their hands. They leave (again).

(25) Then the cupbearer of squatting comes forth. The great cupbearer and a palace servant (acting as) cupbearer give to the king (and) the queen (the amount of) *marnuwan*¹² (necessary) for (the) drinking (ceremony).

(30) The king (and) the queen drink in standing position (god) Tauri. The great Ishtar instruments play, but they do not sing and there are no sacrificial loaves.¹⁴

(In the following, king and queen "drink" various gods in slightly varying ways.)

Then the cupbearer of squatting comes forth.¹⁵

The great major-domo enters and announces to the king that the "dog-men" will clad themselves with their proper vestments and deliver . . . , silver (and) gold.

The table-man (selects) two *tunnaptaš* loaves weighing 2 seah, (50) one of them white, the other red, and brings them from the table. Upon them lies an open cheese. He places them before the window.

The herald marches before the smiths. (60) Then the smiths (iv) bring in two silver heads of bulls. In front of them marches the cupbearer in his (ritual) dress.

(4 mutilated sections¹⁶)

(21) The cupbearer seizes [the . . . (and)] the horns of the two silver bull heads and pours out a libation by the side of the hearth. They carry them (25) out (again).

The table-man takes the *tunnaptaš* loaves [from the table] and they carry those out (again).

Then he fills the two silver bull heads with wine. (30) [The . . . (and) the . . .] distribute the *tunnaptaš* loaves.

(In the following, the king and the queen "drink" more gods.)

(v 17) When the *psalmodist* says so, the citizens and the congregation pay homage to the king once.

(20) The cupbearer presents once an *išgaruh* vessel with wine.

The cupbearer brings from outside one sacrificial loaf

¹³ The same cultic call as above; see n.10.

¹⁴ *KBo*, iv, 9 ends here.

¹⁵ *KUB*, xxv, i iii 41 ff.

¹⁶ *KUB*, xxv, i iv 4-20.

(made) of *šepit* weighing 3 seah. (25) The king breaks it, takes a bite and then they take it out (again).

The *ubarus* pay homage to the king three times and sit down.

(30) Then the cupbearer of squatting comes forth.

The great major-domo (and) the cupbearer—he holds his coat in his hands, but the cupbearer (35) holds a silver cup with wine. He offers that to the king.

The cupbearer hands the silver cup with wine to the king. The great major-domo (40) walks out backwards, while his eyes are directed toward the king.

He takes his stand beside the hearth.

(45) The great major-domo (and) the cupbearer—he discards his coat, and the cupbearer pays homage to the king. Then the great major-domo takes his coat up again.

(50) He then brings it to the king. Then the cupbearer sets up the cup for the king. The great major-domo seizes it (and the coat) with his left.

(55) Then they go back and take their stand beside the hearth. The cupbearer squats down by the side of the hearth. (vi) The great major-domo leaves. Then

the ZABBAR.DIB enters to squat down (*with*) the cupbearer. He takes the silver cup with wine away, (5) and they take it out (again).

Then the cult servants bring in a *bread basket*, . . . (and) cooked meat. (10) They offer it to the king.

The cupbearer who has been squatting beside the hearth gets up and pays homage to the king. (15) He takes the *bread basket* and he carries it out (again).

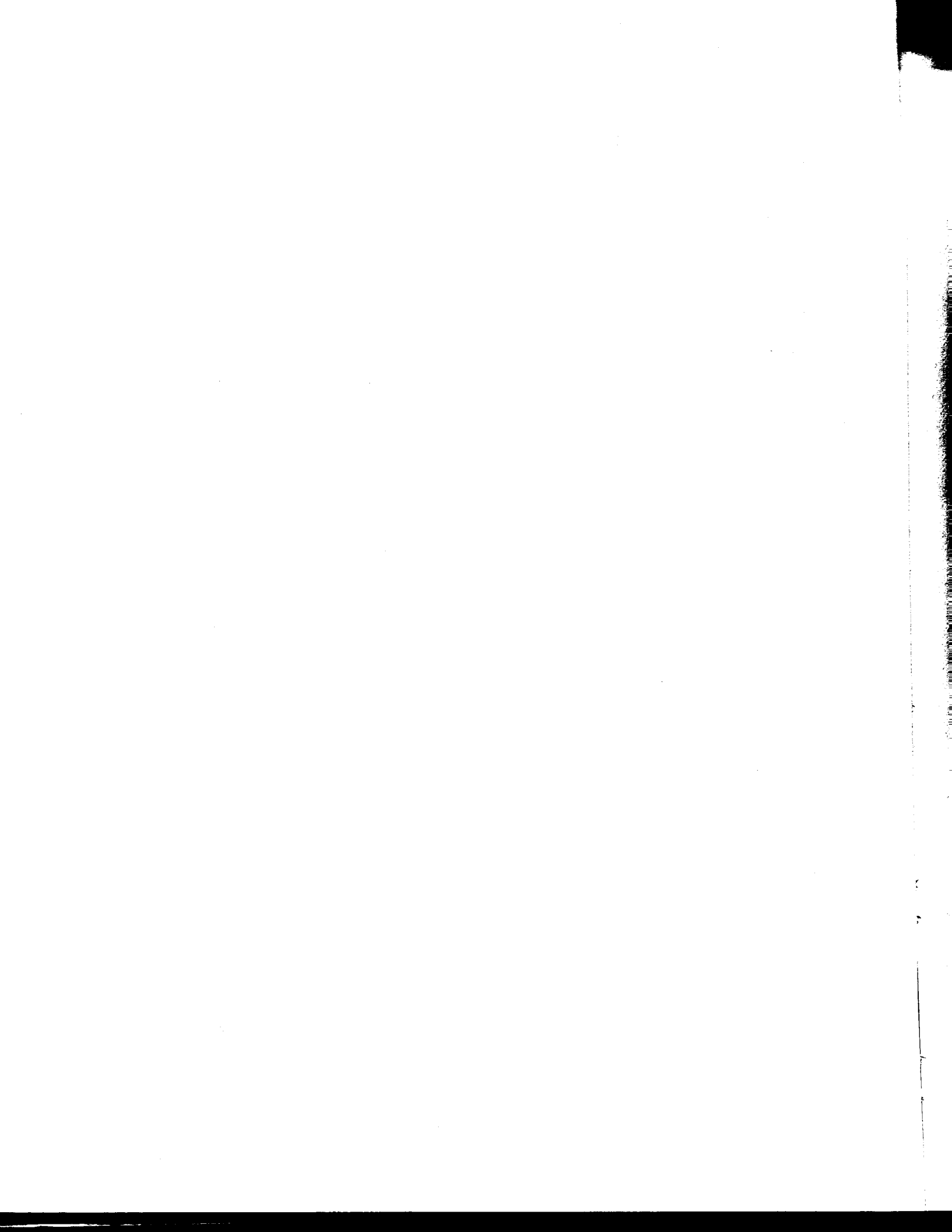
The herald makes the *ubarus* and the congregation rise (21) and they stand.

Two palace servants take the linen from the knees of the king (and) the queen.

(25) The king (and) the queen drink in standing position the . . . Sun-god. The liturgists sing. They play the *arkammi*, the *galgalturi* and the *huhupal* (30) and sing psalmodies.

The cupbearer brings one sacrificial loaf of flour weighing a *pārisu* and 3 *uḫnu* from the outside. He gives them to the king and the king breaks them. Then he takes them out (again).

. . . .



V. Hymns and Prayers



Egyptian Hymns and Prayers

TRANSLATOR: JOHN A. WILSON

A Hymn to Amon-Re

Egypt's world position under her Empire produced strong tendencies toward centralization and unification of Egyptian religion, with universalism and with syncretism of the gods. The following hymn antedates the Amarna Revolution. The imperial god Amon-Re is here viewed as supreme and as the force which creates and sustains life.

Papyrus Boulaq 17 in the Cairo Museum dates from the Eighteenth Dynasty (1550-1350 B.C.). It was published by A. Mariette, *Les Papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq* (Paris, 1871-76), II, Pls. XI-XIII. A facsimile of six columns is in G. Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke*, II (Leipzig, 1927), 33-34. The text was studied by E. Grébaut, *Hymne à Ammon-Ra* (Paris, 1874). The manuscript is divided by marks of pause into four stanzas. Selim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux du moyen empire* (Cairo, 1928), 157-93, pointed out that British Museum statue 40959, which has been dated to the Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties (1775-1575 B.C.), carries this hymn in broken context. Translated by Erman, *LAÉ*, 282-88.

ADORATION of Amon-Re, the Bull Residing in Heliopolis, chief of all gods, the good god, the beloved, who gives life to all that is warm and to all good cattle.

Hail to thee, Amon-Re,
Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Presiding
over Karnak,
Bull of His Mother,¹ Presiding over His Fields!
Far-reaching of stride, presiding over Upper Egypt,
Lord of the Madjoi and ruler of Punt,²
Eldest of heaven, first-born of earth,
Lord of what is, enduring in all things, enduring in
all things. (5)
UNIQUE IN HIS NATURE LIKE THE FLUID of the gods,
The goodly bull of the Ennead, chief of all gods,
The lord of truth and father of the gods.
Who made mankind and created the beasts,
Lord of what is, who created the fruit tree,
Made herbage, and gave life to cattle.
The goodly daemon whom Ptah made,

(ii)

The goodly beloved youth to whom the gods give
praise, (1)
Who made what is below and what is above,
Who illuminates the Two Lands
And crosses the heavens in peace:
The King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Re, the
triumphant,³
Chief of the Two Lands,
Great of strength, lord of reverence,

¹ As sun-god, Amon-Re recreated himself every day.

² Regions to the south and southeast of Egypt.

³ Written as though Amon-Re were a former pharaoh.

The chief one, who made the entire earth.
MORE DISTINGUISHED IN NATURE THAN any (other) god,
In whose beauty the gods rejoice,
To whom is given jubilation in the Per-wer,
Who is given ceremonial appearance in the Per-nezer.⁴
Whose fragrance the gods love, when he comes from
Punt,
Rich in perfume, when he comes down (from)
Madjoi, (5)
The Beautiful of Face who comes (from) God's
Land.⁵
The gods FAWN (at) his feet,
According as they recognize his majesty as their lord,
The lord of fear, great of dread,
Rich in might, terrible of appearances,
Flourishing in offerings and making provisions.
Jubilation to thee who made the gods,
Raised the heavens and laid down the ground!

(iii)

THE END.

(1)

He who awakes in health, Min-Amon,⁶
Lord of eternity, who made everlastingness,
Lord of praise, presiding over [the Ennead],
Firm of horns, beautiful of face,
Lord of the uraeus-serpent, lofty of plumes,
Beautiful of diadem, and lofty of White Crown.
The serpent-coil and the Double Crown, *these are*
before him,
The aromatic gum which is in the palace,
The Double Crown, the head-cloth, and the Blue
Crown.
Beautiful of face, when he receives the *atef*-crown,
He whom the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt love,
Lord of the Double Crown, when he receives the
ames-staff, (5)
Lord of the *mekes*-scepter, holding the flail.⁷
THE GOODLY ruler, CROWNED WITH THE WHITE CROWN,
The lord of rays, who makes brilliance,
To whom the gods give thanksgiving,
Who extends his arms to him whom he loves,
(But) his enemy is consumed by a flame.
It is his Eye that overthrows the rebels,
That sends its spear into him that sucks up Nun,

⁴ The *Per-wer*, "Great House," was the religious capital of Upper Egypt at el-Kab; the *Per-nezer* was the counterpart for Lower Egypt at Buto.

⁵ "God's Land" was the east generally, the land of the rising sun. The countries south and east of Egypt were the incense-bearing lands.

⁶ Amon had strong derivative ties with the old god of procreation Min of Koptos.

⁷ The text describes Amon-Re with the various accoutrements of an Egyptian pharaoh.

(iv)

And makes the fiend disgorge what he has swallowed.⁸ (1)

HAIL TO THEE, O Re, lord of truth!
Whose shrine is hidden,⁹ the lord of the gods,
Khepri in the midst of his barque,
Who gave commands, and the gods came into being.¹⁰
Atum, who made the people,
Distinguished their nature, made their life,
And separated colors, one from another.
Who hears the prayer of him who is in captivity,
Gracious of heart in the face of an appeal to him.
SAVING THE FEARFUL FROM THE TERRIBLE OF HEART,
Judging the weak and the injured. (5)
Lord of Perception, in whose mouth Command is placed,¹¹

For love of whom the Nile has come,
Possessor of sweetness, greatly beloved;
When he comes, the people live.
He who gives scope to every eye that may be made in Nun,¹²
Whose loveliness has created the light,

(v)

In whose beauty the gods rejoice; (1)
Their hearts live when they see him.
THE END.

O Re, ADORED IN KARNAK,
Great of appearances in the House of the *Benben*,¹³
The Heliopolitan, lord of the New Moon Feast,
For whom the Sixth-Day and Quarter Month feasts are celebrated.¹⁴

The Sovereign—life, prosperity, health!—lord of all gods;
[They] behold him in the midst of the horizon,
The overlord of men of *the silent land*,¹⁵
Whose name is hidden from his children,
In this his name of Amon.¹⁶
HAIL TO THEE, WHO ART IN PEACE!
Lord of joy, terrible of appearances,
Lord of the uraeus-serpent, lofty of plumes, (5)
Beautiful of diadem, and lofty of White Crown.
The gods love to see thee
With the Double Crown fixed upon thy brow.
The love of thee is spread throughout the Two Lands,
When thy rays shine forth in the eyes.
The good of the people is thy arising;
The cattle grow languid when thou shinest.
The love of thee is in the southern sky;

⁸ The Eye of the sun repulsed the Apophis-dragon, which tried to check the journey of the sun. cf. pp. 11-12 above.

⁹ A play on Amon and *amen* "hidden, secret."

¹⁰ A play on Khepri and *kheper* "come into being."

¹¹ *Sia* "Perception," and *Hu* "Authoritative Command," were personified forces of creative rule.

¹² Nun was the primeval waters out of which life came. "Every eye" is figurative for "everybody."

¹³ The sacred pyramidion stone in Heliopolis.

¹⁴ The relation of the sun-god to these moon festivals is not very clear.

¹⁵ The necropolis. Or, "men who are silent," i.e. submissive?

¹⁶ See n.9 above.

(vi)

The sweetness of thee is in the northern sky. (1)
The beauty of thee carries away hearts;
The love of thee makes arms languid;
Thy beautiful form relaxes the hands;
And hearts are forgetful at the sight of thee.
THOU ART the sole one, WHO MADE [ALL] THAT IS,
[The] solitary sole [one], who made what exists,
From whose eyes mankind came forth,
And upon whose mouth the gods came into being.¹⁷
He who made herbage [for] the cattle,
And the fruit tree for mankind,
Who made that (on which) the fish in the river may live, (5)
And the birds *soaring in* the sky.
He who gives breath to that which is in the egg,
Gives life to the son of the slug,
And makes that on which gnats may live,
And worms and flies in like manner;
Who supplies the needs of the mice in their holes,
And gives life to flying things in every tree.
HAIL TO THEE, WHO DID ALL THIS!
Solitary sole one, with many hands,¹⁸

(vii)

Who spends the night wakeful, while all men are asleep, (1)
Seeking benefit for his creatures.
Amon, enduring in all things, Atum and Har-akhti—
Praises are thine, when they all say:
"Jubilation to thee, because thou weariest thyself with us!
Salaams to thee, because thou didst create us!"
HAIL TO THEE FOR ALL BEASTS!
Jubilation to thee for every foreign country—
To the height of heaven, to the width of earth,
To the depth of the Great Green Sea!
The gods are bowing down to thy majesty (5)
And exalting the might of him who created them,
Rejoicing at the approach of him who begot them.
They say to thee: "Welcome in peace!
Father of the fathers of all the gods,
Who raised the heavens and laid down the ground,
WHO MADE WHAT IS AND CREATED WHAT EXISTS;
Sovereign—life, prosperity, health!—and chief of the gods!

(viii)

We praise thy might, according as thou didst make us. (1)
Let (us) act for thee, because thou brought us forth.
We give thee thanksgiving because thou hast wearied thyself with us!"
HAIL TO THEE, WHO MADE ALL THAT IS!
Lord of truth and father of the gods,
Who made mortals and created beasts,

¹⁷ A reference to the myth that mortals came into being as the tears of the creator-god, gods as his spittle. cf. p. 6 above.

¹⁸ Since he was alone at creation, he needed many hands for his work.

Lord of the grain,
Who made (also) the living of the beasts of the
desert.

Amon, the bull beautiful of countenance,
The beloved in Karnak,
Great of appearances in the House of the *Benben*,
Taking again the diadem in Heliopolis,
Who judges the Two in the great broad hall,¹⁹ (5)
The chief of the Great Ennead.

THE SOLITARY SOLE ONE, WITHOUT HIS PEER,
Presiding over Karnak,
The Heliopolitan, presiding over his Ennead,
And living on truth every day.
The horizon-dweller, Horus of the east,
From whom the desert creates silver and gold,
Genuine lapis lazuli for love of him,

(ix)

Benzoin and various incenses from Madjoi, (1)
And fresh myrrh for thy nostrils—
Beautiful of face when coming (from) Madjoi!
Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands,
Presiding over Karnak,
The Heliopolitan, presiding over his harem!
THE END.

The sole king, like the *fluid* of the gods,
With many names, unknown in number,²⁰
Rising in the eastern horizon,
And going to rest in the western horizon;
Who overthrows his enemies,
(RE)BORN EARLY EVERY DAY.
Thoth lifts up his two eyes,²¹ (5)
And satisfies him with his effective deeds.
The gods rejoice in his beauty,
He whom his apes exalt.²²
Lord of the evening barque and the morning barque;
They cross Nun in peace for thee.
Thy CREW IS IN JOY,
When they see the overthrow of the rebel,²³
His body licked up by the knife.

(x)

Fire has devoured him; (1)
His soul is more consumed than his body.
That dragon, his (power of) motion is taken away.
The gods are in joy,
The crew of Re is in satisfaction,
Heliopolis is in joy,
For the enemies of Atum are overthrown.
Karnak is in satisfaction, Heliopolis is in joy,
The heart of the Lady of Life is glad,²⁴
For the enemy of her lord is overthrown.

¹⁹ As supreme god, he presided over the trial between Horus and Seth.
cf. pp. 14-17 above.

²⁰ cf. the myth of the names of Re, pp. 12-14 above.

²¹ Sun and moon.

²² At dawn apes warm themselves in the sun's rays.

²³ cf. n.8 above.

²⁴ Epithet of a goddess, here probably the Eye of the Sun.

The gods of Babylon are in jubilation,²⁵
They who are in the shrines are salaaming, (5)
WHEN THEY SEE HIM RICH IN HIS MIGHT.
The daemon of the gods,
The righteous one, Lord of Karnak,
In this thy name of Maker of Righteousness;
The lord of provisions, bull of *offerings*,
In this thy name of Amon, Bull of His Mother;
Maker of all mankind,
Creator and maker of all that is,

(xi)

In this thy name of Atum-Khepri.²⁶ (1)
Great falcon, festive of bosom,
Beautiful of face, festive of breast,
Pleasing of form, lofty of plume,
On whose brow the two uraei *flutter*.
To whom the hearts of mankind make approach,
To whom the people turn about;
Who makes festive the Two Lands with his comings
forth.
Hail to thee, Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the
Two Lands, (5)
Whose city loves his rising!
IT HAS COME (TO ITS END) . . .

A Universalist Hymn to the Sun

The forces of empire and of international contacts were moving Egypt toward universalism and a partial approach to monotheism, even before the Amarna Revolution. One of the clearest expressions of the new spirit comes from a hymn to the sun-god on behalf of two brothers named Seth and Horus.

The date and provenience of the text are given in the facts that Seth and Horus were architects at Thebes under Amenhotep III (about 1413-1377 B.C.). The hymn occurs on two stelae, British Museum 826 and the badly broken Cairo 34051.* The publications are *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*, VIII (ed. by I. E. S. Edwards; London, 1939), 22-25, Pl. XXI; A. Varille in *BIFAO*, XLI (1942), 25-30; and the comments by J. S. F. Garnot in *JEA*, xxxv (1949), 63-88.¹

Praising Amon, when he rises as Har-akhti, by the Overseer of the Works of Amon, Seth, and the Overseer of the Works of Amon, Horus. They say:

Hail to thee, beautiful Re of every day, who rises at dawn without ceasing, Khepri wearying (himself) with labor! Thy rays are in (one's) face, without one knowing it. Fine gold is not like the radiance of thee. Thou who hast constructed thyself,² thou didst fashion

²⁵ Egyptian Babylon was a city near modern Cairo.

²⁶ *Ta-tem* "all mankind," provides a pun for Atum, *sekheper* "creator," a pun for Khepri.

¹ Amon Re Har-akhti, himself a syncretic deity, is greeted as the "sole lord" of universal sway, but this does not preclude the worship of other deities. In the scenes and texts surrounding the main inscription, the brothers give service to Osiris, Anubis, Amon-Re, Mut, Khonsu, Hat-Hor in two forms, Re Har-akhti, Sokar, Isis, and the deified queen Ahmes Nefert-iri.

² "Thou who hast Ptah'ed thyself," a play on the name of Ptah, the fashioner-god. The passages from "Thy rays . . ." to ". . . not shaped!" occur also in the hymn to the rising sun, the 15th chapter of the Book

thy body, a shaper who was (himself) not shaped; unique in his nature, passing eternity, the distant one, under whose guidance are millions of ways, just as thy radiance is like the radiance of heaven and thy color glistens more than its surface.

When thou crossest the sky, all faces behold thee, (but) when thou departest, thou art hidden from their faces. (5) Thou presentest thyself daily at dawn. Steadfast is thy sailing which carries thy majesty. A brief day—and thou racest a course of millions and hundred-thousands of leagues. Every day under thee is an instant, and when it passes, thou settest. So also thou hast completed the hours of the night: thou hast regulated it without a pause coming in thy labors.³

All eyes see through thee, and they have no fulfillment when thy majesty sets. Thou bestirrest thyself early to rise at dawn. Thy rays open the wakeful eyes. When thou settest in *Manu*,⁴ then they sleep in the manner of death.

Hail to thee, sun disc⁵ of the daytime, creator of all and maker of their living! Great falcon, bright of plumage, scarab beetle who has elevated himself, self-created, who was not born! Horus, the first-born in the midst of the sky-goddess, for whom they make jubilation (10) at rising, as well as at his setting! The fashioner of that which the soil produces, the Khnum and Amon of mankind.⁶ He who seizes upon the Two Lands, (from) great to small. A mother of profit to gods and men; a patient craftsman, greatly wearying (himself) as their maker, without number; valiant herdsman, driving his cattle, their refuge and the maker of their living.

Runner, racer, courser! Khepri, whose birth was distinct, whose beauty was upraised in the body of the sky-goddess. He who illuminates the Two Lands with his disc, the primordial one of the Two Lands, who made himself and who beheld what he would make.

The sole lord, who reaches the ends of the lands every day, being (thus) one who sees them that tread thereon. He who rises in heaven, (his) form being the sun. He makes the seasons by months, heat when he wishes, and cold when he wishes. He makes the body lax, or he gathers it together. Every land chatters⁷ at his rising every day, in order to praise him. . . .⁸

Amon as the Sole God

The following hymns have been characterized as monotheistic in spirit. They come from the Nineteenth Dynasty, subsequent

of the Dead; E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead* (London, 1898), Text Vol., 41-42.

³ Most of this paragraph occurs also in the Book of the Dead hymn just noted.

⁴ The western mountain.

⁵ The word is Egyptian *Aton*.

⁶ The gods' names carry a pun: "the hidden builder of mankind."

⁷ The picture is that of the apes who greet the warmth of the morning sun with jabberings and gesticulations.

⁸ The final 7 lines of the stela carry successive statements by the two brothers. Seth avows: "I am a just man, whose abomination is deceit, not content with any words of him who speaks equivocally—except for my brother, like unto me: I am content with his ideas, for he came forth from the womb together with me on that (same) day." Each twin emphasizes his good works for Amon, in asking benefits from that god.

to the Amarna Revolution. They are extracts from a long document in praise of the imperial god Amon-Re of Thebes and treat that deity as the sole god, or, perhaps, as the first principle and the sole god of immediate attention.

The bibliography for Leyden Papyrus I 350 was given on p. 8 above.¹

HUNDREDTH STANZA.

The first to come into being in the earliest times, Amon, who came into being at the beginning, so that his mysterious nature is unknown. No god came into being before him; there was no other (iv 10) god with him, so that he might tell his form. He had no mother, after whom his name might have been made. He had no father who had begotten him and who might have said: "This is I!" Building his own egg, a daemon mysterious of birth, who created his (own) beauty, the divine god who came into being by himself. All (other) gods came into being after he began himself.

TWO-HUNDREDTH STANZA.

Mysterious of form, glistening of appearance, the marvelous god of many forms. All (other) gods boast of him, to magnify themselves through his beauty, according as he is divine.² Re himself is united with his body. He is the great one who is in Heliopolis.³ He is called Ta-tenen,⁴ and Amon who came forth from Nun, *for he leads the people*. Another of his forms is the Ogdoad.⁵ The procreator of the (15) primeval gods, who brought Re to birth; he completed himself as Atum,⁶ a single body with him. He is the All-Lord, the beginning of that which is. His soul, they say, is that which is in heaven. It is he who is in the underworld and presides over the East; his soul is in heaven, his body is in the West, and his statue is in Hermonthis, heralding his appearances.⁷

One is Amon, hiding himself from them,⁸ concealing himself from the (other) gods, so that his (very) color is unknown. He is far from heaven, he is *absent from* the Underworld, (so that) no gods know his true form.⁹ His image is not *displayed* in writings. No one bears witness to him . . . He is too mysterious that his majesty might be disclosed, he is too great that (men) should ask about him, too powerful that he might be known. (20) Instantly (one) falls in a death of violence at the utterance of his mysterious name, unwittingly or wittingly.¹⁰ No (other) god knows how to *call him* by it, the Soul who hides his name, according as he is mysterious.

¹ In the papyrus the 100th stanza is iv 9-11, the 200th is iv 12-21, the 300th is iv 21-26, and the 600th is v 16-vi 1.

² The other gods are proud to be subsumed into his being.

³ Atum.

⁴ The procreator-god of Memphis.

⁵ The "Eight," the precreation gods, including the abysmal waters, Nun.

⁶ Pun: *tem* "complete," and Atum.

⁷ The statue was not the god himself, but gave opportunity for his appearances at a cult-seat of his.

⁸ The name Amon may mean "hidden."

⁹ Probably invisibility, rather than absence.

¹⁰ His secret name carries the blight of awful holiness. cf. pp. 12-14 above.

THREE-HUNDREDTH STANZA.

All gods are three: Amon, Re, and Ptah, and there is no second to them.¹¹ "Hidden" is his name as Amon,¹² he is Re in face, and his body is Ptah. Their cities are on earth, abiding forever: Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis unto eternity.

A message is sent from heaven, is heard in Heliopolis, and is repeated in Memphis to the Fair of Face.¹³ It is composed in a despatch by the writing of Thoth, with regard to the City of Amon *and their (right to) possess* their property. The matter is answered in Thebes, and a statement is issued: "It¹⁴ belongs to the Ennead." Everything that issues from his mouth *is (itself)* Amon. The gods are established according to command *because of* him. (25) A message is sent: "It¹⁵ shall slay or shall let live. Life and death are with it for everybody."

Only he (is): Amon, with Re, [and with Ptah]—together three. . . .

(SIX-HUNDREDTH STANZA).¹⁶

Perception is his heart, Command is his lips.¹⁷ . . . When he enters the two caverns which are under his feet, the Nile comes forth from the grotto under his sandals.¹⁸ His soul is Shu, his heart is [Tef]nut. He is Har-akhti who is in (v 20) the heaven; his right eye is day, his left eye is night.¹⁹ (Thus) he is one who leads *people* to every way. His body is Nun, and he who is in it is the Nile, giving birth to whatever is and making to live what exists. The warmth of him is breath for every nostril.

Fate and Fortune are with him for everybody. His wife is the fertile field; he impregnates her, for his seed is the fruit tree, and his fluid is the grain. . . .(vi 1) . . . The faces of everybody are on him among men *and* gods. He is *Perception*.

The God Amon as Healer and Magician

A Nineteenth Dynasty manuscript contains poetical praise of the Theban god Amon-Re. In one stanza of this composition the god is treated as a divine physician and magical healer.

The bibliography for Leyden Papyrus I 350 was given on p. 8 above.¹

¹¹ The text does not say: "There is no *fourth* to them." This is a statement of trinity, the three chief gods of Egypt subsumed into one of them, Amon.

¹² cf. n.8 above.

¹³ Ptah. The two messages state the primacy of Thebes. As various commentators have pointed out, the text has probable relation to the resumption of power by Thebes after the Amarna Revolution.

¹⁴ Probably Thebes, possibly the authority claimed by Thebes.

¹⁵ Thebes.

¹⁶ The rubricized heading is lacking in the papyrus.

¹⁷ *Sia* "cognitive perception," and *Hu* "authoritative utterance," were deified as two attributes of rule, through the ability to comprehend a situation and the power to create by command.

¹⁸ The Nile was supposed to flow forth from two subterranean caves, sometimes located at Elephantine. cf. p. 32, n.11.

¹⁹ Sun and moon.

¹ From iii 14-22 of the papyrus.

SEVENTIETH STANZA.²

He who dissolves² evils and dispels ailments; a physician who heals the eye without having remedies, (iii 15) opening the eyes and driving away the squint; . . . Amon. Rescuing whom he desires, even though he be in the Underworld; who saves (a man) from Fate as his heart directs.³ To him belong eyes as well as ears wherever he goes, for the benefit of him whom he loves. Hearing the prayers of him who summons him, coming from afar in the completion of a moment for him who calls to him. He makes a lifetime long or shortens it. He gives more than that which is fated to him whom he loves.

Amon is a water-charm when his name is (pronounced) over the flood. The crocodile has no power when his name is pronounced. The breeze *opposing* the rebellious wind *and* turning (*it*) back. The *sportive* (*wind*) ceases at the (mere) thought (20) of him. Beneficial of mouth at the time of the melee,⁴ and a sweet breeze for him who calls to him. Rescuing the faint, the *mild* god, efficient of plans. He belongs to him who bends the back to him when he is in his vicinity. He is more effective than millions for him who sets him in his heart. One (man) is more valiant than hundred-thousands because of his name, the goodly protector in truth, successfully seizing upon his opportunity, without being opposed.

The Hymn to the Aton

The Pharaoh Amen-hotep IV broke with the established religion of Egypt and instituted the worship of the Aton, the sun disc as the source of life. "The Amarna Revolution" attempted a distinct break with Egypt's traditional and static ways of life in religion, politics, art, and literature. Pharaoh changed his name to Akh-en-Aton (perhaps "He Who Is Serviceable to the Aton") and moved his capital from Thebes to Tell el-Amarna. Pharaoh's own attitude to the god is expressed in the famous hymn which follows. Beyond doubt, the hymn shows the universality and beneficence of the creating and re-creating sun disc. A similarity of spirit and wording to the 104th Psalm has often been noted, and a direct relation between the two has been argued.¹ Because Akh-en-Aton was devoted to this god alone, the Amarna religion has been called monotheistic. This is a debatable question, and a reserved attitude would note that only Akh-en-Aton and his family worshiped the Aton, Akh-en-Aton's courtiers worshiped Akh-en-Aton himself, and the great majority of Egyptians was ignorant of or hostile to the new faith.

This is the "long hymn" to the Aton, from the tomb of Eye at Tell el-Amarna. Akh-en-Aton's reign was about 1380 to 1362 B.C. The best copy of the text is that of N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, vi (London, 1908), Pl. xxvii. Translations will be found in Erman, *LAE*, 288-91, and in J. H. Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience* (New York, 1933), 281-86.*

² The number "seventy," which contained the sounds *sefekh* is carried over in a pun to the beginning and end of the stanza, with the words *sefekh* "dissolve," and *khesef* "oppose."

³ The role of Fate was powerful at this period, but not immutable if the god intervened.

⁴ From the context, this continues the idea of Amon as a soothing breeze against more violent winds.

¹ As in Breasted, *op. cit.*, 366-70.

Praise of Re Har-akhti, Rejoicing on the Horizon, in His Name as Shu Who Is in the Aton-disc,² living forever and ever; the living great Aton who is in jubilee, lord of all that the Aton encircles, lord of heaven, lord of earth, lord of the House of Aton in Akhet-Aton;³ (and praise of) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who lives on truth, the Lord of the Two Lands: Nefer-kheperu-Re Wa-en-Re; the Son of Re, who lives on truth, the Lord of Diadems: Akh-en-Aton, long in his lifetime; (and praise of) the Chief Wife of the King, his beloved, the Lady of the Two Lands: Nefer-neferu-Aton Nefert-iti, living, healthy, and youthful forever and ever; (by) the Fan-Bearer on the Right Hand of the King . . . Eye. He says:

Thou appearest beautifully on the horizon of heaven,
Thou living Aton, the beginning of life!
When thou art risen on the eastern horizon,
Thou hast filled every land with thy beauty.
Thou art gracious, great, glistening, and high over
every land;
Thy rays encompass the lands to the limit of all that
thou hast made:
As thou art Re, thou reachest to the end of them;⁴
(Thou) subduest them (for) thy beloved son.⁵
Though thou art far away, thy rays are on earth;
Though thou art in *their* faces, *no one knows thy*
going.

When thou settest in the western horizon,
The land is in darkness, in the manner of death.
They sleep in a room, with heads wrapped up,
Nor sees one eye the other.
All their goods which are under their heads might
be stolen,
(But) they would not perceive (it).
Every lion is come forth from his den;
All creeping things, they sting.
Darkness is a *shroud*, and the earth is in stillness,
For he who made them rests in his horizon.⁶

At daybreak, when thou arisest on the horizon,
When thou shinest as the Aton by day,
Thou drivest away the darkness and givest thy rays.
The Two Lands are in festivity *every day*,
Awake and standing upon (their) feet,
For thou hast raised them up.
Washing their bodies, taking (their) clothing, (5)
Their arms are (raised) in praise at thy appearance.
All the world, they do their work.⁷

All beasts are content with their pasturage;
Trees and plants are flourishing.
The birds which fly from their nests,

² The Aton had a dogmatic name written within a royal cartouche and including the three old solar deities, Re, Har-of-the-Horizon, and Shu.

³ Akhet-Aton was the name of the capital at Tell el-Amarna.

⁴ Pun: *Ra* "Re," and *er-ra* "to the end."

⁵ Akh-en-Aton.

⁶ cf. Ps. 104:20-21.

⁷ cf. Ps. 104:22-23.

Their wings are (stretched out) in praise to thy *ka*.
All beasts spring upon (their) feet.
Whatever flies and alights,
They live when thou hast risen (for) them.⁸
The ships are sailing north and south as well,
For every way is open at thy appearance.
The fish in the river dart before thy face;
Thy rays are in the midst of the great green sea.⁹

Creator of seed in women,
Thou who makest fluid into man,
Who maintainest the son in the womb of his mother,
Who soothest him with that which stills his weeping,
Thou nurse (even) in the womb,
Who givest breath to sustain all that he has made!
When he descends from the womb to *breathe*
On the day when he is born,
Thou openest his mouth completely,
Thou suppliest his necessities.
When the chick in the egg speaks within the shell,
Thou givest him breath within it to maintain him.
When thou hast made him his fulfillment within the
egg, to break it,
He comes forth from the egg to speak at his completed
(time);
He walks upon his legs when he comes forth from it.

How manifold it is, what thou hast made!
They are hidden from the face (of man).
O sole god, like whom there is no other!
Thou didst create the world according to thy desire,
Whilst thou wert alone:¹⁰
All men, cattle, and wild beasts,
Whatever is on earth, going upon (its) feet,
And what is on high, flying with its wings.

The countries of Syria and Nubia, the *land* of Egypt,
Thou settest every man in his place,
Thou suppliest their necessities:
Everyone has his food, and his time of life is
reckoned.¹¹
Their tongues are separate in speech,
And their natures as well;
Their skins are distinguished,
As thou distinguishest the foreign peoples.
Thou makest a Nile in the underworld,
Thou bringest it forth as thou desirest
To maintain the people (of Egypt)¹²
According as thou madest them for thyself,
The lord of all of them, wearying (himself) with
them,
The lord of every land, rising for them,
The Aton of the day, great of majesty.

⁸ cf. Ps. 104:11-14.

⁹ cf. Ps. 104:25-26.

¹⁰ cf. Ps. 104:24.

¹¹ cf. Ps. 104:27.

¹² The Egyptians believed that their Nile came from the waters under the earth, called by them Nun.

All distant foreign countries, thou makest their life
 (also),
 For thou hast set a Nile in heaven,
 That it may descend for them and make waves upon
 the mountains,¹³ (10)
 Like the great green sea,
 To water their fields in their towns.¹⁴
 How effective they are, thy plans, O lord of eternity!
 The Nile in heaven, it is for the foreign peoples
 And for the beasts of every desert that go upon
 (their) feet;
 (While the true) Nile comes from the underworld
 for Egypt.

Thy rays suckle every meadow.
 When thou risest, they live, they grow for thee.
 Thou makest the seasons in order to rear all that
 thou hast made,
 The winter to cool them,
 And the heat that *they* may taste thee.
 Thou hast made the distant sky in order to rise therein,
 In order to see all that thou dost make.
 Whilst thou wert alone,
 Rising in thy form as the living Aton,
 Appearing, shining, *withdrawing or approaching*,
 Thou madest millions of forms of thyself alone.
 Cities, towns, fields, road, and river—
 Every eye beholds thee over against them,
 For thou art the Aton of the day over *the earth*. . . .

Thou art in my heart,
 And there is no other that knows thee
 Save thy son Nefer-kheperu-Re Wa-en-Re,¹⁵
 For thou hast made him well-versed in thy plans and
 in thy strength.¹⁶

The world came into being by thy hand,
 According as thou hast made them.
 When thou hast risen they live,
 When thou settest they die.
 Thou art lifetime thy own self,
 For one lives (only) through thee.
 Eyes are (fixed) on beauty until thou settest.
 All work is laid aside when thou settest in the west.
 (But) when (thou) risest (again),
 [*Everything is*] made to flourish for the king, . . .
 Since thou didst found the earth
 And raise them up for thy son,
 Who came forth from thy body:
 the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, . . . Akh-en-
 Aton, . . . and the Chief Wife of the King . . . Nefert-iti,
 living and youthful forever and ever.

¹³ cf. Ps. 104:6, 10.

¹⁴ The rain of foreign countries is like the Nile of rainless Egypt.

¹⁵ Even though the hymn was recited by the official Eye, he states that Akh-en-Aton alone knows the Aton.

¹⁶ Pharaoh was the official intermediary between the Egyptians and their gods. The Amarna religion did not change this dogma.

Hymns to the Gods as a Single God

These hymns have been called monotheistic. Whether they are so or not will depend upon the definition of monotheism and whether tendencies toward syncretism and universalism may be sufficient explanations. The hymns present different Egyptian gods of universal or cosmic nature, treated as a conflate personality and addressed in the singular.

Papyrus Chester Beatty IV (now British Museum 10684), recto vii 2 ff. The hieratic manuscript is probably from Thebes and dates to somewhere around 1300 B.C., definitely after the Amarna Revolution. Published in *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series. Chester Beatty Gift*, ed. by A. H. Gardiner (London, 1935), I, 28 ff.; II, Pls. 15-17.

. . . the Outline Draftsman of Amon, Mer-Sekhmet. He says: I sing to thee, intoxicated with thy beauty, with hands upon the minstrel's harp. I cause the children of singers to know how to worship the beauty of thy face. Mayest thou reward (me) with a goodly burial for the singer who gives thee song, that he may go forth (5) upon earth as a good spirit to see the Lord of the Gods!¹

PRAISE TO THEE, Amon-Re-Atum-Har-akhti, who spoke with his mouth and there came into existence all men, gods, large and small cattle in their entirety, and that which flies and lights totally.

THOU DIDST CREATE the regions of the Hau-nebut,² settled in the towns thereof, and the productive meadows, fertilized by Nun³ and giving birth thereafter—good things without limit to their number, for the provision of the living.

THOU ART VALIANT as a herdsman tending them forever and ever. Bodies are (10) filled with thy beauty; eyes see through (thee). The [fear] of thee is for everybody; their hearts turn about to thee, good at all times. Everybody lives through the sight of thee.

Do (NOT) WIDOWS say: (viii 1) "Our husband art thou," and little ones: "Our father and our mother"? The rich boast of thy beauty, and the poor (worship) thy face. He that is imprisoned turns about to thee, and he that has a sickness calls out to thee. . . . Everybody is turned (5) back to thy presence, so that they may make prayers to thee.

THY EARS ARE OPEN, hearing them and taking care of them, O our Ptah who loves his crafts,⁴ herdsman who loves his herds. His reward is a goodly burial for the heart which is satisfied with truth.⁵

HIS LOVE IS (to be) the moon, as a child to whom everybody dances. When petitioners are gathered before his face, then he will search out hearts. Green plants turn about in his direction, that they may be beautiful, and lotuses are gay because of him.

¹ These words are actually part of a colophon which belongs to preceding hymns, but seem also to apply to the hymns which follow.

² The northern lands, particularly the Mediterranean coast and islands. This states the universality of the conflate creator-god.

³ The abysmal waters, out of which life came at the creation and still comes.

⁴ The conflate god is also Ptah, the craftsman who fashioned men.

⁵ The god rewards the faithful with a proper burial.

HIS LOVE is (to be) the King of the Gods Presiding over Karnak.⁶ . . . (10) . . . To him belongs the shrine of the north wind, and a Nile is under his fingers and comes from the heavens, *according as* he has spoken, (even) onto the mountains.⁷ . . .

(ix 1) . . . HIS LOVE is (to be) Har-akhti shining in the horizon of heaven. Everybody is in praise to him, and hearts exult for him. He is a remedy for every eye, a genuine one that takes effect immediately, an (eye) cosmetic without its peer, driving away rain and clouds.⁸ . . .

(7) . . . THY MOTHER IS Truth, O Amon! To thee she belongs uniquely, and she came forth from thee (already) inclined to rage and burn up them that attack thee. Truth is more unique, O Amon, than anyone that exists.⁹ . . .

(x 2) . . . HOW BEAUTIFUL ART THOU AS A GOD, O Amon, verily Har-akhti, a marvel sailing in the heavens and conducting the mysteries of the underworld! The gods are coming before thee, exalting the forms which thou hast assumed. Mayest thou appear (again) from the hands of Nun, thou being mysterious in the form of (5) Khepri, reaching the gates of Nut, beautiful in thy body.¹⁰ Thy rays foretell thee in the eyes of the regions of the Hau-nebut.¹¹ . . .

(xi 8) . . . HOW BEAUTIFUL IS THY RISING ON THE HORIZON! (Thus) we are in a renewal of life. We had entered (into) Nun, and it has refreshed (us), as when one began youth. [*The old state*] has been taken off, another has been put on. We praise the beauty of thy face.¹² . . .

(xii 12) . . . Thou art *the light* of the moon in the eyes of Nun. . . .

Hymn to the Nile

The Egyptians recognized that life was possible in their land only because of the existence of the Nile. The following hymn celebrated their gratitude. The extant texts have been brutally corrupted by schoolboys, who had to copy the hymn as an exercise. Fortunately, some of the briefer fragments give a more sensible text.

The text is a Theban composition. The documents are numerous, and the majority of them are fragmentary. Perhaps all of them derive from the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties (1350-1100 B.C.), but the original composition may have gone

⁶ Amon-Re.

⁷ For the concept of the real Nile coming from underground caverns and of the rain as a Nile in the sky and falling upon the mountain tops, see the hymn to the Aton, p. 370 above.

⁸ Diseases of the eye were common in Egypt. As a god of the weather, the deity averts *hay* "rain," and *shenit* "clouds," as a curative eye cosmetic averts *haty* "dim sight," and *shenu* "pain."

⁹ Commonly the goddess Ma'at, "Truth," is the daughter of Re. Thus she comes forth from him. Here he is so composite a being that she may also be his mother.

¹⁰ Khepri is the youthful form of the sun as it emerges at dawn from Nun, the underwaters, and moves to Nut, the sky-goddess.

¹¹ The remainder of the text deals with various beneficial activities of the sun-god, called Re and "the herdsman." Two extracts are given.

¹² Like the sun, man entered into Nun, the underwaters, was refreshed, and emerged at dawn, renewed in life. For the relation of this to sleep, see A. de Buck, *De Godsdiensstige Opmvatting van den Slaap* . . . (*Mededeelingen en Verhandelingen, No. 4 van het Voorasiatich-Egyptisch Gezelschap "Ex Oriente Lux,"* Leyden, 1939, English summary pp. 28-30).

back to the Middle Kingdom (2100-1700 B.C.). The text occurs on 4 papyri (Papyrus Sallier II = British Museum 10182; Papyrus Anastasi VII = British Museum 10222; Papyrus Chester Beatty V = British Museum 10685; and a papyrus in Turin); 1 writing tablet (Louvre 693); and at least 13 ostraca. The present translation was made from as many of these documents as were available to the translator; the line numbers follow Sallier II.

An up-to-date study of the texts is needed. Published by G. Maspero, *Hymne au Nil (Bibliothèque d'étude, v, Cairo, 1912)*. A translation in Erman, *LAE, 146-49*.

(xi 6) WORSHIP OF THE NILE.

Hail to thee, O Nile, that issues from the earth and comes to keep Egypt alive! Hidden in his form of appearance,¹ a darkness by day, *to whom minstrels have sung*. He that waters the meadows which Re created, in order to keep every kid² alive. He that makes to drink the desert and the place distant *from water: that is his dew* coming down (*from*) heaven.³ The beloved of Geb,⁴ the one who controls Nepri,⁵ and the one who makes the craftsmanship of Ptah to flourish.

THE LORD OF FISHES, HE WHO MAKES THE MARSH-BIRDS TO GO UPSTREAM.⁶ There are no birds which come down *because of the hot winds*.⁷ He who makes barley and brings emmer into being, that he may make the temples festive. If he is sluggish, (xii 1) then nostrils are stopped up,⁸ and everybody is poor. If there be (thus) a cutting down in the food-offerings of the gods, then a million men perish among mortals, covetousness is practised, the entire land *is in a fury*, and great and small *are on the execution-block*. (*But*) people *are different when he approaches*. Khnum constructed him. When he rises, then the land is in jubilation, then every belly is in joy, every *backbone* takes on laughter, and every tooth is exposed.⁹

THE BRINGER OF FOOD, rich in provisions, creator of all good, lord of majesty, sweet of fragrance. *What is in him is satisfaction*. He who brings grass into being for the cattle and (thus) gives (5) sacrifice to every god, *whether he be* in the underworld, heaven, or earth, *him who is* under his authority. He who takes in possession the Two Lands, fills the magazines, makes the granaries wide, and gives things (to) the poor.

HE WHO MAKES *every beloved tree* TO GROW, without lack of them. He who brings a ship into being by his strength, without hewing in stone. *The enduring image with the White Crown*.¹⁰ He cannot be seen; (*he has*) no taxes; he has no *levies*; no one *can read* of the mystery; no one knows the place where he is; he cannot

¹ The Nile had no regular cult or temple in which he might appear in an image.

² The extant texts *ib* "kid," but the original may have had *ibw* "thirsty one."

³ Regions cut from the waters of the Nile had his rain to sustain them.

⁴ The earth-god.

⁵ The grain-god.

⁶ South from the marshes of the Delta.

⁷ An unknown word, determined in one text with signs for heat and wind. If the translation is justified, it suggests that the Nile cools Upper Egypt sufficiently so that no birds need to go down to the Delta.

⁸ So that men cannot breathe in the breath of life.

⁹ When the Nile floods, all Egyptians laugh in delight.

¹⁰ Probably corrupt, although the following context compares the Nile to a king.

be found *by the power* of writing. (*HE HAS*) *NO SHRINES; HE HAS NO PORTION. He has no service of (his) desire.*¹¹ (But) generations of thy children jubilate for thee, and men give thee greeting as a king, stable of laws, coming forth (at) his season and filling Upper and Lower Egypt. (xiii 1) (Whenever) water is drunk, every eye is in him, who gives an excess of his good.

HE WHO WAS SORROWFUL IS COME FORTH GAY. Every heart is gay. Sobek, the child of Neith, *laughs*,¹² and the Ennead, *in which thou art, is exalted*. Vomiting forth and making the field to drink. Anointing the whole land. Making one man rich and slaying another, (but) there is no *coming to trial* with him,¹³ who makes satisfaction without *being thwarted*, for whom no boundaries are made.

A MAKER OF LIGHT when issuing from darkness, a fat for his cattle. His limits are all that is created. There is no district which can live without him. Men are clothed (5) with flax from his meadows, for (he) made Hedj-hotep¹⁴ for his service. (He) made *anointing* with his unguents, being the *associate* of Ptah in his nature, bringing into being all service *in him*,¹⁵ all writings and divine words, his *responsibility* in Lower Egypt.¹⁶

ENTERING INTO THE UNDERWORLD AND COMING FORTH ABOVE, loving to come forth as a mystery.¹⁷ If thou art (too) heavy (to rise), the people are few, and one begs for the water *of the year*. (Then) the rich man looks like him who is worried, and every man is seen (to be) carrying his weapons. There is no companion *backing up* a companion. There are no garments for clothing; there are no ornaments for the children of nobles. There is no *listening at night, that one may answer with coolness*.¹⁸ There is no anointing for anybody.

HE WHO ESTABLISHES TRUTH in the heart of men, for it is said: "*Deceit comes after poverty*."¹⁹ *If one compares thee* with the great green sea, *which does not* (xiv 1) *control the Grain-God*, whom all the gods praise, there are no birds coming down from his desert.²⁰ His hand does not *beat with gold, with making ingots of silver*. No one can eat genuine lapis lazuli. (But) barley is foremost and lasting.²¹

MEN BEGAN TO SING TO THEE with the harp, and men sing to thee with the hand.²² The generations of thy children jubilate for thee. Men equip messengers for thee, who come (back) bearing treasures (to) ornament

¹¹ The Nile has no temples, no temple service or labor.

¹² The crocodile-god delights in the inundation.

¹³ The actions of the Nile are not subject to legal appeal.

¹⁴ The weaver-god.

¹⁵ Creating all work in Ptah as the earth-god?

¹⁶ Corrupt and probably mistranslated. It may say that the Nile has made Ptah his deputy in Lower Egypt.

¹⁷ The Egyptians thought that the Nile poured forth from underground caverns.

¹⁸ If this has any meaning at all in its present form, it may claim that the failure of the Nile to rise makes the nights too hot for conversation.

¹⁹ The poverty consequent upon a low Nile brings lawlessness.

²⁰ The thought is clouded but seems to compare the sea unfavorably with the Nile.

²¹ The produce coming by sea is inedible; the Nile's produce is edible and sustains life.

²² Beating time to music by clapping with the hands.

this land. He who makes a ship to prosper *before* mankind; he who sustains hearts in pregnant women; he who loves a multitude of all (kinds of) his cattle.

WHEN THOU RISEST IN THE CITY OF THE RULER,²³ then men are satisfied with the goodly produce of the meadows. (5) *Oh for* the little lotus-blossoms, everything that *pours forth* upon earth, all (kinds of) herbs *in the hands of children! They have (even) forgotten how to eat.*²⁴ Good things are strewn about the houses. The land comes down *frolicking*.

WHEN THE NILE FLOODS, offering is made to thee, oxen are sacrificed to thee, great oblations are made to thee, birds are fattened for thee, lions are hunted for thee in the desert, fire is provided for thee. And offering is made to every (other) god, as is done for the Nile, with *prime* incense, oxen, cattle, birds, and flame. The Nile has made his cavern in Thebes, and his name is no (longer) known in the underworld.²⁵ Not a god will come forth *in his form, if the plan is ignored*.

O ALL MEN who uphold the Ennead, (10) fear ye the majesty which his son, the All-Lord, *has made, (by) making verdant* the two banks. *So it is "Verdant art thou!" So it is "Verdant art thou!" So it is "O Nile, verdant art thou, who makest man and cattle to live!"**

IT HAS COME TO A GOOD AND SUCCESSFUL END.

The Hymn of Victory of Thut-mose III

This hymn celebrating the conquests of the great Egyptian empire-builder, Thut-mose III, carried a victorious theme which became popular with later pharaohs. Amen-hotep III, Seti I, and Ramses III borrowed freely from the triumphant stanzas.

The stela containing the hymn was found in the temple of Karnak and is now in the Cairo Museum (34010). The approximate dates of the pharaohs who used themes from the hymn are: Thut-mose III, 1490-1436 B.C.; Amen-hotep III, 1413-1377; Seti I, 1318-1301; and Ramses III, 1195-1164.

Published, with photograph, transcription, and bibliography, by P. Lacau, *Stèles du nouvel empire (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Cairo, 1904)*, 17 ff.; Pl. VII. A transcription in K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie (Urk., IV)*, II (Leipzig, 1906), 610-19, with a Thut-mose III duplicate, 619-24. Translated by Breasted, *AR*, II, §§655-62, by Erman, *LAÉ*, 254-58.

The Amen-hotep III adaption is given below on p. 376. The Seti I version in the Temple of Karnak is translated by Breasted, *op. cit.*, III, §§116-17. The Ramses III version at the Temple of Medinet Habu is translated by W. F. Edgerton and J. A. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III (SAOC 12; Chicago, 1936)*, 111-12.

Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands:

Welcome to me, as thou exultest at the sight of my

²³ Thebes.

²⁴ Or: "Eating *makes him* forgotten"? The abundance of good things from the inundation makes people forgetful of the Nile, as they give themselves up to flowers and food.

²⁵ He is so well feted at Thebes that he transfers his source caverns to that city.

beauty, my son and my avenger, Men-kheper-Re,¹ living forever! I shine forth for love of thee, and my heart is glad at thy good comings into my temple, while my hands endow thy body with protection and life. How sweet is thy graciousness toward my breast!

I establish thee in my dwelling place. I *work* a wonder for thee:² I give thee valor and victory over all foreign countries; I set the glory of thee and the fear of thee in all lands, the terror of thee as far as the four supports of heaven. I magnify the awe of thee in all bodies. I set the battle cry of thy majesty throughout the Nine Bows.³

The great ones of all foreign countries are gathered together in thy grasp. (5) I stretch out my own arms, and I tie them up for thee; I bind the barbarians of Nubia by ten-thousands and thousands, the northerners by hundred-thousands as living captives. I cause thy opponents to fall beneath thy sandals, so that thou crushest the quarrelsome and the disaffected of heart, according as I have commended to thee the earth in its length and its breadth, so that westerners and easterners are under thy oversight.

Thou treadest all foreign countries, thy heart glad. There is none who can thrust himself into the vicinity of thy majesty, while I am thy guide, (but) thou reachest them (thyself). Thou hast crossed the waters of the Great Bend of Naharin⁴ by the victory and by the power which I have decreed to thee. They hear thy battle cry, having entered into caves. I have cut their nostrils off from the breath of life, so that I might set the dread of thy majesty throughout their hearts. My serpent-diadem which is upon thy head, she consumes them; she makes a speedy prey among *those twisted of nature*; (10) she devours those who are in their islands by her flame; she cuts off the heads of the Asiatics. There is none of them missing, (but they are) fallen and *in travail* because of her might.

I cause thy victories to circulate in all lands. The gleaming (serpent), she who is upon my brow, is thy servant, (so that) there shall arise none rebellious to thee as far as that which heaven encircles. They come, bearing tribute upon their backs, bowing down to thy majesty, as I decree. I have made the aggressors who come near thee grow weak, for their hearts are burned up and their bodies are trembling.

I have come,

That I may cause thee to trample down the great ones of Djahi;⁵

I spread them out under thy feet throughout their countries.

I cause them to see thy majesty as the lord of radiance,⁶

¹ Thut-mose III.

² Perhaps: "I wonder at thee," but the expression is usually followed by a boon conferred by the god.

³ The nine traditional enemies of Egypt.

⁴ Naharin, a reasonable Semitic approximation to the term Mesopotamia, was a land along the great bend of the Euphrates.

⁵ Approximately the Phoenician coast.

⁶ The sun.

So that thou shinest into their faces as my likeness. I have come,

That I may cause thee to trample down those who are in Asia;

Thou smitest the heads of the Asiatics of Retenu.⁷

I cause them to see thy majesty equipped with thy adornment,

As thou takest the weapons of war in the chariot.

I have come, (15)

That I may cause thee to trample down the eastern land;

Thou treadest upon those who are in the regions of God's Land.⁸

I cause them to see thy majesty as a *shooting* star, Sowing its fire in a flame, as it gives off its *steam*.

I have come,

That I may cause thee to trample down the western land;

Keftiu and Isy are under the awe (of thee).⁹

I cause them to see thy majesty as a young bull, Firm of heart, sharp of horns, who cannot be *felled*.

I have come,

That I may cause thee to trample down those who are in their islands;

The lands of Mitanni are trembling under the fear of thee,¹⁰

I cause them to see thy majesty as a crocodile,

The lord of fear in the water, who cannot be approached.

I have come,

That I may cause thee to trample down those who are in the islands;

They who are in the midst of the Great Green Sea are under thy battle cry.

I cause them to see thy majesty as the Avenger Appearing in glory on the back of his sacrifice.¹¹

I have come,

That I may cause thee to trample down the Tehenu;

The Utentiu belong to the might of thy glory.¹²

I cause them to see thy majesty as a fierce lion,

As thou makest them corpses throughout their valleys.

I have come, (20)

That I may cause thee to trample down the ends of the lands;

That which the Ocean encircles is enclosed within thy grasp.

I cause them to see thy majesty as a lord of the wing, Taking possession of what he sees as he wishes.

I have come,

⁷ The highland of Palestine-Syria.

⁸ The land of the rising sun.

⁹ Disputed, but probably Crete (Caphtor) and Cyprus.

¹⁰ Mitanni, the lands of Upper Mesopotamia and northern Syria, was a political equivalent of the geographical term Naharin.

¹¹ Horus defeating Seth.

¹² The Tehenu were Libyans. The land of Utent is elsewhere listed among the peoples to the south of Egypt.

That I may cause thee to trample down the front
of the land;¹³

Thou bindest the Sand-Dwellers as living captives.
I cause them to see thy majesty like a jackal of the
Southland,
The lord of speed, the runner coursing the Two
Lands.

I have come,

That I may cause thee to trample down the bar-
barians of Nubia;
As far as *Shat-Djeba* is in thy grip.¹⁴

I cause them to see thy majesty like thy two brothers;¹⁵
I have joined their hands together for thee in
victory.

Thy two sisters (also),¹⁶ I have set them in protection
behind thee, while the arms of my majesty are up-
lifting, warding off evil.¹⁷ I give thy protection, my
son, my beloved, Horus: Mighty Bull, Appearing in
Thebes, whom I begot in the divine [body], Thut-
mose, living forever, who has done for me all that my *ka*
desires.

Thou hast erected my dwelling place as the work
of eternity, made longer and wider than that which
had been before, and the very great gateway (named)
"[*Men-kheper-Re*], (25) whose Beauty Makes Festive
the [House of] Amon."¹⁸ Thy monuments are greater
than (those of) any king who has been. I commanded
thee to make them, and I am satisfied with them. I
have established thee upon the throne of Horus for
millions of years, that thou mightest lead the living for
eternity.

From Amen-hotep III's Building Inscription

The following inscription illustrates the reciprocal relation
between pharaoh and god in ancient Egypt. At great length
Amen-hotep III (about 1413-1377 B.C.) details his building
activities on behalf of the god Amon-Re. The text closes with
the grateful hymn of the god to the king.

The stela is now Cairo 34025. It was set up by Amen-hotep III
in his temple which stood behind the Colossi of Memnon at
Thebes. The text was thoroughly hacked up under the Amarna
Revolution, but restored under Seti I. Then Mer-ne-Ptah ap-
propriated the stela and used its back for the "Israel Stela" in
his mortuary temple, where it was found by W. M. F. Petrie;
see his *Six Temples at Thebes* (London, 1897), 10-11, 23-26;
Pls. XI-XII. It was published by P. Lacau, *Stèles du nouvel empire*

¹³ In contrast to "the ends of the lands" just above, this term would
apply to the countries near Egypt, including the "Sand-Dwellers" of the
nearby Asiatic deserts.

¹⁴ *Shat-Djeba* (the reading is uncertain) was in Nubia.

¹⁵ Horus and Seth.

¹⁶ Isis and Nephthys.

¹⁷ As Erman has pointed out, there is deliberate alliteration in the
passage "the arms . . . evil," sounding something like: '*awi hemi hir heru
hir seheri djut*.'

¹⁸ The name of the gateway is doubtful. Under the Amarna Revolution,
this stela was attacked to remove the name of the god Amon. A restoration
of the hacked out portions under the 19th dynasty did not always restore
the probable sense.

(*Catalogue général . . . du Musée du Caire*, Cairo, 1909), 1,
47-52, Pls. xv-xvi. It was translated by Breasted, *AR*, II, §§878-
92.

. . . (Amen-hotep III). He made, as (3) his monument
for his father Amon, Lord of the Thrones of the Two
Lands, the erecting for him of an august temple on the
west side of Thebes, an everlasting fortress, a possessor
of eternity, of fine sandstone, worked with gold through-
out.¹ Its pavement was washed with silver, all its
doorways with fine gold. It was made very wide and
great, embellished forever, made festive with this very
great monument, and abounding in statues of the lord²
in the granite of Elephantine, gritstone, and every (5)
august costly stone, perfected with the work of eternity.
Their height shines up to heaven; their rays are in
(men's) faces like the sun disc,³ when he shines at
dawn. It is equipped with a Station of the Lord,⁴
worked with gold and many costly stones. At its face
flagstaffs have been set up, worked with fine gold. It
is made like the horizon which is in heaven when Re
shines forth therein. Its canal is filled with the high
Nile, the lord of fish and fowl, pure in *bouquets*. Its
workhouse is filled with male and female slaves, the
children of the princes of every foreign country of his
majesty's plundering. Its magazines enclose good things
of which the count is not known. It is surrounded
with Syrian towns, settled with the children of princes.⁵
Its cattle are like the sands of the shore; they total
millions. It has the prow-rope of the Southland and the
stern-rope of the Northland.⁶ . . .

I made another monument for him who begot me,
Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands,
who is established upon his throne, (in) making for
him a great barque upon the river, "Amon-Re in User-
het," of (17) new cedar which his majesty cut in the
country of God's Land,⁷ dragged from the mountains
of Retenu by the princes of all foreign countries. It was
made very wide and great. The like had never been
made. Its hull is washed with silver and completely
worked with gold. The great shrine is of fine gold. . . .⁸

I made other monuments for Amon, (24) of which
the like has never occurred. I built for thee thy house
of millions of years in the precinct of Amon-Re, Lord
of the Thrones of the Two Lands, "Appearing in
Truth," an august (place) of fine gold, a resting place
for my father in all his feasts.⁹ It is embellished with
fine sandstone and worked with gold throughout. Its
pavement is decorated with silver, and all its doorways

¹ This was the now destroyed mortuary temple, which stood behind the
Colossi of Memnon.

² The pharaoh himself.

³ "Like the Aton."

⁴ The official post of the king in the temple; cf. pp. 248, 446.

⁵ On the policy of bringing Syrian princelings to Egypt, see pp. 239, 248.

⁶ It has the leadership of the two lands. The translation omits several
lines dealing with the building of other temples.

⁷ Eastern lands in general; here specifically the Lebanon.

⁸ The translation omits the remainder of the description of Amon's
sacred barge upon the river and a statement of the building of the Third
Pylon at Karnak.

⁹ A. Varille, *Karnak I* (Cairo, 1943), 14-15, believes that this refers to
the Temple of Amon-Re Montu in the northern group at Karnak.

with gold. Two great obelisks have been erected, one on each side, so that my father may appear between them, while I am in his retinue. I have sacrificed to him thousands of oxen, *as well as* choice cuts.

Words spoken by Amon-Re, King of the Gods:¹⁰—

My son, of my body, my beloved, Neb-maat-Re,
My living image, whom my body created,
Whom Mut, Mistress of Ishru in Thebes, the Lady
of the Nine Bows, bore to me,
And (she) nursed thee as the Sole Lord of the
people—
My heart is very joyful when I see thy beauty;
I *work* a wonder for thy majesty,¹¹
That thou mightest renew youth,
According as I made thee to be Re of the Two
Banks.

When I turn my face to the south, I *work* a wonder
for thee:—
I make the princes of the wretched Ethiopia bestir
themselves for thee,
Bearing all their tribute upon their backs.

When I turn my face to the north, I *work* a wonder
for thee:—
I make the countries of the ends of Asia come to
thee,
Bearing all their tribute upon their backs.
They themselves present to thee their children,
Seeking that thou mightest give to them the breath
of life.

When I turn my face to the west, I *work* a wonder
for thee:—
I let thee take Libya—they cannot escape—
(*Shut*) up in this fortress bearing the name of (thy)
majesty, (30)
Surrounded with a great wall reaching to heaven,
And settled with the children of the princes of the
Nubian barbarians.

When I turn my face to the orient, I *work* a wonder
for thee:—
I make the countries of Punt¹² come to thee,
Bearing all the sweet plants of their countries,
To beg peace from (thee and to) breathe the breath
of thy giving.

...

Hymn of Victory of Mer-ne-Ptah (The "Israel Stela")

The date of this commemorative hymn (or series of hymns) relates it to Mer-ne-Ptah's victory over the Libyans in the

¹⁰ On the ancestry of this hymn, see p. 373.

¹¹ Or: "I wonder at thy majesty," as in the Thut-mose III hymn.

¹² An incense-producing country on or near the Red Sea.

spring of his fifth year (about 1230 B.C.). However, the text is not historical in the same sense as two other records of that victory, but is rather a poetic eulogy of a universally victorious pharaoh. Thus it was not out of place to introduce his real or figurative triumph over Asiatic peoples in the last poem of the hymn. In that context we meet the only instance of the name "Israel" in ancient Egyptian writing.

The "Israel Stela," now Cairo 34025, was discovered by Petrie in the ruins of Mer-ne-Ptah's mortuary temple at Thebes. There is also a fragmentary duplicate in the Temple of Karnak.

First published by W. M. F. Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes* (London, 1897), Pls. XIII-XIV, later by P. Lacau, *Siècles du nouvel empire (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Cairo, 1909)*, 1, 52 ff. The Karnak duplicate published by Ch. Kuentz in *BIFAO*, XXI (1923), 113-17. W. Spiegelberg studied and translated the text in *ZAcS*, XXXIV (1896), 1-25. A later translation in Erman, *LAE*, 274-78.*Translated also by Williams, *op.cit.*, 137-41.

Year 5, 3rd month of the third season, day 3, under the majesty of the Horus: Mighty Bull, Rejoicing in Truth; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Ba-en-Re Meri-Amon; the Son of Re: Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat. The magnification of the strength and the exaltation of the strong arm of the Horus: Mighty Bull, who smites the Nine Bows,² whose name is given to eternity forever. The relation of his victories in all lands, to cause that every land together know and to let the virtue in his deeds of valor be seen: the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Ba-en-Re Meri-Amon; the Son of Re: Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat; the Bull, lord of strength, slaying his foes, gracious on the field of valor when his conquest has been effected;

The sun, uncovering the cloud which had been over
Egypt

And letting Egypt see the rays of the sun disc;
Removing the mountain of metal from the neck of
the people,

So that he might give breath to the folk who had
been shut in;

Appeasing the heart of Memphis over their enemies,
And making Ta-tenen³ rejoice over those rebellious
to him;

Opening the doors of Memphis which had been
barred

And letting its temples receive their food (again);
the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Ba-en-Re Meri-
Amon; the Son of Re: Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat;

The sole one, restoring the courage of hundred-
thousands,

For breath enters into their nostrils at the sight of
him;

Penetrating the land of Temeh⁴ in his lifetime,
And setting the terror of eternity in the hearts of the
Meshwesh. (5)

¹ In two scenes above the inscription, the god Amon-Re extends a scimitar to Mer-ne-Ptah for Pharaoh's use against "every foreign country." Thus the god commissioned the Pharaoh to undertake a campaign. cf. n. 12 below.

² The nine traditional enemies of Egypt.

³ A god of Memphis.

⁴ Temeh, Meshwesh, Rebu (=Libyans), and Tehenu were names for various groups of Libyans, originally distinct, now to some extent interchangeable.

He causes to turn back the Rebu, who had trodden Egypt,
Great dread being in their hearts because of Egypt.

Their advanced guard abandoned their rear. Their legs did not stop, except to run. Their archers abandoned their bows. The heart of their runners was weak from traveling. They untied their waterskins, thrown on the ground; their packs were loosed and cast aside.

The wretched enemy prince of Rebu was fled in the depth of the night, by himself. No feather was on his head;⁵ his feet were unshod. His women were taken before his face. The loaves for his provision were seized; he had no water of the waterskin to keep him alive. The face of his brethren was fierce, to slay him; among his commanders one fought his companion. Their tents were burned up, made ashes. All his goods were food for the troops.⁶

He reached his (own) country, and he was in mourning. Every survivor in his land was (too) aggrieved (to) receive him. "The prince (whose) plume evil fortune opposed!" they all say to him, those belonging to his town.

"He is in the power of the gods, the lords of Memphis;
The Lord of Egypt makes a curse of his name:—
'Merey' is the abominated one of Memphis,

One and the son of one of his family to eternity.
Ba-en-Re Meri-Amon shall be in pursuit of his children;
Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat is given him as a fate!"

He is become a proverbial saying for Rebu; (10)
Generation says to generation of his victories:—
"It was not done to us another time since (the days of) Re!"

So he says, every old man, speaking to his son.

Woe to Rebu! They have ceased to live (in) the pleasant fashion of one who goes about in the field. Their going is checked in a single day. The Tehenu are consumed in a single year, for Seth⁸ has turned his back upon their chief; their settlements are abandoned on his account. There is no work of carrying baskets in these days. It is advantageous to hide, for one is safe in the cave. The great Lord of Egypt is powerful; victory belongs to him. Who can fight, knowing his unhindered stride? Foolish and witless is he who takes him on! He who transgresses his frontier knows not for himself the morrow.

"As for Egypt," they say, "since (the time of) the gods, (she has been) the sole daughter of Re, and his son is he who is on the throne of Shu.⁹ No heart has made a reputation for attacking her people, for the eye of every god is in pursuit of him who covets her, and

⁵ Libyan warriors wore a feather in the headdress.

⁶ Plunder for the Egyptian troops.

⁷ The Libyan prince.

⁸ The Egyptians used their god Seth as a god of foreign peoples.

⁹ Egypt was thus the daughter of Re, and the pharaoh, who was by dogma the Son of Re, sat upon the throne of Shu, the air-god who was the direct divine son of Re.

she it is who will carry off the end of her enemies." So they say, *those who watch* the stars and who know all their magic spells by looking at the winds.¹⁰ "A great wonder has fallen to Egypt! He who attacked her has been given (into) her hand as a living captive, through the counsels of the divine king, righteous against his enemies in the presence of Re."

Merey is he who did evil and *subversive* things against every god who is in Memphis. He is the one (15) with whom there was litigation in Heliopolis, and the Ennead¹¹ made him guilty because of his crimes. The All-Lord has said: "Give the strong arm¹² to my son, the exact of heart, the merciful and kindly, Ba-en-Re Meri-Amon, the one who is solicitous for Memphis, who answers (on behalf of) Heliopolis, opening the towns which had been shut up, that he might set free many who had been imprisoned in every district, that he might give offerings to the temples, that he might cause incense to be brought in before the god, that he might cause the great to possess their property (again), that he might cause the poor to *turn (again to)* their cities."

Thus speak the lords of Heliopolis about their son, Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat: "Give him a lifetime like Re, that he may answer (on behalf of) him who is suffering because of any country. Egypt has been assigned to him *to be the portion* of him who represents her, for himself forever, so that he might *protect* his people. Behold, as one dwells in the time of the mighty one, the breath of life comes immediately. The valiant one, who causes goods to flow to the *righteous man*—there is no cheat who retains his plunder. He who gathers the *fat* of wickedness and the strength of others (*shall have*) no children." So they speak.

Merey, the wretched, *ignorant* enemy of Rebu, was come to attack the "Walls of the Sovereign,"¹³ the son of whose lord has arisen in his place, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Ba-en-Re Meri-Amon; the Son of Re: Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat. Ptah said about the enemy of Rebu:¹⁴ "Gather together all his crimes, (20) returned upon his (own) head. Give him into the hand of Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat, that he may make him disgorge what he has swallowed, like a crocodile. Now behold, the swift carries off the swift; the Lord, conscious of his strength, will ensnare him. It is Amon who binds him with his hand, so that he may be delivered to his *ka* in Hermonthis; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Ba-en-Re Meri-Amon; the Son of Re: Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat."

Great joy has arisen in Egypt;

Jubilation has gone forth in the towns of Egypt.

¹⁰ The diviners by stars and winds see the evil eye of the gods as being against any of Egypt's attackers.

¹¹ The Ennead, the nine gods of Heliopolis over whom Atum-Re presided, is here conceived to be judging Mer-ne-Ptah and the Libyan ruler Merey. In the following context, first Re, the All-Lord, gives his verdict and reward to the victorious pharaoh, and then the Ennead confirm this award.

¹² The word may mean "scimitar." cf. n.r. above.

¹³ Or the "Walls of (the god) Ta-tenen"? In either case, Memphis.

¹⁴ Karnak variant: "Amon said about this one of Rebu."

They talk about the victories

Which Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat made in Tehenu:

"How amiable is he, the victorious ruler!

How exalted is the king among the gods!

How fortunate is he, the lord of command!

Ah, how pleasant it is to sit when there is gossip!"

One walks with unhindered stride on the way, for there is no fear at all in the heart of the people. The forts are left to themselves, the wells (lie) open, *accessible* to the messengers. The battlements of the wall are calm in the sun until their watchers may awake. The Madjoi are stretched out as they sleep; the Nau and Tekten are in the meadows as they wish.¹⁵ The cattle of the field are left as free to roam without herdsman, (even) crossing the flood of the stream. There is no breaking out of a cry in the night: "*Halt! Behold, a comer comes with the speech of strangers!*," (but) one goes and comes (25) with singing. There is no cry of people as when there is mourning. Towns are settled anew again. He who plows his harvest will eat it. Re has turned himself around (again) to Egypt. He was born as the one destined to be her protector, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Ba-en-Re Meri-Amon; the Son of Re: Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat.

The princes are prostrate, saying: "Mercy!"¹⁶

Not one raises his head among the Nine Bows.

Desolation is for Tehenu; Hatti is pacified;

Plundered is the Canaan with every evil;

Carried off is Ashkelon; seized upon is Gezer;

Yanoam is made as that which does not exist;¹⁷

Israel is laid waste, his seed is not;¹⁸

Hurru is become a widow for Egypt!¹⁹

All lands together, they are pacified;

Everyone who was restless, he has been bound by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Ba-en-Re Meri-Amon; the Son of Re: Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat, given life like Re every day.

Joy at the Accession of Mer-ne-Ptah

In the dogma of Egyptian religion each pharaoh was a god who repeated the creation miracle of establishing order out of

¹⁵ The Madjoi were Sudanese used as police in Egypt. The word then came to mean "police." The Nau and Tekten policed the desert frontier.²

¹⁶ Or "Peace!" The Canaanite word *shalam* is used here.

¹⁷ Hatti was the land of the Hittites. Yanoam was an important town of northern Palestine.

¹⁸ Much has been made of the fact that the word Israel is the only one of the names in this context which is written with the determinative of people rather than land. Thus we should seem to have the Children of Israel in or near Palestine, but not yet as a settled people. This would have important bearing on the date of the Conquest. This is a valid argument. Determinatives should have meaning, and a contrast between determinatives in the same context should be significant. This stela does give the country determinatives to settled peoples like the Rebu, Temeh, Hatti, Ashkelon, etc., and the determinative of people to unlocated groups like the Madjoi, Nau, and Tekten. The argument is good, but not conclusive,

chaos. The following hymn, from a papyrus of miscellaneous texts for school instruction, celebrates the accession of Mer-ne-Ptah of the Nineteenth Dynasty (about 1234-1222 B.C.).

From Papyrus Sallier I (British Museum 10185), recto viii 7-ix 1. A photographic facsimile in *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Second Series* (ed. by E. A. W. Budge, London, 1923), Pls. LX-LXI. Transcription into hieroglyphic by A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, VII, Brussels, 1937), 86-87. Translated in Erman, *LAE*, 278-79.* Also translated by R. A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (Oxford, 1954), 323-25.

The Chief Archivist of the Treasury of Pharaoh—life, prosperity, health!—Amen-em-Onet, addressing the Scribe Pen-ta-Uret, thus: This writing is brought to thee (to) say: Another matter:¹

Be glad of heart, the entire land! The goodly times are come! A lord—life, prosperity, health!—is given in all lands, and *normality* has come down (again) into its place: the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of millions of years, great of kingship like Horus: Ba-en-Re Meri-Amon—life, prosperity, health!—he who *crushes* Egypt with *festivity*, the Son of Re, (most) serviceable of any king: Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat—life, prosperity, health!

All ye righteous, come that ye may see! Right has banished wrong.² Evildoers have fallen (upon) their faces. All the rapacious are ignored.

The water stands and is not dried up; the Nile lifts high. Days are long, nights have hours, and the moon comes normally.³ The gods are satisfied and content of heart. [One] lives *in* laughter and wonder. Mayest thou know it.

THE END.

Joy at the Accession of Ramses IV

It was normal in Egypt to affirm that the accession of any pharaoh was the restoration of the normal divine order. In the case of the accession of Ramses IV, there was an additional justification, in that the reign of Ramses III did end in palace disorder, including a conspiracy within the royal harem, see pp. 214-216.

An ostrakon in the Turin Museum, probably of the reign of Ramses IV (about 1164-1157 B.C.), published by G. Maspero in *Recueil de travaux . . .*, II (1880), 116-17; translated by Erman, *LAE*, 279. The following rendering benefits by a translation by W. Spiegelberg in *OLZ*, xxx (1927), 73-76.

A happy day! Heaven and earth are in joy, for thou art the great lord of Egypt.

because of the notorious carelessness of Late-Egyptian scribes and several blunders of writing in this stela.

The statement that the "seed," i.e. offspring, of Israel had been wiped out is a conventional boast of power at this period.

¹⁹ The land of the biblical Horites, or Greater Palestine.

¹ The pupil, Pen-ta-Uret, copies a letter from his master, Amen-em-Onet. This has been preceded by another letter on a different subject. Hence the words: "Another matter." cf. p. 379.

² "Truth drives out lying." The Egyptian concept of *ma'at* "truth, order, right," was of the essential order of the universe, given by the gods at the beginning and maintained and reconfirmed by the god-king.

³ Order is found in the regularity of times and seasons, restored by the new king.

They who were fled have come (back) to their towns; they who were hidden have come forth (again).

They who were hungry are sated and gay; they who were thirsty are drunken.

They who were naked are clothed in fine linen; they who were dirty are clad in white.

They who were in prison are set free; they who were fettered are in joy. The troublemakers in this land have become peaceful.

High Niles have come forth from their caverns, that they may refresh the hearts of the common people.

The homes of the widows are open (again), so that they may let wanderers come in. The womenfolk rejoice and repeat their songs of jubilation . . . , saying: "Male children are born (again) for good times, for he brings into being generation upon generation. Thou ruler—life, prosperity, health!—thou art for eternity!"

The ships, they rejoice upon the deep. *They have no (need of) ropes*, for they come to land with wind and oars.¹ They are sated with joy, when it is said:

"The King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Heqa-maat-Re Setep-en-Amon—life, prosperity, health!—wears the White Crown again; the Son of Re: Ramses *Heqa-maat*—life, prosperity, health!—has taken over the office of his father!"

All lands say to him: "Gracious is the Horus upon the throne of his father Amon-Re, the god who sent him forth, the protector of the prince who carries off every land!"²

Made by the Scribe of the Necropolis Amon-nakht in the year 4, 1st month of the first season, day 14.³

A Prayer to Thoth

This prayer to Thoth, the god of wisdom and thus the patron of scribes, comes from a collection of letters and exercises to be used as models for schoolboys. Characteristically for the late Empire, the prayer makes a virtue of "silence" or submissive conformity.

From Papyrus Sallier I (British Museum 10185), recto viii 2-7. The manuscript dates from the latter part of the 13th century B.C. A photographic facsimile in *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Second Series* (ed. by E. A. W. Budge, London, 1923), Pl. LX. Transcription into hieroglyphic by A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, vii, Brussels, 1937), 85-86. Translated in Erman, *LAE*, 305-06.*Also Caminos, *op.cit.*, 321-23.

The Chief Archivist of the Treasury of Pharaoh—life, prosperity, health!—Amen-em-Onet, addressing the Scribe Pen-ta-Uret, thus: This writing is brought to thee (to) say: Another matter:¹

¹ In the difficult times, even navigation on the river had required exceptional means. Now current and breeze have become helpful.

² On this refrain of triumph, see J. A. Wilson in *JEA*, xvii (1931), 214-16.

³ Not the accession day of Ramses IV, but the date on which this ostrakon was written.

¹ The pupil, Pen-ta-Uret, copies a letter from his master, Amen-em-Onet. This has been preceded by another letter on a different subject. Hence the words: "Another matter." cf. p. 378.

O Thoth, set me in Hermopolis, thy city, where life is pleasant! Thou suppliest (my) needs with bread and beer; thou guardest my mouth (in) speech. Would that I had Thoth behind me on the morrow! Come (to me)—thus one speaks—when I enter into the presence of the lords, that I may come forth justified!²

Thou great dom-palm of sixty cubits (height), on which there are fruits! *Stones* are inside the fruits, and water is inside the *stones*.³ Thou that bringest water (even in) a distant place, come and rescue me, the silent one!

O Thoth, thou sweet well for a man thirsting (in) the desert! It is sealed up to him who has discovered his mouth, (but) it is open to the silent. When the silent comes, he finds the well, (but for) the heated (man) thou art *choked up*.

THE END.

A Prayer to Re-Har-akhti

This prayer to the sun-god Atum Re-Har-akhti is found in a manuscript of model texts for the instruction of schoolboys. It illustrates the humble and penitential spirit of the late Empire.

From Papyrus Anastasi II (British Museum 10243), recto x 1-xi 2. The manuscript dates from the late Nineteenth Dynasty (about 1230 B.C.) and probably comes from Memphis. Facsimiled in *Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collections of the British Museum*, II (London, 1842), Pls. LXXII-LXXIII. A transcription into hieroglyphic in A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, vii, Brussels, 1937), 18-19. Translated in Erman, *LAE*, 307.*Also Caminos, *op.cit.*, 60-62.

Come to me, O Re-Har-akhti, that thou mayest look after me! Thou art he who does, and there is none who does without thee, unless it be thou that [actest with] him.

Come to me, Atum, every day! Thou art the august god. My heart advances to Heliopolis, while my . . . and my heart is gay and my breast is in joy. My prayers, my supplications of every day, and my adorations of the night are heard. My petitions will continue in my mouth, and they are heard today.

Thou one and only, O Re-Har-akhti! There is no other here like unto him, who protects millions while he rescues hundred-thousands! The protector of him who calls out to him, the Lord of Heliopolis.

Do not punish me for my numerous sins, (for) I am one who knows not his own self, I am a man without sense. I spend the day following after my (own) mouth,¹ like a cow after grass. If I spend the evening in . . . , I am one to whom calm comes. I spend the day going around *and around* in the *temple* and spend the night . . .

² The scribe would like the advocacy of Thoth in the judgment after death.

³ For the thirsty there is water, even though it may not lie easily at the surface. The same thought lies in the following context, where the babblers or "heated" man cannot find the well of wisdom, but the "silent" man can.

¹ That is, he is not "silent" or submissive to the god.

A Prayer for Help in the Law Court

A characteristic of the later Empire was the humble submissiveness of a worshiper to his god. Man could achieve a good life only with the help of his god. For example, the helpless client in the court of law is bewildered by the clamor of human injustice and turns to the god for justice.

The text comes from Papyrus Anastasi II (British Museum 10243), recto viii 5-ix 1. The manuscript dates from the late Nineteenth Dynasty (about 1230 B.C.) and probably comes from Memphis. The hieratic text was facsimiled in *Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collections of the British Museum*, II (London, 1842), Pls. LXX-LXXI, and in G. Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke*, II (Leipzig, 1927), 36. A transcription into hieroglyphic is given in A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, VII, Brussels, 1937)*, 17. Translated in Erman *LAE*, 308.* Also Caminos, *op.cit.*, 56-58.

O Amon, give thy ear to one who is alone in the law court, who is poor; *he is [not] rich*. The court cheats him (of) silver and gold for the scribes of the mat¹ and clothing for the attendants. May it be found that Amon assumes his form as the vizier, in order to permit [the] poor man to get off. May it be found that the poor man is vindicated. May the poor man surpass the rich.

THE END.

Gratitude for a God's Mercy

An artisan of the Nineteenth Dynasty here expresses his humble gratitude for the recovery of his son from illness. Neb-Re and his son Nakht-Amon were outline draftsmen of the Theban necropolis. It seems that Nakht-Amon acted impiously in respect to a cow belonging to the god Amon-Re and was then taken with a serious illness. He recovered after supplication had been made to the god. His father Neb-Re here gives pious thanks to Amon-Re.

The inscription is carved on a memorial stela, now Berlin 20377.¹ The text is published by G. Roeder in *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, II (Leipzig, 1924), 158 ff. A. Erman gave a photograph and translation in *Denksteine aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt (SBAW, 1911, 1088 ff.)*. Additional translations are by B. Gunn in *JEA*, III (1916), 83-85, and by Erman, *LAE*, 310-12.* Also Williams, *op.cit.*, 151-54.

The Scene Above²

Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, the Great God Presiding over Karnak, the august god, he who hears the prayer, who comes at the voice of the poor and distressed, who gives breath (to) him who is weak.

(5) Giving praise to Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Presiding over Karnak; kissing the

¹ The magistrates and clerks of the court sat on reed mats. "The attendants" were probably the bailiffs.

² Not Berlin 23077, as often listed.

³ The two paragraphs of the following translation apply to the two figures in the scene above the memorial prayer. On the left the god Amon-Re is depicted as seated before the pylon of a temple. On the right Neb-Re kneels in worship of the god.

ground to Amon of the City,³ the Great God, the lord of the great forecourt, the gracious one. May he grant to me that my eyes look at his beauty. To the *ka* of the Outline Draftsman of Amon, Neb-Re, the justified.⁴

The Memorial Prayer

(11) Giving praises to Amon. I make him adorations in his name; I give him praises to the height of heaven and to the width of earth; [I] relate his power to him who travels downstream and to him who travels upstream. Beware ye of him! Repeat him to son and daughter, to great and small; relate him to generations of generations who have not yet come into being; relate him to fishes in the deep, to birds in the heaven; repeat him to him who knows him not and to him who knows him! Beware ye of him!

Thou art Amon, the lord of the silent man,⁵ who comes at the voice of the poor man. If I call to thee when I am distressed, thou (15) comest and thou rescuest me. Thou givest breath (to) him who is weak; thou rescuest him who is imprisoned. Thou art Amon-Re, Lord of Thebes, who rescues him who is in the underworld, inasmuch as thou art he who is . . . when one calls to thee; thou art he who comes from afar.

Made by the Outline Draftsman of Amon in the Place of Truth,⁶ Neb-Re, the justified, son of the Outline Draftsman in the Place of Truth, Pay, . . . in the name of his lord Amon, Lord of Thebes, who comes at the voice of the poor man. Adorations were made for him in his name, because of the greatness of his strength; supplications were made to him before his face and in the presence of the entire land, on behalf of the Outline Draftsman Nakht-Amon, the justified, when he was lying ill and in a state of death, when he was (under) the power of Amon because of his cow.⁷ I found the Lord of the Gods coming as the north wind, with sweet breezes before him.⁸ He rescued the Outline Draftsman of Amon, Nakht-Amon, the justified, the son of the Outline Draftsman of Amon in the Place of Truth, Neb-Re, the justified, and born (20) to the Lady of the House, Pa-shed, the justified.

He says: Though it may be that the servant is normal in doing wrong, still the Lord is normal in being merciful.⁹ The Lord of Thebes does not spend an entire day angry. As for his anger—in the completion of a moment there is no remnant, and *the wind* is turned about in mercy for us, and Amon *has turned around*

³ "The City" is No or Thebes, as in the biblical *No-Amon*.

⁴ The former dedication "to the vital force of" So-and-so has come to mean a dedication by that man, as in the case of contemporary papyri.

⁵ A common expression at this time for the submissive or humble.

⁶ A section in the Theban necropolis.

⁷ It is uncertain whether "his" really means Amon's cow, i.e. of the temple herds, or Nakht-Amon's cow. It is uncertain what the transgression was.

⁸ The north wind is the cooling and healing breeze of Egypt.

⁹ An expression . . . the instruction of Amen-em-Opet, Chapter XVIII (p. 423 below). The word translated "normal," or "regular, usual" may mean "is disposed to" (do wrong or be merciful), as Gunn and Erman.

with his breezes. As thy *ka* endures, thou wilt be merciful, and we shall not repeat what has been turned away!

By the Outline Draftsman in the Place of Truth, Neb-Re, the justified, he says: I shall make this stela in thy name, and I shall establish for thee *these* adorations in writing upon it, because thou hast rescued for me the Outline Draftsman Nakht-Amon. (25) So I spoke unto thee, and thou didst listen to me. Now, see, I shall do what I have said. Thou art the lord of him who calls unto him, satisfied with truth, the Lord of Thebes.

Made by the Outline Draftsman Neb-Re (*and his*) son, the Scribe Khay.

A Penitential Hymn to a Goddess

The end of the Egyptian Empire produced a number of expressions of humble piety, unquestioning faith in a god, and penitence for wrongdoing. The following inscription was dedicated by a man of humble rank to a goddess, "Meres-ger, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Two Lands, whose good name is Peak of the West." Meres-ger means "She Loves Silence," that is, pious submissiveness. The Peak of the West was probably her location on a mountain-head of western Thebes. We do not know what the transgression of the workman Nefer-abet was.

This stela comes from Thebes and is now Turin Museum 102. It was published by G. Maspero in *Recueil de travaux . . .*, II (1880), 109, and studied by A. Erman, *Denksteine aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt* (SBAW, 1911, 1086-1110). It was translated by B. Gunn in *JEA*, III (1916), 86-87.

Giving praise to the Peak of the West; kissing the ground to her *ka*. I give praise; hear (my) call. I was a righteous man upon earth. Made by the Servant in the Place of Truth,¹ Nefer-abet, the triumphant, an ignorant and witless man.

I knew not good or evil. When I did the deed of transgression against the Peak, she punished me, and I was in her hand by night as well as day. I sat upon the brick(s) like the pregnant woman.² I called out to the wind, (but) it did not come to me. I was *tormented* by the Peak of the West, great in strength, and by every god and every goddess.

See, I shall say to great and small who are in the gang:³ "Beware of the Peak! For a lion is in the Peak; she smites with the smiting of a savage lion. She pursues him who transgresses against her."

(But) when I called to my mistress, I found her coming to me with sweet breezes. She showed mercy unto me, after she had let me see her hand. She turned about to me in mercy; she made me forget the sickness which had been (upon) me. Lo, the Peak of the West is merciful, when one calls to her.

What Nefer-abet, the triumphant, says. He says:

"See, and let every ear of him who lives upon earth hearken:—Beware of the Peak of the West!"

For a possible admission of error, much earlier than these penitential prayers, cf. the Instruction for King Meri-ka-Re, p. 416, n.17; p. 417 n.44.

For other hymns among these translations, see pp. 33-34, 431.*

For other prayers among these translations, see pp. 3, 35-36, 253, 257, 448.

¹ A part of the Theban necropolis.

² The Egyptian women in childbirth sat upon a support of bricks, the "birth-stones" of Exod. 1:16. Cf. *RT*, xxv (1893), 47.

³ Of necropolis workmen.

Sumerian Petition

TRANSLATOR: S. N. KRAMER

Petition to a King

The following text represents an epistolary composition highly prized by the Babylonian scribes who developed it into a special literary genre. Quite a number of these "petitions" are now extant. They take the form of a letter addressed to a king or deity; in the latter case the writer of the petition may be the king himself.¹ In the text before us, an individual from Ur by the name of Urshagga probably addresses the petition letter to the king of Ur, whose name he unfortunately fails to mention. Three copies of this text have been found to date: two were excavated in the city of Erech, and one may come from Nippur. The latter was published by S. Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies* (1913), No. 5; a transliteration and translation were published by the same author in *BE*, xxxi (1914), p. 25. Photographs of the two Erech tablets were published by A. Falkenstein together with an excellent transliteration, translation, and commentary, in *ZA*, xliv (1936), 1-25. All three texts date from the first half of the second millennium B.C.

To my king with varicolored eyes who wears a lapis lazuli beard,²

Speak;

To³ the golden statue fashioned on a good day,⁴

¹ In spite of their epistolary formulae, these "petitions" are, of course, not to be thought of as real letters forwarded by an individual who expects a letter in reply; they seem to be but another form of the "prayer" type of composition developed by the scribes in imitation of real letters with urgent appeal for help. As our text shows, in spite of their typical letter headings, these petitions are not written in prose; they have all the earmarks of Sumerian poetry.

² As Falkenstein, *loc. cit.*, p. 8, n.2, states, representations of the bearded ox may be found illustrated in Leonard Woolley's *Royal Tombs*, Pls. 107, 109, and 110.

³ Falkenstein takes this "to" to refer to line 5 only (the Sumerian

The . . .⁵ raised in a pure sheepfold, called *to* the pure womb⁶ of Inanna,

The lord, hero of Inanna, say:

"Thou (*in*) thy judgment⁷ thou art the son of Anu, Thy commands, like the word of a god, cannot be turned back,

Thy words like rain pouring down from heaven, are without number,⁸

Thus says Urshagga, thy servant:

'My king has cared for me, who am a "son" of Ur. (10)

If now my king is (truly) of Anu,⁹

Let not my father's house be carried off,¹⁰

Let not the foundations of my father's house be torn away.

Let my king know.'¹¹

construction is unfortunately ambiguous) and treats lines 3 and 4 as a parenthetical passage addressed to the king.

⁴ Perhaps, then, this petition is addressed to a dead, deified king of Ur whose statue was placed in the temple for veneration and worship.

⁵ The Sumerian word left untranslated here is *áb-za-za*; its usual meanings are "monkey" and "sphinx."

⁶ The Sumerian word is ambiguous; it usually means "heart" but may also be rendered "womb," cf. now particularly Jacobsen, *JNES*, II (1943), 119-121.

⁷ For this rendering of the Sumerian word *dim*, cf. *AS* 12, p. 12, line 31. The sense of the line seems to be that this king's judgment is as trustworthy as that of a heavenly deity.

⁸ Note that the present translation differs to some extent from that of Falkenstein; the implications of the line are not too clear.

⁹ The implication of the words "of Anu" is not too clear; Falkenstein renders the line as: "As surely as my king is (the king) of Anu."

¹⁰ To judge from this and the next line, Urshagga seems to be pleading for the safety of his family in the most general terms. For the passive renderings in this passage, cf. *BASOR*, 79 (1940), p. 21, n.5.

¹¹ Presumably a phrase such as "this my plea" is to be understood.

Sumero-Akkadian Hymns and Prayers

TRANSLATOR: FERRIS J. STEPHENS

Hymn to Ishtar

After extolling the charms and virtues of the goddess, the hymn concludes by enumerating the blessings which she has bestowed upon the king, Ammiditana. While these are represented as accomplished facts, the statements should be taken as indications of the hope of the king for their eventual realization. The text publication does not indicate the provenience of the tablet. It was written in the latter part of the First Dynasty of Babylon, approximately 1600 B.C. Text: *RA*, xxii, 170-1; translation: *RA*, xxii, 174-7; metrical transcription: *ZA*, xxxviii, 19-22.

Praise the goddess, the most awesome of the goddesses.
Let one revere the mistress of the peoples, the greatest
of the Igigi.¹

Praise Ishtar, the most awesome of the goddesses.
Let one revere the queen of women, the greatest of the
Igigi.

She is clothed with pleasure and love.
She is laden with vitality, charm, and voluptuousness.
Ishtar is clothed with pleasure and love.
She is laden with vitality, charm, and voluptuousness.

In lips she is sweet; life is in her mouth.
At her appearance rejoicing becomes full. (10)
She is glorious; veils are thrown over her head.
Her figure is beautiful; her eyes are brilliant.

The goddess—with her there is counsel.
The fate of everything she holds in her hand.
At her glance there is created joy,
Power, magnificence, the protecting deity and guardian
spirit.

She dwells in, she pays heed to compassion and friendli-
ness.
Besides, agreeableness she truly possesses.
Be it slave, unattached girl, or mother, she preserves
(her).
One calls on her; among women one names
her name. (20)

Who—to her greatness who can be equal?
Strong, exalted, splendid are her decrees.
Ishtar—to her greatness who can be equal?
Strong, exalted, splendid are her decrees.

She is sought after among the gods; extraordinary is
her station.
Respected is her word; it is *supreme* over them.

¹ A collective name for the great gods of heaven.

Ishtar among the gods, extraordinary is her station.
Respected is her word; it is *supreme* over them.

She is their queen; they continually cause her commands
to be executed.

All of them bow down before her. (30)

They receive her light before her.

Women and men indeed revere her.

In their assembly her word is powerful; it is dominating.
Before Anum their king she fully supports them.
She rests in intelligence, cleverness, (and) wisdom.
They take counsel together, she and her lord.

Indeed they occupy the throne room together.
In the divine chamber, the dwelling of joy,
Before them the gods take their places.
To their utterances their attention is turned.

The king their favorite, beloved of their hearts,
Magnificently offers to them his pure sacrifices.
Ammiditana, as the pure offering of his hands,
Brings before them fat oxen and gazelles.

From Anum, her consort, she has been pleased to ask
for him

An enduring, a long life.

Many years of living, to Ammiditana
She has granted, Ishtar has decided to give.

By her orders she has subjected to him
The four world regions at his feet;
And the total of all peoples
She has decided to attach them to his yoke.

Prayer of Lamentation to Ishtar

A prayer to be accompanied by a ritual of incantation. Ishtar, in her aspect as goddess of valor and of war, is addressed as the greatest of goddesses. The supplicant describes his bitter affliction and prays for a restoration of his prosperity, so that he and all who see him may praise and glorify the goddess. A colophon of the text indicates that it was the property of the temple Esagila in Babylon; and that it was copied from an older version at Borsippa. The extant text was written in the Neo-Babylonian period as, in all probability, was the older text from which it was copied. Text: L. W. King, *STC*, II, Pls. 75-84. Translations: *ibid.*, I, 222-37; A. Ungnad, *Die Religion der Babylonier und Assyrer* (Jena, 1921), 217-22; E. Ebeling, in *AOT*, 257-60.

I pray to thee, O Lady of ladies, goddess of goddesses.
 O Ishtar, queen of all peoples, who guides mankind
 aright,
 O Irnini,¹ ever exalted, greatest of the Igigi,²
 O most mighty of princesses, exalted is thy name.
 Thou indeed art the light of heaven and earth, O valiant
 daughter of Sin.
 O supporter of arms, who determines battle,
 O possessor of all divine power, who wears the crown
 of dominion,
 O Lady, glorious is thy greatness; over all the gods it
 is exalted.
 O star of lamentation, who causes peaceable brothers
 to fight,
 Yet who constantly gives friendship, (10)
 O mighty one, Lady of battle, who suppresses the
 mountains,
 O Gushea,³ the one covered with fighting and clothed
 with terror
 Thou dost make complete judgment and decision, the
 ordinances of heaven and earth.
 Chapels, holy places, sacred sites, and shrines pay heed
 to thee.
 Where is not thy name, where is not thy divine power?
 Where are thy likenesses not fashioned, where are thy
 shrines not founded?
 Where art thou not great, where art thou not exalted?
 Anu, Enlil, and Ea have made thee high; among the
 gods they have caused thy dominion to be great.
 They have made thee high among all the Igigi; they
 have made thy position pre-eminent.
 At the thought of thy name heaven and earth
 tremble. (20)
 The gods tremble; the Anunnaki⁴ stand in awe.
 To thine awesome name mankind must pay heed.
 For thou art great and thou art exalted.
 All the black-headed (people and) the masses of man-
 kind pay homage to thy might.
 The judgment of the people in truth and righteousness
 thou indeed dost decide.
 Thou regardest the oppressed and mistreated; daily thou
 causest them to prosper.
 Thy mercy! O Lady of heaven and earth, shepherdess
 of the weary people.
 Thy mercy! O Lady of holy Eanna⁵ the pure storehouse.
 Thy mercy! O Lady; unwearied are thy feet; swift
 are thy knees.
 Thy mercy! O Lady of conflict (and)
 of all battles. (30)
 O shining one, lioness of the Igigi, subduer of angry
 gods,

¹ Another name of the goddess Ishtar, probably derived ultimately from Inanna, her Sumerian counterpart.

² A collective name for the great gods of heaven.

³ Another name for the goddess Ishtar, sometimes appearing as Agushea, or Agushaya.

⁴ A collective name for the gods, not always used in the same sense. Sometimes it appears to mean all the gods of heaven and earth, sometimes the gods of the earth and the nether world, and again only the gods of the nether world.

⁵ Name of the temple of Inanna-Ishtar in Uruk, biblical Erech.

O most powerful of all princes, who holdest the reins
 (over) kings,
 (But) who dost release the *bridles* of all maidservants,
 Who art exalted and firmly fixed, O valiant Ishtar, great
 is thy might.
 O brilliant one, torch of heaven and earth, light of all
 peoples,
 O unequaled angry one of the fight, strong one of the
 battle,
 O firebrand which is kindled against the enemy, which
 brings about the destruction of the furious,
 O gleaming one, Ishtar, assembler of the host,
 O deity of men, goddess of women, whose designs no
 one can conceive,
 Where thou dost look, one who is dead lives; one who
 is sick rises up; (40)
 The erring one who sees thy face goes aright.
 I have cried to thee, suffering, wearied, and distressed,
 as thy servant.
 See me O my Lady; accept my prayers.
 Faithfully look upon me and hear my supplication.
 Promise my forgiveness and let thy spirit be appeased.
 Pity! For my wretched body which is full of confusion
 and trouble.
 Pity! For my sickened heart which is full of tears and
 suffering.
 Pity! For my wretched intestines (which are full of)
 confusion and trouble.
 Pity! For my afflicted house which *mourns bitterly*.
 Pity! For my feelings which are satiated with tears and
 suffering. (50)
 O *exalted* Irnini, fierce lion,⁶ let thy heart be at rest.
 O angry wild ox,⁶ let thy spirit be appeased.
 Let the favor of thine eyes be upon me.
 With thy bright features look faithfully upon me.
 Drive away the evil spells of my body (and) let me
 see thy bright light.
 How long, O my Lady, shall my adversaries be looking
 upon me,
 In lying and untruth shall they plan evil against me,
 Shall my pursuers and those who exult over me rage
 against me?
 How long, O my Lady, shall the crippled and weak
 seek me out?
 One has made for me long sackcloth; thus I have
 appeared before thee. (60)
 The weak have become strong; but I am weak.
 I toss about like flood-water, which an evil wind makes
 violent.
 My heart is flying; it keeps fluttering like a bird of
 heaven.
 I mourn like a dove night and day.
 I am beaten down, and so I weep bitterly.
 With "Oh" and "Alas" my spirit is distressed.
 I—what have I done, O my god and my goddess?
 Like one who does not fear my god and my goddess
 I am treated;

⁶ In line 31 Ishtar is called a lioness, but here in her aspect of the fighting deity she is designated even as male ferocious animals.

While sickness, headache, loss, and destruction are provided for me;
 So are fixed upon me terror, disdain, and fullness of wrath, (70)
 Anger, choler, and indignation of gods and men.
 I have to expect, O my Lady, dark days, gloomy months, and years of trouble.
 I have to expect, O my Lady, judgment of confusion and violence.
 Death and trouble are bringing me to an end.
 Silent is my chapel; silent is my holy place;
 Over my house, my gate, and my fields silence is poured out.
 As for my god, his face is turned to the sanctuary of another.
 My family is scattered; my roof is broken up.
 (But) I have paid heed to thee, my Lady; my attention has been turned to thee.
 To thee have I prayed; forgive my debt. (80)
 Forgive my sin, my iniquity, my shameful deeds, and my offence.
 Overlook my shameful deeds; accept my prayer;
 Loosen my fetters; secure my deliverance;
 Guide my steps aright; radiantly like a hero let me enter the streets with the living.
 Speak so that at thy command the angry god may be favorable;
 (And) the goddess who has been angry with me may turn again.
 (Now) dark and smoky, may my brazier glow;
 (Now) extinguished, may my torch be lighted.
 Let my scattered family be assembled;
 May my fold be wide; may my stable be enlarged. (90)
 Accept the abasement of my countenance; hear my prayers.
 Faithfully look upon me and accept my supplication.
 How long, O my Lady, wilt thou be angered so that thy face is turned away?
 How long, O my Lady, wilt thou be infuriated so that thy spirit is enraged?
 Turn thy neck which thou hast set against me; set thy face [toward] good favor.
 Like the water of the opening up of a canal let thy emotions be released.
 My foes like the ground let me trample;
 Subdue my haters and cause them to crouch down under me.
 Let my prayers and my supplications come to thee.
 Let thy great mercy be upon me. (100)
 Let those who see me in the street magnify thy name.
 As for me, let me glorify thy divinity and thy might before the black-headed (people), [saying,]
 Ishtar indeed is exalted; Ishtar indeed is queen;
 The Lady indeed is exalted; the Lady indeed is queen.
 Irnini, the valorous daughter of Sin, has no rival.

Hymn to the Moon-God

A bilingual, Sumerian and Akkadian, text portraying the attributes and aspects of Sin, the god of the moon. Following the part of the text here translated there was a prayer; but this part of the text is so poorly preserved that it has not been thought worth-while to give the fragmentary translation. The tablet was found at the site of ancient Nineveh. The writing of the text may be dated to the reign of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, 668-633 B.C. The tablet states that it was copied from an older tablet; but the date of the original composition of the text cannot be determined. Text: Rawlinson (2d ed.), IV, 9. Translations: S. Langdon, *Babylonian Penitential Psalms* (OECT, VI), 6-11; E. Ebeling in *AOT*, 241-2; Landsberger in E. Lehmann and H. Haas, *Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1922), 301-3.

(obverse)

O Lord, hero of the gods, who in heaven and earth is exalted in his uniqueness,
 Father Nanna, lord Anshar, hero of the gods,¹
 Father Nanna, great lord Anu, hero of the gods,
 Father Nanna, lord Sin, hero of the gods,
 Father Nanna, lord of Ur, hero of the gods,
 Father Nanna, lord of Egishshirgal,² hero of the gods,
 Father Nanna, lord of the shining crown, hero of the gods,
 Father Nanna, who is grandly perfected in kingship, hero of the gods,
 Father Nanna, who solemnly advances in garments of princeliness, hero of the gods,
 Ferocious bull, whose horn is thick, whose legs are perfected, who is bearded in lapis, and filled with luxury and abundance, (10)
 Offspring which is self-created, fullgrown in form, pleasant to the sight, whose exuberance is unrestrained,
 Womb that gives birth to everything, which dwells in a holy habitation with living creatures,
 Begetter, merciful in his disposing,³ who holds in his hand the life of the whole land,
 O Lord, thy divinity fills the wide sea with awe, as well as the distant heavens.
 O progenitor of the land, who has founded temples, thou likewise dost give them their names.
 O father begetter of gods and men, who founds shrines and establishes offerings,
 Namer of kingships, giver of the scepter, thou dost determine destiny unto distant days.
 O mighty prince whose deep heart no one of the gods comprehends,
 Swift colt whose knees do not tire, who opens the way for his brother gods,

¹ The words "who in heaven and earth is exalted in his uniqueness," though not written at the ends of lines 2-9, are intended to be repeated after each of these lines as part of the refrain. Of the four proper names with which the god is addressed in lines 2-4, Nanna is the Sumerian name of the moon-god, Sin is his Akkadian counterpart, Anshar is a primitive father of the gods mentioned in the Babylonian Creation Epic, and Anu is the god of heaven and chief of all the gods.

² Egishshirgal is the name of the temple of the moon-god in Ur.

³ So apparently the Sumerian; the Akkadian has "merciful and forgiving."

Whose light goes from the base of heaven to the zenith,
 who opens the door of heaven and gives light to
 all people, (20)
 Father begetter, who looks favorably upon all living
 creatures. . . .
 O Lord, decider of the destinies of heaven and earth,
 whose word no one alters,
 Who controls water and fire, leader of living creatures,
 what god is like thee?
 In heaven who is exalted? Thou! Thou alone art
 exalted.
 On earth who is exalted? Thou! Thou alone art
 exalted.
 Thou! When thy word is pronounced in heaven the
 Igigi prostrate themselves.
 Thou! When thy word is pronounced on earth the
 Anunnaki kiss the ground.
 Thou! When thy word drifts along in heaven like the
 wind it makes rich the feeding and drinking of the
 land.

(reverse)

Thou! When thy word settles down on the earth green
 vegetation is produced.
 Thou! Thy word makes fat the sheepfold and the stall;
 it makes living creatures widespread.
 Thou! Thy word causes truth and justice to be, so that
 the people speak the truth.
 Thou! Thy word which is far away in heaven, which is
 hidden in the earth is something no one sees.
 Thou! Who can comprehend thy word, who can equal
 it?
 O Lord, in heaven as to dominion, on earth as to valor,
 among the gods thy brothers, thou hast not a rival.

Prayer to the Moon-God

A prayer to accompany an offering made on the thirtieth day of the month, a festival of the Moon-god. This prayer belongs to the common type of prayers used with the ritual of *šu il-la* "raising of the hand." After a lengthy invocation of hymnic character, the supplicant prays for general well-being as well as for forgiveness of his sins. The text from which the translation is made comes from tablets found in the library of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, 668-633 B.C. For duplicates see Walter G. Kunstmann, *Die babylonische Gebetsbeschwörung* (Leipzig, 1932), 103. Text: L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* (London, 1896), No. 1, lines 1-27. Translations: E. G. Perry, *Hymnen und Gebete an Sin* (Leipzig, 1907), 12-16; H. Zimmern, *AO*, XIII/1 (1911), 4-5.

O Sin, O Nannar, glorified one . . . ,
 Sin, unique one, who makes bright . . . ,
 Who furnishes light for the people . . . ,
 To guide the dark-headed people aright . . . ,
 Bright is thy light in heaven. . . .
 Brilliant is thy torch like fire. . . .
 Thy brightness has filled the broad land.
 The people are radiant; they take courage at seeing thee.

O Anu¹ of heaven whose designs no one can conceive,
 Surpassing is thy light like Shamash thy
 first-born. (10)
 Bowed down in thy presence are the great gods; the
 decisions of the land are laid before thee;
 When the great gods inquire of thee thou dost give
 counsel.
 They sit (in) their assembly (and) debate under thee;
 O Sin, shining one of Ekur,² when they ask thee thou
 dost give the oracle of the gods.
 On account of the evil of an eclipse of the moon which
 took place in such and such a month, on such and
 such a day,³
 On account of the evil of bad and unfavorable portents
 and signs which have happened in my palace and
 my country,³
 In the dark of the moon, the time of thy oracle, the
 mystery of the great gods,
 On the thirtieth day, thy festival, the day of delight of
 thy divinity,
 O Namrasit,⁴ unequaled in power, whose designs no one
 can conceive,
 I have spread out for thee a pure incense-offering of the
 night; I have poured out for thee the best sweet
 drink. (20)
 I am kneeling; I tarry (thus); I seek after thee.
 Bring upon me wishes for well-being and justice.
 May my god and my goddess, who for many days have
 been angry with me,
 In truth and justice be favorable to me; may my road
 be propitious; may my path be straight.⁵
 After he⁶ has sent Zaqqar, the god of dreams,
 During the night may I hear the undoing of my sins;
 let my guilt be poured out;
 (And) forever let me devotedly serve thee.

Prayer of Ashurbanipal to the Sun-God

This text is in reality a hymn of praise to the god Shamash, to which has been appended a prayer for the well-being of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, 668-633 B.C. This composition has a feature in its final lines which is unusual for hymns and prayers, but which is reminiscent of numerous royal inscriptions from very early times in Mesopotamia; a blessing is pronounced on whoever makes proper use of the piece, and a corresponding curse is added for its misuse. Duplicate copies of the text are preserved on two tablets found in the German excavations at Ashur. Text: E. Ebeling, *KAR*, Nos. 105, 361. Translations: E. Ebeling, *Quellen zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, *MVAG*, XXIII (1918), I, 25-7; E. Ebeling in *AOT*, 247-8.

¹ Thus the moon-god is identified with the chief god of the pantheon.

² The name of the principal temple in Nippur.

³ These two lines stand after line 11 in the original text. They represent a later insertion in the text, which interrupts the sense awkwardly. I have ventured to transpose them to the present place in the translation, where I believe the interpolator intended them to stand.

⁴ A name of the moon-god meaning "bright rising."

⁵ The text has a mark of division in the midst of this line, at a point corresponding to the first semicolon in the translation. The probable meaning of this is that the line formed two separate lines in an earlier tablet from which our copy was made.

⁶ The personal deity mentioned two lines above.

O light of the great gods, light of the earth, illuminator of the world-regions,
 . . . exalted judge, the honored one of the upper and lower regions,
 . . .¹ Thou dost look into all the lands with thy light.
 As one who does not cease from revelation, daily thou dost determine the decisions of heaven and earth.
 Thy [rising] is a flaming fire; all the stars of heaven are covered over.
 Thou art uniquely brilliant; no one among the gods is equal with thee.
 With Sin, thy father, thou dost hold court; thou dost deliver ordinances.
 Anu and Enlil without thy *consent* establish no decision.
 Ea, the determiner of judgment in the midst of the Deep, depends upon thee.²
 The attention of all the gods is turned to thy bright rising. (10)
 They *inhale* incense; they receive pure bread-offerings.
 The incantation priests [bow down] under thee in order to cause signs of evil to pass away.
 The oracle priests [stand before] thee in order to make the hands worthy to bring oracles.
 [I am] thy [servant], Ashurbanipal, the exercising of whose kingship thou didst command in a vision,
 [The worshiper of] thy bright divinity, who makes glorious the appurtenances of thy divinity,
 [The proclaimer of] thy greatness, who glorifies thy praise to widespread peoples.
 Judge his case; turn his fate to prosperity.
 [Keep] him in splendor; daily let him walk safely.
 [Forever] may he rule over thy people whom thou hast given him in righteousness.
 [In the house] which he made, and within which he caused thee to dwell in joy, (20)
 May he rejoice in his heart, in his disposition may he be happy, may he be satisfied in living.
 Whoever shall sing this psalm, (and) name the name of Ashurbanipal,
 In abundance and righteousness may he rule over the people of Enlil.
 Whoever shall learn this text (and) glorify the judge of the gods,
 May Shamash enrich his . . . ; may he make pleasing his command over the people.
 Whoever shall cause this song to cease, (and) shall not glorify Shamash, the light of the great gods,
 Or shall change the name of Ashurbanipal, the exercise

¹ Two words, *tikip satakki*, which appear in the text at this point, are not included in the translation because they appear not to have formed part of the original composition. They probably constitute a note inserted by the scribe when he was copying the text from another tablet. Von Soden in *ZDMG* xc1 (1937), 193, and Thureau-Dangin in *Textes mathématiques babyloniens* (Leyden, 1938), xvii, have pointed out that *satakku* is a loan word from Sumerian meaning a single "wedge" of cuneiform writing. The word *tikpu* means "layer," "section," or "row." The phrase here probably means, "a line of cuneiform writing." The most probable explanation is that the phrase was inserted here by the scribe to represent a line on his original which was damaged or for some reason was too obscure to be copied.

² Literally, "looks upon thy face."

of whose kingship Shamash in a vision commanded,
 and then shall name another royal name,
 May his playing on the harp be displeasing to the people; may his song of rejoicing be a thorn and a thistle.

Hymn to the Sun-God

Shamash is praised as a universal god. He shines on all the earth and even on the nether world. He enjoys the worship and devotion of all types of mankind even those in foreign lands. Appearing alternately with this thought throughout the hymn is the proclamation of the sun-god's interest in justice and righteousness. He punishes the wicked and rewards the righteous. The text is made up out of many fragments, all found in the library of Ashurbanipal, 668-633 B.C. The best edition of the text is that of C. D. Gray, *The Šamaš Religious Texts* (Chicago, 1901), Pls. 1-II, to which must be added, R. E. Brünnow, *Assyrian Hymns, ZA*, iv (1889), 25-35. Translations: P. A. Schollmeyer, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš* (Paderborn, 1912), 80-94; E. Ebeling, in *AOT*, 244-47; F. M. Th. Böhl, *De zonnegod als de beschermer der noodruftigen, JEOL* (1942), 665-80.

(i)

O illuminator of [darkness . . .],
 Destroyer of [evil . . .] above and below,
 O Shamash, illuminator of [darkness . . .],
 Destroyer of [evil . . .] above and below,
 Cast down like a net [over the land] are thy rays;
 Over the mighty mountains . . . of the sea.
 At thy appearance [all] princes are glad;
 All the Igigi¹ rejoice over thee.
 They are always kept hidden [in] thy . . . ;
 In the brilliance of thy light their path
 [is obscured]. (10)
 . . . constantly look at thy radiance.
 The four world regions like fire. . . .
 Opened wide is the gate which entirely. . . .
 The bread-offerings of all the Igigi. . . .
 O Shamash, at thy rising . . . are bowed down.
 . . . O Shamash . . . ,
 O shining one, who opens the darkness, who . . . ,
 Who intensifies the noonday heat . . . the grain fields.
 The mighty mountains are covered with thy brightness.
 Thy brilliance fills the extent of the land. (20)
 (When) thou art risen over the mountains thou dost scan the earth.
 Thou art holding the ends of the earth suspended from the midst of heaven.
 The people of the world, all of them, thou dost watch over.
 Whatever Ea, the counselor-king, has willed to create,
 thou art guarding altogether.
 Those endowed with life, thou likewise dost tend;
 Thou indeed art their shepherd both above and below.
 Faithfully thou dost continue to pass through the heavens;

¹ A collective name for the great gods of heaven.

The broad earth thou dost visit daily.
 . . . the sea, the mountains, the earth, and the heavens.
 Like a . . . steadfastly thou goest every day. (30)
 The lower region, belonging to the prince Kubu² (and)
 the Anunnaki,³ thou dost guard;
 The upper world, consisting of all inhabited places,
 thou dost lead aright.
 Shepherd of the lower world, guardian of the upper,
 Guide, light of everything, O Shamash, art thou.
 Thou dost constantly pass over the vast wide seas,
 Whose innermost depths even the Igigi do not know.
 . . . thy gleaming rays go down into the Deep;
 The monsters of the sea look upon thy light.
 . . . when thou art bound with a cord, when thou art
 clothed with a storm-cloud,
 . . . thy protection is cast down on the lands. (40)
 As thou art [not] troubled in the daytime, and thy face
 is not darkened,
 So thou art satiated at night; thou causest [thy light]
 to burn.
 Over stretches of unknown distance and for countless
 hours,
 O Shamash, thou dost keep awake; by day thou dost
 go and by night thou dost [return].
 There is not among all the Igigi one who wearies
 (himself) except thee;
 (Yet) none among the gods of all the world who is
 exuberant like thee.
 At thy rising the gods of the land assemble;
 By thy frightful brilliance the land is overwhelmed.
 Of all countries (even) those different in language,
 Thou knowest their plans; thou art observant of their
 course. (50)
 All mankind rejoices in thee;
 O Shamash, all the world longs for thy light.
 By the cup of the diviner, by the bundle of cedarwood,
 Thou dost instruct the oracle priest and the interpreter
 of dreams.
 . . . of spells are bowed down before thee;
 [Before] thee are bowed down both the wicked and the
 just.

(ii)

[Who] penetrates into the sea except thee?
 For the good and the wicked (alike) thou dost set up
 judgment.
 (line 3 is too incomplete for translation)
 Pours over him, and sleep . . .
 Thou dost hold back the evildoer, who is not . . .
 Thou dost bring up . . . which holds judgments.
 By the true judgment, O Shamash, which thou hast
 spoken . . .
 Glorious are thy pronouncements; they are not changed
 . . .
 Thou dost stand by the traveler whose road is difficult;

² The reading of the name of this deity is not certain; other readings, which have been proposed and which may be correct, are Kusud, or Kusig.
³ See above, the Prayer of Lamentation to Ishtar, n.4.

To the seafarer who fears the waters thou dost give
 [courage]. (10)
 (Over) roads which are not proven thou dost [guide]
 the hunter;
 He follows along the high places just like the sun.
 [The merchant with his] pouch thou dost save from the
 flood.

(seventeen broken lines omitted)

Spread out is thy wide net [to catch the man]
 Who has coveted the wife of his comrade . . .
 On an unlucky day . . .

(line omitted)

When thy weapon *is turned on him* [he has] no saviors.
 In his trial his father will not stand by him;
 To the word of the judge even his brothers do not
 answer;
 By a *bronze trap* he will be caught unawares.
 The horn of the perpetrator of abomination thou dost
 destroy.
 He who manipulates the calculating of an account⁴—
 his foundation will be changed. (40)
 The unrighteous judge thou dost make to see imprison-
 ment.
 The receiver of a bribe who perverts (justice) thou
 dost make to bear punishment.
 He who does not accept a bribe (but) intercedes for
 the weak,
 Is well-pleasing to Shamash (and) enriches (his) life.
 The solicitous judge who pronounces a judgment of
 righteousness,
 Shall prepare a palace; the abode of princes (shall be)
 his dwelling.
 He who invests money at an exorbitant rate of reckon-
 ing—what does he gain?
 He will make himself lie for the profit and then lose
 (his) bag of weights.⁵
 He who invests his money at liberal rates of reckoning,
 yielding one shekel for *three*,⁶
 Is well-pleasing to Shamash, (and) enriches
 his life. (50)
 He who handles the scales in falsehood,
 He who deliberately changes the stone weights (and)
 lowers [their weight,]
 Will make himself lie for the profit and then lose
 [his bag of weights.]
 He who handles the scales in truth, much . . .
 As much as possible . . .
 He who handles the measure . . .

(iii)

(six broken lines omitted)

He is well-pleasing to Shamash (and) enriches his life.

⁴ The word *šiddu* appears to be borrowed from Sumerian *šid* "reckoning," although it has not been recognized as such in the previous translations of this text, nor in the existing Akkadian dictionaries. The phrase *epeš šiddu* is an exact translation of Sumerian *šid ag* "to render an account."

⁵ The word for "bag of weights" may also be translated "capital."

⁶ The translation is based on a restoration which is uncertain but probable. Such an interest rate is very common in Babylonian contracts; higher rates are also frequent.

He will expand (his) family; he will acquire wealth.
Like the water of eternal springs, there shall be enduring
seed

For the doer of good deeds, who is not crafty
in accounts. (10)

He who changes the least (thing) in an offering
of . . .⁷

Those who do evil—their seed shall not endure.

Those who make appeal⁸—it is put before thee;

Quickly thou dost interpret their statements.⁹

Thou dost hearken; thou dost support them; thou dost
reinstatement the right of him who has been badly
treated.

Each and every one is kept by thy hand;

Thou dost guide all their omens aright; what is bound
thou dost loosen.

Thou hearkenest, O Shamash, to prayer, supplication,
and adoration;

To devotion (and) kneeling, to reciting of prayers and
prostration.

In his hollow voice the feeble man calls out
to thee; (20)

The miserable, the weak, the mistreated, the poor man
Comes before thee faithfully with psalms (and) offer-
ings.

When his family is distant, his city is far away,
From the fear of the (open) field, the shepherd comes
before thee.

The shepherd boy in confusion, the shepherd among
enemies

O Shamash, comes before thee. The *caravan* which
marches in fear,

The traveling trader, the peddler carrying the bag
of weights,

O Shamash, comes before thee. The net-fisherman,

The hunter, the fighter and guard against animals

In the hiding place, the bird-catcher comes before
thee. (30)

The burglar, the thief, the enemy of the king,¹⁰

The vagabond in the roads of the desert, comes before
thee.

The wandering dead, the fleeting ghosts

Came before thee, O Shamash . . .

Thou didst not exclude; they came before thee . . .

(three broken lines omitted)

[To guide] their omens [aright] thou art sitting on
a throne.

In all directions thou dost investigate their past. (40)

⁷ The Akkadian for "in an offering of . . ." is *ina maš-da-ri šá*. . . This might also be read: *ina maš-ta-ri šá-[ta-ri]* "in writing an inscription," The same word *maš-da-ri*, however, appears in line 22 below, where it seems certain that it means "offering."

⁸ Literally: "those who make their mouth high."

⁹ Literally: "Thou dost hasten; thou dost loosen the issue of their mouth."

¹⁰ The word translated "king" means literally "sun" and is fundamentally the same word as the name of the sun-god. In this case the scribe has indicated by a phonetic complement that the word is to be read *šamši*; elsewhere in the text he writes the name of the sun-god consistently without a phonetic complement even when it is grammatically in the genitive case. It is probable, then, that the sun-god is not meant here. Frankfort has pointed out in *Kingship and the Gods*, 307-8, that in Mesopotamia as well as in Egypt the king often bore the epithet "the sun." Such an interpretation of the text fits in well here with the general context.

Thou dost open the ears of the whole world.

For the wings of the glance of thine eyes the heavens
are not sufficient;

For a divination bowl all the countries are not enough.

On the twentieth day thou dost rejoice; in joy and

gladness

Thou dost eat and drink. Their pure wine (and) beer
of the quay tavern-keeper

They pour out for thee. Beer of the quay tavern-keeper
thou dost receive.

Those whom . . . and flood surround thou indeed dost
spare;

Their bright, pure outpourings thou dost accept.

Thou dost drink their mixture, the wine;

The wishes which they conceive thou indeed dost cause
to be realized. (50)

Those who are submissive—thou dost release their bans;

Those who do homage—thou dost accept their prayers.

They then fear thee; they honor thy name;

They praise thy greatness forever.

The foolish of tongue who speak evil,

Who, like clouds, have no face or *countenance*,

(iv)

Those who traverse the wide earth,

Those who tread upon the high mountains,

The monsters of the sea which are full of terror,

The product of the sea (and) what belongs in the Deep,

The spawn of the river which it produces from itself,

(all) O Shamash, are in thy presence.

Which are the mountains that have not clothed them-
selves with thy brilliance?

Which are the world regions that do not warm them-
selves by the glow of thy light?

O brightener of gloom, who makes darkness to shine,
O opener of darkness, who makes the broad earth to
shine,

Who makes the day bright (and) sends down burning
heat on the earth in the midday, (10)

Who like a fire heats the broad earth,

Who makes days short, who makes nights long,

. . . cold (and) frost, rain (and) snow,

(twenty more fragmentary lines)

Psalm to Marduk

The one purpose of this composition is to establish a quiet and favorable mood in the god Marduk, when he is returned to his temple, after a long ceremony known as the Akītu, or New Year's Festival. To this end the principal temples where he is worshiped, and all the main gods are invoked, and asked to say to him, "Be appeased." This word is common to three slightly different refrains which run throughout the composition, at the ends of the lines. The most complete copy of the text is from a tablet found at Babylon. Other copies existed at Nineveh, and fragments of two of them are known from the time of Ashurbanipal, 668-633 B.C. The Babylonian text is said to have been copied from an older tablet. To judge from the name of the scribe, Bel-ahhim-iribam, this was done in Neo-Babylonian times. The date of the original composition can not be determined. It appears to have been written in Sumerian.

The extant copies are in the Emesal dialect of Sumerian with interlinear translation in Akkadian. Text: F. H. Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen* (Leipzig, 1903), Pls. XIII-XIV; Rawlinson, IV (2d ed.), 18, No. 2; *ibid.*, Additions and Corrections, p. 3. Translations: P. Jensen, *Texte zur assyrisch-babylonischen Religion* (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI, 2 [Berlin, 1915]), 36-41; A. Ungnad, *Die Religion der Babylonier und Assyrier* (Jena, 1921), 169-172; E. Ebeling, *AOT*, 256-7.

O Lord, at thy going into the temple [may thy house say to thee, "Be appeased."]¹
 O Prince, Lord Marduk, at thy going into the temple, may thy house²
 O great hero, Lord Enbilulu³ at thy going into the temple, may thy house
 Be appeased, O Lord; be appeased, O Lord; may thy house
 Be appeased, O Lord of Babylon; may thy house
 Be appeased, O Lord of Esagila;⁴ may thy house
 Be appeased, O Lord of Ezida;⁵ may thy house
 Be appeased, O Lord of Emachtila;⁶ may thy house
 (In) Esagila the house of thy lordship, may thy house
 May thy city say to thee, "Be appeased"; may thy house (10)
 May Babylon say to thee, "Be appeased"; may thy house
 May Anu the great, father of the gods, say to thee, "How long," (and) "Be appeased."⁷
 May the great mountain, father Enlil, (say to thee) "How long,"
 May the princess of city and house, the great mother, Ninlil, (say to thee) "How long,"
 May Ninurta, the chief son of Enlil, the exalted arm of Anu, (say to thee) "How long,"
 May Sin, the lamp of heaven and earth, (say to thee) "How long,"
 May the hero Shamash, the bearded one, son of Ningal (say to thee) "How long,"
 May Ea, king of the Deep, (say to thee) "How long,"
 May Damkina, queen of the Deep, (say to thee) "How long,"

¹ The restoration is made on the basis of the following lines and in particular lines 31 and 36, following also Langdon, *Babylonian Penitential Psalms*, ix.

² It is intended that the first eleven lines should all end with the same refrain as line 1, although the text actually gives only the first word of the refrain in 2-11.

³ One of the "Fifty Names" of Marduk listed in the seventh tablet of the Babylonian Creation Epic.

⁴ The name of the chief temple of Marduk, located in Babylon and known from Old Babylonian times until the Hellenistic period.

⁵ Although there was a chapel in the temple of Esagila known as Ezida, it is not probable that it is meant here; more likely the reference is to the great temple in Borsippa. It is true that Ezida of Borsippa was a temple of Nabu, but it is not inappropriate to call Marduk, the chief of the gods in Neo-Babylonian times, the "Lord of Ezida," especially since he seems to have been associated with this temple even as early as the time of Hammurabi.

⁶ A principal sanctuary in the temple of Ezida at Borsippa.

⁷ The refrain is now augmented by the words, "How long?" and continues in this form through line 28, although in its written form it appears only represented by the first word. "How long?" is an abbreviated exclamation, meaning, "How long will you remain in your present state? Is it not time for a change?"

May Sarpanitum, daughter-in-law of the Deep (say to thee), "How long," (20)
 May . . . Nabu (say to thee) "How long,"
 May . . . first born of Urash (say to thee) "How long,"
 May . . . Tashmetum say to thee, "How long," (and) "Be appeased."⁸
 May the great princess, the lady Nana, (say to thee), "How long,"
 May the Lord Madana, director of the Anunnaki, (say to thee), "How long,"
 May Baba, the gracious lady, (say to thee), "How long,"
 May Adad, the son beloved of Anu, (say to thee), "How long,"
 May Shala, the great wife, (say to thee), "How long,"
 O Lord, mighty one who dwells in Ekur⁹ let thine own divine spirit bring thee rest.
 O thou who art the hero of the gods—may the gods of heaven and earth cause thine anger to be appeased. (30)
 Do not neglect thy city, Nippur; "O Lord, be appeased," may they say to thee.¹⁰
 Do not neglect thy city, Sippar; "O Lord, be appeased,"
 Do not neglect Babylon, the city of thy rejoicing; "O Lord, be appeased,"
 Look favorably on thy house; look favorably on thy city; "O Lord, be appeased,"
 Look favorably on Babylon and Esagila; "O Lord, be appeased,"
 The bolt of Babylon, the lock of Esagila, the bricks of Ezida restore thou to their places; "O Lord, be appeased," may the gods of heaven and earth say to thee.¹¹

Prayer to the Gods of the Night

The occasion for this prayer is a divination ceremony carried on at night. The great gods who ordinarily control the affairs of the world are regarded as resting in sleep; and therefore the gods represented by several of the constellations of fixed stars are asked to witness the performance and to guarantee that truth will be revealed. The place from which this text comes is not known, but it was written in the Old Babylonian period, in the first half of the second millennium B.C. It is written in the Akkadian language and the Babylonian cursive script. Two slightly variant copies of the text are known, one of which is on a tablet giving two additional prayers of similar nature. These latter are not given here because they are somewhat fragmentary. Text A: V. K. Shileiko, *Izvestija Rossijskoj*

⁸ The refrain is written out in full in this line because it is the first line on the reverse of the tablet.

⁹ The historic temple of Enlil in the city of Nippur. Since Marduk in Neo-Babylonian theology had been assigned the position that Enlil once held it is quite in order to say that he dwells in Ekur.

¹⁰ After two lines (29-30) without a refrain, the response now assumes its third form and continues so to the end.

¹¹ The original composition seems to have ended here; but the Assyrian copy adds the following prayer: "Make Ashurbanipal, the shepherd, thy sustainer, to live; hear his prayer; lay well the foundation of the seat of his royalty; the control of the people let him hold unto distant days."

Akademii istorii material'noj kul'tury, III (Leningrad, 1924), 147; photograph, *ibid.*, Pl. VIII. Text B: G. Dossin, *RA*, xxxii (1935), 182-3. Translations: G. Dossin, *RA*, xxxii (1935), 179-187; W. von Soden, *ZA*, xliii (1936), 305-8.

They are lying down, the great ones.¹
 The bolts are fallen; the fastenings are placed.
 The crowds and people are quiet.
 The open gates are (now) closed.
 The gods of the land and the goddesses of the land,
 Shamash, Sin, Adad, and Ishtar,²
 Have betaken themselves to sleep in heaven.
 They are not pronouncing judgment;
 They are not deciding things.
 Veiled is the night;³ (10)
 The temple and the most holy places are quiet and dark.
 The traveler calls on (his) god;⁴
 And the litigant is tarrying in sleep.⁵
 The judge of truth, the father of the fatherless,⁶
 Shamash, has betaken himself to his chamber.
 O great ones, gods of the night,⁷
 O bright one, Gibil,⁸ O warrior, Irra,⁹
 O bow (star) and yoke (star),¹⁰
 O Pleiades, Orion, and the dragon,¹¹
 O Ursa major, goat (star), and the bison, (20)
 Stand by, and then,
 In the divination which I am making,
 In the lamb which I am offering,¹²
 Put truth for me.

Prayer to Every God

This prayer is addressed to no particular god, but to all gods in general, even those who may be unknown. The purpose of the prayer is to claim relief from suffering, which the writer understands is the result of some infraction of divine law. He bases his claim on the fact that his transgressions have been committed unwittingly, and that he does not even know what god he may have offended. Moreover, he claims, the whole human race is by nature ignorant of the divine will, and consequently is constantly committing sin. He therefore ought not to be singled out for punishment. The text is written in the Emesal dialect of Sumerian, furnished with an interlinear Akkadian translation. The colophon of the tablet indicates that it was part of a series of prayers, the next tablet of which began with the line "By his word he has commanded my well-being." The tablet comes from the library of Ashurbanipal, 668-633 B.C., and was copied from an older original. There are, however, numer-

¹ The word literally means "princes" and is an epithet of the gods.

² B has: "Adad and Ea, Shamash and Ishtar."

³ The meaning is, "the night has put on its veil and hence the world has become dark."

⁴ Instead of "calls on his god" B has, "prays to the god Nergal." The cuneiform signs involved are enough alike that one may have been mistakenly copied for the other.

⁵ The litigant is contrasted with the traveler of the previous line. The reference in both cases is probably to tradespeople. When a trader entered a town he was frequently haled into court to settle some legal matter connected with his transactions.

⁶ B has "truth" instead of "fatherless."

⁷ This line in B is transposed to stand after line 20.

⁸ The fire-god.

⁹ A god of the nether world.

¹⁰ B mentions only one constellation in this line, "the Elamite bow."

¹¹ A omits the Pleiades.

¹² A has "prayer" instead of "lamb."

ous features of the Sumerian text which are characteristic of the late period, and it is probable that the original composition of the text is not much older than Ashurbanipal. Text: Rawlinson, iv (2d ed.), 10. Translations: A. Ungnad, *Die Religion der Babylonier und Assyrer* (Jena, 1921), 224-7; E. Ebeling, in *AOT*, 261-2; S. Langdon, *Babylonian Penitential Psalms* (Paris, 1927), 39-44.

May the fury of my lord's heart be quieted toward me.¹
 May the god who is not known be quieted toward me;
 May the goddess who is not known be quieted toward me.
 May the god whom I know or do not know be quieted toward me;
 May the goddess whom I know or do not know be quieted toward me.
 May the heart of my god be quieted toward me;
 May the heart of my goddess be quieted toward me.
 May my god and goddess be quieted toward me.
 May the god [who has become angry with me]² be quieted toward me;
 May the goddess [who has become angry with me] be quieted toward me. (10)
 (lines 11-18 cannot be restored with certainty)
 In ignorance I have eaten that forbidden of my god;
 In ignorance I have set foot on that prohibited by my goddess. (20)
 O Lord, my transgressions are many; great are my sins.
 O my god, (my) transgressions are many; great are (my) sins.
 O my goddess, (my) transgressions are many; great are (my) sins.
 O god whom I know or do not know, (my) transgressions are many; great are (my) sins;
 O goddess whom I know or do not know, (my) transgressions are many; great are (my) sins.
 The transgression which I have committed, indeed I do not know;
 The sin which I have done, indeed I do not know.
 The forbidden thing which I have eaten, indeed I do not know;
 The prohibited (place) on which I have set foot, indeed I do not know.
 The lord in the anger of his heart looked at me; (30)
 The god in the rage of his heart confronted me;
 When the goddess was angry with me, she made me become ill.
 The god whom I know or do not know has oppressed me;
 The goddess whom I know or do not know has placed suffering upon me.
 Although I am constantly looking for help, no one takes me by the hand;
 When I weep they do not come to my side.

¹ Literally the Sumerian says, "Of my lord, may his angry heart return to its place for me." The phrase "return to its place" is figurative language meaning "to settle down"; the imagery may be that of a raging storm or of the contents of a boiling kettle. The scribe indicates that each of the next nine lines ends with the same phrase, although he actually writes only the first word of the phrase after having written it once fully.

² The restoration is based on line 32, after Langdon.

I utter laments, but no one hears me;
 I am troubled; I am overwhelmed; I can not see.
 O my god, merciful one, I address to thee the prayer,
 "Ever incline to me";
 I kiss the feet of my goddess; I crawl before thee. (40)
 (lines 41-49 are mostly broken
 and cannot be restored with certainty)
 How long, O my goddess, whom I know or do not
 know, ere thy hostile heart will be quieted? (50)
 Man is dumb; he knows nothing;
 Mankind, everyone that exists,—what does he know?
 Whether he is committing sin or doing good, he does
 not even know.
 O my lord, do not cast thy servant down;
 He is plunged into the waters of a swamp; take him
 by the hand.
 The sin which I have done, turn into goodness;

The transgression which I have committed, let the wind
 carry away;
 My many misdeeds strip off like a garment.
 O my god, (my) transgressions are seven times seven;
 remove my transgressions;
 O my goddess, (my) transgressions are seven times
 seven; remove my transgressions; (60)
 O god whom I know or do not know, (my) trans-
 gressions are seven times seven; remove my trans-
 gressions;
 O goddess whom I know or do not know, (my) trans-
 gressions are seven times seven; remove my trans-
 gressions.
 Remove my transgressions (and) I will sing thy praise.
 May thy heart, like the heart of a real mother, be quieted
 toward me;
 Like a real mother (and) a real father may it be
 quieted toward me.

Hittite Prayers

TRANSLATOR: ALBRECHT GOETZE

Prayer of Pudu-hepas¹ to the Sun-Goddess of Arinna and her Circle

Text: *KUB*, xxi, 27. Literature: Short quotations were given by E. Forrer, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 1 (1929), 150 and by A. Götz, *Kulturgeschichte Kleinasiens* (1933), 129, 2nd ed. (1957), 137.

A. PRAYER TO THE SUN-GODDESS HERSELF

To the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, the mistress of the Hatti lands, the queen of heaven and earth.

Sun-goddess of Arinna, thou art queen of all countries! In the Hatti country thou bearest the name of the Sun-goddess of Arinna; (5) but in the land which thou madest the cedar land thou bearest the name Hebat. I, Pudu-hepas, am a servant of thine from of old, a heifer from thy stable, a foundation stone (upon which) thou (canst rest). Thou, my lady, rearedst me (10) and Hattusilis, thy servant, to whom thou espousedst me, was *closely* associated with the Storm-god of Nerik, thy beloved son. The place in which thou, Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, didst establish us was the residence (15) of the Storm-god of Nerik, thy beloved son. How the earlier kings had neglected it, that thou knowest, Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady. The earlier kings let [fall into ruins] even those countries which thou, Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, hadst given them.

(Small gap in which Hattusilis' achievements during the reign of his brother Muwatallis were related.)

[When he was king in] the country of Nerik and in the country of [Hakpis], he himself and his [soldiery kept in the field] while he (Muwatallis) waged war against [Egypt].

But when Muwatallis, [his brother,] became god,² he (Hattusilis) took his [son] Urhi-Tessub (40) and established him as king. How [Urhi-Tessub limited] Hattusilis, thy servant, to Nerik, that thou knowest, Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady. How he harried his lord, and (how) they rallied the princes (with the call): "Come! To Nerik!" [that thou knowest] [Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady]. That man³ counted its ruin and its doom as naught: "Let there be death in Nerik! Let us throw Nerik into ruin!"

(small gap)

[In the way in which it is right to perform purifications, in the way in which ye want to be worshiped,

in the way in which it is right to attend to your festivals] (ii) [thus] we shall perform the purifications, thus we shall worship you the gods, thus we shall attend to the ordinances (and) celebrations due to you, the gods. (5) The festivals of you, the gods, which they had stopped, the old festivals, the yearly ones and the monthly ones, they shall celebrate for you, the gods. Your festivals, O gods, my lords, shall never be stopped again! For all our days will we, your servant (and) your handmaid, (10) worship you.

This is what I, Pudu-hepas, thy handmaid, laid in prayer before the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, the lady of the Hatti lands, the queen of heaven and earth. Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, yield to me, hearken to me! (15) Among men there is a saying: "To a woman in travail the god yields her wish." [Since] I, Pudu-hepas, am a woman in travail (and since) I have devoted myself to thy son, yield to me, Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady! (20) Grant to me what [I ask]! Grant life to [Hattusilis, thy servant]! Through [the Good-women] (and) the Mother-goddesses [long (and) enduring] years (and) days shall be [gi]ven to him. [Since] thou, an exalted deity, holdest [a place set apart among the gods], (25) all the gods are [subservient to thee], and no one appeals [to thee in vain]. In [the assembly] of all the gods request thou the life [of Hattusilis]! May [thy] request (30) be received with favor! Because thou, [Sun-goddess] of Arinna, my [lady], hast shown favor to me and (because) the [g]ood of [the land] and of its realm [is close to thy heart], thou shalt enjoy the reverent [worship] of [my fam]ily. Where[as I have now pacified] thy soul, Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, (35) hearken to whatever I lay before thee in prayer on [this] day! [Do something] for this cause! Let not the gods re[ject my] request!

(gap)

B. PRAYER TO LELWANIS⁴

... (iii) Hattusilis, that servant of thine, who [is ill]. (15) In the presence of Sum[...], the physician, they spoke charms over him [...]. If [Hattusilis is accur]sed, and if Hattusilis, [my husband], has become [hateful] in the eyes of you, the gods; or (if) anyone of the gods above or below has taken offence at him; or (if) anyone has made an offering to the gods (20) to bring evil upon Hattusilis—accept not those evil words, O goddess, my lady! Let evil not touch Hattusilis, thy servant! (25) O gods, prefer not [our] advers[aries],

⁴ This is probably the Hittite pronunciation of the name which is otherwise spelled "Ishtar" of Samuha; she was Hattusilis' special patroness.

¹ Hittite queen and consort of Hattusilis, the son of Mursilis.

² i.e. died.

³ Urhi-Tessub is meant; the expression is derogatory.

(our) enviers (and our) . . . [. . .]. to us! If thou, goddess, my lady, wilt grant him life and relay to the gods, thy peers, the good (word), and (if) (30) thou wilt tread under foot the evil words and shut them out—O Lelwanis, my lady, may the life of Hattusilis, thy servant, and of Pudu-hepas, thy handmaid, come forth from thy mouth in the presence of the gods! To Hattusilis, thy servant, and to Pudu-hepas, thy handmaid, (35) give long years, months and days!

And if thou, Lelwanis, my lady, relayest the good (word) to the gods, grantest life to thy servant Hattusilis, (and) givest him long years, months (and) days, I will go (and) make for Lelwanis, my lady, (40) a silver statue of Hattusilis—as tall as Hattusilis himself, with its head, its hands (and) its feet of gold—moreover I will hang it (with ornaments).

C. PRAYER TO ZINTUHHIS

O Zintuhis, my lady, beloved granddaughter of the Storm-god and of the Sun-goddess of Arinna! Thou art the pectoral (45) of the Storm-god and of the Sun-goddess of Arinna; they continually look at thee.

(small gap)

(iv) [In this matter], Zintuhis, my lady, [prove] thy divine power! Before the Storm-god, thy grandfather, (5) [and before] the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy grandmother, bring (the request) [of Ha]ttusilis, thy servant, for life and long years! Let that come forth from their mouth!

[And] if thou, Zintuhis, my lady, wilt [hear]ken to these words and relay them to the Storm-god, thy grandfather, (10) [and] to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy grandmother, [then] I will make a [grea]t ornament for thee, Zintuhis, my lady.

D. PRAYER TO MEZZULLAS

O Mezzullas, my lady! Thou art the beloved daughter of the Storm-god [and] of the Sun-goddess of Arinna. (15) Whatever thou, Mezzullas, my lady, sayest [to] the Storm-god, thy father, and to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy mother, [to that] they will hearken; they will not reject it. These words which [I], Pudu-hepas, thy handmaid, have laid in [pray]er before the Storm-god, thy father, and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy mother, (20) announce them, Mezzullas, my lady, and convey them to the Storm-god, thy father, [and to the Sun-goddess of Arinn]a, thy mother!

[And if thou, Mezzullas, my lady, wilt hearken to these] words [and convey them to the Storm-god, thy father, and to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy mother], (25) [then I will make . . .] and present (it) to Mezzullas, my lady, [. . .].

E. PRAYER TO THE STORM-GOD OF ZIPPALANDA

[O Storm-god of Zippalan]da, my lord! Thou art the beloved son [of the Storm-god and of the Sun-]goddess of Arinna. Announce [my words to the Storm-god, thy father,] and to the Sun-goddess of Arinna,

thy mother! (30) The Storm-god, thy father, (and) the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy mother, will [not reject] thy word, they will hearken to thee. This [word], which I, Pudu-hepas, thy handmaid, have sp[oken] in prayer, announce and relay thou (to thy parents), Storm-god of Zippalanda, my lord! O god, my lord, (35) yield to this word of mine! Because as a woman in travail I have in my own person made reparation to the god, my lord, intercede for me, god, my lord, with the Storm-god, thy father, and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy mother! Hattusilis, thy servant, wore himself out in the god's service; he gave himself body and soul (40) to the restoration of Nerik, the beloved city of the god, my lord. So be thou, O god, my lord, favorably inclined toward Hattusilis, thy servant! These words, which I lay in prayer before the Storm-god, thy father, (45) and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy mother—convey them (to thy parents) for me, O Storm-god of Zippalanda, my lord!

And if thou, Storm-god of Zippalanda, my lord, wilt convey these words to the Storm-god, thy father, and to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy mother, and thereby wilt [deliver] Hattusilis from evil, (edge) then I will make [for thee . . .] (and) a golden shield weighing x minas; I will make [for thee . . .] and the . . . for the god [. . .] . . .

Plague Prayers of Mursilis¹

a

Text: *KUB*, xiv, 8 and its duplicates *KUB*, xiv, 10 + *KUB*, xxvi, 86 and *KUB*, xiv, 11. Literature: E. Forrer, *Forschungen*, 11/1 (1926), 12-18; A. Götze, *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, 1 (1929), 204-35.

1. Hattian Storm-god, my lord, and ye, Hattian gods, my lords! Mursilis, the great king, your servant, has sent me (with the order:) Go! To the Hattian Storm-god, my lord, and to the gods, my lords, speak as follows:

What is this that ye have done? A plague ye have let into the land. The Hatti land has been cruelly afflicted by the plague. For twenty years now men have been dying in my father's days, in my brother's days, and in mine own since I have become the priest of the gods. When men are dying in the Hatti land like this, the plague is in no wise over. As for me, the agony of my heart and the anguish of my soul I cannot endure any more.

2. When I celebrated festivals, I worshiped all the gods, I never preferred one temple to another. The matter of the plague I have laid in prayer before all the gods making vows to them (and saying): "Hearken to me, ye gods, my lords! Drive ye forth the plague from the Hatti land! The reason for which people are dying in the Hatti land—either let it be established by

¹ Hittite king, son of Suppiluliumas; about third quarter of the 14th century B.C.

an omen, or let me see it in a dream, or let a prophet declare it!" But the gods did not hearken to me and the plague got no better in the Hatti land. The Hatti land was cruelly afflicted.

3. The few people who were left to give sacrificial loaves and libations were dying too. Matters again got too much for me. So I made the anger of the gods the subject of an oracle. I learnt of two ancient tablets. The first tablet dealt with the offerings to the river Mala.² The old kings had regularly presented offerings to the river Mala. But now a plague has been rampant in the Hatti land since the days of my father, and we have never performed the offerings to the river Mala.

4. The second tablet concerned Kurustama. When the Hattian Storm-god had brought people of Kurustama³ to the country of Egypt and had made an agreement concerning them with the Hattians so that they were under oath to the Hattian Storm-god—although the Hattians as well as the Egyptians were under oath to the Hattian Storm-god, the Hattians ignored their obligations; the Hattians promptly broke the oath of the gods. My father sent foot soldiers and charioteers who attacked the country of Amka,⁴ Egyptian territory. Again he sent troops, and again they attacked it. When the Egyptians became frightened, they asked outright for one of his sons to (take over) the kingship. But when my father gave them one of his sons, they killed him as they led him there. My father let his anger run away with him, he went to war against Egypt and attacked Egypt. He smote the foot soldiers and the charioteers of the country of Egypt. The Hattian Storm-god, my lord, by his decision even then let my father prevail; he vanquished and smote the foot soldiers and the charioteers of the country of Egypt. But when they brought back to the Hatti land the prisoners which they had taken a plague broke out among the prisoners and they began to die.

5. When they moved the prisoners to the Hatti land, these prisoners carried the plague into the Hatti land. From that day on people have been dying in the Hatti land. Now, when I found that tablet dealing with the country of Egypt, I made the matter the subject of an oracle of the god (and asked): "Those arrangements which were made by the Hattian Storm-god—namely that the Egyptians and the Hattians as well were put under oath by the Hattian Storm-god, that the Damnassaras deities were present in the temple of the Hattian Storm-god, and that the Hattians promptly broke their word—has this perhaps become the cause of the anger of the Hattian Storm-god, my lord?" And (so) it was established.

6. Because of the plague, I made the offerings to the river Mala the subject of an oracle also. And in that matter too it was established that I should have to account for myself before the Hattian Storm-god.

² A river marking the eastern frontier of Hittite dominated territory and separating it from the Hurri kingdom.

³ A city in the Kashkean country of northern Anatolia. The purpose for which these people were sent to Egypt is not known to us.

⁴ The region between Lebanon and Antilibanus.

See now! I have admitted my guilt before the Storm-god (and said): "It is so. We have done it." I know for certain that the offence was not committed in my days, that it was committed in the days of my father. . . . But, since the Hattian Storm-god is angry for that reason and people are dying in the Hatti land, I am (nevertheless) making the offerings to the Hattian Storm-god, my lord, on that account.

7. ⁵Because I humble myself and cry for mercy, hearken to me, Hattian Storm-god, my lord! Let the plague stop in the Hatti land!

8. The reasons for the plague that were established when I made the matter the subject of a series of oracles, these have I removed. I have made [ample] restitution. The matter of the (broken) oath which was established (as a cause) in connection with the plague, offerings for those oaths I have made to the Hattian Storm-god, my lord. I have also made (offerings) [to the other gods]. The offerings have been presented to thee, Hattian Storm-god, my lord; the offerings have been presented to them too. (As for) the offerings to the river Mala that were established (as a cause) in connection with the plague—since I am now on my way to the river Mala, acquit me of that offering to the river Mala, O Hattian Storm-god my lord, and ye gods, my lords! The offering to the river Mala I promise to make, I promise to complete it properly. The reason for which I make it—namely the plague—O gods, my lords, take pity on me and let that plague abate in the Hatti land!

9. Hattian Storm-god, my lord, (and) ye gods, my lords! It is only too true that man is sinful. My father sinned and transgressed against the word of the Hattian Storm-god, my lord. But I have not sinned in any respect. It is only too true, however, that the father's sin falls upon the son. So, my father's sin has fallen upon me. Now, I have confessed before the Hattian Storm-god, my lord, and before the gods, my lords (admitting): "It is true, we have done it." And because I have confessed my father's sin, let the soul of the Hattian Storm-god, my lord, and (those) of the gods, my lords, be again pacified! Take pity on me and drive the plague out of the Hatti land! Suffer not to die the few who are still left to offer sacrificial loaves and libations!

10. See! I lay the matter of the plague before the Hattian Storm-god, my lord. Hearken to me, Hattian Storm-god, and save my life! This is of what I [have to remind] thee: The bird takes refuge in (its) nest, and the nest saves its life. Again: if anything becomes too much for a servant, he appeals to his lord. His lord hears him and takes pity on him. Whatever had become too much for him, he sets right for him. Again: if the servant has incurred a guilt, but confesses his guilt to his lord, his lord may do with him whatever he pleases. But, because (the servant) has confessed his guilt to his lord, his lord's soul is pacified, and his lord will not punish that servant. I have now confessed

⁵ The gap indicated in my previous treatment is now bridged by *KUB*, xxvi, 86.

my father's sin. It is only too true, I have done it. If there is to be restitution, it seems clear that with all the gifts that have already been given because of this plague, with all the prisoners that have been brought home, in short with all the restitution that Hattusa has made because of the plague, it has already made restitution twentyfold. And yet the soul of the Hattian Storm-god, my lord, and of the (other) gods, my lords, is not pacified. But, if ye demand from me additional restitution, tell me of it in a dream and I will give it to you.

11. See! I am praying to thee, Hattian Storm-god, my lord. So save my life! If indeed it is for those reasons which I have mentioned that people are dying,—as soon as I set them right, let those that are still able to give sacrificial loaves and libations die no longer! If, on the other hand, people are dying for some other reason, either let me see it in a dream, or let it be found out by an oracle, or let a prophet declare it, or let all the priests find out by incubation whatever I suggest to them. Hattian Storm-god, my lord, save my life! Let the gods, my lords, prove their divine power! Let someone see it in a dream! For whatever reason people are dying, let that be found out! . . . Hattian Storm-god, my lord, save my life! Let this plague abate again in the Hatti land!

b

Text: *KUB*, xxiv, 3 and its duplicates *KUB*, xxiv, 4 + *KUB*, xxx, 12 and *KUB*, xxx, 13. Literature: O. R. Gurney, *AAA*, xxvii (1940), 24 ff.

What is this, O gods, that ye have done? A plague ye have let into the land. The Hatti land, all of it, is dying; so no one prepares sacrificial loaves and libations for you. The plowmen who used to work the fields of the god are dead; so no one works or reaps the fields of the god at all. The grinding women who used to make the sacrificial loaves for the gods are dead; so they do not make the sacrificial loaves any longer. From whatever corral (or) sheepfold they used to select the sacrifices of sheep and cattle, the cowherds and the shepherds are dead and the corral [and the sheepfold are empty]. So it comes to pass that the sacrificial loaves (and) libations, and the offerings of animals have stopped. And ye, O gods, come on this day and hold us responsible. Man has lost his wits, and there is nothing that we do aright. O gods, whatever sin you behold, either let a prophet rise and declare it, or let the sibyls or the priests learn about it by incubation, or let man see it in a dream! . . . O gods, take ye pity again on the Hatti land! On the one hand it is afflicted with a plague, on the other hand it is afflicted with hostility. The protectorates beyond the frontier, (namely) the Mitanni land (and) the Arzawa land, each one has rebelled; they do not acknowledge the gods and have broken the oaths of the gods. They persist in acting maliciously against the Hatti land, and the temples(?) of the gods they seek to despoil. Let the gods take an interest therein again! Send ye the plague, hostility, famine (and) evil fever into the

Mitanni land and the Arzawa land! Rested are the rebellious countries, but the Hatti land is a weary land. Unhitch the weary, but the rested harness!

Moreover, those countries which belong to the Hatti land, (namely) the Kashkean country (they are swineherds and weavers of linen), also the country of Arawanna, the country of Kalasma, the Lukka country, the country of Pitassa—these lands have also renounced the Sun-goddess of Arinna. They cast off their tributes and began to attack the Hatti land in their turn. In olden days the Hatti land with the help of the Sun-goddess of Arinna used to take on the surrounding countries like a lion. Moreover, cities like Halba (and) Babylon that it would destroy—from all such countries they took goods, silver (and) gold, and their gods and placed them before the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

But now all the surrounding countries have begun to attack the Hatti land. Let it again become a matter of concern to the Sun-goddess of Arinna! O god, bring not thy name into disrepute!

Whatever rage (or) anger the gods may feel, and whosoever may not have been reverent toward the gods,—let not the good perish with the wicked! If it is one town, or one [house], or one man, O gods, let that one perish alone! Look ye upon the Hatti land with favorable eyes, but the evil plague give to [those other] countries!

Daily Prayer of the King

Texts: *KUB*, xxiv, 1-4 and the additional pieces *KUB*, xxx, 12 and 13. Literature: The hymn of section b. is translated in the following places: H. Ehelolf, *Berichte aus den preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLIX (1928), 32-34; E. Forrer, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I (1929), 149 f.; A. Götz, *Kulturgeschichte Kleinasiens* (1933), 128. The whole composition was treated by O. R. Gurney in *AAA*, xxvii (1940), 3-163. In part of the texts the addressed deity is the Sun-goddess of Arinna, in another part Telepinus. The latter version has been adopted here.

Entreaty

The scribe reads this tablet addressing the deity daily; he praises the deity (saying):

Telepinus, a mighty (and) noble deity art thou. Mursilis, the king, thy servant, and the queen, (5) thy handmaid, have sent me (with the request): "Go! entreat Telepinus, our lord, the guardian of our persons!"

Whether thou art in heaven above among the gods, noble Telepinus; whether gone to the sea or to the mountains (10) to roam; whether gone to war to the country of the enemy—

now let the sweet and soothing cedar essence lure thee! Come home into thy temple! Here I am entreating thee with sacrificial loaves and libations, (15) allow thyself to be lured forth! Let me speak to thee alone and whatever I say unto thee—lend me thine ear, O god, and hearken to it!

Thou, Telepinus, art a noble god; thy godhead and the gods' temples are firmly established in the Hatti land. But (20) in no other land anywhere are they so.

Festivals (and) sacrifices pure (and) holy they present to thee in the Hatti land. But in no other country anywhere do they present them so.

(25) Lofty temples adorned with silver and gold thou hast in the Hatti land. But in no other country anywhere hast thou their like. (ii) Cups (and) rhyta, silver, gold and (precious) stones thou hast in the Hatti land. But in no other country hast thou their like.

Festivals too—the festival of the month, the festivals of the *new year*, the ceremonies of winter and spring, (5) and of the summer, the festivals of entreaty—men celebrate for thee in the Hatti land. But in no other country anywhere do they celebrate their like. Thy divinity, O Telepinus, (10) is honored in the Hatti land, and Mursilis, the king, thy servant, and the queen, thy handmaid, and also the princes, thy servants, are reverent toward thee in the Hatti land. They undertake the celebration of communion feasts, sacrifices and festivals for thee, Telepinus. (15) Everything they present to thee is holy (and) pure. Moreover, reverence is paid to thy temple, thy rhyta, [thy cups] (and) thy utensils and they are cared for scrupulously. To the utensils [of thy worship] no one draws near.

Hymn¹

Thou, Telepinus, art a noble god; (30) thy name is noble among names. Thy godhead is noble among the gods; among the gods art thou noble, O Telepinus. Great art thou, O Telepinus; there is no other deity more noble and mighty than thou. Of sure (35) judgment thou art lord; thou watchest over kingship in heaven and on earth. Thou settest the bounds of the lands; thou hearkenest to entreaties. Thou, Telepinus, art a merciful god; (40) thou art forever showing thy mercy. The godly man is dear to thee, O Telepinus, and thou, Telepinus, dost exalt him. In the orbit of heaven and earth thou, Telepinus, art the (source of) light; (45) throughout the lands art thou a god who is celebrated. Of every land thou art father (and) mother; the inspired lord of judgment art thou. In the place of judgment thou art untiring; among the Olden Gods thou art (50) the one who is celebrated. For the gods thou, Telepinus, assignest the rites; to the Olden Gods thou assignest their portions. For thee they open the door of heaven; thou, the celebrated Telepinus, (35) art allowed to pass through the gate of heaven.² The gods of heaven are obedient to thee, O Telepinus; the gods of the earth are obedient to thee, O Telepinus. Whatever thou sayest, O Telepinus, the gods bow down to thee. Of the oppressed, the orphan and the widow thou art father (and) mother; the cause of the orphan, the oppressed thou, Telepinus, dost take to heart.

¹ The following text is taken chiefly from *KUB*, xxiv, 3.

² The text, which is incomplete here in all copies, can be restored with the help of the closely related prayer *KUB*, xxxi, 127 + *ABOT*, 44 (there 128 ff.) and its duplicates.

Blessings and Curses³

... Turn with favor [toward the king and the queen], and toward the princes [and the Hatti land!] Take thy stand, O Telepinus, strong god, [beside the king (and) the queen and the] princes! Grant them enduring life, health, long years [(and) strength]! Into their souls place [ligh]t and joy!

Grant them sons (and) daughters, grandsons (and) great-grandsons! (10) Grant them . . . ! Grant them fertility of grain (and) vine, of sheep, cattle (and) people! Grant them a man's valiant (and) victorious weapon! Set the countries of the enemy (15) beneath their feet and let [them die by the sword]!

From the Hatti land drive forth the evil fever, plague, famine and *misery*!

And (as for) the enemy countries that are in revolt and turmoil—some refuse the due respect to thee, Telepinus, (20) and to the Hattian gods; others are out to burn your temples; (iv) others seek to obtain the rhyta, the cups (and) the utensils of silver (and) gold; others seek to lay waste your plowland and pasture, vineyards, gardens (and) groves; (5) others seek to capture your plowmen, vinedressers, gardeners (and) millwomen—give evil fever, plague, famine (and) *misery* to these enemy countries.

But to the king (and) the queen, to the princes and to the Hatti land (10) grant life, health, strength, long and enduring years and joy! Grant everlasting fertility to their crops, vines, fruit-bearing *trees*, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, mules (and) asses together with the beasts of the fields, and to (their) people! Let them flourish! Let the rains [come]! Let the winds of prosperity pass over! Let all thrive (and) prosper in the Hatti land!

And the congregation shouts: "Let it be so!"

Prayer to be Spoken in an Emergency

Text: *KUB*, vi, 45 + *KUB*, xxx, 14 (with the duplicates *KUB*, vi, 44 and *KUB*, xii, 35). Literature: F. M. Th. Boehl, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, I (1916), 306 ff.; M. Witzel, *Hethitische Keilschrift-Urkunden* (= *Keilschriftliche Studien*, iv [1924]) 86-98.

(i) Thus speaks the Tabarnas¹ Muwatallis, the Great King, the king of the Hatti country, the son of Mursilis, the Great King, the king of the Hatti country, the valiant: When things get too much for a man and he approaches his gods in prayer, he sets up two offering-tables of wickerwork (5) covered (with a cloth) on the roof under the open sky. He sets up one table for the Sun-goddess of Arinna, and one table for [all the (other)] gods. Upon them (there are deposited) 35 sacrificial loaves weighing one *tarnaš* made of barley meal, [x] thin loaves(?) with honey and fine oil inside,

³ The following text is taken chiefly from *KUB*, xxiv, 1.

¹ Title of the Hittite king.

mutton-fat cake, a full stewpot, meal, a full cup, 30 pitchers of wine. When this is all made ready, the king ascends to the roof and offers it to the Sun-god of Heaven.

(10) He speaks as follows: "Sun-god of Heaven and Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, queen of the Hatti land! Storm-god, king of heaven, my lord! Hebat, queen, my lady! Hattian Storm-god, king of heaven, master of the Hatti land, my lord! Storm-god of Zippalanda, my lord, beloved son of the Storm-god, lord of the Hatti land! (15) All ye gods and goddesses! All ye mountains (and) rivers of the Hatti land! (My) lords, lordly gods! Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and all ye gods of the Hatti land, lords whose priest I am and who have accorded me unlimited kingship over the Hatti land!

(20) "Now, hearken ye, gods, to the prayer of me, your priest and your servant! I shall speak in prayer first of you, the lordly gods, of your temples (and) of your images; how the gods of the Hatti land are worshiped, and how they are abused.

(25) "Thereafter I shall speak in prayer of my own affairs. Lend me your ears, O gods, my lords! Listen to these my prayers! And whatever matters I lay before the gods in prayer, receive those matters, O gods, my lords, and listen to them! I may lay before you, (30) gods, matters which ye do not wish to hear; they rise from my mortal mouth. Those words, O gods, my lords, refrain from hearing!

"Seris, my lord, thou bull who standest in the presence of the Storm-god of the Hatti-land! These matters that I present in my prayer, (35) announce them to the gods! Let the lord gods listen to those matters that I present in my prayer, the lord gods of heaven and earth!"

(There follows a full list of the Hatti gods.)

(iii) "Storm-god of the house of the Tawannannas,² Storm-god *hulaššaššiš*! Gods and goddesses of king and queen, ye who have been invoked (and) ye who have not been invoked; ye in whose temples king and queen worship officiating as priests, (and) ye in whose temples they do not! Gods (and) goddesses, (10) . . . , dark nether world, heaven (and) earth, clouds (and) winds, thunder (and) lightning, place of assembly where the gods meet in assembly!

"Sun-god of Heaven, my lord, shepherd of mankind! Thou risest, O Sun-god of Heaven, from the Sea. Thou takest thy place in heaven, (15) Sun-god of Heaven, my lord. Over man, dog, swine (and) the beasts of the field dost thou, Sun-god, pronounce judgment daily.

"Here then am I, Muwatallis, the king, the priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna and of all the gods, praying to the Sun-god of Heaven. (20) On this day, O Sun-god of Heaven, my lord, arouse the (other) gods! Those gods whom I invoked with (the word of) my mouth on this day, and with whatever request,—

² Title of the Hittite queen.

"those gods, O Sun-god of Heaven, summon from heaven (and) from earth, from the mountains (and) from the rivers, from their temples (and) their thrones!"

(25) Thereafter the king speaks as follows: "Storm-god *pihaššaššiš*, my lord! I was but a mortal. Yet my father was priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna and of all the gods. My father begat me, but thou, Storm-god *pihaššaššiš*, tookest me from my mother and rearedst me. Thou madest me priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna (30) and of all the gods. In the Hatti land thou madest me king.

"So, I, Muwatallis, the king, reared by thee, Storm-god *pihaššaššiš*, am now praying. The gods whom I invoked with (the word of) my tongue, (35) the gods to whom I prayed,—intercede for me with all those gods! Take the words of my tongue, the words of me, Muwatallis, thy servant, and pass them on in full to the gods! In the matters that I lay before the gods in prayer let them not forsake me!

(40) "The bird takes refuge in (its) nest and lives. I have taken refuge with the Storm-god *pihaššaššiš*, my lord; so save my life! The matters which I lay before the gods in prayer, pass them on in full to the gods! Let them hearken to me! Therefore too shall I praise the Storm-god *pihaššaššiš*.

(45) "No sooner will the gods have heard my words, than they will put right (and) remove the evil that is in my soul. To whom is praise due, if praise is not due to the Storm-god *pihaššaššiš*, my lord? Then, whenever a man looks upon god and mortal, (50) he will say: 'Surely, the Storm-god *pihaššaššiš*, my lord, the king of heaven, has favored (that) man and rescued him; he has put him right and advanced him.' In the future my children (and) children's children, kings (and) queens (55) of Hatti, princes (and) noblemen will always show reverence to the Storm-god *pihaššaššiš*, my lord. Thus they will speak: 'Surely, that god is a strong, valiant (and) glorious god!' And the gods of heaven, the mountains (and) the rivers will praise thee.

(60) "I, Muwatallis, thy servant,—my innermost soul rejoices, and I praise the Storm-god *pihaššaššiš*. Thou, Storm-god *pihaššaššiš*, shalt rejoice over the temples that I shall build for thee, over the decrees I shall issue for thee. The sacrificial loaves and the libations (65) which I am accustomed to present to the Storm-god *pihaššaššiš*, my lord—I would give them to thee gladly; I would not give them to thee grudgingly. So, Sun-god *pihaššaššiš*, my lord, beam upon me like the full moon, (70) and shine above me like the sun in the sky!

"Walk on my right hand! Team up with me as (with) a bull to draw (the wagon)! Walk by my side in true Storm-god fashion! Truly I wish to speak thus: 'He who is favored by the Storm-god *pihaššaššiš*, he who is reared by him, [*prosper. . .*']"

(There follow offerings to the gods.)

(iv³) When the Sun⁴ has finished breaking the sacrifi-

cial loaves, he presents in prayer the (special) matters which are in his mind.

(Upon completion of that prayer new offerings to the gods are given. Finally the broken loaves are burned.)

Prayer of Arnuwandas and Asmu-Nikkal Concerning the Ravages Inflicted on Hittite Cult-Centers

Texts: *KUB*, xvii, 21 with its duplicates *KUB*, xxxi, 117 and *KUB*, xxxi, 124 (+) *KUB*, xxiii, 115. The text is still incomplete. E. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* (1965), 151-67.

(beginning lost)

(1) The land of the Hittites is a land [that is devoted] to you, the gods. In the land of the Hittites we are accustomed to present to you pure and really [holy] sacrifices. In the land of the Hittites we are accustomed to show you, the gods, reverence.

(6) Ye should know, O gods, by your divine insight that no one has ever before taken care of your temples as we have;

that no one has ever paid more reverent attention to your implements; (11) that no one has ever taken care of the goods, silver (and) gold, of the rhyta (and) cups(!) of you, the gods, as we have;

furthermore, that (in the case of) the images of silver (and) gold that exist of you, the gods,—(15) when anything had grown old on any god's body, when any implements of the gods had grown old—that no one has ever renewed them as we have;

furthermore, (20) that no one has ever paid more reverent attention to matters of cleanliness connected with your sacrifices; that no one has ever made more careful provisions for the sacrifices (and) festivals due you for the day, the month, (and) the *new year*;

furthermore, (as for) the slaves, slave-girls (and) villages of you, the gods,—they used to oppress them with imposts (25) (and) feudal services; the slaves (and) slave-girls of you, the gods, they would take and make them their own slaves and slave-girls. [We, Arnuwa]ndas the Great King,¹ [and Asmu-Nikkal, the Great Queen, have freed them] for you in every particular.

Ye should know by your divine insight what offerings of sacrificial loaves and libations they used to present.

[We], Arnuwandas, the Great King, and Asmu-Nikkal, the Great Queen, shall again give fat sheep (and) fine [oxen], fine sacrificial loaves and libations.

(small gap)

³ 45 ff.

⁴ i.e. the king.

¹ A predecessor of Suppiluliumas.

(ii) So stand ye by us!

(5) The territory which the enemies² plundered and kept for themselves when they invaded the Hatti country, that (territory) we promise to restore to you, the gods, and to make them account for it.

The territories which were under obligation to present to you, the gods of heaven, sacrificial loaves, libations (and) tribute—in some the priests, the mothers-of-god, the holy priests, (10) the anointed, the musicians (and) the singers had to leave, in others the gods' tributes and treasures were carried off;

in others there were carried off the Sun-goddess' of Arinna sun discs and lunulae (15) made of silver (and) gold, bronze (and) copper, the fine cloth, the *adupli* garments, the tunics (and) the gowns, the sacrificial loaves (and) the libation bowls;

in others they drove away the herds, the fattened oxen (and) the fattened cows, the fattened sheep (and) the fattened goats.

(20) In the country of Nerik, in Hursama, in the country of Kastama, in the country of Serisa, in the country of Himuwa, in the country of Taggasta, in the country of Kammama, in the country of Zalpuwa, in the country of Kapiuruha, in the country of Hurna, in the country of Dankusna, in the country of Tapa[panu]wa, in the country of Tarugga, in the country of Ilaluha, in the country of Zihana, in the country (25) of Sipidduwa, in the country of Washaya, in the country of Parituya³—

the temples⁴ which ye, the gods, possessed in these countries, the Kashkeans sacked them. They smashed the images of you, the gods. (iii) They plundered silver (and) gold, rhyta (and) cups of silver (and) gold, (and) of copper, your implements of bronze (and) your garments; they shared out these things among themselves.

They scattered the priests and the holy priests, the mothers-of-god, the anointed, (5) the musicians, the singers, the cooks, the bakers, the plowmen (and) the gardeners and made them their slaves.

They also scattered your cattle (and) your sheep. They shared out among themselves your fields (and) lands, (the source) of the sacrificial loaves (and) the vineyards, (10) (the source) of the libations. Those the Kashkeans took for themselves.

Thus it has come about that in those countries no one invokes the names of you, the gods, any more; no one presents to you (15) the sacrifices due you for the day, the month, (and) the *new year*; no one celebrates your festivals (and) pageants.

Here, to the Hatti land, no one brings tribute (and) treasures for you anymore. No longer do priests, holy priests, mothers-of-god, musicians, (or) singers come to you from any[place].

² The Kashkeans are meant, unruly tribes who live in the mountains of northern Anatolia and incessantly harass Hittite territory.

³ All these countries must be located along the Kashkean frontier.

⁴ The text is taken from *KUB*, xxxi, 124 ii 10 ff.

[Furthermore] no one brings sun discs and lunulae made of silver (and) gold, bronze (and) copper, fine cloth, *adupli* garments, tunics (and) gowns for you, the gods, (and for) the Sun-goddess of Arinna. (25) No one presents sacrificial loaves (and) libations to you, the gods. No one drives up herds of fattened oxen (and) fattened cows, fattened sheep (and) fattened goats.

(small gap⁵)

(iv) They (i.e. the Kashkeans) came here to the Hittite [land (and) they . . .]. They terrorized Tuhasuna. [. . .] . . . They terrorized Tahatariya. They came down to the gates [of . . .] and terrorized Hum[. . .].

(5) Since, however, we are reverent toward the gods and hold ourselves responsible for the festivals of the gods, (and) since the Kashkeans have taken Nerik for themselves, we will send offerings from Hattusa to Hakmis for the Storm-god of Nerik and for the gods of Nerik, (10) [. . .] . . . , sacrificial loaves (and) libations, cattle (and) sheep.

We will summon the Kashkeans; we will give them presents and then make them swear an oath: "Keep your hands off the offerings which we send to the Storm-god of Nerik! Let no one attack them on their way!"

(15) They will come and accept the presents and then take the oath. But should they rise again and transgress the oath, make light of the words of you, the gods, and violate the seal of the oath they have sworn by the Storm-god;

(20) should they seize the [present]s (sent) from the [Hittite] land, [withhold] from the Storm-god [of Nerik . . .] the offerings, sacrificial loaves (and) libations, [cattle (and) sheep, *they shall not escape unpunished!*]

(end lost)

Prayer of Kantuzilis for Relief from his Sufferings

Text: *KUB*, xxx, 10. Literature: A few lines are translated by J. Friedrich *Afo*, XIII (1940), 154.

(beginning lost)

O Sun-god, when thou goest down to the nether world (to be) with him, forget not to speak with that patron-god of mine and (5) apprise him of Kantuzilis' plight!¹

O god, ever since my mother gave birth to me, thou, my god, hast reared me. Thou, my god, (art) my [refuge] and my anchor.² Thou, [my god], broughtest me together with good men. Thou, my god, didst show me what to do in time of distress. [Thou], my god,

⁵ Perhaps bridged by *KUB*, xxiii, 115.

¹ Kantuzilis is not otherwise identified in the text. He is probably the high official and member of the royal family who is mentioned in 2 *BoTU*, 24 among children of Suppiliulimas.

² Literally: my rope.

didst call [me], Kantuzilis, thy favorite servant. (10) The superior power of my god that I have not known since childhood [*must I experience*] it [*in my old age?*]

Even when I fared well, I always acknowledged the superior power (and) the wisdom of my god. Never have I sworn in thy name, my god, and then broken the oath afterward. That which is holy to my god and hence not fit for me to eat, never have I eaten it. I have not brought impurity upon my body.

(15) Never have I withheld from thy stable an ox; never have I withheld from thy fold a sheep. Whenever I came upon food, I never ate it indiscriminately; whenever I came upon water, I never drank it indiscriminately. Were I now to recover, would I not have recovered at the word of thee, my god? Were I to regain my strength, would I not have regained it at the word of thee, my god?

(20) Life is bound up with death, and death is bound up with life. Man cannot live for ever; the days of his life are numbered. Were man to live for ever, it would not concern him greatly even if he had to endure grievous sickness.

Would that my god might now freely open his heart (and) soul to me and [tell] me my fault (25) so that I might learn about it! Either let my god speak to me in a dream! Would that my god would open his heart to me and tell [me] my [fau]lt so that I might learn about it! Or let the sibyl tell me, [or] let the Sun-god's seer tell [me] from the liver (of a sheep). Would that my god might freely open [his heart (and) his soul] to me and tell me my fault so that I might learn about it!

O my god! Let me know how to improve on your worship! (rev.) of all [men] the shepherd art thou. It has always been said about thee [that thou . . .]. My god who was angry at me and rejected me—let the same (god) care for me again and grant me life! Would that my god, who for[sook] me, [might take] pity on me! [Much as] I wearied myself with pleading before my god, it is yet of no avail. (5) No sooner didst thou scrape [one thing evi]l off [me], than thou broughtest back [another] in its stead.

Would that [the Sun-god] might calm down again and that peace might return to his heart! Would that he might raise me up again out of my affliction. [O Sun-god], . . . , [the favorite son of] Sin and Ningal³ art thou. See! I, Kantuzilis, thy servant, have asked for [mercy] and humbled myself. [See!] I am beseeching thee.

(10) To the Sun-god I sing. See! I, Kantuzilis, implore my god incessantly. Would that my god might hearken [to me]! Whenever in times past I, Kantuzilis, performed the cult of my god, whenever I . . . [. . .] ed to my god, thou gavest me abundance, thou gavest me strength. But now when I, Kantuzilis, performed the cult for thee with the merchant, a mortal, holding the balance for the Sun-god and upsetting the balance—what [wrong] did I do to my god?

³ The Sumero-Akkadian Moon-god and his wife who in Mesopotamian mythology are the parents of the Sun-god.

Through sickness my house has become a house of misery. Through misery (15) my soul *longs* for another place. As (one who has been) sick on *new year's day* (?),—thus have I become. Sickness and misery have now become oppressive to me; that I must declare to thee, my god.

At night sweet slumber does not overtake me on my bed. While I lie there, good tidings do not come to me. Now, my god, join thy strength (20) to that of (my) patron-god! How thou couldst have ordained this sick-

ness for me from (my) mother's womb on, that I have never asked thy sibyl.

Now I cry for mercy in the presence of my god. Hearken to me, my god! O my god, do not make me a man who is unwelcome at the king's court! Do not make my condition an offence to mankind! Those to whom I did good, none of them wishes [me] (long) life. (25) [Thou], my god, [(art) father and mother] to me; [beside thee there is no fa]ther or mother for me. [. . .] (end lost)



VI. Didactic and Wisdom Literature

Fables and Didactic Tales

Egyptian Didactic Tales

(Translator: John A. Wilson)

A DISPUTE OVER SUICIDE

This remarkable text carries the argument between a man who is weary of this life and his own soul. Since he finds life unbearable, the man contemplates suicide. His soul vacillates, first agrees, then fears that suicide will entail the danger that the man will have no mortuary service from his survivors, then proposes an abandonment to a life of careless pleasures, and finally agrees to remain with the man in any case.

The text dates from the Middle Kingdom, or, more probably, from the disturbed times between the Old and Middle Kingdoms (end of the third millennium B.C.), when the established order of life had broken down and men were groping for new values.

Berlin Papyrus 3024 was published by A. Erman, *Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele* (APAW, 1896, 2). A transcription of much of the text into hieroglyphic appears in K. Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1928), 43-46. It has been studied by A. Scharff, in German in *SBAW*, 1937, 9, by R. Weill, in French in *BIFAO*, XLV (1946), 89-154, and in Dutch by A. de Buck in *Kernmomenten*. "Ex Oriente Lux"—*Mededeelingen en Verhandelingen*, No. 7, (Leyden, 1947), 19-32. It was translated in Erman, *LAE*, 86-92. The beginning of the manuscript is lost. The translation starts with the man's answer to a previous argument by his soul.*

I opened my mouth to my soul, that I might answer what it had said: "This is too much for me today, that my soul no (longer) talks with me.¹ It is really too great to be exaggerated. It is like *abandoning* me. Let [*not*] my soul go away; it should wait for me because of . . . It will not (10) thereby succeed in escaping from the day of misfortune. Behold, my soul wrongs me, (but) I do not listen to it, and draws me on toward death before (I) have come to it and casts (me) upon the flame to burn me up. . . . (15) May it be near to me on the day of misfortune and wait on that side . . . O my soul, who art too stupid to *subdue* wretchedness over life, (yet) *drivest* me to death ere I come to it, make (20) the West pleasant for me! Is that (so) bad? Life is a circumscribed period: (even) the trees must fall. Trample down wrongs—(yet) my wretchedness endures. Let Thoth, who propitiates the gods, judge me. Let Khonsu, who writes in truth, defend me. (25) Let Re, who *pilots* the sun barque, hear my speech. Let Isdes . . . defend me. My wretchedness is heavy . . . Pleasant would be the defense (30) of a god for the secrets of my body."²

What my soul said to me: "Art thou not a man? Art thou . . . whilst thou livest? What is thy goal? Thou art concerned with [*living*] like a possessor of wealth!"³

¹ This sounds as though the soul had refused to continue the argument.

² The man wishes to seek death by fire, but his soul refuses to support him in this escape. He then longs for the advocacy of the gods and conceives of himself as pleading his case before a divine tribunal.

³ The soul makes the sharp retort that the man seems to be concerned

I said: "I have not departed as long as these things *are neglected*. He who *carries (men) off forcibly* will take, without (35) caring about thee, (like) any *criminal* saying: 'I shall carry thee off, for thy (fate) is still death, (though) thy name may live.'⁴ (But) yonder is a place for settling down, the *guide* of the heart; the West is home . . . If my soul, which is innocent, will listen to me (40), and its heart agrees with me, it will be fortunate. (Then) I shall make it reach the West like one who is in his pyramid, at whose burial a survivor has stood.⁵ I shall make a *shelter* [*over*] thy corpse, (so that) thou mayest *scorn* another soul (45) as inert. I shall make a *shelter*—now it must not be (too) cool—(so that) thou mayest *scorn* another soul which is (too) hot. I shall drink at the watering place and shall . . . (so that) thou mayest *scorn* another soul which is hungry.⁶ If thou delayest (50) me from a death of this fashion, thou wilt not find a place where thou canst settle down in the West. (So) be [*patient*], my soul and my brother, until my heir has appeared, he who will make offerings and will stand at the grave on the day of burial, so that he may *prepare* the bed (55) of the cemetery."⁷

My soul opened its mouth to me, that it might answer what I had said: "If thou art thinking of burial, that is heart's distress. It is a bringing of tears, making a man sad. It is taking a man out of his house, (so that) he is left on the hillside, (whence) thou shalt never go up above that thou mightest see (60) the suns. They who build in granite and who hew out *chambers* in a pyramid, good men in good work, as soon as the builders have become gods,⁸ their offering-stones are as bare, for lack of a survivor, as (those of) the weary ones, the dead on the dyke—(65) the waters take hold of an end of him, and the sunlight as well, and the fish of the water-banks talk to them.⁹ Listen to me. Behold, it is good for men to listen. Pursue the happy day and forget care!

"The poor man plows his plot of ground and loads his harvest (70) into a ship's hold. He makes the journey by towing (the boat), (because) his feast day is ap-

with the proprieties of funerary observance, as though he were a man of means and position.

⁴ Death takes any man, whether he has prepared for it or not.

⁵ If the soul will only agree, then the death will effectively be like a normal death.

⁶ The argument seems to be that even a poor man can contrive a burial of adequate dignity, so that the soul need not fear its standing among other souls.

⁷ The man is not entirely without relatives or friends who will do what is necessary for his funerary care.

⁸ That is, are dead.

⁹ Ultimately the kings and nobles who were able to build themselves pyramids were no better off than the poor men abandoned as dead on the dykes and half immersed in the water. For a similar thought of the same period, see the Song of the Harper (p. 467 below). In the same way, the Song of the Harper urges that, because of the uncertainties of death, one should give himself up to pleasure.

proaching.¹⁰ When he sees the forthcoming of an evening of *high water*, he is vigilant in the ship when Re retires, (and so) comes out (safely), with his wife and his children being lost on the lake, *treacherous* (75) with crocodiles in the night.¹¹ At last he sits down, when he *can take part* in speech, saying: 'I am not weeping for that mother, (though) there is no coming forth from the West for her, for another (*time*) on earth.¹² (But) I am concerned about her (unborn) children, broken in the egg, who saw the face of the crocodile-god (80) before they had (even) lived!'¹³

"The poor man asks for an afternoon meal, (but) his wife says to him: 'It's for supper!' He goes out-of-doors to *grumble* for a while. If he comes back into the house and is like another man, his wife is (still) experienced in him: that he does not listen to her (but) *grumbles*, (85) unresponsive to communications."¹⁴

I opened my mouth to my soul, that I might answer what it had said:¹⁵

Behold, my name will reek through thee¹⁶
 More than the stench of bird-droppings*
 On summer days, when the sky is hot.
 Behold, my name will reek through thee
 (More than) a *fish-handler*
 On the day of the catch, when the sky is hot. (90)
 Behold, my name will reek through thee
 More than the stench of bird-droppings,
 More than a *covert* of reeds with waterfowl.
 Behold, my name will reek through thee
 More than the stench of fishermen,
 More than the *stagnant pools* which they have
 fished.
 Behold, my name will reek through thee
 More than the stench of crocodiles,
 More than sitting *in the assembly among* the
 crocodiles.
 Behold, my name will reek through thee
 More than a (married) woman
 Against whom a lie has been told because of a man.
 Behold, my name will reek through thee (100)
 More than a sturdy boy of whom it is said:

¹⁰ Because he is in a hurry to reach home for his feast, he tows his boat for greater speed.

¹¹ Before he reaches home a storm comes up, and his wife and children are lost, a prey to crocodiles.

¹² His wife, by dying in this way, cannot "come forth by day" to enjoy continued contacts with this life, as do those who die normally and are given normal funerary service.

¹³ This parable of the poor man who loses his children by accident is probably meant to persuade the man that the only proper death is the normal death.

¹⁴ This parable is not clear. It seems to say that a poor man cannot expect to eat in the late afternoon and also in the evening. The soul's implication would then be that a poor man cannot ask for the luxury of death with an elaborate funeral.

¹⁵ The man's argument, by which he finally wins over his soul, is presented in four poems consisting of tristichs of uniform theme and structure: (a) the man's name will be in evil odor, if he follows the advice of his soul; (b) the people of his day are wholly hostile and unscrupulous; (c) death is a release from such miseries; (d) the dead have access to the gods.

¹⁶ "Behold, my name is overflowed (with bad odor) from thee"—flooded by a series of comparisons, most of which have to do with fetid smells.

"He belongs to his *rival!*"¹⁷
 Behold, my name will reek through thee
 (More than) a *treacherous* town, which plots
 rebellion,
 Of which (*only*) *the outside* can be seen.¹⁸

To whom can I speak today?¹⁹
 (One's) fellows are evil;
 The friends of today do not love.
 To whom can I speak today?
 Hearts are rapacious:
 Every man seizes his fellow's goods.
 (To whom can I speak today?)
 The gentle man has perished,
 (But) the violent man has access to everybody.
 To whom can I speak today?
 (Men) are contented with evil;
 Goodness is rejected everywhere.
 To whom can I speak today? (110)
 (Though) a man should arouse wrath by his evil
 character,
 He (only) stirs everyone to laughter, (so) wicked is
 his sin.
 To whom can I speak today?
 Men are plundering;
 Every man seizes his fellow's (goods).
 To whom can I speak today?
 The foul fiend is an intimate,
 (But) a brother, with whom one worked, has
 become an enemy.
 To whom can I speak today?
 No one thinks of yesterday;
 No one at this time acts for him who has acted.²⁰
 To whom can I speak today?
 (One's) fellows are evil;
 One has recourse to strangers for uprightness of
 heart.
 To whom can I speak today?
 Faces have disappeared:
 Every man has a downcast face toward his fel-
 lows. (120)
 To whom can I speak today?
 Hearts are rapacious;
 No man has a heart upon which one may rely.
 To whom can I speak today?
 There are no righteous;
 The land is left to those who do wrong.
 To whom can I speak today?
 There is lack of an intimate (friend);
 One has recourse to an unknown to complain to
 him.
 To whom can I speak today?
 There is no one contented of heart;

¹⁷ "To his hated one." It is whispered of the boy that he is the child of his father's rival.

¹⁸ Uncertain. Perhaps the rebellious town shows a peaceful exterior while it is plotting within.*

¹⁹ "I speak to whom today?"—with whom can I have any friendly and satisfactory contact in times like these?*

²⁰ There is disregard for the lessons of the past, including grateful response for good services.

That man with whom one went, he no (longer)
exists.

To whom can I speak today?

I am laden with wretchedness
For lack of an intimate (friend).

To whom can I speak today?

The sin which treads the earth,
It has no end.

(130)

Death is in my sight today²¹

(Like) the recovery of a sick man,
Like going out into the open after a *confinement*.

Death is in my sight today

Like the odor of myrrh
Like sitting under an awning on a breezy day.

Death is in my sight today

Like the odor of lotus blossoms,
Like sitting on the bank of drunkenness.²²

Death is in my sight today

Like the *passing away* of rain,
Like the return of men to their houses from an
expedition.

Death is in my sight today

Like the clearing of the sky,
Like a man *fowling thereby* for what he knew
not.²³

(140)

Death is in my sight today

Like the longing of a man to see his house (again),
After he has spent many years held in captivity.

Why surely, he who is yonder²⁴

Will be a living god,
Punishing a sin of him who commits it.²⁵

Why surely, he who is yonder

Will stand in the barque of the sun,
Causing that the choicest (offerings) therein be
given to the temples.

Why surely, he who is yonder

Will be a man of wisdom,
Not hindered from appealing to Re when he speaks.

What my soul said to me: "Set mourning *aside*, thou who belongest to me, my brother! (Although) thou be offered up on the brazier,²⁶ (150) (still) thou shalt cling to life, as thou sayest. Whether it be desirable that I (remain) here (because) thou hast rejected the West, or whether it be desirable that thou reach the West and thy body join the earth, I shall come to rest after thou hast relaxed (in death). Thus we shall make a home together."²⁷

²¹ "Death is in my face today"—in such times, I look upon death as—.

²² There would be no more obloquy to this than to its modern counterpart: going on a picnic to the beach.

²³ Obscure. Perhaps unexpectedly good weather permits a man to go fowling.

²⁴ "Verily, he who is there will be"—he who is over there in the realm of the dead.

²⁵ They who live on in the realm of the dead will share in the privileges of the gods.

²⁶ Death by fire is likened to a burnt offering.

²⁷ The soul is successfully won over to the idea of suicide and will share the man's fate, whatever it may be.*

It has come (to its end), (155) its beginning to its end, as found in writing.

THE PROTESTS OF THE ELOQUENT PEASANT

The duty of social justice was an insistent theme of the Middle Kingdom. At that time the man of power and position was asked to deal impartially with all men—or even to be partial in seeking out and meeting need. In the following text, this theme is given a story setting and is emphasized by the mechanism of letting a poor man insist upon his rights.

The story is laid in the reign of Neb-kau-Re Khety III, king at Herakleopolis and one of the competing pharaohs of the early 21st century B.C. Almost all of the manuscript material derives from the Middle Kingdom (20th-18th centuries). These are three papyri in Berlin (10499-"R"; 3023-"B1"; and 3025-"B2") and a papyrus in the British Museum (10274), with other, smaller fragments.

The facsimile publication was *Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, IV, 1. *Die Klagen des Bauern*, bearbeitet von F. Vogelsang und A. H. Gardiner (Leipzig, 1908). The texts were then studied by Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern (Untersuch., VI, Leipzig, 1913)*. See also E. Suys, *Étude sur le conte du fellah plaideur* (Rome, 1933). There are translations by A. H. Gardiner, in *JEA*, IX (1923), 5-25, and by Erman, *LAÉ*, 116-31.*

(R1) THERE WAS A MAN whose name was Khun-Anup, and he was a peasant of the Field of Salt.¹ Now he had a wife, whose name was [Me]rit. THEN THIS PEASANT SAID TO THIS HIS WIFE: "Behold, I am going down to Egypt to [fetch] food thence for my children. Now go and measure for me the grain which is in the barn, the grain remaining *from* [last year]." Thereupon he measured for her [six] *hekat* of grain.² (5) THEN THIS PEASANT SAID TO THIS HIS WIFE: "Behold, [there are] twenty *hekat* of grain for thee and thy children for food. But thou shouldst make for me these six *hekat* of grain into bread and beer for every day *in which* [I may be traveling]."

So this peasant went down into Egypt, after he had loaded his donkeys with *iaa*-plants, *remet*-plants, (10) natron, salt, . . . staves of the Farafra Oasis, leopard skins, (15) wolf hides, . . . pebbles, . . . doves, . . .³ earth's hair, and *anis*, (35) full (measure) of all the good produce of the Field of Salt. So this peasant went south toward Herakleopolis, and he reached the region of Per-Fefi, to the north of Medenit.⁴ He met there a man standing on the riverbank, whose name was Thut-nakht. He was the son of a man (40) whose name was Isri, and he was a vassal of the Chief Steward, Meru's son Rensi.

THEN THIS THUT-NAKHT SAID, when he saw this peasant's donkeys, which were tempting to his heart: "Would that I had some effective idol, (so that) I might steal away the goods of this peasant with it!" Now the house of this Thut-nakht was on a riverbank (45) pathway. It was narrow; it was not at all wide: it

¹ The modern Wadi Natrun, northwest of Herakleopolis.*

² A *hekat* was a little over four dry quarts.

³ The uncertain elements in a long list are here omitted.

⁴ The locations of Per-Fefi and of Medenit are unknown.

may have exceeded the width of a loincloth. One side of it was under the water, and the other side of it was under grain. THEN THIS THUT-NAKHT SAID TO HIS ATTENDANT: "Go and fetch me a sheet from my house." It was brought to him immediately. Then he spread it on the riverbank pathway. Thereupon (50) its *fringe* came to rest on the water and its *hem* on the grain. Then this peasant came along the public road.⁵

(B1,1) THEN THIS THUT-NAKHT SAID: "Be accommodating, peasant! Wouldst thou tread upon my garments?" THEN THIS PEASANT SAID: "I shall do thy pleasure. My course is good." So he went up higher. THEN THIS THUT-NAKHT SAID: (5) "Wilt thou have my grain for a path?" Then this peasant said: "My course is good. The embankment is high, and the (only other) way is under grain, (but still) thou providest our road with thy garments. Now wilt thou not let us pass by on the road?"

Now he had (scarcely) finished saying [this] word, when one of the donkeys filled (10) his mouth with a wisp of grain. Then this Thut-nakht said: "Behold, I will take away thy donkey, peasant, because he is eating my grain. Behold, he will (have to) *thresh* because of his *boldness*." Then this peasant said: "My course is good. (Only) one (wisp) has been damaged. I brought my donkey because of . . . ; wilt thou take him (15) for filling his mouth with a wisp of grain? Moreover, I know the lord of this district. It belongs to the Chief Steward, Meru's son Rensi. Moreover, he is the one who punishes every robber in this entire land. Shall I be robbed in his district?" Then this Thut-nakht said: "Is this the proverb which men say: (20) 'The name of the poor man is pronounced (only) for his master's sake'?"⁶ I am the one who is speaking to thee, (but) it is the Chief Steward whom thou mentionest!"

Then he took a stick of green tamarisk against him. Then he belabored all his limbs with it, and his donkeys were taken away and driven into his estate. Thereupon this peasant (25) wept very greatly because of the pain of what had been done to him. Then this Thut-nakht said: "Do not be (so) noisy, peasant! Behold, thou art at the home of the Lord of Silence." Then this peasant said: "Thou beatest me, thou stealest my goods, and now thou (even) takest away the complaint from my mouth! O Lord of Silence, mayest thou give me back (30) my property! Then I shall not cry out (so that) thou art alarmed!"⁸

Then this peasant spent the time up to ten days appealing to this Thut-nakht, (but) he would not pay attention to it. So this peasant went to Herakleopolis to appeal to the Chief Steward, Meru's son Rensi. He met him going out of the door (35) of his house to embark on his official barge.

⁵ "On the way of all people."

⁶ Thut-nakht quotes, somewhat inaptly, a proverb against the peasant's attempt to invoke higher authority.

⁷ Osiris, god of the dead, had a sanctuary near Herakleopolis.

⁸ By appealing to the god for justice, the peasant turns to his own account Thut-nakht's attempt to silence him.

Then this peasant said: "Would that I might be permitted to make a communication to thee about this recital of fact! It is (only) a matter of letting an attendant of thine of thy choice come to me, (so that) I might send him back to thee about it." So the Chief Steward, Meru's son Rensi, had (40) an attendant of his choice go in front of him,¹⁰ and this peasant sent him back about this affair in every aspect of it.

Then the Chief Steward, Meru's son Rensi, laid a charge against this Thut-nakht before the officials who were at his side. Then they said to him: "Probably it is a peasant of his who has gone to someone else beside him. (45) Behold, that is what they do to peasants of theirs who go to others beside them.¹¹ It is (only) a matter of having this Thut-nakht punished for a little natron and a little salt. Let him be ordered to replace it, and he will replace it." Then (50) the Chief Steward, Meru's son Rensi, was silent; he did not reply to these officials, nor did he reply to this peasant.

Then this peasant came to appeal to the Chief Steward, Meru's son Rensi. He said:

"O Chief Steward, my lord, greatest of the great, undertaker of that which is not and of that which is!"¹² If thou embarkest on the lake of (55) justice, mayest thou sail on it with a fair breeze! A *squall* shall not tear away thy sail, thy boat shall not lag, no misfortune shall overtake thy mast, thy *yards* shall not break, . . . the current shall not carry thee away, thou shalt not taste the evils (60) of the river, thou shalt not see a frightened face! (Even) the *timid* fish shall come to thee, and thou shalt attain (some) of the fattest fowl. Because thou art the father of the orphan, the husband of the widow, the brother of the divorcee, and the apron of him that is motherless. Let me make thy name in (65) this land according to every good law: a leader free from covetousness, a great man free from wrongdoing, one who destroys falsehood and brings justice into being, and who comes at the cry of him who gives voice. When I speak, mayest thou hear. Do justice, thou favored one whom the favored ones favor! Dispose of (70) my burdens. Behold me, (how) burdened I am! Count me: behold, I am lacking!"¹³

Now this peasant made this speech in the time of the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Nebkau-Re, the triumphant. So the Chief Steward, Meru's son Rensi, went before his majesty and said: "My lord, (75) I have found one of these peasants who is really eloquent. His goods have been stolen, and, behold, he has come to appeal to me about it."

THEN HIS MAJESTY SAID: "AS TRULY AS THOU WISHEST TO SEE ME IN HEALTH, thou shalt make him linger here,

⁹ A typically oriental proposal to treat the matter through an intermediary instead of by direct appeal.

¹⁰ On their way to the official barge.

¹¹ The magistrates take the attitude that Thut-nakht's guilt is slight and may be expiated by repayment, whereas custom condones rough treatment of a peasant who has left his normal patron and has sought action elsewhere.

¹² i.e. of everything.

¹³ In his first appeal the peasant is still courteous and takes justice for granted. Later he becomes more indignant in his appeals, daring to charge the Chief Steward with injustice.

without replying to anything which he may say. For the purpose of keeping him (80) talking, be thou silent. Then have his speech brought to us in writing, (that) we may hear it. But provide that on which his wife and children may live. Behold, one of these peasants may come before his house is empty down to the ground.¹⁴ Further, keep this peasant himself alive. Thou shalt cause that provisions be given to him, without letting him know that thou art the one who has given them to him."

So they gave him ten loaves of bread and two jars of beer (85) every day. The Chief Steward, Meru's son Rensi, used to give them. He used to give them to a friend of his, and he was the one who gave them to him. Then the Chief Steward, Meru's son Rensi, sent to the Mayor of the Field of Salt about providing food for this peasant's wife: *thirty hekat* of grain every day.

THEN THIS PEASANT CAME TO APPEAL TO HIM A SECOND TIME. . . . (100) . . .¹⁵

THEN THE CHIEF STEWARD, MERU'S SON RENSI, SAID: "Is what belongs to thee more important to thy heart than (the fact) that my attendant may carry thee off?"¹⁶ Then this peasant said: "The measurer of (105) piles (of grain) cheats for himself. He who should fill up for another trims his share. He who should lead according to the laws orders robbery. Who then will punish meanness? He who should drive out *decay* (himself) makes distortions. One man is straightforward in crookedness, another *assents* to mischance. Dost thou thyself find (*a lesson*) for thee? *Punishment is short*, (but) mischance is long. A (good) example comes back to its place of yesterday."¹⁷ Now this is the command: 'Do to the doer (110) to cause that he do.' That is thanking him¹⁸ for what he may do. That is parrying something before (it is) shot. That is ordering something from him who (already) has business."¹⁹ . . . (145) . . .

"Desire to live long, as it is said: 'Doing justice is the (very) breath of the nose.'²⁰ Carry out punishment against him who should be punished, and none shall equal thy scrupulousness. Does the hand-scales err? Does the stand-balance incline to the side? Is even Thoth (150) indulgent?²¹ Then thou (also) mayest work mischief. When thou makest thyself the second²² of these three, if the three are indulgent, then thou (also) mayest be indulgent. . . . Take not, (for) thou shouldst act against a taker. (165) That great one who is covetous is not really great. Thy tongue is the plummet (of the balance), thy heart is the weight, and thy two lips are

¹⁴ One of the peasants of the Wadi Natrun is to come to Egypt to get food for the peasant's family.

¹⁵ In his second appeal the peasant boldly suggests that the expected dispenser of justice is becoming an abuser of justice.

¹⁶ The Chief Steward interrupts with a threat of punishment if the peasant insists upon his property claims.

¹⁷ A good deed is normative of the good times of the past.

¹⁸ "That is praising god for him."

¹⁹ Doing unto others, in order to induce them to do for oneself, produces in advance the desired results.

²⁰ The Egyptians inhaled the "breath of life."

²¹ Thoth was the patron of just measure.

²² *Sic*, in the sense of "companion."

its arms. If thou veilest thy face against violence, who then will punish meanness?

"Behold, thou art a wretch of a washerman, covetous in injuring (170) a friend, *abandoning his partner* for the sake of his client. He who comes *that he may buy* is his brother."²³ Behold, thou art a ferryman who ferries over (only) him that has a fare, a straight-dealer whose straight-dealing is clipped short. . . . Behold, thou art a butler whose delight is butchering, (177) the mutilation of which (does) not (fall) upon him. . . . Prepare not for the morrow before it arrives; one knows not what mischance may be in it."

Now when this peasant made this speech, (185) the Chief Steward, Meru's son Rensi, was at the entrance of the administration building. Then he had two guardsmen attend to him with whips. Then they belabored all his limbs therewith.

Then this peasant said: "So the son of Meru goes on erring! His face is blind to what he sees and deaf to what he hears, misguided of heart because of what has been related to him. Behold, thou art a town (190) which has no mayor, like a company which has no chief, like a ship in which there is no pilot, a confederacy which has no leader. Behold, thou art a *constable* who steals, a mayor who accepts (bribes), a district overseer who should punish robbery, (but) who has become the precedent for him that does (it)." . . .²⁴

"Do not plunder of his property a poor man, a weakling as thou knowest him. His property is the (very) breath of a suffering man, and he who takes it away is one who stops up his nose. Thou wert appointed to conduct hearings, to judge between two men, (235) and to punish the brigand, (but) behold, it is the upholder of the thief which thou wouldst be. One trusts in thee, whereas thou art become a transgressor. Thou wert appointed to be a dam for the sufferer, guarding lest he drown, (but) behold, thou art his flowing lake."

Now then this peasant came (240) to appeal to him a sixth time, and he said: ". . . (250) . . . Cheating diminishes justice. (But) good full (measure)—justice neither falls short nor overflows. . . ."

Now then (290) this peasant came to appeal to him an eighth time, and he said: "O Chief Steward, my lord! One may fall a long way because of greed. The covetous man is void of success; (any) success of his belongs to failure. Though thy heart is covetous, it is not (of avail) for thee. Though thou robbest, it does not profit thee, who should still permit a man to attend to his (own) proper business. Thy (own) needs are in thy house; thy belly is full; the grain-measure overflows—(but) when it is *jostled* (295) its surplus is lost on the ground. Takers, robbers, appropriators, magistrates—(and yet) made to punish evil! Magistrates are a refuge for the violent—(and yet) made to punish deceit! . . .

²³ In these passages the Chief Steward is likened to a business man without charity, his sole interest being profit.

²⁴ The above is from the third appeal. The following extract is from the fifth.

"Do justice for the sake of the Lord of Justice,²⁵ the justice of whose justice exists! (305) Thou reed-pen, papyrus, and palette of Thoth,²⁶ keep apart from doing evil! It is good if thou art good—good indeed. Now justice lasts unto eternity; it goes down into the necropolis with him who does it. When he is buried and interred, (310) his name is not wiped out upon earth, (but) he is remembered for goodness. That is a principle of the word of god.²⁷ Is it the hand-scales—(then) it does not tilt. Is it the stand-balance—(then) it does not incline to the side. Whether I shall come or whether another may come, thou shouldst address (us) (315) with an answer. Do not address (us) silently. Do not attack him who cannot attack. . . ."

(B2,91) Now THEN this peasant CAME to appeal to him a ninth time, and he said: "O Chief Steward, my lord! The balance of men is their tongue. It is the scales which seeks out deficiencies (in weight). Carry out punishment against him who should be punished, (or some) one will equal thy scrupulousness. . . . If falsehood walks about, it goes astray. It cannot cross over in the ferry; [it] does not *advance*. (100) As for him who grows rich thereby, he has no children, he has no heirs upon earth. As for him who sails with it, he cannot reach land, his boat cannot moor at its town.

"Be not heavy; thou art not light. Do not delay; thou art not swift. Be not partial. Do not listen to (105) the heart. Do not veil thy face against him whom thou knowest. Do not blind thy face against him whom thou hast beheld. Do not rebuff him who petitions thee. Mayest thou *step down* from this sluggishness, (in order that) thy saying may be reported: 'Act for him who acts for thee.' Do not listen to everybody, (but) summon a man to his (own) rightful interests. There is no yesterday for the slothful,²⁸ (110) no friend for him deaf to truth, no holiday for the covetous. He who is (*now*) *esteemed* may become a sufferer, and the sufferer a petitioner, (*if*) the enemy becomes a killer.²⁹ Behold, I have been appealing to thee, (but) thou dost not hear it. I shall go that I may appeal (115) about thee to Anubis."

Then the Chief Steward, Meru's son Rensi, sent two guardsmen to bring him back. Then this peasant was afraid, for he thought that (it) was done in order to punish him for this speech which he had made. Then this peasant said: "The approach of a thirsty man to water, the tasting (120) of milk by the nursing child—*this [is] death*, for the coming of *which one* has longed to see, (*when*) his death comes for him delayed."³⁰

Then the Chief Steward, Meru's son Rensi, said: "Do

²⁵ In different contexts various gods carried this epithet. Perhaps no one god is meant here, but the appeal to the justice of the gods is still explicit.

²⁶ The writing instruments with which Thoth recorded justice.

²⁷ The divine order, as known in the sacred writings.

²⁸ A high past was a prized heritage of the Egyptians.

²⁹ Perhaps the peasant is here emboldened to threaten the Chief Steward, since his nine appeals have apparently been fruitless. If this threat carries on into the following sentences, it means that the peasant will petition the god of the dead to take action against the Chief Steward.

³⁰ Despite his fear of the maximum punishment, the peasant puts the best face on the prospect of death.

not be afraid, peasant! Behold, thou shalt *arrange to live* with me. Then this peasant *took* (125) *an oath*: "I will surely eat of thy bread, and I will surely drink [of] thy [beer] to eternity!" The Chief Steward, Meru's son Rensi, said: "Now tarry here, that thou mayest hear thy appeals." Then he caused to be read from a new roll of papyrus every appeal according to [its] content. (130) Then the Chief Steward, Meru's son Rensi, sent it in to the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Neb-kau-Re, the triumphant. Then it was more pleasing to [his] heart than anything which was in this entire land. Then [his majesty] said: "Give thou judgment thyself, O son of Meru!"

Then [the Chief Steward], Meru's son Rensi, sent two guardsmen to [*fetch Thut-nakht*]. (135) Then he was brought, and a report was made of [*all his property*]: . . . , his . . . , six persons, apart [from] . . . , his Upper Egyptian barley, his emmer, [his] donkeys, . . . , his pigs, and [his small] cattle. [*So the property of*] this Thut-nakht [*was given*] to [this peasant], . . .

For examples of myths explicative of origins, cf. pp. 8-9 and 10 above. For examples of legends conferring sanction upon Egyptian documents, cf. p. 495 below.

Akkadian Fable

(Translator: Robert H. Pfeiffer)

DISPUTE BETWEEN THE DATE PALM AND THE TAMARISK

A

Text: E. Ebeling, *KAR*, Vol. 1, No. 1245. Translation: E. Ebeling, *Die babylonische Fabel*, pp. 6-8. (*MAOG*, 11/3 [1927].) Ebeling, in *AOT*, pp. 294-5. For other fragmentary fables see Chr. Johnston, *Assyrian and Babylonian Beast Fables*, *AJSL*, xxviii (1911-12), 81 ff.

(obverse)

. . . (3) The tamarisk [opened] its mouth and [said,] "My flesh for the flesh of . . . (5) You have destroyed the precious, beautiful one,¹ *you have cast* . . . like a maid-servant who has [raised her hand] against her mistress."

(7) The date palm's mouth became very large and it answered saying, "They have broken off your blossom with a stick! . . . For whom are they closed up? For sin! The flesh . . . (10) The tamarisk does not know the beauty of the gods, the beauty of [the goddesses]."

(11) Ditto.² "I am higher than you, O father of the wise, in every respect; the farmer has [made it known]. The farmer cuts all he has from my sprout. From my bosom he brings forth his hoe; [the earth] he opens up with my hoe. The irrigation ditch waters the field, and

¹ Perhaps Tammuz (Adonis) is meant.

² "Ditto" here and below (lines 17, 21, 28, 32, 37, 40, 45) means the repetition of line 7, except that in lines 11, 21, 32, and 40 the tamarisk is speaking and should be substituted for the date palm in this introductory formula.

I close it. (15) And in spite of the dampness of the earth, the grain . . . I thresh. So I bring in (the goddess of grain) Nisaba, the people's joy."

(17) Ditto. "I am higher than you, O father of the wise, in every respect; the farmer [has made it known]. All that he has, the bridle, the whip, the team's cover, . . . , the rope, the ox cloth, the cloth for the box, the net, the wagon, . . . , (20) . . . , the utensils of the farmer, as many as there are: [I am] higher [than you]."

(21) Ditto. "Pay attention, O lunatic.⁸ What of mine [is set up] in the king's palace? In the king's house the king eats off my table, [the queen drinks] from my cup, with my *fork* the warriors eat, out of my basket the baker takes the flour; I am a weaver [and I weave] my threads; (25) I clothe the troops I am the chief exorcist of the god, I renew the house of god, [I am the] master. Let there be no rival of mine!"

(reverse)

(28) Ditto. "In *the shrine*, when sacrifices are offered to the great gods, where I am not standing the king does not sacrifice with a wise heart. (30) In (ritual) sprinkling they pour out my libation, they scatter my branches on the ground. [I am the master.] On the same day the date palm is the perfumer. A big mouth [pronounces] your replies."

(32) Ditto. "Come, let us go, I and you, to the city of Kish . . . where my work is. To wit, are not [the temples] filled with my omens, [are not the vessels] filled with my incense? The temple prostitute pours out water, . . . (35) she takes. They purify themselves (thereby) and perform rites with it. On the same day [the tamarisk] is available to the hand of the sacrificer and its container is in the place [of the gods]."

(37) Ditto. "Come, let us go, I and you, to the city of Where there are sins, there is your activity, O tamarisk. A carpenter . . . , and him they fear, and every day they dread [him]."

(40) Ditto. "Who is like . . . ? My cluster is luxuriant; (though) I lift it high, shepherd boys make out of it big sticks. But they cut up your face like a basketmaker who Terrible is my strength, let me gloat about my fury! I have placed you in the underworld. My work is might"

(45) Ditto. "I am taller than you, six times greater,

⁸ The restorations in lines 21-26 are based on the parallels in B, 31-36 (see below).

seven times greater. I am a comrade of the goddess Nisaba, three months The orphan girl, the widow, the wretched man . . . eat the sweet dates which are not scarce (50) (Text) destroyed.⁴ My ropes . . . (51-52 fragments; 53 ff. lost.)

B

Text: E. Ebeling, *KAR*, Fascicule viii, No. 324. Translation: E. Ebeling, *Die babylonische Fabel*, pp. 11-2.

(1) In the holy (primeval) days,—in those days the people dug canals, the (gods of the) destinies assembled—they appointed (as) gods in the countries Anu, Enlil, Ea. Enlil and the people *came*, (5) the god Shamash sat between them. Ditto sat the mistress of the gods, the great (Ishtar). To them⁵ the dominion of the countries did not belong, for the lordship was granted to the gods. Gishganmesh the gods appointed as king. (10) They ordered him (to accomplish) the image of the finest things. The king in his palace plants date palms, in addition, *ditto*, just as many tamarisks. In the shade of the tamarisk a banquet (15) was arranged. In the shade of the date palm decision concerning crime . . . opening . . . the path of the king. The trees . . . compared themselves one with the other. The tamarisk and the date palms became restless. (20) The tamarisk spoke, greatly [praising] himself; when the date palm (spoke), surpassing (in boastfulness) was (its) word. "As for you, O tamarisk, you are useless wood. What are your branches? Wood without fruit. Mine is the fruit of a big tree: (25) *fully grown* it is food; in the second place the gardener speaks well (of me) as a profit for slave and governor. The nourishment of my fruit makes the infant grow, adults eat my fruit. (30) Am I not well thought of in the king's presence? O lunatic,⁶ in the king's palace what is set up of mine? In the king's palace the king eats off my table, the queen drinks out of my cup. (35) I am a weaver and I weave my threads. A god I purify as an exorcist" "My mouth is not a weapon; in the second place . . ." (said the tamarisk). "Its mouth is not a weapon," [the king] answered; he planted at its side the date palm (saying), "If (you stand) at the city gate, calm the strife; if in the wilderness, calm the heat."

⁴ "Destroyed" is a scribal note.

⁵ i.e. presumably the people.

⁶ Lines 31-36 are substantially identical with parts of A, 21-26 (see above).

Proverbs and Precepts

Egyptian Instructions

(Translator: John A. Wilson)

THE INSTRUCTION OF THE VIZIER PTAH-HOTEP

The Egyptians delighted in compilations of wise sayings, which were directive for a successful life. To them, this was "wisdom." One of the earliest of these compilations purports to come from Ptah-hotep, the vizier of King Izezi of the Fifth Dynasty (about 2450 B.C.). The old councilor is supposed to be instructing his son and designated successor on the actions and attitudes which make a successful official of the state.

The chief manuscript is the Papyrus Prisse of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (No. 183-194), written in the Middle Kingdom. Later documents, running into the Eighteenth Dynasty, are British Museum Papyri 10371, 10435, and 10509, and the reverse of Carnarvon Tablet I, now in the Cairo Museum (cf. pp. 232-233 above). Facsimiles of the hieratic texts were published by G. Jéquier, *Le Papyrus Prisse et ses variantes* (Paris, 1911). Extracts in facsimile are given in G. Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1927), 1, 2-3. The texts are transcribed into hieroglyphic in E. Dévaud, *Les maximes de Ptah-hotep* (Fribourg, 1916). The following translation uses Dévaud's numbering for the texts. There are translations by B. Gunn, *The Instruction of Ptah-hotep and the Instruction of Ke'gemni* (*Wisdom of the East Series*; London, 1909), and by Erman, *LAE*, 54-66. On the general subject of Egyptian wisdom literature in successive periods, see R. Anthes, *Lebensregeln und Lebensweisheit der alten Aegypter* (*AO*, 32,2, Leipzig, 1933)* (See Addenda).

THE INSTRUCTION¹ OF THE MAYOR AND VIZIER PTAH-HOTEP,² UNDER the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Izezi, living forever and ever. The Mayor and Vizier Ptah-hotep says:

O sovereign, my lord! Oldness has come; old age has descended. Feebleness has arrived; dotage is coming anew. (10) The heart sleeps wearily every day. The eyes are weak, the ears are deaf, the strength is disappearing because of weariness of heart, and the mouth is silent and cannot speak. The heart is forgetful and cannot recall yesterday. The bone suffers old age. Good is become evil. All taste is gone. (20) What old age does to men is evil in every respect. The nose is stopped up and cannot breathe. (Simply) to stand up or to sit down is difficult.

Let a command be issued to this servant to make a staff of old age,³ that my son may be made to stand in my place. (30) Then may I speak to him the words of them that listen and the ideas of the ancestors, of them

¹ The word *sebayit* "teaching," came to be used by the Egyptians for "wisdom," because of their orientation toward the models of the past.

² There was more than one vizier named Ptah-hotep around the time of the pharaoh Izezi. The best known of them left a tomb at Sakkarah: M. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, 1 (London, 1905).

³ The son as the support of his father. "This servant," literally "the servant there," is polite for "me."

that hearkened to the gods.⁴ Then shall the like be done for thee, that strife may be banished from the people and the Two Banks may serve thee.

Then the majesty of this god⁵ said:

Teach thou him first about speaking. Then he may set an example for the children of officials. (40) May obedience enter into him, and all heart's poise. Speak to him. There is no one born wise.

THE BEGINNING OF THE EXPRESSION OF GOOD SPEECH, SPOKEN BY the Hereditary Prince and Count, God's Father and God's Beloved, eldest son of the king, of his body, the Mayor and Vizier, Ptah-hotep, in instructing the ignorant about wisdom and about the rules for good speech, as of advantage to him who will hearken (50) and of disadvantage to him who may neglect them.

Then he said to his son:

Let not thy heart be puffed-up because of thy knowledge; be not confident because thou art a wise man. Take counsel with the ignorant as well as the wise. The (full) limits of skill cannot be attained, and there is no skilled man equipped to his (full) advantage.⁶ Good speech is more hidden than the emerald, but it may be found with maidservants at the grindstones. . . .⁷

IF THOU ART A LEADER (85) commanding the affairs of the multitude, seek out for thyself every beneficial deed, until it may be that thy (own) affairs are without wrong. Justice is great, and its appropriateness is lasting; it has not been disturbed since the time of him who made it, (whereas) there is punishment for him who passes over its laws. It is the (right) path before him who knows nothing. Wrongdoing has never brought its undertaking into port. (It may be that) it is fraud that gains riches, (95) (but) the strength of justice is that it lasts, and a man may say: "It is the property of my father."⁸ . . .

IF THOU ART ONE OF THOSE SITTING (120) at the table of one greater than thyself, take what he may give, when it is set before thy nose. Thou shouldst gaze at what is before thee. Do not pierce him with many stares, (for such) an aggression against him is an abomination to the *ka*.⁹ Let thy face be cast down until he addresses thee, and thou shouldst speak (only) when he addresses thee. (130) Laugh after he laughs, and it will be very pleasing to his heart and what thou mayest do will be pleasing to the heart. No one can know what is in the heart.

As for the great man when he is at meals, his purposes

⁴ Variant: "of them that served the forebears," i.e. previous government officials.

⁵ The king.

⁶ "Limits of craftsmanship," or "artistry," and "no skilled craftsman," or "artist"—here in eloquent speech.

⁷ This translation omits many sections which are obscure.

⁸ *Ma'at* "justice" or "truth," was an inheritable value.

⁹ The *ka* was the protecting and guiding vital force of a man, and thus his social mentor.

conform to the dictates of his *ka*. He will give to the one whom he favors. (140) The great man gives to *the man whom he can reach*, (but) it is the *ka* that lengthens out his arms. The eating of bread is under the planning of god¹⁰—it is (only) a fool who would *complain of it*.

IF THOU ART A MAN OF INTIMACY, whom one great man sends to another, be thoroughly reliable when he sends thee. Carry out the errand for him as he has spoken. (150) Do not be reserved about what is said to thee, and beware of (any) act of forgetfulness. Grasp hold of truth, and do not exceed it. (*Mere*) gratification is by no means to be repeated. Struggle against making words worse, (thus) making one great man hostile to another through vulgar speech.¹¹ (160) A great man, a little man—it is the *ka's* abomination.¹² . . .

(175) IF THOU ART A POOR FELLOW, FOLLOWING A MAN OF DISTINCTION, one of good standing with the god, know thou not his former insignificance. Thou shouldst not be puffed-up against him because of what thou didst know of him formerly. Show regard¹³ for him in conformance with what has accrued to him—property does not come of itself. It is their law for him who wishes them. *As for him who oversteps, he is feared*. It is god who makes (a man's) quality, (185) and he defends him (even) while he is asleep. . . .

IF THOU ART A MAN OF STANDING AND FOUNDEST A HOUSEHOLD and producest a son who is pleasing to god,¹⁴ if he is correct and inclines toward thy ways (200) and listens to thy instruction, while his manners in thy house are fitting, and if he takes care of thy property as it should be, seek out for him every useful action. He is thy son, whom thy *ka* engendered for thee. Thou shouldst not cut thy heart off from him.

(But a man's) seed (often) creates enmity.¹⁵ If he goes astray and transgresses thy plans and does not carry out thy instruction, (so that) his manners in thy household are wretched, (210) and he rebels against all that thou sayest, while his mouth runs on in the (most) wretched talk, (*quite*) apart from his experience, while he possesses nothing,¹⁶ THOU SHOULDST CAST HIM OFF: HE IS NOT THY SON AT ALL. He was not really born to thee. (Thus) thou enslavest him entirely according to his (own) speech. . . . He is one whom god has condemned in the (very) womb. . . .

If thou art one to whom petition is made, (265) be calm as thou listenest to the petitioner's speech. Do not rebuff him before he has swept out his body or before he has said that for which he came. A petitioner likes attention to his words better than the fulfilling of that

¹⁰ "God" in these wisdom texts sometimes means the king, sometimes the supreme or creator god, and sometimes the force which demands proper behavior—a force not clearly defined, but perhaps the local god.

¹¹ "By the speaking of everybody"? Perhaps: "Do not talk (to) everybody."

¹² Do not draw invidious distinctions?

¹³ "Fear."

¹⁴ "God"—probably the king in this context.

¹⁵ This sentence may be understood on the basis that the Egyptian words for "semen" and "poison" are the same word.

¹⁶ "There is not, in his hands." It is characteristic of the period that moral qualities, filial piety, and the possession of property should be linked as virtues.

for which he came.¹⁷ He is rejoicing thereat more than any (other) petitioner, (even) before that which has been heard has come to pass. As for him who plays the rebuffer of a petitioner, men say: "Now why is he doing it?" (275) It is not (*necessary*) that everything about which he has petitioned *should* come to pass, (but) a good hearing is a soothing of the heart.

IF THOU DESIREST to make friendship last in a home to which thou hast access as master,¹⁸ as a brother, or as a friend, into any place where thou mightest enter, beware of approaching the women. It does not go well with the place where that is done. *The face has no alertness by splitting it*.¹⁹ A thousand men may be distracted from their (own) advantage. (285) One is made a fool by limbs of fayence, as she stands (there), become (all) carnelian. A mere trifle, the likeness of a dream—and one attains death through knowing her. . . . Do not do it—it is really an abomination—(295) and thou shalt be free from sickness of heart every day. As for him who escapes from gluttony for it, all affairs will prosper with him. . . .

DO NOT BE COVETOUS AT A DIVISION. Do not be greedy, unless (it be) for thy (own) portion. Do not be covetous against thy (own) kindred. Greater is the respect for the mild than (for) the strong. (320) He is a mean person who *exposes* his kinsfolk; he is empty of *the fruits of conversation*.²⁰ It is (only) a little of that for which one is covetous that turns a calm man into a contentious man.

IF THOU ART A MAN OF STANDING, THOU SHOULDST FOUND THY HOUSEHOLD and love thy wife at home as is fitting. Fill her belly; clothe her back. Ointment is the prescription for her body. Make her heart glad as long as thou livest. (330) She is a profitable field for her lord.²¹ Thou shouldst not contend with her at law, and keep her far from gaining control. . . . Her eye is her stormwind. Let her heart be soothed through what may accrue to thee; it means keeping her long in thy house. . . .

SATISFY THY CLIENTS WITH WHAT HAS ACCRUED TO THEE,²² (340) what accrues to one whom god favors. As for him who evades satisfying his clients, men say: "He is a *ka* of robbery. A proper *ka* is a *ka* with which one is satisfied."²³ One does not know what may happen, so that he may understand the morrow. If misfortunes occur among those (now) favored, it is the clients who (still) say: "Welcome!" One does not secure satisfaction from a stranger; one has recourse to a client when there is trouble. . . .

¹⁷ Variant: "One who has woes likes the assuaging of his heart better than the doing of that for which he came."

¹⁸ Variant: "as a son."

¹⁹ Perhaps: He who has a wandering eye for the women cannot be keen.

²⁰ "A mean person is he who goes out (from?) under his kinsfolk; (he is) void of the bringing of speech."

²¹ The desire for children—particularly male children—was perennial in the orient.

²² The word "satisfy" sometimes means "pay off." The word "clients," literally "those who enter," may here apply to the entourage of a high official.

²³ Probably: He is the very spirit of rapacity; the right kind of a spirit is one which gratifies others.

IF THOU ART A MAN of standing, one sitting in the counsels of his lord, summon thy resources²⁴ for good. (365) If thou art silent, it is better than *teftef*-plants. If thou speakest, thou shouldst know how thou canst explain (difficulties). It is a (real) craftsman who can speak in counsel, (for) speaking is more difficult than any labor. It is explaining *it that puts it to the stick*.²⁵ . . .

IF THOU ART (NOW) IMPORTANT AFTER THY (FORMER) UNIMPORTANCE, so that thou mayest do things after a neediness (430) formerly in the town which thou knowest, in contrast to what was thy lot before, do not be miserly with thy wealth, which has accrued to thee as the gift of god. Thou art not behind²⁶ some other equal of thine to whom the same has happened.

BOW THY BACK TO THY SUPERIOR, thy overseer from the palace. (Then) thy household will be established in its property, and thy recompense will be as it should be. (445) Opposition to a superior is a painful thing, (for) one lives as long as he is mild. . . .

IF THOU ART SEEKING OUT the nature of a friend, one whom thou questionest, draw near to him (465) and deal with him alone, until thou art no (longer) troubled about his condition. Reason with him after a while. *Test* his heart with a bit of talk. If what he may have seen should come out of him or he should do something with which thou art displeased, behold, he is still a friend. . . . (475) . . . Do not answer in a *state* of turmoil; do not *remove* thyself from him; do not trample him down. His time has never failed to come; he cannot escape from him who predetermined him. . . .

IF THOU HEAREST THIS WHICH I HAVE SAID TO THEE, thy every project will be (*better*) than (*those of*) the *ancestors*. As for what is left over of their truth, it is their treasure—(510) (*though*) the memory of them *may* escape from the mouth of men—because of the goodness of their sayings. Every word is carried on, without perishing in this land forever. It makes *for expressing well*, the speech of the *very* officials. It is what teaches a man to speak to the future, so that it may hear it, what produces a craftsman, who has heard what is good and who speaks to the future—and it hears it.²⁷ . . .

TO HEAR IS OF ADVANTAGE FOR A SON WHO HEARKENS. (535) IF HEARING ENTERS INTO A HEARKENER, the hearer becomes a hearer.²⁸ (When) hearing is good, speaking is good. Every hearer (is) an advantage, and hearing is of advantage to the hearer. To hear is better than anything that is, (and thus) comes the goodly love (of a man). How good it is when a son accepts what his father says! Thereby *maturity* comes to him. (545) He whom god loves is a hearer, (but) he whom god hates cannot hear. It is the heart which brings up its lord as one who hears or as one who

²⁴ "Gather thy heart."

²⁵ The ability to expound puts speech to the test?

²⁶ Not behind or ahead of, but the same as?

²⁷ Glorification of the verbal wisdom of the past. For a glorification of the written wisdom of the past, cf. pp. 431-432 below.

²⁸ This section gives itself up to a literary play on the word "to hear." Its purpose is to prescribe "hearkening" or obedience upon the youth, so that he may become a "hearer" or magistrate who hears cases.*

does not hear. The life, prosperity, and health of a man is his heart.²⁹ . . .

IF A SON ACCEPTS WHAT HIS FATHER SAYS, (565) no project of his miscarries. He whom thou instructest as thy obedient son, who will stand well in the heart of the official, his speech is guided with respect to what has been said to him, one regarded as obedient. . . . (But) the *induction*³⁰ of him who does not hearken miscarries. The wise man rises early in the morning to establish himself, (but) the fool rises early in the morning (only) to *agitate* himself.

(575) AS FOR THE FOOL WHO DOES NOT HEARKEN, he cannot do anything. He regards knowledge as ignorance and profit as loss. He does everything blameworthy, so that one finds fault with him every day. He lives on that through which he should die, and guilt is his food. His character therefrom is *told* as something known to the officials: (585) dying while alive every day. . . .

AN OBEDIENT SON IS A FOLLOWER OF HORUS.³¹ It goes well with him when he hears. When he becomes old and reaches a venerable state, he converses in the same way to his children, by renewing the instruction of his father. Every man is *as (well) instructed as he acts*. If he converses with (his) children, (595) then they will speak (to) their children. . . .

Mayest thou reach me,³² with thy body sound, and with the king satisfied with all that has taken place. Mayest thou attain (my) years of life. (640) What I have done on earth is not inconsiderable. I attained one hundred and ten years of life which the king gave me,³³ with favor foremost among the ancestors, through doing right for the king up to the point of veneration.³⁴

IT HAS COME (TO ITS END, FROM) ITS BEGINNING TO ITS END, LIKE THAT WHICH WAS FOUND IN WRITING.

THE INSTRUCTION FOR KING MERI-KA-RE

The confused period between the Old and Middle Kingdoms was a time of changing values. The overturn of the old sanctions of power and property exerted a sobering influence. New values were increasingly expressed in spiritual and social terms, as the following text from that period shows. It presents the advice which one of the several competing rulers of that time (end of the 22nd century B.C.) gave to his son and successor.

The text is on the verso of the Papyrus Leningrad 1116A, a manuscript copied in the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the latter half of the 15th century B.C.; published by W. Golénisheff, *Les papyrus hiératiques no. 1115, 1116A, et 1116B de l'Ermitage Impérial à St. Pétersbourg* (St. Petersburg, 1913), Pls. ix-xiv. Two other very fragmentary papyrus copies of the text are known. Translated by A. H. Gardiner in *JEA*, 1 (1914), 20-36, and by Erman, *LAE*, 75-84. An excellent special study is A. Scharff, *Der historische Abschnitt der Lehre für König Merikarê* (*SBAW*, 1936, Heft 8)*.

(1) [The beginning of the instruction which the

²⁹ The seat of his mind and emotion.

³⁰ Induction into the official service?

³¹ Elsewhere this term applies to the deified kings of past ages. Here it was probably a servant of the existing king, who was a Horus.

³² Join me in the next world.

³³ The Egyptians considered 110 the ideal age limit. cf. Gen., 50:26.

³⁴ Until death.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt: . . . made] for his son, King Meri-ka-Re, . . .¹

(21) . . . [IF] THOU [FINDEST A MAN WHO] . . . , whose adherents are many in total, . . . and he is gracious in the sight of his partisans, . . . and he is *excitable*, a talker—remove him, kill [him], wipe out his name, [*destroy*] his faction, banish the memory of him and of his adherents who love him.

(25) THE CONTENTIOUS MAN IS A DISTURBANCE TO CITIZENS: he produces two factions among the youth. If thou findest that the citizens adhere to him . . . , denounce him in the presence of the court, and remove [him]. He also is a traitor. A talker is *an exciter* of a city. *Divert* the multitude and suppress its heat. . . .

(30) . . . Thou shouldst be justified in the presence of the god. Then people will say, (*even*) [*in*] thy *ab[sence]*, that thou punishest in conformance with . . . A good demeanor is a man's heaven, (but) cursing the *stormy* of heart is wrong.

BE A CRAFTSMAN IN SPEECH, (SO THAT) THOU MAYEST BE STRONG, (for) the tongue is a sword to [*a man*], and speech is more valorous than any fighting. No one can circumvent the skillful of heart. . . . They who know his wisdom do not attack him, and no [*misfortune*] occurs where he is. Truth comes to him (fully) brewed, in accordance with the sayings of the ancestors.

(35) COPY THY FATHERS AND THY ANCESTORS. . . . Behold, their words remain in writing. Open, that thou mayest read and copy (their) wisdom. (Thus) the skilled man becomes *learned*.

Be not evil: patience is good. Make thy memorial to last through the love of thee. . . . God will be praised as (thy) reward, . . . praises because of thy goodness and prayers for thy health . . .

RESPECT THE NOBLES AND MAKE THY PEOPLE TO PROSPER. Establish thy boundaries and thy *frontier-patrol*. It is good to act for the future. Respect a life of attentiveness,² for (*mere*) *credulity*³ will (lead) to wretchedness. . . .

(40) . . . He who is covetous when other men possess is a fool, (because) [*life*] upon earth passes by, it has no length. Happy is he who [*is without*] sin in it. (Even) a million men may be of no avail to the Lord of the Two Lands. . . .

ADVANCE THY GREAT MEN, SO THAT THEY MAY CARRY OUT THY LAWS. He who is rich does not show partiality in his (own) house. He is a possessor of property who has no wants. (But) the poor man does not speak according to what is right for him. It is of no avail to say: "Would that I had!" He is partial to him who possesses rewards for him.⁴ Great is a great man when his great men are great. Valiant (45) is the king

¹ Scharff, *op.cit.*, 7-8, suggests that the author of these instructions was Wah-ka-Re Khety II, pharaoh at Herakleopolis in the Faiyum, the father and predecessor of Meri-ka-Re and a contemporary of Tef-ib of Siut and of Wah-ankh Intef I of Thebes. The first 20 lines of the manuscript are too broken for consecutive translation. They seem to deal with the treatment of rebellion, which was epidemic at the time.³

² "Open(ness) of face."

³ "Filling the heart."

⁴ The poorly recompensed official inclines toward those who bribe him.

possessed of courtiers; august is he who is rich in his nobles.

Mayest thou speak justice in thy (own) house, (that) the great ones who are on earth may fear thee. Uprightness of heart is fitting for the lord. It is the forepart of the house that inspires respect in the back.⁵

*DO JUSTICE WHILST THOU ENDUREST UPON EARTH. Quiet the weeper; do not oppress the widow; supplant no man in the property of his father; and impair no officials at their *posts*. Be on thy guard against punishing wrongfully. Do not slaughter: it is not of advantage to thee. (But) thou shouldst punish with beatings and with arrests; this land will be (firmly) grounded thereby—except (for) the rebel, when his plans are discovered, for the god knows the treacherous of heart, (50) and the god condemns his sins in blood.⁶ . . . Do not kill a man when thou knowest his good qualities, one with whom thou once didst sing the writings.⁷ He who reads in the *sipu-book*⁸ . . . god, free-moving of foot in difficult places, (his) soul comes to the place which it knows. It does not miss the ways of yesterday. No magic can oppose it, (but) it reaches those who will give it water.⁹

THE COUNCIL WHICH JUDGES THE DEFICIENT, thou knowest that they are not lenient on that day of judging the miserable, the hour of doing (their) duty.¹⁰ It is woe when the accuser is one of knowledge. Do not trust in length of years, (55) for they regard a lifetime as (but) an hour.¹¹ A man remains over after death, and his deeds are placed beside him in heaps.¹² However, existence yonder is for eternity, and he who *complains* of it is a fool. (But) as for him who reaches it without wrongdoing, he shall exist yonder like a god, stepping out freely like the lords of eternity.

FOSTER THY YOUNGER GENERATION, THAT THE RESIDENCE CITY MAY LOVE THEE, and increase thy adherents with *recruits*. Behold, thy citizenry is full of new growing (boys). It is twenty years that the younger generation is happy following its heart, (and then) *recruits* [*come*] *forth anew*.¹³ . . . (60) . . . Make thy officials great, advance thy [*soldiers*], increase the younger generation of thy [*follow*]ing, provided with *property*, endowed with fields, and rewarded with cattle.

DO NOT DISTINGUISH THE SON OF A MAN¹⁴ FROM A POOR MAN, (but) take to thyself a man because of the work of his hands. Every skilled work should be practised according to the . . . of the lord of a strong arm. Protect

⁵ The front part of an Egyptian house was the quarters of the master, the servants were in the rear. cf. n.56 below.

⁶ Treason against the state was the one capital crime. Yet the Egyptian did not wish to lay the responsibility for capital punishment upon the pharaoh and stated that the sentence was a divine vengeance.

⁷ A former schoolmate, with whom you chanted the lessons in school.

⁸ An otherwise unknown book, perhaps an "inventory," helpful in attaining the eternal happiness of the next world.

⁹ The soul of the rightly instructed will attain eternal happiness.

¹⁰ The reference is to a judgment after death by a tribunal of gods, at this time under the presidency of the sun-god, later with Osiris as the judge.

¹¹ The judges of the dead remember all sins no matter how long the time may be.

¹² As legal exhibits.

¹³ Might Egyptians be conscripted for duty at twenty?

¹⁴ The son of a man of birth and position.

thy frontier and build thy *fortresses*, (for) troops are of advantage to their lord.

Make monuments . . . for the god. That is what makes to live the name of him who does it. A man should do what is of advantage to his soul: the monthly service of the priest, putting on the white sandals, visiting the temple, revealing the mysteries,¹⁵ having access (65) to the shrine, and eating bread in the temple. MAKE THE OFFERING-TABLE FLOURISH, INCREASE THE LOAVES, and add to the daily offerings. It is an advantage to him who does it. Make thy monuments to endure according as thou art able. A single day gives for eternity, and an hour effects accomplishment for the future. The god is aware of him who works for him. Let thy statues be transported into a distant country, *without their giving the total thereof*, for (only) a sick man is free (from) *some hostility*, and the foe within Egypt is never calm.¹⁶

GENERATION WILL OPPRESS GENERATION, as the ancestors prophesied about it. Egypt fights (70) (even) in the necropolis, by hacking up graves, by . . . I did the same, and the same happened as is done to one who transgresses *the way of the god*.¹⁷

Do not (deal) evilly with the southern region, for thou knowest the prophecy of the Residence City concerning it.¹⁸ That may come to pass as this came to pass. They do not transgress (our frontier), as they said . . . I should praise (also) This *over against* its southern frontier at *Taut*.¹⁹ I took it like a cloudburst. King Mer[y-ib]-Re, the triumphant, had not (been able to) do it.²⁰ Be lenient because of it. . . (75) . . . It is good to work for the future.

IT GOES WELL FOR THEE WITH THE SOUTHERN REGION. The bearers of burdens come to thee with gifts. I did the same as the ancestors:—(though) he has no grain, (that) he might give it (to thee), may it (still) be pleasing to thee because they are compliant to thee; satisfy thyself with thy (own) bread and beer.²¹ Granite comes to thee without hindrance.²² Do not injure the monument of another; thou shouldst quarry stone in Troia.²³ Do not build thy tomb out of the ruins, what had been made (going) into what is to be made. Behold, O King, O lord of joy, (80) thou canst be lax and sleep in thy strength, following thy desire, through

¹⁵ Perhaps only in the sense of carrying out the rites.

¹⁶ The sentence is not clear, but may urge upon the king that he should not shrink from hostility incurred if he advances himself abroad. If he feared hostility he would have enough fears right at home.

¹⁷ It is not clear what the king's failure and the resultant retribution were. Confession of error was very exceptional for any Egyptian, particularly for the pharaoh. cf. n.44 below.

¹⁸ A rival dynasty to that of Herakleopolis had been set up at Thebes at this time. Apparently on the basis of some "prophecy," there was a truce in force at the time of these instructions. Within a generation or two Thebes was to put an end to the Herakleopolitan rule.

¹⁹ This was the chief city of the Thinite (Abydos) nome and the frontier between the realms of Herakleopolis and Thebes. Taut(?) is unknown.

²⁰ If the restoration is correct, this would be Mery-ib-Re Khety I, a ruler at Herakleopolis perhaps a century before the time of these instructions.

²¹ I followed the principles laid down by my predecessors: do not exact tribute from a friendly neighbor.

²² From the quarries at Assuan.

²³ The limestone quarries across the River from Memphis. The preceding and succeeding sentences urge that it is wrong to take stone from the monuments of the ancestors, since granite and limestone are available from the quarries.

what I have done. There is no enemy within the compass of thy frontier.

HE WHO AROSE (AS) LORD IN A CITY AROSE WITH HIS HEART TROUBLED because of the Northland, Het-shenu *to Sebaqa*, with its southern boundary *up to the . . . Canal*.²⁴ I pacified the entire west, as far as the coast of the sea. It works for itself, as it gives *meru-wood*, and one may see juniper. They give it to us.²⁵ (But) the east is rich in bowmen,²⁶ and their work . . . Turned about are the islands in the midst and every man within it.²⁷ The *administrative districts say*: "*Thou art more honored (85) than I.*"²⁸ BEHOLD, [THE AREA] WHICH THEY INJURED IS (NOW) MADE INTO NOMES AND all large cities.²⁹ The domain of one man is (now) in the hands of ten men. . . lists with every (kind of) tax that exists. The priest is presented with fields, working for thee like a single troop.³⁰ It will not come to pass thereby that they be treacherous of heart. The Nile will not fail for thee, so that it does not come. The dues of the Northland are in thy hand. Behold, the mooring-stake is driven in *the region* which I have made on the east, up to the limits of Hebenu and as far as the Ways-of-Horus,³¹ settled with citizens and filled with people, the picked men of the entire land, in order to oppose (90) *their arms thereby*. I should (like to) see a valiant man who could copy it, one who could do for himself more than I have done. . . .

BUT THIS FURTHER SHOULD BE SAID BECAUSE OF THE BOWMAN. Lo, the wretched Asiatic—it goes ill with the place where he is, afflicted with water, difficult from many trees, the ways thereof painful because of the mountains. He does not dwell in a single place, (but) his legs *are made to go astray*. He has been fighting (ever) since the time of Horus, (but) he does not conquer, nor yet can he be conquered. He does not announce a day in fighting, like *a thief* who . . . for a gang.³²

BUT AS I LIVE! (95) I AM WHILE I AM! The bowmen, however, are a locked wall, opened . . .³³ I made the Northland smite them, I captured their inhabitants, and I took their cattle, to the disgust of the Asiatics against Egypt. Do not trouble thyself about him: he is (only) an Asiatic, *one despised* on his (own) coast. He may rob a single *person*, (but) he does not lead against a town of many citizens.

²⁴ As every local ruler knew, the current peaceful relations with the south were not duplicated by those with the Delta. Het-shenu was near Heliopolis; the other two sites are unknown.

²⁵ The western Delta was friendly to Herakleopolis and transmitted the timber of Asia.

²⁶ Foreign warriors.

²⁷ The "islands" cut off by waterways within the Delta were disaffected from Herakleopolis?

²⁸ Internal local jealousy?

²⁹ The land which has been delivered from the foreigners has been made into small administrative units—perhaps on the principle of *divide et impera*.

³⁰ Even the priest must work out his taxes.

³¹ From somewhere near modern Minieh in Middle Egypt to the Suez frontier (on the "Ways-of-Horus" cf. pp. 21, 478). Thus the east Delta was anchored along a newly established frontier line.

³² The characterization is that of the nomad Bedouin, who raid but fight no campaigns.

³³ Uncertain, but perhaps a contrast between the pharaoh and the (inscrutable?) foreigners.

DIG A DYKE against [half] of it, and flood half of it as far as the Bitter Lakes. Behold, it is the (very) navel-cord of foreigners.⁸⁴ (100) Its walls are warlike, and its soldiers are many. The subjects in it know (how) to take up *weapons—apart from the priest of the home.*⁸⁵ The region of Djed-sut⁸⁶ totals ten thousand men as commoners, free and without taxes. Officials have been in it since the time of the Residence City.⁸⁷ The boundaries are fixed, its garrisons are valiant. Many northerners water it as far as the Northland, tax-free in grain.⁸⁸ . . . They have made a dyke as far (105) as Herakleopolis. Abundant citizens are the heart's *support*. Guard against *encirclement* by the retainers of an enemy. . . .

WHEN THY FRONTIER IS ENDANGERED toward the [southern] region, it means that the [northern] bowmen will take on the girdle.⁸⁹ Build structures in the Northland. The name of a man will not be smaller through what he has done, and a (well-) founded city cannot be harmed. Build structures . . . The foe desires qualms* of heart, his nature being miserable. King Khety, the triumphant, laid (it) down in [his] instructions:⁴⁰ (110) "He who is silent with regard to violence of heart injures . . . The god will attack the rebel against the temple."⁴¹

. . . Revere the god. Do not say that he is weak of heart. Let not thy arms be slack, *yet create thy (own) joy. Satisfaction* is that which harms heaven, (*whereas*) *imprisonment* is a monument in the knowledge of the foe.⁴² He cannot harm it through a desire that what he has done may be maintained by someone else coming after him. There is no one free from a (115) foe. The (Lord of) the Two Banks is a wise man. The king and lord of courtiers cannot be a fool. He is (already) wise when he comes forth from the womb. (*The god*) has distinguished him ahead of a million lands.

IT IS A GOODLY OFFICE, the kingship. It has no son and no brother, made to endure on its monuments. (But) it is one (king) who promotes another. A man works for him [who] was before him, through a desire that what (he) has done may be maintained by someone else coming after him.⁴³

Behold, a misfortune happened in my time. (120) The Thinite regions were hacked up. It really happened through what I had done,⁴⁴ and I knew of it (only)

⁸⁴ The east Delta region must be protected because it is the center of gravity for the Asiatics.

⁸⁵ If the translation is correct, all citizens were available for military duty except the domestic priest.

⁸⁶ Apparently used for Memphis.

⁸⁷ Since the time of Memphis rule (the 6th dynasty)?

⁸⁸ "Taxed with grain in a free condition."

⁸⁹ Civil war toward the south would give the Asiatics to the north the chance to gird themselves for raids.

⁴⁰ Apparently King Khety I (n.20) had composed a book of wisdom, distinct from the present book and which has not survived to us. cf. also p. 432 below.

⁴¹ Although ultimate vengeance may belong to the god, man must not be passive.

⁴² The enemy can understand firmness, but slackness encourages his attack?

⁴³ This phrase is in place here—each king acts for his predecessor—but perhaps was in anticipatory error in the preceding paragraph.

⁴⁴ For this abnormal confession of shortcoming and perhaps for the misfortune referred to, cf. n.17 above.

after (it) was done. Behold, my recompense (came) out of what I had done. However, he is a wretch and one who has no advantage, who reconsolidates what he has brought to naught, who demolishes what he has built, or who improves what he has *damaged.*⁴⁵ Be on thy guard against it. A blow is to be repaid with its (own) like. That is the *application* of all that has been done.

GENERATION PASSES GENERATION AMONG MEN, and the god, who knows (men's) characters, has hidden himself. (But) there is none who can withstand the Lord of the Hand: he is the one who attacks what (125) the eyes can see.⁴⁶ REVERE the god UPON HIS WAY, made of costly stones and fashioned [of] metal, like a flood replaced by (another) flood. There is no river that permits itself to be concealed; that is, it breaks the [*dam*] by which it was hidden.⁴⁷ (So) also the soul goes to the place which it knows, and deviates not from its way of yesterday. Enrich thy house of the West; embellish thy place of the necropolis, as an upright man and as one who executes the justice upon which (men's) hearts rely. More acceptable is the character of one upright of heart than the ox of the evildoer.⁴⁸ Act for the god, that he may act similarly for thee, with oblations (130) which make the offering-table flourish and with a carved inscription—that is what bears witness to thy name. The god is aware of him who acts for him.

Well directed are men, the cattle of the god. He made heaven and earth according to their desire, and he repelled the water-monster.⁴⁹ He made the breath of life (for) their nostrils. They who have issued from his body are his images. He arises in heaven according to their desire. He made for them plants, animals, fowl, and fish to feed them. He slew his enemies and injured (even) his (own) children because they thought of making rebellion.⁵⁰ HE MAKES THE LIGHT OF DAY according to their desire, and he *sails by* in order to see them. He has erected (135) a shrine around about them, and when they weep he hears.⁵¹ He made for them rulers (even) in the egg, a supporter to support the back of the disabled. He made for them magic as weapons to ward off what might happen or dreams *by* night as well as day. He has slain the treacherous of heart among them, as a man beats his son for his brother's sake.⁵² For the god knows every name.

THOU SHOULDST DO NOTHING HARMFUL WITH REGARD TO ME, *who have given* all the laws concerning the

⁴⁵ Perhaps: do not try to plug holes; be bold enough to meet damage with aggressive force.

⁴⁶ God, the "Lord of the (creative) Hand," remains unseen from age to age, but he must be respected. Invisible, he controls the visible.

⁴⁷ The creator god, a sun disc of stone and metal, goes his daily way like the annual, irresistible inundation.

⁴⁸ cf. I Sam. 15:22; Prov. 15:17. A variant text begins: "More profitable is . . ."

⁴⁹ "The submerger (determined with a crocodile) of the water." Scharff, *op.cit.*, 60, n.6, thinks of the Babylonian Tiamat and suggests a monster which the creator god defeated at creation.

⁵⁰ For the allusion see "The Deliverance of Mankind from Destruction" (pp. 10-11 above).

⁵¹ The unseen god is still close to men through his shrine in the temple.

⁵² God's punishments are for man's good, like a father's discipline.

king. *Open* thy face, that thou mayest be raised as a man. Thou shalt reach me, without having an accuser.⁵³ Do not kill (140) a single one that comes close to thee, when thou hast shown him favor: the god knows him.⁵⁴ He who prospers on earth is one of them, and they who follow the king are gods.⁵⁵ Give the love of thee to the whole world; a good character is a remembrance . . . *It has been said (to) thee*: "May the time of the sufferer be destroyed!" by those who are in the back of the house of King Khety, in contrast to its *situation* today.⁵⁶

Behold, I have spoken to thee the profitable matters of my (very) belly. Mayest thou act on what is established before thy face.

IT HAS COME SUCCESSFULLY (to an end), according to what was found (145) in writing, in the writing of the scribe [Kha-]em-Waset for himself alone, the truly silent one, . . . experienced in the work of Thoth, the scribe Kha-em-Waset, for his brother, the beloved of his affections, the truly silent one, goodly of character, (150) experienced in the work of Thoth, the scribe Meh, son of . . .

THE INSTRUCTION OF KING AMEN-EM-HET

This text purports to give the advice which Amen-em-het I, the first pharaoh of the Twelfth Dynasty, offered to his son and successor. As the reaction of an old and experienced ruler, it has some of the somber pessimism and some of the social idealism of the period. The specific historicity of the text has been challenged, on the grounds that a *dead king* is offering the advice. This argument is probably valid, but the text is historical in its applicability to the times.

Amen-em-het I died about 1960 B.C. However, all the extant documents of this text come from the Eighteenth to Twentieth Dynasties (1500-1100 B.C.), when the inscription was very popular as an exercise for schoolboys. The text was copied, in whole or in part, in 4 papyri (especially Papyrus Millingen = Berlin 3019 and Papyrus Sallier II = British Museum 10182); 1 leather roll; 3 writing tablets; and at least 60 ostraca. The present translation was made from as many of these documents as were available to the translator; the line numbers follow Sallier II.

The text was presented by F. Ll. Griffith in *ZaES*, xxxiv (1896), 35 ff., and by G. Maspero, *Les enseignements d'Amen-em-het Ier à son fils Sanouasrit Ier* (Cairo, 1914). A translation is given by Erman, *LAE*, 72-74. Two points of view on the historicity of the text will be found in *Mélanges Maspero*, 1 (Cairo, 1935-38), A. H. Gardiner arguing that Amen-em-het I was responsible for these words when he made Sen-Useret I his coregent (p. 495 f.), and A. de Buck arguing that the Instruction was composed in the name of Amen-em-het I after his death (pp. 847 ff.).^{1*}

⁵³ Unblemished, he will join his father in the world of the dead.

⁵⁴ Leave to god the punishment of those close to you.

⁵⁵ Apparently the wildest exaggeration of majesty: serving the pharaoh is like being one of the gods. Or: the king's followers will become gods after death?

⁵⁶ The servants' quarters were in the rear of a house; cf. n.5 above. Scharff, *op.cit.*, 8, takes this passage as indicating that Khety is the king who is speaking. Meri-ka-Re is charged to bring times better than the present.

¹ Both commentators take into account a passage in a nineteenth dynasty manuscript, Papyrus Chester Beatty, iv, verso vi 12-vii 2 (*Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series. Chester Beatty Gift*, ed. by A. H. Gardiner [London, 1935], 1, 43 f.; 11, Pls. 20-21), in which there is an

THE BEGINNING OF THE INSTRUCTION WHICH the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Sehetep-ib-Re; the Son of Re: Amen-em-het, the triumphant,² made, when he spoke in a message of truth³ to his son, the All-Lord.⁴ He said:

Thou that hast appeared as a god, hearken to what I have to say to thee, that thou mayest be king of the land and ruler of the regions, that thou mayest achieve an overabundance of good.

HOLD THYSELF APART FROM THOSE SUBORDINATE TO (THEE), lest that should happen to whose terrors no attention has been given. Approach them not in thy loneliness. Fill not thy heart with a brother, nor know a friend. Create not for thyself intimates—there is no fulfillment thereby. (EVEN) WHEN THOU SLEEPEST, GUARD THY HEART THYSELF, because no man has adherents on the day of distress. (5) I gave to the destitute and brought up the orphan. I caused him who was nothing to reach (his goal), like him who was (somebody).

(BUT) IT WAS HE WHO ATE MY FOOD THAT RAISED TROOPS (against me) and he to whom I had given my hands that created terror thereby. They who were clothed in my fine linen looked upon me as (*did*) those who lacked (*it*). They who were perfumed with my myrrh poured out water *while having (it)*.⁵

MY LIVING COUNTERPARTS, YE WHO SHARE WITH ME AMONG MORTALS,⁶ make lamentations for me as something which cannot be heard, for a great *piece* of fighting cannot be seen. Indeed, one fights on the arena forgetful of yesterday. (But) there is no fulfillment of happiness for him who does not know what he should know.⁷

IT WAS AFTER SUPPER, WHEN EVENING HAD COME. I had taken an hour of *rest*, lying upon my bed, for I had become weary. My heart began to follow after slumber for me. Then the weapons *which should have been solicitous* for me were *brandished*, and I was like one crumbled, crumbled to (ii 1) *dust*, a snake of the desert.⁸ I AWOKE AT THE FIGHTING, BEING BY MYSELF, and I found that it was a hand-to-hand conflict of *the guard*. If I had made haste with weapons in my hand, I should have made the cowards retreat *helter-skelter*. However, there

appeal on behalf of the deceased scribe Khety (cf. p. 432), "that excellent one, choice of utterances! I give his name to eternity. He it was who made a book *which was* the Instruction of the King of Upper [and Lower Egypt: Se]hetep-ib-[Re]—life, prosperity, health!—when he had gone to rest, when he joined heaven and entered among the lords of the necropolis." This passage must be treated as a valid or as a misapplied tradition that a scribe Khety composed the present text.

² That is, the deceased. The applicability of this epithet and the question whether it might have been added in a later copy are critical to the problem whether the king spoke in life or posthumously.

³ For the argument that "message of truth" means a "dream" or a "revelation" from the dead king to the living king, see B. Gunn in *JEA*, xxvii (1941), 2-5.*

⁴ Sen-Useret I, who was coregent in the last ten years of the reign of his father, Amen-em-het I.

⁵ Corrupt, or perhaps figurative for a covert obscenity of disrespect.

⁶ Future pharaohs. cf. Gardiner, in *Mélanges Maspero*, 1, 484 f.

⁷ Although he cannot transmit his own experience fully to his successors, and they must learn chiefly by their own struggles, still the ignorant cannot achieve anything.

⁸ The old king illustrates his disillusionment by telling about a treacherous attack upon him by night. Apparently his own bodyguard was involved.

is no one valiant at night, and there is no fighting alone. No success may occur without a protector.⁹*

BEHOLD, *BLOODSHED* OCCURRED WHILE I WAS WITHOUT THEE, before the courtiers had heard that I was handing over to thee, before I had sat together with thee. Pray, *let me order thy affairs*, inasmuch as I had not prepared for it, I had not (even) thought of it, my heart had not accepted (the idea of) the slackness of servants.¹⁰

HAD WOMEN EVER MARSHALED (5) THE BATTLE ARRAY? Had contentious people been bred within the house? Had the water *which cuts the soil* (ever) been opened up, *so that* poor men were frustrated at their work?¹¹ No mischance had come up behind me since my birth. Never had there been the like of my reputation as a doer of valiant deeds.

I TROD AS FAR AS ELEPHANTINE; I attained to the marshes of the Delta.¹² I stood upon the margins of the land and saw its enclosure. I reached the limits of *the armed territory*,¹³ by my (own) strong arm and in my (own) form of being. I was the one who made barley, the beloved of the grain-god. The Nile honored me on every broad expanse. No one hungered in my years; no one thirsted therein. (But) men sat (quietly), because of what I had done, talking about me. Everything which I had commanded was in the proper place.

I OVERCAME LIONS; I CAUGHT CROCODILES. I subjugated them of Wawat;¹⁴ I carried off the Madjoi;¹⁵ (iii r) I made the Asiatics do the dog-walk.¹⁶

I MADE FOR MYSELF A HOUSE ADORNED WITH GOLD, its ceiling of lapis lazuli, the floors of . . . , the doors of copper, and the bolts of bronze, made for eternity, prepared for *everlastingness*. I know *all the limits thereof*; I am the *All-Lord*.¹⁶

Much idle cant is in the streets. The wise man says "Yes," *making search for his* "No," because he does not know it, *when deprived of thy countenance*,¹⁷ a man of King Sen-Usert, my son, *as my (own) legs depart*.

⁹ This seems to say that the attack on Amen-em-het was successful. In conflict with that impression, the following context would suggest that his long coregency with his son had not yet begun. In the latter case, the attack could not have been fatal.

¹⁰ The old king feels constrained to offer his son advice because his own misplaced confidence in his servants had been so costly.

¹¹ Following Gardiner, *op.cit.*, 489 ff., the first two questions may carry chagrin at the actual situation, a conspiracy within the king's own harem, while the third question would be a metaphorical bridge to the king's benevolences which are to be listed. He was the beneficent channel of irrigation for the soil of Egypt, and the treason was an injurious breach in that channel.

¹² The southern and northern limits of Egypt.

¹³ Perhaps "the regions be-armed," as a designation of Egypt within its frontier protection.

¹⁴ Peoples to the south of Egypt.

¹⁵ As submissive as a cur in one's own home.

¹⁶ Corrupt in the extant texts, but perhaps: I know the time limits of my palace, since I am the Lord-to-the-Limit.

¹⁷ This is an example of our difficulties in translating a corrupt text without aid. The passages from "Much" to "countenance" are rendered as they are visible in the best of four broken and corrupt texts. It is assumed that the initial sentence means: "Much (insincere) 'Oh surely, surely!' is in the streets." If the sentences have any meaning at all, they deal with the sincere loyalty of men to Sen-Usert I, the successor. However, our passage is a quotation from the Admonitions of Ipu-wer (p. 442 below), to the effect that there is distress in the land, of which the wise man is aware, but of which the fool is ignorant: "Why, surely, the children of nobles are *cast out* in the streets. The wise man says: 'Yes, (it is so)'. The ignorant man says: 'No, (it is not)'; and it is fair in the sight of him who knows it not." How this quotation fits in the present context is obscure.

Thou art my own heart; my eyes behold thee. *The children have an hour of rest beside the people*, as they give (5) thee praise.¹⁸

BEHOLD, I MADE THE BEGINNING, AND I *WILL FIX* FOR THEE THE END. I am he who comes to port for *the sake* of him who is in (my) heart.¹⁹ *It is seemly* to lay aside the White Crown for *the sake* of the seed of a god, *so that things sealed should be* in their proper place through that which I began for thee. *Jubilation* is in the barque of Re, *because* the kingship, which came into being formerly, (still) *stands, through him who acts lovingly, through him who acts valiantly*. Erect thy monuments *perfected and enduring*. Fight on behalf of *the man who is wise*, because he *will not love himself* beside thy majesty—life, prosperity, health!²⁰

THE INSTRUCTION OF PRINCE HOR-DEDEF

The only excuse for introducing the miserable remains of the following text is that the composer to whom it is ascribed was so frequently mentioned as one of the traditional wise men of Egypt.¹ Ii-em-hotep, a high official of the pharaoh Djoser, and Hor-dedef, a son of the pharaoh Khufu (or Cheops, about 27th century B.C.), became legendary for their wisdom. It is unfortunate that the sole surviving elements of their ascribed lore should be in such miserable physical condition, uncertain of translation, and rather trite in content.

Munich Ostrakon 3400, published by E. Brunner-Traut in *ZAEs*, LXXVI (1940), 3-9, Pl. 1, and Oriental Institute Ostrakon 17003 (unpublished). Both come from Thebes and are to be dated, on the basis of handwriting to the late Nineteenth or early Twentieth Dynasty (1250-1150 B.C.). However, the language indicates a date of composition somewhat earlier.*

Beginning of the instruction which the Hereditary Prince and Count, the King's Son Hor-dedef, made for his son, whom he bred, named Au-ib-Re.

* [*Be not*] *boastful* before (my very) eyes, and beware of the *boasting* of another. If thou art a man of standing and foundest [a household, *take*] thou a wife as a *man of feeling*,² and a male child will be born to thee.

Thou shouldst build thy house for thy son (*in*) the place where thou art. Embellish thy [*house*] of the necropolis, and enrich thy place of the West.³ *A lowly reception is for him who is dead, (but) a high reception for him who is living, and thy house of death is (destined) for life.*⁴

¹⁸ Quite obscure, unless the intention is to deny that children will be abandoned in the streets under Sen-Usert I. See the preceding note.

¹⁹ Texts: "thy heart." The tentative translation assumes that Amen-em-het states here that, through death, he is turning over rule to his son.

²⁰ The last paragraph is so corrupt that translation is very shaky and any commentary would be futile.

¹ Cf. pp. 432, n.4; 467, n.4; 476, n.16, and the Westcar Papyrus: Erman, *LAE*, 36 ff. In the "Satirical Letter" (p. 476 below), there is an allusion to a written treatise of Hor-dedef. This translation continues the customary rendering of his name as Hor-dedef, despite equally good reasons to adopt the form Djedef-Hor.

² Apparently, "as the master of a heart."

³ For the passage beginning "If thou art a man of standing," cf. the Instruction of Ptah-hotep (p. 413 above), and for the passage beginning "Embellish thy," cf. the Instruction for Meri-ka-Re (p. 417 above).

⁴ Apparent corruptions and differences between the two texts make any translation uncertain. The meaning may be that a deceased Egyptian is living and not dead if the needful rites have been observed.

Seek thou the . . . for the fields which *should be* inundated. . . .

THE INSTRUCTION OF ANI

The following extracts are from a set of instructions given by a father to his son toward the end of the Egyptian Empire. They exist only in later copies, so that there has been abundant opportunity for corruption to enter the copies. However, they do reflect the later emphases of quietude, personal piety, and ritual activity. The final sections, not translated here, give the respectful answer of Ani's son, fearing that he cannot measure up to his father's high standards.

The main manuscript is a papyrus of the Twenty-first or Twenty-second Dynasty (11th-8th centuries B.C.), now in the Cairo Museum, "Boulaq no. 4." It was published by F. Chabas, *Les maximes du scribe Ani* (Châlon-sur-Saône, 1876-78). There is also a fragmentary papyrus of a somewhat earlier period, No. 16959 in the Musée Guimet in Paris; a writing tablet of the Twenty-second Dynasty, No. 8934 in Berlin; and two extracts elsewhere. There is a transcription into hieroglyphic in E. Suys, *La sagesse d'Ani* (Rome, 1935), and there are several extracts in A. Volten, *Studien zum Weisheitsbuch des Anii* (Copenhagen, 1937). The Berlin tablet begins: "The beginning of the instruction and teaching which the Scribe Ani of the Temple of (Queen) Nefert-iri made," i.e., Ah-mose Nefert-iri of the 18th dynasty: *Revue d'Égyptologie*, VI (1951), 42.

(iii 1) . . . Take to thyself a wife while thou art (still) a youth,¹ that she may produce a son for thee. Beget [him] for thyself while thou art (still) young. Teach him to be a man. A man whose people are many is happy; *he is saluted* (respectfully) with regard to his children.

*Celebrate the feast of thy god and repeat it at its season. God is angry at them who disregard him. Have witnesses attending (5) when thou makest offering *at* the first time *of doing it*. If someone comes to *require thy examination*, have them set on papyrus thy goings-down at this time.² . . . Singing, dancing, and incense are his³ food, and to receive prostrations is his property (right). The god will magnify the name of him who *does it*. . . .

(13) . . . Be on thy guard against a woman from abroad, who is not known in her (own) town. Do not *stare at* her when she passes by. Do not know her carnally: a deep water, whose windings one knows not, a woman who is far away from her husband. "I am sleek," she says to thee every day. She has no witnesses when she waits to ensnare thee. It is a great crime (worthy) of death, when one hears of it. . . .

(iv 1) Do not talk a lot. Be silent, and thou wilt be happy. Do not be garrulous. The dwelling of god, its abomination is clamor. Pray thou with a loving heart, all the words of which are hidden, and he will do what thou needest, he will hear what thou sayest, and he will accept thy offering. . . .

¹ This section appears also in Papyrus Chester Beatty V, verso ii 6-8 (of the late 19th dynasty), where the clause "and teach her about that which men do" is inserted at this point—*Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series. Chester Beatty Gift*, ed. by A. H. Gardiner (London, 1935), 1, 50, II, Pl. 27.

² If the translation is correct, the worshiper's temple activity should be attested in writing.

³ The god's.

(14) Embellish thy place which is in the desert-valley, the pit which will hide thy corpse. Set it before thee as thy business, which is of account in thy eyes, like unto the great elders, *who rest in their (own) tombs*.^{*} No blame attaches to him who does it, (but) he is happy. Prepare thou likewise, and when thy (v 1) messenger⁴ comes to thee to take thee, he will find thee prepared *to come (to)* the place where thou hast rest, saying: "Behold, he who prepared himself before thee is coming." Do not say: "I am (too) young for thee to take," for thou knowest not thy death. When death comes, he steals away the infant which is on its mother's lap like him who has reached old age. . . .

(vi 1) . . . I shall let thee know upon earth about the man who seeks to found his household.⁵ Make thou a garden-plot. Enclose thou (a bed of) cucumbers in front of⁶ thy plow-land. Plant thou trees *inside*, (so that) they may be a *shelter* in every section of thy home. And fill thy hand (with) every flower which thy eye may behold. One *feels the need of* them all, and it is good fortune not to lose them. . . .

Thou shouldst not sit (11) when another who is older than thou is standing, or one who has been raised higher in his rank. . . . Go every day according to the prescribed way, that thou mayest walk (with regard to) precedence. . . .

(vii 7) . . . Thou shouldst not express thy (whole) heart to the stranger, to let him discover thy speech against thee. If a *passing* remark issuing from thy mouth is hasty and *it is* repeated, thou wilt make enemies. A man may fall to ruin because of his tongue. . . . THE BELLY OF A MAN IS WIDER THAN A STOREHOUSE, AND IT IS FULL OF EVERY (KIND OF) RESPONSE. Thou shouldst choose the good and say them, while the bad are shut up in thy belly. . . .

(12) . . . Make offering to thy god, and beware of sins against him. Thou shouldst not inquire about his *affairs*.⁷ Be not (too) free with him during his procession. Do not approach him (too closely) to carry him. Thou shouldst not *disturb the veil*; beware of *exposing what it shelters*.⁸ Let thy eye have regard to the nature of his anger, and prostrate thyself in his name. He shows (his) power in a million forms. (Only) they are magnified whom he magnifies. The god of this land is the sun which is on the horizon, and (only) his images are upon earth.⁹ If incense be given (17) as their daily food, the Lord of Appearances will be established.

Double the food which thou givest to thy mother, and carry her as she carried (thee). She had a heavy load in thee, but she did not leave it to me. Thou wert born after thy months, (but) she was still yoked (with thee, for) her breast was in thy mouth for three years, *continuously*. Though thy filth was *disgusting*, (her)

⁴ Death.

⁵ Also in Papyrus Beatty V, verso ii 8-11; reference in n.1 above.

⁶ Beatty: "in addition to."

⁷ Or "about his form of appearance," the cult image.

⁸ The images of some gods were enshrouded during their public appearances.

⁹ Some of that approach to monotheism which appeared in later Egypt. The sun is the god, appearing in a myriad of forms, including his images.

heart was not *disgusted*, saying: "What can I do?" She put thee into school when thou wert taught to write, and she continued *on thy behalf* every day, with bread (viii 1) and beer in her house.

When thou art a young man and takest to thyself a wife and art settled in thy house, set thy eye on how thy mother gave birth to thee and all (her) bringing thee up as well. Do not let her blame thee, nor may she (have to) raise her hands to the god, nor may he (have to) hear her cries.

Thou shouldst not eat bread when another is waiting and thou dost not stretch forth thy hand to the food *for him*. *It is here* forever. A man (5) is nothing. The one is rich; another is poor, while bread continues—*can he pass it by?* The man rich in the time of last year is a vagabond this year. Be not greedy to fill thy belly. . . . The course of the water of last year is gone, and it is in a different area this year. Great seas have become dry places, and sandbanks have become abysses. . . .

(ix 1) . . . Thou shouldst not supervise (too closely) thy wife in her (own) house, when thou knowest that she is efficient. Do not say to her: "Where is it? Fetch (it) for us!" when she has put (it) in the (most) useful place. Let thy eye have regard, while thou art silent, that thou mayest recognize her (5) abilities. How happy it is when thy hand is with her! Many are here who do not know what a man should do to stop dissension in his house. . . . Every *man* who is settled in a house should hold the hasty heart firm. Thou shouldst not pursue after a woman; do not let her steal away thy heart. . . .

THE INSTRUCTION OF AMEN-EM-OPET

A general parallelism of thought or structure between Egyptian and Hebrew literature is common. It is, however, more difficult to establish a case of direct literary relation. For this reason, special attention is directed to the Instruction of Amen-em-Opet, son of Ka-nakht, and its very close relation to the Book of Proverbs, particularly Prov. 22:17-24:22. Amen-em-Opet differs from earlier Egyptian books of wisdom in its humbler, more resigned, and less materialistic outlook.¹

The hieratic text is found in British Museum Papyrus 10474 and (a portion only) on a writing tablet in Turin. The papyrus is said to have come from Thebes. The date of the papyrus manuscript is debated. It is certainly subsequent to the Egyptian Empire. A date anywhere between the 10th and 6th centuries B.C. is possible, with some weight of evidence for the 7th-6th centuries.

Only a selection of items from an extensive bibliography will be noted. The papyrus was reproduced in *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Second Series*, ed. by E. A. W. Budge (London, 1923), Pls. 1-xiv; followed by Budge, *The Teaching of Amen-em-apt, Son of Kanakht* (London, 1924). A. Erman established the specific relation of Amen-em-Opet and Proverbs in *Eine ägyptische Quelle der "Sprüche Salomos"* (*SPAW*, May, 1924, 86-93). H. Gressmann advanced the study of the relationship in *ZAW*, XLII (1924), 273-96. The standard study of the texts is now H. O. Lange, *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope* (Copenhagen, 1925). The best trans-

¹ On the characteristics of older and later Egyptian books of wisdom, see R. Anthes, *Lebensregeln und Lebensweisheit der alten Ägypter* (AO, 32, Leipzig, 1933).

lation and commentary in English are those of F. Ll. Griffith, in *JEA*, XII (1926), 191-231, which is followed (pp. 232-39) by D. C. Simpson, *The Hebrew Book of Proverbs and the Teaching of Amenophis*. Although most commentators have inclined toward the view of a direct or indirect dependence of the Hebrew upon the Egyptian, a counteropinion was expressed by R. O. Kevin, *The Wisdom of Amen-em-apt and its Possible Dependence upon the Hebrew Book of Proverbs* (Philadelphia, 1931)*.

Introductory

THE BEGINNING OF THE TEACHING OF LIFE, the testimony for prosperity, all precepts for intercourse with elders, the rules for courtiers, (5) to know how to return an answer to him who said it, and to direct a report to one who has sent him, in order to direct him to the ways of life, to make him prosper upon earth, let his heart go down into its shrine, (10) steer him away from evil, and to rescue him from the mouth of the rabble, revered in the mouth of the people;

made by the Overseer of the Soil, one experienced in his office, the seed of a scribe of Egypt, (15) THE OVERSEER OF GRAINS WHO REGULATES THE MEASURE and manages the *yield of grain* for his lord, who registers islands and newly appearing lands in the Great Name of his majesty,² [who] establishes landmarks at the boundaries of the arable land, (ii 1) who protects the king by his records, and who makes the land-register of Egypt; the scribe who sets up the divine offerings for all the gods and gives land-titles to the common people; (5) THE OVERSEER OF GRAINS [AND PROVIDER] OF FOODS, who *transports magazines with grain*, the truly silent one³ in Abydos of the Thinite Nome, the triumphant one of Akhmim, possessor of a tomb on the west of Panopolis, (10) possessor of a grave in Abydos, AMEN-EM-OPET, THE SON OF KA-NAKHT, the triumphant one of Abydos;

(for) his son, the smallest of his children, the littlest of his adherents, (15) the Privy Councillor of Min Ka-mutef, the Water Pourer of Wen-nofer, who installs Horus upon the throne of his father, . . . , (iii 1) *Examiner* of the God's Mother, Inspector of the Black Cattle of the Terrace of Min, who protects Min in his shrine, Hor-em-maa-kheru being his right name, (5) the child of a notable of Akhmim and son of the Sistrum-Player of Shu and Tefnut and Chief Choir-Leader of Horus, Ta-Usert.⁴

HE SAYS: FIRST CHAPTER:

Give thy ears, hear what is said,
Give thy heart to understand them. (10)
To put them in thy heart is worth while,⁵
(But) it is damaging to him who neglects them.
Let them rest in the casket of thy belly,
That they may be a *key* in thy heart.

² The shifting of the course of the Nile brought new lands into being. Apparently these were crown domains.

³ Properly submissive or conformist.

⁴ The mother's titles and name. The members of the family enjoyed no high offices.

⁵ For these first 3 lines, cf. the first 3 lines of the corresponding section of Prov. 22:17-18a.

At a time when there is a whirlwind of words, (15)
 They shall be a mooring-stake *for* thy tongue.
 If thou spendest thy time while this is in thy heart,
 Thou wilt find it a success;
 Thou wilt find my words a treasury of life, (iv 1)
 And thy body will prosper upon earth.⁶

SECOND CHAPTER:

Guard thyself against robbing the oppressed
 And against overbearing the disabled. (5)
 Stretch not forth thy hand against the approach of
 an old man,
 Nor *steal away* the speech of the *aged*.
 Let not thyself be sent on a dangerous errand,
 Nor love him who carries it out.
 Do not cry out against him whom thou hast
 attacked, (10)
 Nor return him answer on thy own behalf.
 He who does evil, the (very) river-bank abandons
 him,
 And his *floodwaters* carry him off.
 The north wind comes down that it may end his
 hour;
 It is joined to the tempest; (15)
 The thunder is loud, and the crocodiles are wicked.
 Thou heated man,⁷ how art thou (now)?
 He is crying out, and his voice (reaches) to heaven.
 O moon,⁸ establish his crime (against him)!
 So steer that we may bring the wicked man
 across, (v 1)
 For we shall not act like him—
 Lift him up, give him thy hand;
 Leave him (in) the arms of the god;
 Fill his belly with bread of thine, (5)
 So that he may be sated and may *be ashamed*.⁹
 Another good deed in the heart of the god
 Is to pause before speaking. . . .¹⁰

FOURTH CHAPTER:¹¹

As for the heated man of a temple, (vi 1)
 He is like a tree growing in the open.
 In the completion of a moment (comes) its loss of
 foliage,
 And its end is reached in the shipyards;
 (Or) it is floated far from its place, (5)
 And the flame is its burial shroud.
 (But) the truly silent man holds himself apart.
 He is like a tree growing in a *garden*.
 It flourishes and doubles its yield;

⁶ It is obvious that each chapter (Egyptian: "house") is divided into stanzas. For example, the first chapter divides 4-4-4. However, the division is not always clear. Does the second chapter divide 4-4-2-4-4-4-2 or 4-4-8-6-2? Does the fourth chapter divide 4-2-4-2 or 6-6? Therefore, this translation does not attempt such divisions.

⁷ The "hot" man is the passionate or impulsive man, in contrast to the "silent" or humbly pious man.

⁸ The moon-god Thoth was the barrister of the gods.

⁹ The thought of this section is akin to the "coals of fire" passage in Prov. 25:21-22 or 24:29.

¹⁰ The third chapter, here omitted, advises restraint in debate. "Sleep before speaking." Avoid arguing with "the heated man," because "the god knows how to answer him."

¹¹ This chapter has general similarity to Ps. 1 or Jer. 17:5-8.

It (stands) before its lord. (10)
 Its fruit is sweet; its shade is pleasant;
 And its end is reached in the garden. . . .¹²

SIXTH CHAPTER:

Do not carry off the landmark at the boundaries of
 the arable land,
 Nor disturb the position of the measuring-cord;
 Be not greedy after a cubit of land,
 Nor encroach upon the boundaries of
 a widow.¹³ . . . (vii 15)
 Guard against encroaching upon the boundaries of
 the fields,
 Lest a terror carry thee off. (viii 10)
 One satisfies god with the will of the Lord,
 Who determines the boundaries of the arable land.¹⁴ . . .
 Plow in the fields, that thou mayest find thy
 needs, (17)
 That thou mayest receive bread of thy own threshing
 floor.
 Better is a measure that the god gives thee
 Than five thousand (taken) illegally.
 They do not spend a day (in) the granary or
 barn; (ix 1)
 They make no provisions for the beer-jar.
 The completion of a moment is their lifetime in the
 storehouse;
 At daybreak they are sunk (from sight).
 Better is poverty in the hand of the god (5)
 Than riches in a storehouse;
 Better is bread, when the heart is happy,
 Than riches with sorrow.¹⁵

SEVENTH CHAPTER:

Cast not thy heart in pursuit of riches, (10)
 (For) there is no ignoring Fate and Fortune.¹⁶
 Place not thy heart upon externals,
 (For) every man belongs to his (appointed) hour.
 Do not strain to seek an excess,
 When thy needs are safe for thee. (15)
 If riches are brought to thee by robbery,
 They will not spend the night with thee;
 At daybreak they are not in thy house:
 Their places may be seen, but they are not.
 The ground has opened its mouth . . . that it might
 swallow them up,
 And might sink them into the underworld. (x 1)
 (Or) they have made themselves a great breach of
 their (own) size
 And are sunken down into the underworld.*
 (Or) they have made themselves wings like geese
 And are flown away to the heavens.¹⁷ (5)

¹² The fifth chapter urges honesty in relations with the temple, because today's dispositions may be upset by tomorrow's changes.

¹³ cf. Prov. 22:28; 23:10. The omitted following portion gives god's penalties against the encroacher.

¹⁴ The thought is generally that of Prov. 23:11.

¹⁵ cf. Prov. 15:16-17.

¹⁶ The god *Shay* and the goddess *Renenu* were two deified concepts, whose governing role was particularly strong at this time.

¹⁷ cf. Prov. 23:4-5.

Rejoice not thyself (over) riches (gained) by robbery,
 Nor mourn because of poverty.
 If an archer *in the van* advances (too far),
 Then his *squad* abandons him.
 The ship of the covetous is left (in) the mud, (10)
 While the boat of the silent man (has) a fair breeze.
 Thou shouldst make prayer to the Aton when he
 rises,
 Saying: "Give me prosperity and health."
 He will give thee thy needs for this life,
 And thou wilt be safe from terror.¹⁸ . . .

NINTH CHAPTER:

Do not associate to thyself the heated man,
 Nor visit him for conversation.¹⁹
 Preserve thy tongue from answering thy
 superior, (xi 15)
 And guard thyself against reviling him.
 Do not make him cast his speech to lasso thee,
 Nor make (too) free with thy answer.
 Thou shouldst discuss an answer (*only*) *with* a man
 of thy (own) size,
 And guard thyself against plunging headlong into it.
 Swifter is speech when the heart is hurt (xii 1)
 Than wind of *the head-waters*.²⁰ . . .
 Do not leap to hold to such a one,
 Lest a terror carry thee off.

TENTH CHAPTER:

(xiii 10)
 Do not greet thy heated (opponent) in thy violence,²¹
 Nor hurt thy own heart (thereby).
 Do not say to him: "Hail to thee!" falsely,
 When a terror is in thy belly.
 Do not talk with a man falsely— (15)
 The abomination of the god.
 Do not cut off thy heart from thy tongue,
 That all thy affairs may be successful.
 Be sincere²² in the presence of the common people,
 For one is safe in the hand of the god. (xiv 1)
 God hates him who falsifies words;
 His great abomination is the contentious of belly.

ELEVENTH CHAPTER:

Be not greedy for the property of a poor man, (5)
 Nor hunger for his bread.
 As for the property of a poor man, it (is) a blocking
 to the throat,
 It makes a *vomiting* to the gullet.
 If he has *obtained* it by false oaths,
 His heart is perverted by his belly.²³ . . . (xiv 10)
 The mouthful of bread (too) great thou
 swallowest and vomitest up, (xiv 17)
 And art emptied of thy good.²⁴ . . .

THIRTEENTH CHAPTER:

Do not confuse a man with a pen upon
 papyrus— (xv 20)
 The abomination of the god.
 Do not bear witness with false words, (xvi 1)
 Nor *support* another person (*thus*) with thy tongue.
 Do not take an accounting of him who has nothing,
 Nor falsify thy pen.
 If thou findest a large debt against a poor man, (5)
 Make it into three parts,
 Forgive two, and let one stand.
 Thou wilt find it like the ways of life;
 Thou wilt lie down and sleep (soundly); in the
 morning
 Thou wilt find it (again) like good news. (10)
 Better is praise as one who loves men
 Than riches in a storehouse;
 Better is bread, when the heart is happy,
 Than riches with sorrow.²⁵ . . .

SIXTEENTH CHAPTER:

Do not *lean on* the scales nor falsify the weights,
 Nor damage the fractions of the measure.²⁶
 Do not wish for a (common) country
 measure, (xvii 20)
 And neglect those of the treasury.
 The ape²⁷ sits beside the balance,
 And his heart is the plummet. (xviii 1)
 Which god is as great as Thoth,
 He that discovered these things, to make them?
 Make not for thyself weights which are deficient;
 They *abound in grief* through the will of god.²⁸ . . .

EIGHTEENTH CHAPTER:

(xix 10)
 Do not spend the night fearful of the morrow.
 At daybreak what is the morrow like?
 Man knows not what the morrow is like.²⁹
 God is (always) in his success,
 Whereas man is in his failure; (15)
 One thing are the words which men say,
 Another is that which the god does.³⁰
 Say not: "I have no wrongdoing,"
 Nor (yet) strain to seek quarreling.
 As for wrongdoing, it belongs to the god; (20)
 It is sealed with his finger.
 There is no success in the hand of the god,
 But there is no failure before him.
 If he³¹ pushes himself to seek success, (xx 1)
 In the completion of a moment he damages it.
 Be steadfast in thy heart, make firm thy breast.
 Steer not with thy tongue (alone).

¹⁸ The omitted eighth chapter tells the effects of evil speech.
¹⁹ cf. Prov. 22:24. For the last two lines of this chapter, cf. *ibid.* 22:25.
²⁰ A long omitted passage sets forth the miseries of "the heated man."
²¹ Perhaps: You will suffer if you treat an excited opponent with
 arbitrary abruptness. Prov. 27:14 has been cited as a parallel, with the
 alteration of Hebrew *re'e(hu)* "his friend," to *ra'* "an evil (man)."
²² "Heavy."
²³ cf. Prov. 23:6-7.
²⁴ cf. *ibid.*, 23:8. The omitted twelfth chapter advises honesty in the
 trusted factor of a noble.

²⁵ cf. *ibid.*, 16:8. The fourteenth chapter asks honest relations with a
 client, the fifteenth honest recording by the secretary.
²⁶ cf. *ibid.*, 20:23.
²⁷ The animal sacred to Thoth, god of just measure.
²⁸ cf. Prov. 16:11. The seventeenth chapter continues the theme of false
 measures.
²⁹ Meaning and the probable strophic structure call for a line following
 this, to the effect that tomorrow is in the hand of god.
³⁰ cf. Prov. 19:21 and 16:9 and the *Homo proposuit sed Deus disponit*
 of Thomas à Kempis.
³¹ A man.

If the tongue of a man (be) the rudder of a boat, (5)
The All-Lord is its pilot.⁸² . . .

TWENTIETH CHAPTER:

Do not confuse a man in the law court,
Nor *divert* the righteous man.
Give not thy attention (only) to him clothed in
white, (xxi 1)
Nor give consideration to him that is unkempt.⁸³
Do not accept the bribe of a powerful man,
Nor oppress for him the disabled.
Justice is the great reward of god; (5)
He gives it to whom he will. . . .
Do not falsify the *income* on the records,*
Nor damage the plans of god.
Do not discover for thy own self the will of god, (15)
Without (reference to) Fate and Fortune.⁸⁴ . . .

TWENTY-FIRST CHAPTER:

Do not say: "I have found a strong superior, (xxii 1)
For a man in thy city has injured me."
Do not say: "I have found a *patron*,
For one who hates me has injured me."
For surely thou knowest not the plans of god, (5)
Lest thou *be ashamed* on the morrow.
Sit thou down at the hands of the god,
And thy silence will cast them down.⁸⁵ . . .
Empty not thy belly to everybody,
Nor damage (thus) the regard for thee.
Spread not thy words to the common people,
Nor associate to thyself one (too) outgoing of heart.⁸⁶
Better is a man whose talk (remains) in his belly (15)
Than he who speaks it out injuriously.⁸⁷
One does not run to reach success,
One does not *throw* to his (own) damage.⁸⁸ . . .

TWENTY-THIRD CHAPTER:

Do not eat bread before a noble,
Nor lay on thy mouth at first.
If thou art satisfied with false chewings, (xxiii 15)
They are a pastime for thy spittle.
Look at the cup which is before thee,
And let it serve thy needs.⁸⁹
As a noble is great in his office,
He is as a well abounds (in) the drawing (of
water).⁴⁰ . . .

TWENTY-FIFTH CHAPTER:

Do not laugh at a blind man nor tease a dwarf
Nor injure the affairs of the lame. (xxiv 10)
Do not tease a man who is in the hand of the god,⁴¹

⁸² The nineteenth chapter concerns honest statement in the court of law.

⁸³ *Sic*, although the negative seems out of place.

⁸⁴ cf. n.16 above.

⁸⁵ cf. Prov. 20:22 and 27:1.

⁸⁶ cf. *ibid.*, 23:9 and 20:19.

⁸⁷ cf. *ibid.*, 12:23.

⁸⁸ The twenty-second chapter again advises restraint in debate.

⁸⁹ cf. Prov. 23:1-3.

⁴⁰ The twenty-fourth chapter advises the secretary to keep the affairs of his master in confidence.

⁴¹ The insane.

Nor be fierce of face against him if he errs.
For man is clay and straw,
And the god is his builder.
He is tearing down and building up every day. (15)
He makes a thousand poor men as he wishes,
(Or) he makes a thousand men *as overseers*,
When he is in his hour of life.
How joyful is he who reaches the West,
When he is safe in the hand of the god.⁴² . . .

TWENTY-EIGHTH CHAPTER:

Do not *recognize* a widow if thou catchest her in the
fields,⁴³
Nor fail to be *indulgent* to her reply. (xxvii 10)
Do not neglect a stranger (with) thy oil-jar,
That it be doubled before thy brethren.
God desires respect for the poor
More than the honoring of the exalted.⁴⁴ . . .

THIRTIETH CHAPTER:

See thou these thirty chapters:
They entertain; they instruct;⁴⁵
They are the foremost of all books;
They make the ignorant to know. (xxviii 10)
If they are read out before the ignorant,
Then he will be cleansed by them.
Fill thyself with them; put them in thy heart,
And be a man who can interpret them,
Who will interpret them as a teacher. (15)
As for the scribe who is experienced in his office,
He will find himself worthy (to be) a courtier.⁴⁶
(colophon:)

It has come to its end
In the writing of Senu, son of the God's Father
Pa-miu.⁴⁷ (xxviii 1)

⁴² Death releases a man from the helplessness of this world. The twenty-sixth chapter deals with respect toward elders or superiors, with the twenty-seventh continuing this theme.

⁴³ Literally: "Do not find a widow." The reference is to the poor gleanings in the fields.

⁴⁴ The twenty-ninth chapter recommends appropriate etiquette for the ferryboat across the river.

⁴⁵ In Prov. 22:20, the Hebrew is to be read: "Have I not written unto thee thirty (sayings)?"

⁴⁶ cf. Prov. 22:29. The special relation of "the Words of the Wise," Prov. 22:17-24:22, to the Wisdom of Amen-em-Opet may best be shown by Simpson's comparison of passages.

Prov. 22:17-18	Amen-em-Opet 3:9-11; 3:16 (Chapter 1)
22:19	1:7 (Introductory)
22:20	27:7-8 (Chap. xxx)
22:21	1:5-6 (Introductory)
22:22	4:4-5 (Chap. II)
22:23	no parallel
22:24	11:13-14 (Chap. ix)
22:25	13:8-9 (Chap. ix)
22:26-27	no parallel
22:28	7:12-13 (Chap. vi)
22:29	27:16-17 (Chap. xxx)
23:1-3	23:13-18 (Chap. xxiii)
23:4-5	9:14-10:5 (Chap. vii)
23:6-7	14:5-10 (Chap. xi)
23:8	14:17-18 (Chap. xi)
23:9	22:11-12 (Chap. xxii)
23:10-11	7:12-15; 8:9-10 (Chap. vi)
23:12-24:10	no parallels
24:11	11:6-7 (Chap. viii)
24:12-22	no parallels

⁴⁷ Senu was the scribe who made this copy, as distinct from Amen-em-Opet, the author of the Instruction.

Two others texts to which the Egyptians applied the term "Instruction" are that on the divine attributes of the pharaoh (p. 431 below) and the Satire on the Trades (pp. 432-434 below).

For a listing of the sages of Egypt who composed "instructions," cf. p. 432 below. For a recurring proverbial saying, cf. p. 233, n.2.* (See Addenda).

Akkadian Proverbs and Counsels

(Translator: Robert H. Pfeiffer)

PROVERBS

I

Text: E. F. Weidner, *KUB*, iv, Nos. 40 and 97. Translation: E. Ebeling, in *Altorientalische Studien Bruno Meissner zum sechzigsten Geburtstag . . . gewidmet*, pp. 21-25 (*MAOG*, iv).

(40:4) My cistern has not gone dry, so my thirst is not excessive.¹ (5) The net is loosened, but the fetters were not remiss.² (6) I have obtained a pawn, but the loss does not stop.³ (9) If I myself had not gone, who would have gone at my side?⁴ (10a) He consecrated the temple before he started it.⁵ (10b-11) If indeed he had not stood up, when would he sit high up, like gentlemen, on a chair?⁶ (12b-13) My mouth had not spoken as gentlemen (do), (consequently) when have I sat and eaten high up on a chair?⁷ (14-15) My friend, my secret knowledge is not safeguarded by an enemy: on the contrary, by a son or a daughter, my friend, is my secret knowledge safeguarded.⁸

(97:7-8) Fruit in the spring (of the year)—fruit of mourning.⁹ (9) A canal in the direction of the wind brings water in abundance.¹⁰

II

Text: L. Legrain, *Historical Texts* (PBS, Vol. XIII [1922]) No. 11, lines 7 ff. Translation: B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Vol. II, p. 424. Date: about 1800-1600 B.C.

As long as a man does not exert himself, he will gain nothing.¹¹

Whoso has neither king nor queen, who is then his lord?

III

Text: Rawlinson, Vol. II, No. 16. S. Langdon, *AJSL*, xxviii (1912), 234-43. Translation: Langdon, *ibid.*, pp. 219-33. B. Meissner, *Die babylonische-assyrische Literatur* (Wildpark-Pots-

¹ cf. "We never know the worth of water till the well is dry."

² cf. Amos 5:19; and "Out of the frying-pan into the fire."

³ Eccles. 9:11; and "One fair day assurereh not a good summer"; "No fence against ill fortune."

⁴ "If you want a thing done, go; if not, send"; "Fortune helps those who help themselves"; "Every man for himself."

⁵ I Kings 20:11; and "Catch the bear before you sell his skin."

⁶ cf. "A good beginning makes a good ending."

⁷ cf. "First creep, then go"; and "Step by step the ladder is ascended."

⁸ cf. Prov. 25:9. In English, "Tell it not in Gath!" (II Sam. 1:20) has become proverbial.

⁹ cf. "Soon ripe, soon rotten."

¹⁰ cf. "It pays to sail with the wind and tide."

¹¹ cf. Prov. 10:4; 12:11a; 13:4; etc.; and "No gains without pains."

dam, 1928), p. 82; same, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Vol. II, pp. 424-6. Date: about 1800-1600 B.C. The proverbs are numbered here according to Langdon.

A. K 4347

(20) Deal not badly with a matter, then [no sor]row [will fa]ll into your heart. (21) Do [no] evil, then you will [not] clutch a lasting [sorr]ow. (27) Without copulation she conceived, without eating she became plump!¹² (28) Copulation causes the breast to give suck.¹³ (29) When I labor they take away (my reward): when I increase my efforts, who will give me anything?¹⁴ (34) The strong man is fed through the price of his hire, the weak man through the price (or: the wages) of his child. (37) He is fortunate in everything, since he wears a (fine) garment.¹⁵ (38) Do you strike the face of a walking ox with a strap?¹⁶ (39) My knees keep walking, my feet are tireless, yet a man devoid of understanding pursues me with sorrow.¹⁷ (40) Am I (not) a thoroughbred steed? Yet I am harnessed with a mule and must draw a wagon loaded with reeds.¹⁸ (44) I dwell in a house of asphalt and bricks, yet some clay . . . pours over me.¹⁹ (50) The life of the day before yesterday is that of any day.²⁰ (53) You are placed into a river and your water becomes at once stinking; you are placed in an orchard and your date-fruit becomes bitter.²¹ (55) If the shoot is not right it will not produce the stalk, nor create seed.²² (56) Will ripe grain grow? How do we know? Will dried grain grow? How do we know?²³ (57) Very soon he will be dead; (so he says), "Let me eat up (all I have)!" Soon he will be well; (so he says), "Let me economize!"²⁴ (60) From before the gate of the city whose armament is not powerful the enemy cannot be repulsed.²⁵ (64) You go and take the field of the enemy; the enemy comes and takes your field.²⁶

B. Sm 61

(3) The gift of the king (produces) the good work of the cupbearer. (5) Friendship is of a day, slavery is perpetual. (6) Where servants are there is quarrel, where

¹² To indicate something impossible; cf. Amos 6:12a. The Sumerian original reads: "Without his cohabiting with you, can you be pregnant? Without his feeding you, can you be fat?"

¹³ i.e. cause and effect; cf. Amos 3:3-6.

¹⁴ cf. Matt. 6:34. The Sumerian has: "If I save, he has taken it away from you; as for that which I have increased, who will give it to you?"

¹⁵ cf. "Fine feathers make fine birds"; "Apparel makes the man."

¹⁶ cf. "Do not spur a free horse."

¹⁷ cf. Eccles. 9:11.

¹⁸ The text is fragmentary and obscure; the translation is tentative.

¹⁹ cf. Eccles. 9:12. The Sumerian seems to mean: "In the house the asphalt was removed from the brick; . . . last year the roof drain was dripping on me."

²⁰ The text has been restored at the end, and the translation is in part conjectural. For the meaning, cf. Eccles. 1:9-10; 3:15a. The Sumerian reads: "Out of the victuals of yesterday is what is also of today."

²¹ Said of a man afflicted with persistent bad luck, or of one bringing misfortune to others through the evil eye.

²² cf. "Of evil grain no good seed can come." Dr. R. J. Williams translates: "May a crooked furrow not produce a stalk! May it not yield seed!"

²³ cf. Eccles. 1:15; 3:11; 7:13-14.

²⁴ cf. Isa. 22:13.

²⁵ This is the perennial argument adduced against pacifists.

²⁶ cf. "Tit for tat"; "Turn about is fair play." In contrast with the preceding, this is the argument of the pacifists.

cosmeticicians are there is slander.²⁷ (7) A (plain) citizen in another city becomes its chief.²⁸

C. Bu 80-7-19, 130

An alien ox eats grass, one's own ox lies down in the pasture.²⁹

IV

Text: C. Bezold and E. A. W. Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1892), No. 12, lines 17-19. Translation: J. A. Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna-Tafeln* (VAB, II), No. 74 (cf. Vol. II, pp. 1159-60). S. A. B. Mercer, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets* (Toronto, 1939). The original form of the proverb (attested in 1400-1360 in the letter of Rib-Addi of Byblos just quoted) may have been, "A woman without a husband is like a field without cultivation."

My field is like a woman without a husband, on account of its lack of cultivation.

Text: Bezold and Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 61, (lines 16-19). Translation: Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln*, No. 252. W. F. Albright, An Archaic Hebrew Proverb in an Amarna Letter from Central Palestine, *BASOR*, No. 89 (February, 1943), pp. 29-32. On ants, cf. Prov. 6:6; 30:25. This proverb may be seen in its context in the translation of the Amarna letter No. 252, p. 486.

When ants are struck, they do not accept (it passively), but bite the hand of the man who smites them.

V

Text: R. F. Harper, *ABL*, No. 403, lines 5-7; 14-15; No. 652, lines 10-13. Translation: L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, Vol. I (Ann Arbor, 1930). R. H. Pfeiffer, *State Letters of Assyria* (*American Oriental Series*, Vol. 6, New Haven, 1935). On the third of these proverbs cf. A. L. Oppenheim in *BASOR*, No. 107 (October, 1947), p. 9, n.6. The first and second proverbs are quoted by Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria (668-633 B.C.) in a sarcastic letter to the Babylonians. In a fuller and clearer form the first proverb occurs in Ahiqar 8:17 (Syriac) and 8:14 (Arabic). "My son, you have been to me like the dog that came to the potters' oven to warm himself, and after he was warm rose up to bark at them" (Syriac). "O my son! You have been to me like the dog that was cold and went into the potters' house to get warm. And when it had got warm, it began to bark at them, and they chased it out and beat it, that it might not bite them" (Arabic). See: R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1913), Vol. II, p. 771. The third proverb is dated to the reign of Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.).

(1) When the potter's dog went into the oven, the potter blew on the fire inside of it.³⁰

(2) A sinful woman at the gate of a judge's house—her word prevails over that of her husband.

(3) Man is the shadow of a god, a slave is the shadow of a man; but the king is like the (very) image of a god.

COUNSELS OF WISDOM

Text and translations: Kerr Duncan Macmillan, *Some Cuneiform Tablets Bearing on the Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*

²⁷ Barbershop gossip and the loquacity of barbers were proverbial long before their attestation in Hellenistic and Roman times. This proverb illustrates commonplace, ordinary, regular happenings (cf. Eccles. 1:5-10).

²⁸ cf. John 4:44.

²⁹ cf. the Italian saying, "Paese che vai, usanza che trovi" (if you go into [another] country you will find [other] customs).

³⁰ Another possible translation is, "When the potter's dog went into the oven, he even growled at the potter" (B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Vol. II, p. 423).

(BA, v [1906]), 5, pp. 557-62, 622 f. H. Zimmern, in *ZA*, xxxiii (1908), 367 ff.; and in *AO*, xiii/1 (1911), pp. 27-9. S. Langdon, A Tablet of Babylonian Wisdom, *PSBA*, xxxviii (1916), 105-16, 131-37; see also his *Babylonian Wisdom* (London, 1923), pp. 88-92. E. Ebeling, *AOT*, pp. 291-93. B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Vol. II, pp. 421 f.; *Die babylonisch-assyrische Literatur* (Wildpark-Potsdam, 1928), p. 81 f. We do not know how long before 700 B.C. this text was written. The lines are numbered as in Langdon's edition of the text. *KAR* 27 is regarded as the beginning of this work.

As a wise man, let your understanding shine modestly,
Let your mouth be restrained, guarded your
speech. (20)

Like a man's wealth, let your lips be precious.¹
Let affront, hostility, be an abomination unto you.
Speak nothing impertinent, (give no) unreliable advice.
Whoever does something ugly—his head is despised.

Hasten not to stand in a public assembly,
Seek not the place of quarrel;
For in a quarrel you must give a decision,
And you will be forced to be their witness.
They will fetch you to testify in a lawsuit that does
not concern you.

When you see a quarrel, go away without noticing
it.² (30)

But if it is really your own quarrel, extinguish the flame;
For a quarrel is a neglect of what is right,
A protecting wall . . . (for) the nakedness of one's
adversary:

Whoever stops it is thinking about the interests of a
friend.

Unto your opponent do no evil;
Your evildoer recompense with good;
Unto your enemy let justice [be done].
Unto your oppressor
Let him rejoice over you, . . . return to him.³
Let not your heart be induced to do evil. (40)
(some lines lost)

Give food to eat, give date wine to drink; (ii 12)
The one begging for alms honor, clothe:
Over this his god rejoices,
This is pleasing unto the god Shamash, he rewards
it with good.

Be helpful, do good.
A maid in the house do not⁴

. . . .

¹ cf. Prov. 13:3 and the Ahiqar text from Elephantine, col. vii, lines 96-98 (dating from about 430 B.C.): "My son, chatter not overmuch. . . . More than all watchfulness watch your mouth . . ." (H. L. Ginsberg's translation, p. 428 of this volume).

² cf. the Arabic version of Ahiqar ii 54 (R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Vol. II, p. 736): "And stand not between persons quarreling, because from a bad word there comes a quarrel, and from a quarrel there comes war, and from war there comes fighting, and you will be forced to bear witness; but run from thence and rest yourself."

³ Lines 35-40, about rendering good for evil, are on the level of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:38-45). The closest parallels in the Old Testament are Ex. 23:4-5; Prov. 24:17-18; 25:21-22; Job 31:29-30; cf. Lev. 19:18; Prov. 24:29; Eccles. 28:2; Tobit 4:15. In Ahiqar, Syriac A version, we read (2:20), "My son, if your enemy meet you with evil, meet him with wisdom" (R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, II, 730).

⁴ On col. ii, lines 12-17, cf. Job 31:13-20.

Do not marry a harlot whose husbands are six thousand. (obverse 23)

An Ishtar-woman vowed to a god,
A sacred prostitute whose favors are unlimited,
Will not lift you out of your trouble:
In your quarrel she will slander you.⁵
Reverence and submissiveness are not with her.
Truly, if she takes possession of the house, lead her out.
Toward the path of a stranger she turns her mind. (30)
Or the house which she enters will be destroyed, her husband will not prosper.⁶ (reverse i)

My son, if it be his will, you belong to the prince:
Guard his seal, bind it to your *person*;
Open his treasury, enter therein,
For before you no stranger was ever there.
Wealth without measure you will see therein;
(But) to any such thing do not turn your eye,
Do not let your mind consider doing something stealthy,
For eventually the matter will be investigated.
And whatever stealthy action you have done will become manifest; (40)

The prince will hear of it, [will punish you].
.... (42-47)

(reverse A)

Do not slander, speak what is fine.
Speak no evil, tell what is good.
Whoever slanders (or) speaks evil,
As a retribution the god Shamash will pursue after his head. (30)

Open not wide your mouth, guard your lips;
The words of your inner self do not speak (even) when alone.

What you now speak hastily you will later take back,
And you should cause your mind to refrain by its efforts from speech.⁷

Pay homage daily to your god
With sacrifice, prayer, and appropriate incense-offering.
Towards your god you should feel solicitude of heart:
That is what is appropriate to the deity.
Prayer, supplication, and prostration to the ground
Shall you offer in the morning: then your might will be great, (40)

And in abundance, through god's help, you will prosper.⁸
In your learning examine the tablet.

(reverse B)

Reverence (for the deity) produces well-being, (1)
Sacrifice prolongs life,
And prayer atones for sin.

A god-fearing man is not despised by [his god];
A worshiper of the Anunnaki lengthens his days.
With a friend and a comrade speak not [evil];
Speak nothing base, [relate] what is favorable.
If you have promised, give . . .

⁵ On harlots, see Lev. 21:7; Prov. 2:16-19; 5:1-23; 6:24-29; Eccles. 9:2-9; I Cor. 6:13-19; Ahiqar in R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, II, 728-9. On sacred prostitutes, see Deut. 23:18-19; Hos. 4:14; and probably Amos 2:7.

⁶ See Prov. 7:5-27.

⁷ See above, n.1.

⁸ On the duties of ritual worship (lines 35-41) see: Prov. 3:9-10; Eccles. 5:1-7 (Hebr. 4:17-5:6); Eccles. 7:29-31; Tobit 1:6-8.

If you have encouraged, [help].
.... (10-33)

(colophon):

Written according to the prototype and collated.

Aramaic Proverbs and Precepts

(Translator: H. L. Ginsberg)

THE WORDS OF AHIQAR

The text is preserved as the more recent writing on eleven sheets of palimpsest papyrus of the late fifth century B.C. recovered by German excavators from the debris of Elephantine, Upper Egypt, in the years 1906-7. The first four papyri, with a total of five columns, contain the story of Ahiqar, which is in the first person; the remaining seven, with a total of nine columns, contain Ahiqar's sayings. The composition of the work may antedate the preserved copy by as much as a century.

The action of the narrative centers about the court of the Assyrian kings Sennacherib (704-681) and Esarhaddon (680-669). Of other persons named therein, Nabusumiskun actually was a high official of Sennacherib, and Ahiqar himself may be a reflex of Adadsumuṣur, a priest who officiated in the reigns of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon and exerted a certain amount of influence over them. All of the proper names fit well into an Assyrian milieu. For the sayings, too, a Mesopotamian origin is indicated by repeated references to Shamash as god of justice.

Prior to the recovery of the old Aramaic text, several post-Christian recensions of the book of Ahiqar were known, the Syriac one being the oldest. The man Ahiqar is mentioned in the book of Tobit (1:22; 14:10; etc.).

Text and translation: Sachau, Pls. 40-50 (translation, pp. 147-182). Editions: Ungnad, 50-63 (pp. 62-82); Cowley, pp. 204-248. Studies: H. Baneth, *Zu den Achikarpapyri*, *OLZ*, 1914, 248-251, 295-299, 348-354. J. N. Epstein, *ZAW*, 1912, 132-135; 1913, 224-233, 310-312; *OLZ*, 1916, 204. Th. Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zum Achiqar-Roman* (Berlin, 1914). F. Stummer, *Der kritische Wert der alaramäischen Ahiqartexte aus Elephantine* (Münster i. W., 1914). W. von Soden, *ZA*, XLIII (1936), 9-13.

Columns i-ii (lines 1-31) are too defective for smooth translation. In them Ahiqar (*'hyqr*) relates how, having grown old piloting the Assyrian ship of state throughout the reign of Sennacherib, and being without a son of his own, he adopted and instructed his sister's son Nadin and then persuaded Esarhaddon to make him his (Ahiqar's) successor; whereupon Nadin requited his foster-father's kindness with calumny.

(iii 32-48) Then [Esa]rhaddon, the king of Assyria, [answered] and said: "[Do you, Nabusumiskun on]e of my father's officers, who [ate] of my father's bread, seek [the old man Ahiqar] wherever you may find [and kill him]. Otherwise this old man [Ah]iq[ar] is a wise scribe [and counselor of all Assy]ria, and is liable to corrupt the land against us." Then, when [the king of As]syria [had spoken thus], he appointed with him 2 other men to see how [it would turn out]. So this officer [Nab]usumiskun [went away] riding on a swif[t h]orse, [and those men] with him. Then, after three more d[a]ys, [he and the o]thers who were with him s[ighted me] as I was walking among the vineyards. [Now when this] officer [Nab]usumiskun [beheld me] he [straigh]tway rent his mantle and moaned, "[Are you] the wise scribe and man of good counsel,

who [was a righteous] man [and b]y whose counsel and words all of Assyria was guided? *Extinguished be* [the lamp¹ of your son whom you brought] up, whom you set up at the gate of the palace. He has ruined you, and an [evil] return [is it." Th]en I, Ahiqar, was afraid. I answered and said to [that officer] Nabusumiskun, "Am I [not] the same Ahiqar who once saved you from an undeserved death? [When Sennacherib], the father of this King Esarhaddon, sought to [kill you, th]en I brought you to my house. There I sustained you (iv 49-63) as a man deals with his brother, having hidden you from him and having said 'I killed him,' until at a la[ter] tim[e] and after many days I brought you before King Sennacherib and cleared you of offenses before him and he did you no evi[l]. Moreover, Sennacherib was well pleased with me for having kept you alive and not having killed you. Now do you do to me even as I did to you. Don't kill me. Take me to your house until other times. King Esarhaddon is merciful as any man(?). In the end he will remember me and wish for my advice. Th[e]n you will [prese]nt me to him and he will spare me alive." Then the officer Nabusumiskun [answered] and said, "Fear not, my [lord] Ahiqar, father of all Assyria, by whose counsel King Sennacherib and (all) the host of Assyria (were guided)!" Then the officer Nabusumiskun said to his companions, those two men that were with him, "[Do you lis]ten [and pay attention] to me while I tell you [my] plan, and a [very] good plan it is." S[o] those [men answered] and said *t[o him]*. "Te]ll us, O officer Nabusumiskun, what[ever you will, and we shall listen to] you." The [of]ficer Nabusumiskun then spoke and said to them, "Listen to me. This is [Ahi]qar. He [is] a great man [and a bearer of the se]al of [King] Esarhaddon, and the whole army of [Assy]ria was guided by his counsel and words. Let us not kill him [*undeservedly*]. I will give you [a] eunuch [slave] of mine. Let him be slain bet[ween these] two mountains instead of this Ahiqar. Whe[n it is reported, and] the king [se]nds other [m]en [af]ter us to see the body of this Ahiqar, then [they'll see the bod]y of [th]is eunuch slave of mine. (v 64-78) In the end [King] Esarhaddon [will remember Ahiqar and desire his advice] and he will [regret etc.]"

(Since only the right half—or less than half—of col. v is preserved, its translation involves too much conjecture. It is, however, certain that Nabusumiskun's companions agree to his plan, and Nabusumiskun secretly maintains Ahiqar in his house as Ahiqar once maintained Nabusumiskun. The latter and his two companions report to Esarhaddon that they have slain Ahiqar. The rest of the story is missing altogether. We know from the later recensions that eventually the king did, in fact, miss Ahiqar's advice sorely and was overjoyed to learn that he was still alive, and that Ahiqar was rehabilitated while Nadin got his deserts.)

(vi 79-94) [Wh]at is stronger than a braying ass?

¹ If reading and restoration are correct, cf. Prov. 13:9; 20:20; etc.

The *l[o]ad*. The son who is trained and taught and on [whose] feet the fetter² is put [*shall prosper*]. Withhold not thy son from the rod, else thou wilt not be able to save [him from *wickedness*]. If I smite thee, my son, thou wilt not die, but if I leave thee to thine own heart [thou wilt not live]. A blow for a bondman, a reb[uke] for a bondwoman, and for all thy slaves discipline. One who [buys a run]away slave [or] a thievish handmaid *squanders his fortune* and disgraces] the name of his father and his offspring with the reputation of his wantonness.—The scorpion [finds] bread but is not *p[leased, and something b]ad* and is more pleased than if one fe[eds it . . .] The lion will *lie in wait* for the stag in the concealment of the . . . and he [. . .] and will shed its blood and eat its flesh. Even so is the meeting of [*me*]n.—. . . a lion. . . An ass which leaves [*its load*] and *does not carry it* shall take a *load* from its companion and take the b[urde]n which is not its [own with its own] and shall be made to bear a camel's load.—The ass *bend[s down]* to the she-ass [from lo]ve of her, and the birds [. . .]. Two things [which] are meet, and the third pleasing to Shamash: one who dr[inks] wine and gives it to drink, one who guards wisdom, and one who hears a word and does not tell.—Behold that is dear [to] Shamash. But he who drinks wine and does not [give it to drink], and one whose wisdom goes astray, [and . . .] is seen.—[. . . Wisdom . . .].

(vii 95-110) To gods also she is dear. F[or all time] the kingdom is [hers]. In he[av]en is she established, for the lord of holy ones has exalted [her.—My s]on, ch[at]ter not overmuch so that thou speak out [every w]ord [that] comes to thy mind; for men's (eyes) and ears are everywhere (trained) u[pon] thy mouth. Beware lest it be [thy] *undoing*. More than all watchfulness watch thy mouth,³ and [over] what [*thou*] *h[ear]est* harden thy heart. For a word is a bird: once released no man *can re[capture it]*.⁴ First *co[un]t the secrets* of thy mouth; then bring out thy [words] by *number*.⁵ For the *instruction*⁶ of a mouth is stronger than the *instruction* of war. Treat not lightly the word of a king: let it be healing for thy [flesh].⁷ Soft is the utterance of a king; (yet) it is sharper and stronger than a [two]-edged knife. Look before thee: a hard look⁸ [on the f]ace of a k[ing] (means) "Delay not!"⁹ His wrath is swift as lightning: do thou take heed unto thyself that he disp[lay i]t not against thine ut[tera]nces and thou perish [be]fore thy time.¹⁰ [The wr]ath of a king, if thou be commanded, is a burning fire. Obey [it] at once. Let it not be kindled against thee and cover (read: *burn*) thy hands. [Cov]er up the word of a king

² cf. line 196 and Isa. 41:3b, which render "no fetter is put to his feet."

³ cf. Prov. 4:23.

⁴ Or, "who releases it is a man of no un[derstanding]."

⁵ Reading *b'ddh* and interpreting according to the Arabic.

⁶ Reading *'db* and again interpreting according to the Arabic.

⁷ cf. Prov. 4:22; 16:24; and 3:8 LXX.

⁸ Literally "thing (word)."

⁹ Literally "stand not."

¹⁰ cf. for the whole saying Eccles. 8:2-3; where the verse division of the LXX must be followed, and *'npy* and *b'ny mlk* are perhaps to be read at the beginnings of vv. 2 and 3 respectively.

with the veil of the heart.—Why should wood strive with fire, flesh with a knife, a man with [a *king*]?¹¹ I have tasted even the bitter medlar, and [I have eaten] endives;¹² but there is naught which is more [bi]tter than poverty. Soft is the tongue of a *k[ing]*, but it breaks a dragon's ribs;¹³ like a plague, which is not seen.—Let not thy heart rejoice over the multitude of children [nor grieve] over their fewness. A king is like *the Merciful*; his voice also is loud: who is there that can stand before him, except one with whom is God? Beautiful is a king to behold like Shamash, and noble is his majesty to them that walk the earth. . . . A good vessel cove[rs] a word in its heart, and a broken one lets it out. The lion approached to [greet the ass]: "Peace be unto thee." The ass answered and said to the lion: . . .

(viii III-125) I have lifted sand, and I have carried salt; but there is naught which is heavier than [grief].^{13a} I have lifted bruised straw, and I have taken up bran; but there is naught which is lighter than a sojourner.¹⁴ War troubles calm waters between good *friends*.¹⁵ If a man be small and grow great, his words *soar* above him. For the opening of his mouth is an *utte[ra]nce* of gods,¹⁶ and if he be beloved of gods they will put something good in his mouth to say. Many are [the st]ar[s of heaven wh]ose names no man knows.¹⁷ By the same token, no man knows mankind.

There is [n]o lion in the sea, therefore they call a flood a *lb*.¹⁸ The leopard met the goat when she was cold. The leopard answered and said to the goat, "Come, I will cover thee with my hide." The goat [answered] and said to the leopard, "What need have I for it, *my lord*? Take not my skin from me." For he does not greet the gazelle¹⁹ except to suck its blood.—The bear went to the lam[bs]. "Give me one of you and I] will be content." The lam[bs] answered and said to him, "Take whichever thou wilt of us. We are [thy] la[mbs]." Truly, 'tis not in the power of m[e]n to li[ft u]p their feet or to put them down with[out the gods]. Truly, 'tis not in thy power to li[ft u]p thy foot [o]r to put it down.—If a good thing come forth from the mouths of m[en], it is well for them], and if an evil thing come [forth] from their mouths, the gods will do evil unto them.—If God's eyes are on men, a man may chop wood in the dark without seeing, like a thief, who demolishes a house and . . . (ix 123-141) [Bend not] thy [b]ow and shoot not thine arrow at a righteous man, lest God come to his help and turn it back upon thee. [If] thou [be hungry], my son, *take every trouble* and do every labor, then wilt thou eat and be satisfied and give

¹¹ cf. Eccles. 6:10b.

¹² Possibly *hsyn*=Ugar. *hswn*, rather than the plural of *hs* "lettuce."

¹³ cf. Prov. 25:15b.

^{13a} Prov. 27:3; Job 6:2-3.

¹⁴ i.e. there is nothing less respected. Despised (especially dependent) classes of people are similarly said to be "lighter than bran" in TB, Baba Batra, 98b.

¹⁵ Or "shepherds"?

¹⁶ cf. Prov. 16:1.

¹⁷ cf. Isa. 40:26; Ps. 147:4.

¹⁸ Which resembles a word meaning "lion"; the flood, according to our saying, being so designated on the principle of *lucus a non lucendo et canis a non canendo*.

¹⁹ The goat seems to have become a gazelle through inadvertence.

to thy children. [If thou be]nd thy bow and shoot thine arrow at a righteous man, from thee is the arrow but from God the *guidance*. [If] thou [be needy], my son, borrow corn and wheat that thou mayest eat and be sated and give to thy children with thee. Take not a heavy loan or from an evil man. More[over, if] thou take a loan, give no rest to thyself until [thou repay the l]oan. [A loa]n is sweet as [. . .], but its repayment is grief. My [son, hearken not] with thine ears to [a lying man]. For a man's charm is his truthfulness; his repulsiveness, the lies of his lips. [At fi]rst a throne [is set up] for the liar, but in the e[nd they fi]nd out his lies and spit in his face. A liar's neck is cut [i.e. he speaks very softly?] like a . . . virgin that [is hidden] from sight, like a man who causes misfortune which does not proceed from God.—[Despise not] that which is in thy lot, nor covet a wealth which is denied thee. [Multiply not] riches and make not great thy heart. [Whosoever] *takes no pride* in the names of his father and mother, may the s[un] not shine [upon him];²⁰ for he is a wicked man. [From myself] has my misfortune proceeded: with whom shall I be justified?—The son of my body has spied out my house: [wh]at can I say to strangers? [*My son* has] been a false witness against me: who, then, has justified me?—From my house has gone forth wrath: with whom can I strive and *win*? Reveal not thy [*secrets*] before thy [fri]ends, lest thy name become despised of them.²¹ (x 142-158) With him who is more exalted than thou, *quarrel not*. With him who is . . . and stronger than thou, [*contend not; for he will take*] of thy portion and [*add it to*] his. Behold even so is a small man (who strives) with [a great one]. Remove not wisdom from thee [. . .]. Gaze not overmuch [les]t thy vi[sion] be dimmed. Be not (too) sweet, lest they [swallow] thee: be not (too) bitter [*lest they spit thee out*]. If thou wouldst be [exalted], my son, [humble thyself before God], who humbles an [exalted] man and [exalts a lowly man]. What me[n's] l[i]ps curse, God does n[ot] curse. (lines 152-5 badly damaged and omitted here) God shall twist the twister's mouth and tear out [his] tongue. Let not good [ey]es be darkened, nor [good] ears [be stopped, and let a good mouth love] the truth and speak it. (xi 159-172) A man of [beco]ming conduct whose heart is good is like a mighty c[it]y which is *si[tuated]* upon a *m[ountain]*. There is [*none that can bring him down*]. *Except* a man *dwells* with God, how can he be guarded by his own refuge? . . . , but he with whom God is, who ca[n] cas]t him down? (line 162 difficult and omitted here) A man [knows not] what is in his fellow's heart. So when a good man [se]es a wi[cked] man [let him beware of him]. Let him [not] join with him on a journey or be a *neighbor* to him—a good man [wi]th a ba[d] m[an]. The [bram]ble sent to [the] pomegranate tree [saying], "The bramble to the pomegranate: Wherefore the mul[titude] of (thy) thorns [to him that to]uches thy [fru]it?" . . . The [pomegranate tree]

²⁰ cf. Prov. 20:20.

²¹ cf. Prov. 25:9-10.

answered and said to the bramble, "Thou art al[1] thorns to him that touches thee." All that come in contact with a righteous man are on his side. [*A city*] of wicked men shall on a gusty day be pulled apart, and in ^{21a} . . . its gates be brought low; for the spoil [of the righteous are they].—Mine eyes which I lifted up unto thee and my heart which I gave thee in wisdom [hast thou scorned, and thou ha]st brought my name into disg[ra]ce]. If the wicked man seize the corners of thy garment, leave it in his hand. Then approach Shamash: he will [t]ake his and give it to thee.

(xii 173-190) (Ends of all lines and beginnings of some missing. Only the point of line 188 is entirely clear: "Hunger makes bitterness sweet, and thirst [sour-

^{21a} Calm weather (Grelot).

ness]."²² In column xiii 191-207, only of a few sayings is enough preserved for making out the point.)

. . . If thy master entrust to thee water to keep [*and thou do it faithfully, he may*] leave gold with thee. . . . [A man] one [day said] to the wild ass, "[Let me ride] upon thee, and I will maintain thee [. . .]" Said the wild ass, "Keep] thy maintenance and thy fodder, and let me not see thy riding." . . . Let not the rich man say, "In my riches I am glorious."²³

(Column xiv 208-223 has only shreds preserved; the point of the first one can be guessed: "[*Do not sh*]ow an Arab the sea nor a Sidonian the *de*[sert]; for their work is *different*.")

²² cf. Prov. 27:7.

²³ cf. Jer. 9:22.

Observations on Life and the World Order

Egyptian Observations

(Translator: John A. Wilson)

THE DIVINE ATTRIBUTES OF PHARAOH

The king of Egypt ruled the land as a god, as the Son of Re, or as the Horus, or as the incorporation of the deities of Upper and Lower Egypt. He was also a synthesis of other gods who represented forces of proper rule, a blend of force and intelligence, of terror and nurture, or of sustenance and punishment. The following poem sets forth some of the divine elements which went into the composition of a pharaoh. It is framed as a father's instruction to his children on right living: if they faithfully serve so great a god, they will prosper.

The stela of Sehetep-ib-Re, Chief Treasurer under pharaoh Ni-maat-Re (Amen-em-het III, about 1840-1790 B.C.) of the Twelfth Dynasty, was found at Abydos, and is now Cairo Museum 20538. It was published by H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des mittleren Reichs (Catalogue général . . . du Musée du Caire, Berlin, 1902-08)*, II, 145-49, Pl. XL, and by K. Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1928), 68-70. Ch. Kuentz's study in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), 97-110, brought forth a parallel perhaps six centuries later. Translated in Erman, *LAE*, 84-85.*

The beginning of the instruction which he made for his children.

I tell something important
And cause that ye hear (it).
I cause that ye know a counsel of eternity
And a manner of living aright¹ (10)
And for passing a lifetime in peace.
Worship King Ni-maat-Re, living forever, within your
bodies
And associate with his majesty in your hearts.
He is Perception which is in (men's) hearts,²
And his eyes search out every body.
He is Re, by whose beams one sees,
He is one who illumines the Two Lands more than
the sun disc.
He is one who makes the land greener than (does)
a high Nile,
For he has filled the Two Lands with strength and
life.
The nostrils are chilled when he inclines toward rage,
(But) when he is merciful, (they) will breathe the
air.³
He gives food to them who are in his service,
And he supplies them who tread his path. (15)
The king is a *ka*,⁴

¹ "Aright," *ni ma'au*, is a play on the name of the pharaoh, Ni-ma'at-Re.

² "Cognitive intelligence" or "Perception" was an attribute of personality deified as the god *Sia*. It was particularly an attribute of good rule.

³ A favorite device was to set terror and kindness in juxtaposition as components of rule.

⁴ *Ka* "vital force," or protecting and sustaining "soul," or "fortune," etc. —the other self which supported a man. cf. p. 3, n.4 above. Here the pharaoh is the *ka* of his people.

And his mouth is increase.⁵
He who is to be is his creation,
(For) he is the Khnum of all bodies,⁶
The begetter who creates the people.
He is the Bastet who protects the Two Lands;⁷
He who worships him will be one whom his arm
shelters.
He is Sekhmet against him who transgresses his
command;
He whom he hates will bear woes.⁸
Fight on behalf of his name,
And be scrupulous in the oath to him,
(That) ye may be free from a taint of *disloyalty*.
He whom the king has loved will be a revered one,
(But) there is no tomb for a rebel against his
majesty,
And his corpse is cast into the water.
If ye do this, your persons shall be unblemished—
Ye will find it (so) forever. (20)

IN PRAISE OF LEARNED SCRIBES

The Egyptian Empire built up a large bureaucracy. A constant theme of the writings for schoolboys in that period deals with the high standing and privileges of the secretarial profession. The following extract sets forth the advantages of learning in terms of the immortality of great writings. In that respect it stands in contrast to the Song of the Harper (p. 467), where the theme was the powerlessness of the ancient sages to leave a standing memorial. The Song of the Harper was addressed to an occasion of entertainment, whereas the present text was a call to more diligent application to studies.

Papyrus Chester Beatty IV (now British Museum 10684), verso ii 5-iii 11. Probably from Thebes and about 1300 B.C. *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series. Chester Beatty Gift*, ed. by A. H. Gardiner (London, 1935), I, 38-41; II, Pls. 18-19.* (See Addenda).

NOW THEN, IF THOU DOST THESE THINGS, THOU ART skilled in the writings. As for those learned scribes from the time of those who lived after the gods, they who could foretell what was to come, their names have become everlasting, (even though) they are gone, they completed their lives, and all their relatives are forgotten.

THEY DID NOT MAKE FOR THEMSELVES pyramids of metal, with the tombstones thereof of iron. They were not able to leave heirs in children, . . . pronouncing their names, but they made heirs for themselves in the writings and in the (books of) wisdom which they composed. THEY GAVE THEMSELVES [*the papyrus-roll*] as a

⁵ His command created surplus of provisions.

⁶ Khnum was a god who fashioned mortals, as on a potter's wheel.

⁷ Bastet was a kindly cat-goddess.

⁸ The gentle Bastet is contrasted with the terrible Sekhmet, a lioness-goddess. Sekhmet had also to do with disease, and the word rendered "woes" might be read "sickness."

lector] priest, the writing-board as a son-he-loves,¹ (books of) wisdom (as) their (ii 10) pyramids, the reed-pen (as) their child, and the back of a stone for a wife.² From great to small were made into his children.³ (As) for the scribe, he is the foremost of them. IF THERE WERE MADE FOR (THEM) DOORS AND BUILDINGS, they are crumbled. Their mortuary service is [*gone*]; their tombstones are covered with dirt; and their graves are forgotten. (But) their names are (still) pronounced because of their books which they made, since they were good and the memory of him who made them (lasts) to the limits of eternity.

BE A SCRIBE, PUT IT IN THY HEART, that thy name may fare (iii 1) similarly. More effective is a book than a decorated tombstone or an established *tomb-wall*. Such things make buildings and pyramids for the sake of pronouncing their names. Without doubt a name in the mouth of men is of benefit in the necropolis. A MAN IS PERISHED, his corpse is dust, all his relatives are come to the ground—(but) it is writing that makes him remembered in the mouth of a reciter. More effective is a book than the house of the builder or tombs in the West. It is better than a (well-) founded castle or a stela (5) in a temple.

IS THERE (ANYONE) HERE LIKE Hor-dedef? Is there another like Ii-em-hotep? None has appeared among our relatives like Neferti or Khety, that foremost of them. I cause thee to know the names of Ptah-em-Djedhuti and Kha-kheper-(Re)-seneb. Is there another like Ptah-hotep, or Ka-iris as well?⁴ THESE LEARNED MEN WHO FORETOLD WHAT WAS TO COME, that which issued from their mouths happened, being found as a statement written in his⁵ books. (Thus) the children of other people are given to them to be heirs, as though (they were) their own children. Though they concealed their magic (10) from everybody (else), it may be read in a (book of) wisdom. Though they are gone and their names are forgotten, it is writing that makes them remembered.

THE SATIRE ON THE TRADES

Egyptian schoolboys who were learning to write frequently had to copy the classics which extolled the profession of the scribe, to the disparagement of other vocations. One of the popular models under the Empire was the Satire on the Trades, which details the wretchedness of nonscribal activities. The

¹ The lector priest and the "son-he-loves" performed the funerary rites which beatified and maintained the deceased.

² A stone ostrakon?

³ Because they were dependent upon the scribe's writings.

⁴ We know a surprising number of these famed sages. Hor-dedef and Ii-em-hotep are the traditional wise men (pp. 31, n.6 above; 467, n.4; 476, n.16 below). Khety, the son of Duauf, is credited with the much-copied Satire on the Trades (pp. 432-434 below). A lament by Kha-kheper-Reneb is on a writing board now in the British Museum (A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* [Leipzig, 1909], 95 ff.). The Vizier Ptah-hotep was the author credited with one of the earliest books of wisdom (pp. 412-414). Ka-iris is unknown. Neferti is very probably the prophet commonly called Nefer-rohu (pp. 444-446 below). It is tempting to emend Ptah-em-Djedhuti into Djed-Djedhuti invoked in literary controversy (cf. Gardiner's comment following his translation of the present text).

⁵ *Sic*, read "their."

unhappy schoolboys who made the extant copies mangled the text so thoroughly that translation is often uncertain.

The documents are numerous, most of them from the Nineteenth Dynasty (1350-1200 B.C.) and most of them fragmentary. There are clear indications that the lost original derived from the Middle Kingdom or earlier (2150-1750 B.C.). In whole or in part, the text occurs on 3 papyri (Papyrus Sallier II = British Museum 10182; Papyrus Anastasi VII = British Museum 10222; Papyrus Chester Beatty XIX = British Museum 10699); 1 writing tablet (Louvre 693); and more than 90 ostraca. The present translation was made from as many of these documents as were available to the translator; the line numbers follow Sallier II. The text has commonly been called the "Instruction of Duauf," but the author was apparently a Khety, as Gardiner pointed out in *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series. Chester Beatty Gift*, 1, 40, n.1.*

A recent study of the hieratic texts is by Hellmut Brunner, *Die Lehre des Cheti, Sohnes des Duauf* (*Münchener ägyptologische Forschungen*, No. 13; Glückstadt, 1944), with transcription, translation, and commentary. There is a translation in Erman, *LAE*, 67-72.

Other Egyptian texts which might have been included under this heading are the statement of a creation in terms of equal opportunity for all men (pp. 7-8 above); the two didactic tales of pp. 405-410 above; the Song of the Harper (p. 467 below); and the song on the happiness of the dead (pp. 33-34 above).

(iii 9) THE BEGINNING OF THE INSTRUCTION WHICH A man of the ship's cabin, whose name was Duauf's son Khety, made for his son, (whose) name was Pepy, as he was journeying upstream (iv 1) (to) the Residence City, to put him into the Writing School among the children of officials, in the lower part of the Residence City.¹ THEN HE SAID TO HIM:

I have seen *how the belabored man is belabored*—thou shouldst set thy heart in pursuit of writing. And I have observed *how one may be rescued from his duties*—behold, there is nothing which surpasses writing. . . . Read thou at the end of the *Conclusion*.² Thou wilt find this statement in it, to wit: "As for the scribe, every place of his is at the Residence City, and he will not be poor in it. (But) *if he uses the wisdom of someone else*, he will not come out successfully." Thus have I seen the professions: they are in *the meaning* of this statement (5) on it.

I shall make thee love writing more than thy (own) mother; (thus) I shall make beauty enter before thy face. Moreover, it is greater than any (other) office; there is not its like in the land. If he³ began to prosper when he was (only) a child, men greet him (respectfully). If some one sends him to carry out an errand, he does not return (*only*) *that he may clothe himself in the (workman's) apron*.

I HAVE NEVER SEEN A SCULPTOR ON AN ERRAND NOR A goldsmith when he was sent out. (But) I have seen

¹ Khety imparted the advice during the journey south to the Capital, where he was putting his son into the government's secretarial training school. Khety and his son Pepy are apparently of no high degree. It is not clear whether "man of the ship's cabin" is the father's title or his location as he gave the advice.

² Either the title of a well-known book of advice, or the conclusion of this text in its general purport. The word occurs again in Papyrus Beatty IV, verso vi 11 (*Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series. Chester Beatty Gift*, 1, 43; II, Pl. 20):—(Readers) "have all beatified my name (when coming) near the conclusion."*

³ The scribe.

the metalworker at his work at the mouth of his furnace. His fingers were somewhat like crocodiles;⁴ he stank more than fish-roe.

EVERY CRAFTSMAN THAT WIELDS THE ADZE, he is wearier than a hoeman. His field is the wood, and his *job* is the metal. At night, though he is released, he does more (v 1) than his arms can (really) do. At night *he has to strike* a light.

THE FASHIONER OF COSTLY STONES SEEKS FOR SKILL in every (kind of) hard stone. When he has *fully* completed things, his arms are destroyed, and he is weary. When he sits down at the going in of Re,⁵ his thighs and his back are cramped.

THE BARBER IS (STILL) SHAVING AT THE END OF DUSK. When he gives himself *up to chins*, he puts himself upon his (own) shoulder.⁶ He gives himself from street to street, to seek out those whom he may shave. *Thus* if he is valiant his arms will fill his belly, (5) like a bee eating for its work.

THE ITINERANT MERCHANT SAILS DOWNSTREAM TO the Delta to get trade for himself. When he has done more than his arms can (really) do, the gnats have slain him, the sand flies have made him *miserably miserable*. Then there is *inflammation*.

THE SMALL BUILDING CONTRACTOR CARRIES MUD.⁷ . . . He is *dirtier* than vines or pigs, *from treading* under his mud. His clothes are stiff with clay; his *leather belt is going to ruin*. Entering into the wind, he is miserable. His *lamp goes out*, though (still) in good condition. He *pounds* with his feet; he *crushes* with his own self, *muddying* the court of every house, when the water of the streets has flooded.

(vi 1) LET ME TELL THEE ALSO OF THE BUILDER OF WALLS. His *sides* ache, since he must be outside *in a treacherous* wind. He builds in an apron, while he is girt with lotuses of the workshop, at a distance *from* his rear.⁸ His arms are destroyed with technical work; every calculation of his is different.⁹ What he eats is the bread of his fingers,¹⁰ and he washes himself (*only*) *once a season*. HE IS SIMPLY WRETCHED THROUGH AND THROUGH. . . . As for (5) food, he must give it to his house, for his children are *very many*.

THE GARDENER BRINGS VEGETABLES, both his shoulders being under . . . upon his neck. Early in the morning he must water the vegetables and in the evening the vines. . . . "The sand fly of his mother" is his name, "the *sheikh* of every profession."¹¹

THE TENANT-FARMER, HIS RECKONINGS (GO ON) FOREVER.¹² His voice is louder (than) the *abu-bird*. . . .

⁴ "His fingers were like a thing of crocodiles"; they were tough and wrinkled.

⁵ At sunset?

⁶ Has to carry his own heavy responsibility to earn a living?

⁷ To make mud-bricks.

⁸ Since we do not know the meaning of "lotuses of the workshops," we cannot say how his costume was absurd.

⁹ He loses count of his bricks or his measurements.

¹⁰ For lack of food, he gnaws his fingers?

¹¹ Sarcastic designations, which have a general similarity of phrasing to those of the modern Arab world.

¹² He must always render account to his landlord.

Wearier is he than a *wayfarer* of the Delta. Yet he is (vii 1) a picked man: his safety is a safety from lions.¹³ His *sides* ache, *as if heaven* and earth were in them. When he goes forth *thence from* the meadows and he reaches his home in the evening, *he is one cut down by traveling*.

THE WEAVER IN THE WORKSHOPS, he is worse than a woman, with his thighs against his belly. He cannot breathe the (open) air. If he cuts short the day of weaving, he is beaten with fifty thongs. He must give food to the doorkeeper to let him see the light of day.

THE ARROW-MAKER, he is very miserable as he goes out (5) into the desert.¹⁴ Greater is that which he gives to his donkey than its work thereafter (is worth). Great is that which he gives to him who is in the meadows, who sets him on the way. When he reaches his home in the evening, the traveling has cut him down.

THE COURIER GOES OUT TO A FOREIGN COUNTRY, after he has made over his property to his children, being afraid of lions and Asiatics. *And what of him*, when he is in Egypt? When he arrives thence from the meadows and he reaches his home in the evening, the traveling has cut him down. His *house is (only)* an apron of brick.¹⁵ He does not return happy of heart.

THE EMBALMER, HIS FINGERS ARE FOUL, for the odor thereof is (that of) corpses. His eyes *burn from the greatness of the heat*. (viii 1) He could not oppose his (own) daughter.¹⁶ He spends the day cutting up old rags,¹⁷ so that clothing is an abomination to him.

THE COBBLER, HE IS VERY BADLY OFF, *carrying his equipment* forever. His safety is a safety from corpses, as he bites into the leather.¹⁸

THE LAUNDRYMAN LAUNDERS ON THE (RIVER) BANK, a neighbor of the crocodile. When a father comes out of the greasy waters, he could not oppose his (own) daughter. There are no satisfying jobs *in thy sight*, *O sheikh* of every profession!¹⁹ He is mixed up by the differences in his accounts. . . . When he puts (5) on the apron of a woman, then he is in *woe*. I weep for him, spending the day under the rod. . . .

THE BIRD-CATCHER, HE IS VERY MISERABLE, when he looks at the denizens of the sky. If marsh-fowl pass by in the heavens, then he says: "Would that (I had) a net!"; (but) god does not let (it) happen to him, being neglectful of his affairs.

LET ME TELL THEE ALSO OF THE FISH-CATCHER. He is more miserable than any (other) profession. Behold, *there is nothing* in his work on the river, mingled with the crocodiles. If there is a cutting down in the total of *the official register*,²⁰ then there is complaint. He

¹³ A heavy-handed jibe at the peaceful farmer.

¹⁴ To get flint points.

¹⁵ The text may be corrupt. If the translation is approximately correct, it means that his house has become a mere shell in his absence.

¹⁶ Is too weak from weariness to stand up to a girl?

¹⁷ For strips with which to wrap mummies.

¹⁸ May he have only animal hides to bite on.

¹⁹ cf. n.11 above.

²⁰ Of fish due the government.

cannot (even) say: "A crocodile is (ix 1) waiting (there)," for fear has made him blind.²¹ . . .

Behold, there is no profession free of a boss—except for the scribe: he is the boss.

BUT IF THOU KNOWEST WRITING, then it will go better with thee than (in) these professions which I have set before thee. . . . Behold, it is done in journeying upstream to the Residence City; behold, it is done for love of thee. A day in school is of advantage to thee. The eternity of its work is (like that of) the mountains. It is: "Quick (5) quick!"—(so) I let thee know. . . .

LET ME TELL THEE ALSO OTHER MATTERS, to teach thee what thou shouldst know. . . . IF THOU GOEST TO THE REAR OF OFFICIALS, approach (only) at a distance *after a (decent interval)*. If thou enterest in, while a householder is in his house and his *activity* is for some one else before thee, as thou sittest with thy hand to thy mouth, do not ask for something beside him. *Thou shouldst act according to what he says to thee*, by guarding (thy) speech at the dining table.

BE DIGNIFIED, (YET) BE NOT UNDER AWE when speaking (x 1) words of reserve—he who hides his belly (is) one who makes a shield for himself—or when speaking words of boldness when one sits with thee *in hostility*.

IF THOU GOEST FORTH FROM THE SCHOOL, after midday is announced to thee, and goest *rollicking* in the street, men dispute with thee *in the end*. *It is not for thee*.

If an official sends thee on an errand, say it (just) as he said it; do not take away or add to it. He who leaves (*things alone*) creates jubilation. . . . (One) trusts in every good characteristic of his. There is nothing hidden from him; there is no *separating him from* any place of his. . . . (5) . . . How wretched it is, the belly which thou heedest! If three loaves should satisfy thee, and the swallowing of two *hin* of beer, (but) there is (still) no *limit* [to] the belly, fight against it. . . .

BEHOLD, IT IS GOOD THAT THOU SEND AWAY THE MULTITUDE AND HEAR the words of officials (only). . . . When the scribe has been seen to listen, listening becomes a heroic quality. Thou shouldst combat words *which may be against it*.²² Let thy legs hasten as thou goest, (or) it *cannot* (xi 1) *be attained*. Associate with him *who leads the way* to it, and make friends with a man of thy (own) generation.

BEHOLD, I HAVE SET THEE ON THE WAY of god.²³ The Renenut of a scribe is on his shoulder on the day of his birth.²⁴ He reaches the halls of the magistrates, when he *has become a man*. Behold, there is no scribe who lacks food, from the property of the House of the King—life, prosperity, health! Meskhenet is (the source of) the scribe's welfare,²⁵ he being set before the magistrates.

²¹ He is so blinded by fear of crocodiles that no one will believe his excuses for not delivering a full quota of fish.

²² In this context "it" means "hearing," the respectful obedience of the scribe to higher authority.

²³ Only one text so, whereas three texts have: "Behold, Renenut is on the way of god," which we take to be a corruption affected by the following sentence.

²⁴ Slaves were branded with the master's name. Renenut, the harvest-goddess, was a goddess of fortune. Thus, the good fortune of a scribe was fixed for him from birth.

²⁵ Meskhenet was a goddess of birth and destiny.

His father and his mother praise god, he being set upon the way of the living.

Behold these things—I (*have set them*) before thee and thy children's children.

(5) It has come to a happy ending in success. . . .

Akkadian Observations on Life and the World Order

(Translator: Robert H. Pfeiffer)

"I WILL PRAISE THE LORD OF WISDOM"

Text: Rawlinson, iv, 2nd ed., No. 60. V. Scheil, *Une saison de fouilles à Sippar* (Cairo, 1902), No. 37. R. C. Thompson, *PSBA*, xxxii (1910), 18 ff. E. Ebeling, *KAR*, Nos. 10, 11, 108, 175, 326. S. Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom* (London, 1923), Plates 1-v.

Transcriptions and translations: H. Zimmern, *Hymnen und Gebete* (*AO*, vii/3), pp. 28 ff. M. Jastrow, *JBL*, xxv (1906), 135-191. R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, pp. 164-169. B. Landsberger, in Lehmann-Haas, *Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1923), pp. 311 ff. S. Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom*, pp. 35-66. E. Ebeling, *AOT*, pp. 273-81. See also, for some parts, Th. Jacobsen, in H. and H. A. Frankfort and others, *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (Chicago, 1946), pp. 212-16.

. . . I have become like a deaf man. (I 11)

. . . Once I behaved like a lord, now I have become a slave. . . . (13)

The fury of my companions destroys me.

...

The day is sighing, the night is weeping; (20)
The month is silence, mourning is the year.

...

I have arrived, I have passed beyond life's span. (II 1)

I look about me: evil upon evil!

My affliction increases, right I cannot find.

I implored the god, but he did not turn his countenance;

I prayed to my goddess, but she did not raise her head.

The diviner through divination did not discern the situation.

Through incense-offering the dream-interpreter did not explain my right.

I turned to the necromancer, but he did not enlighten me.

The conjurer through magic did not dispel the wrath against me.

Whence come the evil things everywhere? (10)

I looked backwards: persecution, woe!

Like one who did not offer a libation to a god,

And at meal-time did not invoke a goddess,

Who did not bow his face and did not know reverence,

In whose mouth prayer and supplication ceased,

For whom the holiday had been eliminated, the *eššešu*¹ festival has been curtailed,

Who became negligent, despised their images,

¹ The *eššešu* festival was celebrated on the 4th, 8th and 17th day of the month.

Who did not teach his people religion and reverence,
Who did not remember his god, although eating his
food,

Who forsook his goddess and did not offer her a
libation; (20)

Nay, worse than one *who became proud* and forgot his
(divine) lord,

Who swore frivolously in the name of his honorable
deity—like such a one have I become!

Yet I myself was thinking only of prayer and suppli-
cation:

Supplication was my concern, sacrifice my rule;
The day of the worship of the gods was my delight,
The day of my goddess' procession was my profit and
wealth.

Veneration of the king was my joy,
And I enjoyed music in his honor.

I taught my land to observe the divine ordinances,
To honor the name of the goddess I instructed my
people. (30)

The king's majesty I equated to that of a god,
And reverence for the (royal) palace I inculcated in
the troops.

Oh that I only knew that these things are well pleasing
to a god!

What is good in one's sight is evil for a god.

What is bad in one's own mind is good for his god.

Who can understand the counsel of the gods in the
midst of heaven?

The plan of a god is deep waters, who can comprehend
it?

Where has befuddled mankind ever learned what a
god's conduct is?

He who was living yesterday has died today:

Instantly he is made gloomy, suddenly is he
crushed. (40)

One moment he sings a happy song,
And in an instant he will moan like a mourner.

Like day and night their mood changes.

When they are hungry they resemble corpses,

When they are sated they rival their god;

In good luck they speak of ascending to heaven,

When they are afflicted they grumble about going down
to the underworld.

....

An evil ghost has come from its abyss, (53)

... a headache has come out from Ekur.²

The ... [demon] has descended from the (underworld)
mountain.

[My] ... shook [with] a chill,

Like the grass of the earth the disease turns one pale ...
all these together drew near unto me.

(fragmentary description of pathological
symptoms) (59-65)

.... (II reverse)

The tall [body] they destroyed like a wall, (3)

My broad figure they brought low like a reed.

² Ekur (meaning "mountain house") the great temple of Enlil at Nippur,
is used here in the sense of the underworld.

Like a *sungirtu* (water plant) I was torn away and cast
on my belly.

The *alú* (disease demon) has clothed himself with
my body as with a garment.

Like a net, sleep has covered me.

My eyes stare without seeing.

My ears are open without hearing.

Faintness has seized my whole body. (10)

A stroke has fallen upon my flesh.

Weakness has taken hold of my hand.

Weariness has fallen upon my knees.

....

Death [pursued me] and covered my whole body.

If someone asking for me calls me, I do not answer.

My people weep, I myself no longer exist.

In my mouth a gag is placed,

I hold back the word of my lips. (20)

....

Wheat, even though putrid, I eat.

Beer—life divine!—I have eliminated from me.

Extremely long has lasted the distress.

Through starving my appearance ...

My flesh is flaccid, my blood is [going].

My bones are *smashed* ...

My muscles are inflamed ...

I took the bed to the jail, they have blocked (my)
exit. (30)

My prison—that is what my house has become.

My hands have been cast into fetters—(i.e.) my flesh;

Into my own chains have my feet been thrown.

My *wheals* are sore, the wound is serious.

The lash striking me is filled with *terror*.

They have pierced me with a goad, the sting was fierce.

All day a pursuer pursues me.

At night he does not let me draw my breath for a
moment.

Through straining my sinews have been loosened,

My limbs are wrecked, hit aside. (40)

I spend the night in my dung, like an ox.

I was soaked like a sheep in my excrements.

My arthritis baffled the conjurer,

And my omens confused the diviner.

The enchanter has not determined the condition of my
illness,

And the time (of the end) of my malady the diviner
did not give (me).

No god helped, (none) seized my hand;

My goddess showed no mercy, she did not come to my
side.

While the grave was still open they took possession of
my jewels,

Before I was dead the weeping (for me) was
ended. (50)

All my land said, "How sad!"³

My ill-wisher heard it, and his countenance shone (with
joy);

³ Another possible translation, instead of "How sad!" is "How has he
been mistreated!"

They brought the good news to the woman who was
my ill-wisher, and her spirit⁴ was delighted.
But I know the day on which my tears will cease,
On which in the midst of the protecting deities their
divinity will show mercy.
Heavy was his hand, I could not bear it; (III 1)
Mighty was his frightfulness.
(fragments) (3-7)
A dream in the morning *appeared* twice with the same
meaning. (8)
A certain man, immense in stature, . . .
Gigantic in size, clad in new raiment . . . (III A 10)
. . . .
. . . . he came to me. (13)
. . . . my flesh became *numb*.
. . . "The lady sent me.
. . . .
. . . . saying, ' . . . sent me.' (18)
They shouted . . .
Shamash" (20)
A second time [I saw a dream],
In a dream I saw . . .
A certain man . . .
A tamarisk (branch), a purification vessel he held in his
hand.
"Tab-utul-Enlil,⁵ the dweller of Nippur,
Has sent me to purify you."
Lifting water, he poured it over me.
The incantation of life he recited, he anointed me
[with . . .].
I saw a third dream.
. . . the dream which I saw in the night. (30)
After the manner of humans, a [beautiful] maiden,
with nice features.
The queen of life, saying,
"Declare mercy [for him] . . ."
"Fear not!" he (or, she) said . . .
"Whatever happened in the dream . . ."
He (or, she) declared for me mercy—me, the sorely
afflicted.
Someone, who in the night saw a vision,
Saw in the dream Ur-Nin-tin-ug-ga,⁶
A mighty man, wearing his crown; a conjurer carrying
a [tablet]. (40)
"Marduk has sent me."
Unto Šubshi-mešre-Nergal he brought . . .,
In his clean hands he brought . . .
To my attendant he entrusted (it).
Early in the morning he sent a message,
His (Marduk's) omen caused my people to see
benevolence (done unto me).
In malady the patient . . .

⁴ The word translated "spirit" means literally "liver"; cf. Morris Jastrow, Jr., *The Liver as the Seat of the Soul*, in *Studies in the History of Religion Presented to Crawford Howell Toy*, edited by D. G. Lyon and G. F. Moore (New York, 1912), pp. 143-68.

⁵ This name is written ideographically in Sumerian LAL-UR-^dALIM-MA, meaning "good is the bosom of Enlil."

⁶ This Sumerian name means, "Servant of the divine mistress of the revivification of the dead."

He quickly ended my illness, broken was
After my lord's heart had found rest,
The spirit of Marduk the merciful was quieted.⁷ (50)
(fragments) (51-58)
He caused the wind to carry away my trespasses.
. . . . (III reverse)
He sent the storm wind to the foundations of
heaven, (5)
Unto the bosom of the earth . . . (5b)
To his abyss he caused the evil ghost to descend.
The countless demons he sent back to Ekur (i.e. the
underworld).
The demon Labartu he knocked down, he drove her
straight to the mountain (of the underworld).
Into the waves of the sea he sank the fever heat.
The root of the sickness he pulled out like a plant. (10)
The unhealthy sleep, the spell of slumber,
As when the heavens are filled with smoke . . . ,
They were driven away, with the woe and pain
He caused them to withdraw like a hurricane, causing
the earth to . . . (13b)
The torturing headache
He removed the running of my eyes and drove it from
me.
The blur of my eyes, over which had spread the curtain
of night,
A mighty wind blew it off and cleared their sight.
My ears, stopped and closed as in a deaf man,
He removed their obstruction, he opened my hearing.
. . . .
My nose, whose [breathing] was hindered by *the*
oppression of the heat, (20)
Its injury he healed so that I could breathe
My lips, that were constricted and [trembled],
He dispelled their fear and loosed their bonds.
My mouth that was covered and with which I spoke in
whispers,
He cleansed like copper and *made to shine*.
My teeth that were locked together and . . . ,
He opened the space between them and their roots
he
The tongue that was bound, was unable to function,—
He [removed] *its dumbness* and its speech became
[distinct].
The windpipe that was tightened and *stiff* as in a
corpse, (30)
Its songs he made glad, so that *they sounded* like a flute.
The lungs that are constricted and do not receive
[breath],
Their . . . was made right, their stoppage he opened.
. . . .
The large intestine that had become empty through
hunger and was entwined like a basket, (51)
Receives food, takes drink.
The neck that had become flabby and bent,
Rose mountainlike, stood up high like a cedar.
Similar to (that of) one having full might became my
strength.

⁷ On "spirit" cf. n.4; "merciful" could be rendered "shepherd."

- (obscure) (56-57) In the "Gate of the Purifying Waters" I was sprinkled
The knees that were stiff like a falcon . . . with purifying waters.
.... In the "Welfare Gate" I appeared before Marduk.
He rubbed off the rust, made it shinningly clean. In the "Gate of Full Opulence" I kissed the foot of the
The faded appearance became brilliant. goddess Sarpanit.¹³
On the holy river shore (in the underworld) where the In supplication and imploration I persisted before them.
(last) judgment of men is manifested, (20) Sweet-smelling incense smoke I offered to them.
(My) forehead was rubbed clean, my slavery mark was I presented (to them my) produce, gifts, *angub-te*-
obliterated.⁸ offerings.
.... (64-65) I slew fat oxen, I sacrificed *lambs*.
Out of *trouble*, through deliverance, I came. I offered a libation of sweet date wine, . . . wine.
The waters of Esagila⁹ though weary, I set forth in my I . . . the divine Shedu, to the divine protectors of the
hands. walls of Esagila;
Into the mouth of the lion who was devouring me With libations I made happy their mood, (40)
Marduk placed *a bit*. [With] abundant . . . I gladdened their heart.
Marduk removed *the incantation* of the one hounding . . . , bolt, lock of the doors
me, turned back his lumps. With pure [oil], *butter*, . . . grain
.... (70-74) . . . [according to] the temple ritual.
.... (IV i¹⁰)
....
....
....
... he took me. The product of the *hašurru* tree [*pleased him*].
... he opened for me. (At) a banquet the Babylonians . . .
... he revived me. They had made his grave, at a banquet . . .
[From *distress*] he saved me. The Babylonians saw that (Marduk) had restored [his]
[Out of the river] Hubur (in the underworld) he drew life. (50)
me.
Marduk seized my hand. All mouths praise [his] greatness.
... smote me. "Who commanded it, who accomplished the vision of
[Marduk] lifted high my head, the deity?
He smote my smiter's hand; (10) In whose mind is the going (freely) on one's way
His weapon Marduk shattered. realized?
.... Apart from Marduk, who revived his lifeless state?
With lowly countenance I entered Esagila¹¹: (20) Besides Sarpanit, what goddess conferred life unto
I, who had gone down into the grave, returned to him?"
Babylon. Marduk is able to revive in the grave.
In the "Gate of Abundance" abundance was given to Sarpanit knows how to deliver from destruction.
me.¹² Wherever the earth reaches, the heavens are spread out,
In the "Gate of the Great Lamassu" my Lamassu The sun shines, fire glows,
approached me. Water flows, the wind blows, (60)
In the "Welfare Gate" I beheld welfare. (Wherever the beings) whose clay the goddess Aruru
In the "Gate of Life" I met life. has nipped off,¹⁴
In the "Gate of Sunrise" I was reckoned with the living. Creatures endowed with breath, stride rapidly,
In the "Radiant Omen Gate" my omens became radiant. . . . as many as there are, *glorify* Marduk!
In the "Release from Guilt Gate" my guilt was released. (fragments) (64-68)
In the "Gate of the Mouth's Inquiry" my mouth inquired.
In the "Release from Sighing Gate" my sighing was appeased. (30)

⁸ Here ends the Sippar No. 55 text. The following lines (64-74) are translated from a commentary to our text published in the original in H. C. Rawlinson, *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia*, Vol. v (London, 1884), Plate 47, rev. 14-15. See also S. Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom*, Plate II, lines 14-25; Plate III, lines 26-45.

⁹ Esagila ("The house of the lofty head") was the temple of Marduk in Babylon.

¹⁰ Tablet IV has been translated from the Ashur text published in E. Ebeling, *KAR*, Nos. 10 and 11.

¹¹ cf. n.9 above.

¹² The patient whose health has been restored now goes through the twelve gates of Esagila (cf. above, n.9).

A PESSIMISTIC DIALOGUE BETWEEN MASTER AND SERVANT

Text: G. Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen*, (*Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen der königl. Museen zu Berlin*, Vol. x [Berlin, 1896]), No. 6. E. Ebeling, *KAR*, 1, No. 96. E. Ebeling, *Quellen zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, Vol. II (*MVAG*, xxiii/2 [1919]), p. 85.

Translations: Ebeling, *Quellen* (see above), pp. 50 ff. S. Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom* (London, 1923), pp. 67-81. Ebeling, *AOT*, pp. 284-7. See also: G. B. Gray, Job, Ecclesiastes, and a New Babylonian Literary Fragment, *Expository Times*, xxxi (1920), 440-3. Th. Jacobsen, in *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, by H. and H. A. Frankfort, and others (Chicago, 1946), pp. 216-18. E. A. Speiser, The Case of the Obliging Servant, *JCS*, VIII (1954), No. 3.

¹³ Sarpanit was Marduk's consort. ¹⁴ Aruru's clay-beings are humanity.

(I) ["Servant,] obey me." Yes, my lord, yes. ["Bring me at once the] chariot, hitch it up. I will ride to the palace." [Ride, my lord, ride! All your wishes] will be realized for you. The king] will be gracious to you. (5) ["No, servant,] I shall not ride [to] the palace." [Do not ride], my lord, do not ride. [To a place . . .] he will send you. [In a land which] you know [not] he will let you be captured. [Day and] night he will let you see trouble.

(II) (10) "Servant, obey me." Yes, my lord, yes. ["Bring me at] once water for my hands, and give it to me: I wish to dine." [Dine,] my lord, dine. To dine regularly is the opening of the heart (i.e. brings joy). [To a dinner] eaten in happiness and with washed hands (the sun-god) Shamash comes. "No, [servant,] I shall not dine." (15) Do not dine, my lord, do not dine. To be hungry and eat, to be thirsty and drink, comes upon (every) man.

(III) "Servant, obey me." Yes, my lord, yes. "Bring me at once the chariot, hitch it up. I will ride to the wilderness." Ride, my lord, ride. The fugitive's stomach is full. (20) The hunting dog will break a bone; the fugitive *hahur* bird will build its nest; the wild ass running to and fro will . . . "No, servant, to the wilderness I will not ride." Do not ride, my lord, do not ride. (25) The fugitive's mind is variable. The hunting dog's teeth will break; the house of the fugitive *hahur* bird is in [a hole] of the wall; and the abode of the wild ass running to and fro is the desert.

(IV) "Servant, [obey me.]" Yes, my lord, yes. (20-31) (fragments). . . the silence of the evil one make complete. ["My enemy] I shall capture and *quickly* shackle. I shall lie in wait for my adversary." (35) Lie (in wait), my lord, lie (in wait). . . A house you will not build. He who proceeds [rashly] destroys his father's house.

(V) . . . "I will not build a house." You will not build it.

(VI) ["Servant, obey me." Yes, my lord, yes.] "At the [word of my adversary I shall remain silent.]" (40) Remain silent, my lord, remain [silent. Silence is better than speech.] "No, servant, at the [word of my adversary I shall not remain silent.]" Do not remain silent, my lord, [do not remain silent.] If you do not speak with your mouth . . . Your adversary will be angry with you . . .

(VII) (45) "Servant, obey me." Yes, my lord, yes. "I intend to start a rebellion." Do (it), my lord, [do (it)]. If you do not start a rebellion what becomes of your clay?¹ Who will give you (something) to fill your stomach? "No, servant, I shall not do something violent." (50) [Do (it) not, my lord, do (it) not.] The man doing something violent is killed or [ill-treated], or he is maimed, or captured and cast into prison.

(VIII) "Servant, obey me." Yes, my lord, yes. (55) "A woman will I love." Yes, love, my lord, love. The man who loves a woman forgets pain and trouble. "No, servant, a woman I shall not love." [Do not love,

¹ "Your clay" means of course "your body" (cf. Gen. 2:7).

my lord, do not [love]. Woman is a well,² (60) woman is an iron dagger—a sharp one!—which cuts a man's neck.

(IX) "Servant, obey me." Yes, my lord, yes. "Bring me at once water for my hands, and give it to me: I will offer a sacrifice to my god." Offer, my lord, offer. A man offering sacrifice to his god is happy, loan upon loan he makes. "No, servant, a sacrifice to my god will I not offer." Do not offer (it), my lord, do not offer (it). You may teach a god to trot after you like a dog when he requires of you, (saying), "(Celebrate) my ritual" or "do not inquire (by requesting an oracle)" or anything else.

(X) ["Servant,] obey me." Yes, my lord, yes. (70) "I shall give food to our country." Give it, my lord, give it! [The man who] gives food [to his country]—his barley (remains) his own but his receipts from interest (payments) become immense.³ ["No, servant,] food to my country I shall not give." [Do not give, my lord,] do not give. Giving is like *lov[ing]*. . . giving birth to a son. (75) . . . they will curse you. [They will eat] your barley and destroy you.⁴

(XI) "Servant, obey me." Yes, my lord, yes. "I will do something helpful for my country." Do (it), my lord, do (it). The man who does something helpful for his country,—his helpful deed is placed in the bowl of Marduk.⁵ (80) "No, servant, I will not do something helpful for my country." Do it not, my lord, do it not. Climb the mounds of ancient ruins and walk about: look at the skulls of late and early (men); who (among them) is an evildoer, who a public benefactor?⁶

(XII) "Servant, obey me." Yes, my lord, yes. "Now, what is good? (85) To break my neck, your neck, throw (both) into the river—(that) is good." Who is tall enough to ascend to heaven? Who is broad enough to embrace the earth? "No, servant, I shall kill you and send you ahead of me." (Then) would my lord (wish to) live even three days after me? (Colophon) Written according to the original and collated.

A DIALOGUE ABOUT HUMAN MISERY¹

Cuneiform text: J. A. Craig, *Babylonian and Assyrian Religious Texts*, Vol. 1 (*Assyriologische Bibliothek*, XIII [Leipzig,

² The following gloss has been added in the cuneiform text: "well—pit-fall, ditch." Woman (and more specifically the wife) is compared to a well (Hebrew, *bē'er*) and to a cistern (Hebrew, *bôr*) in Prov. 5:15, cf. 5:16-18; Cant. 4:15. H. Graetz and others after him propose to read, "Remember thy cistern (*bôrēkhā*)" or "thy well (Hebrew, *bē'erēkhā*)" instead of "thy creator" (Hebrew, *bôr'ākāhā*) in Eccles. 12:1, interpreting, "remember thy wife." The Akkadian *bārtu* (used here) means well and cistern, and is a cognate of the two Hebrew words in Prov. 5:15.

³ A variant text reads: "His barley is barley immense (in quantity)."

⁴ The variant of lines 73b-76 reads, "He eats your barley, they will diminish the interest on your barley, and besides they will curse you."

⁵ The tablets listing men's deeds were stored in Marduk's bowl.

⁶ cf. Eccles. 1:11; 2:14-16; 6:8; 9:1-6; etc.; Ps. 49:10 (Hebr. 49:11); Job 21:26.

¹ This poem is sometimes called "The Babylonian Ecclesiastes." The cuneiform text is an acrostic poem. Each of the eleven verses, comprising one of the 27 partially extant stanzas, begins with the same syllable, as in Ps. 119 each of the eight distichs of each stanza begins with the same letter of the alphabet. The acrostic reads: *a-na-ku [ša]-ag-gi-il-ki-[i-na-am]-ub-bi-ib ma-as-ma-su ka-ri-[bu] ša i-li u šar-ri*, "I, Shagil-kinam-ubbib, the conjurer, bless god and king." The poet's name preserved in this acrostic means, "O Esagil (i.e. the temple of Marduk in Babylon), pronounce the righteous pure!" The extant tablets on which the poem is written are

1895]), Plates 44-52. S. A. Strong, On Some Babylonian and Assyrian Alliterative Texts, I, *PSBA*, xvii (1895), pp. 142-7. H. Zimmern in *ZA*, x (1896), pp. 17 ff. Translations: E. Ebeling, *Ein Babylonischer Kohelet* (*Berliner Beiträge zur Keilschriftkunde*, 1:1 [1923]); also in *AOT*, pp. 287-91; and in *Festschrift Max von Oppenheim gewidmet* (1933), pp. 27-34. B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Vol. II (Leipzig, 1925), p. 432; and *Die babylonisch-assyrische Literatur* (Wildpark-Potsdam, 1928), p. 80. B. Landsberger, Die babylonische Theodizee, *ZA*, XLIII (NF IX [1936]), pp. 32-76. E. Dhorme, *Ecclésiaste ou Job?*, *RB*, 1923 and *Recueil Edouard Dhorme* (Paris, 1951), pp. 685-709.

... [my woes] let me tell you,

... let me relate to you.

... [a companion I seek] ...

[Comfort] (me), a sufferer, (then) ... shall I praise you.

Where is your brother, comparable to you?

Where a wise man such as you are?

[To whom] may I flee and relate my torment?

[I was finished] and mental evil came straightway.

I was left behind, fate snatched away (my) begetter;

The mother who begat me was murdered
by Hades. (10)

My father and my mother forsook me, and I had no guardian.

My respected friend, what you said is grief! (II)

What you caused your beloved heart to meditate is evil!

Your clever understanding you made similar to that of an imbecile;

Your radiant features you turned into darkness.

(The humans) are given up, may they go the way of death.

"You shall cross the (underworld) river Hubur," they were told long ago.

If you look, people are uniformly dull.

The wealthy man ... they have glorified eagerly,
(But) who ever favored the radiant just man? (20)

The one who beholds the countenance of a god has a (protecting) Lamassu,

The one who reverently worships a goddess heaps up abundance.

Is your heart, my friend, a spring of water which gathers all [wisdom]? (III)

Is [your] know[ledge] ... the surge of the sea rushing forth?

Accurately will I search you; learn my word.

Pay attention a moment, and listen to my speech.

My ... is finished, I am forgotten ...

My good luck I allowed to slip away, I passed (it) by ...

My strength has vanished, ... has ceased.
Trouble and despair have (30)

... for the satiety ...

The date wine, vivifier of men, in (my) case [fails].

....

Does the fierce lion, who eats the best of the meat, (V 50)

Present his dough-and-incense burnt offering to appease his goddess' displeasure?

Does [really] the upstart, whose affluence has increased, Weigh [precious metal] to the goddess Mami?²

Have I withheld the meal-oblation? (No), I have prayed to the gods,

I have presented the prescribed sacrifices to the goddess ...

(O) palm, tree of wealth, precious brother, (VI)
Endowed with the totality of wisdom, jewel of choice gold!

You are firmly established like the earth, but [divine] counsel is remote.

Consider the noble onager in ... ;

He has trampled on the produce of the fields, the arrow turns against him. (60)

The enemy of the herds, the lion, which you mentioned, please consider:

(For) the brutality which the lion has committed, a pit was opened against him.

The upstart endowed with wealth, whose property is heaped up,

In the fire, before his appointed time, the ruler burns him.

Do you wish to follow the paths these have trod?

Seek (instead) incessantly the gracious favor of a god.

Your opinion is a north-wind, a [good] breeze for the people; (VII)

Pure, choice, is your ... counsel.

But a single word [let me add] in your presence:

"They walk on a lucky path those who do not seek [a god], (70)

Those who devoutly pray to [a goddess] become poor and weak."

In my childhood I [investigated] the mind of the god, In humility and piety have I searched for the goddess:

(And yet) a corvée without profit I bear like a yoke;

The god brought me scarcity instead of wealth;

A cripple above, a fool in front,

Have stolen my necklace, and I have been brought low.

In reality, (O) sharp-witted one, what you have in mind is not proper: (VIII)

You have rejected the truth, you have despised the decree of the god.

Not to observe the ordinances of the god was the wish of your soul, (80)

The correct purifications of the goddess you have [neglected].

Like the center of the heavens, so the divine counsel [is remote].

The utterance of the god (and) goddess is not taken [to heart].

True understanding [is excluded] for mankind,

(While) to plan evil [is unavoidable] for men.

To teach [people] an evil path ...

....

Let me forsake the house (XIII 133)

² Mama (variant, Mami) is the mother goddess.

not earlier than the seventh century B.C., but the poem may have originated a few centuries before then. The sufferer speaks in the stanzas with uneven numbers, his friend in the others.

Let me not crave property
 Let me forget the votive gifts of the god, trample upon
 ritual prescriptions.
 Let me *slaughter the bullock*, . . . eat.
 Let me go to a fortress, reach distant places.
 Let me open a spring, free the flow (of water),
 A spring of the steppe, . . . let me wander about,
 Let me enter house after house, control my
 hunger, (140)
 Let me camp in the fields, hunt along the highways,
 Let me [enter] in like a beggar
 The necklace, the beauty of which you
 craved, (XXII 235)
 . . . his legs, quickly he was lost.
 The godless, the scoundrel, who has acquired wealth,
 The murderer (with) his weapon pursues him.
 You, who do not seek the counsel of the god, what is
 your success?
 Whoever draws the yoke of the god, verily . . . his food
 (supply) is constant. (240)
 Seek (then) the good breath of the gods,
 And what you have lost this year you will recover at
 once.
 Among men I have made observations, (but) the signs
 were variable. (XXIII)
 The god does not stop the advance of the *šarrabu*-demon.
 In the canals the begetter draws the ship,
 (While) his first-born lies in bed;
 The oldest brother moves about on his way like a lion,
 (While) the second son delights in driving a mule.
 In the street the senior son hunts disgracefully (for
 plunder),
 (While) the second son distributes food to the
 needy. (250)
 In the presence of a leader I, who *humble myself*, what
 do I gain?
 I must submit (even) to my *slave*:
 The wealthy and thriving man despises me,—the last
 (of all).
 (O) wise (and) strong one, endowed with
 insight, (XXIV)
 Your heart *is eating itself* (when) you treat God
 unjustly.
 The mind of the god, like the center of the heavens, is
 remote;
 His knowledge is difficult, men cannot understand it.
 The product of the hand of the goddess Aruru is life in
 general.
 The *premature* offspring is always *thin*:
 A cow's first heifer is inferior, (260)
 Her second offspring is *twice as large*.
 The fool gives birth to an outstanding son,
 The mighty hero to one whose designation is quite
 different.
 Let him know (that) people cannot understand what
 the *counsel* of a god is.

Give heed, my friend! Understand my
meaning, (XXV)
 Guard the choice expression of my speech.
 (People) extol the word of a prominent man, expert in
 murder,
 (But) they abase the humble, who has committed no
 violence.
 They justify the evildoer, whose iniquity is . . . ,
 (But) they drive away the righteous, who gives [heed]
 to the god's counsel. (270)
 They fill with precious metal the . . . of the bandit,
 (But) they empty of food *the larder* of the helpless
 man.
 They strengthen the mighty man, whose *retinue* is
 [wicked],
 (But) they ruin the weakling, they cast down the feeble.
 Even me, helpless (as I am), the upstart persecutes.
 The primeval king, the god Naru,³ creator of
 mankind, (XXVI)
 The glorious god Zulummaru,⁴ who nipped off their
 clay,
 The queen who formed them, the divine lady Mama,²
 They bestowed upon humanity ingenious speech:
 Falsehood and untruth they conferred upon them
 forever. (280)
Enthusiastically they speak of the rich man's
 graciousness,
 "He is a king! His tutelary deities go at his side!"
 As if he were a thief, they mistreat a wretched man,
 They bestow slander on him, they plot murder against
 him,
 Disloyally they bring every evil upon him because he
 lacks *protection*;
 Dreadfully they destroy him, they extinguish him like a
 flame.
 Be merciful, my friend: listen to my woe! (XXVII)
 Help me! See (my) misery, and you will truly
 understand.
 A wise and imploring slave am I.
 Help and encouragement I have not experienced for an
 instant. (290)
 I walked quietly through the squares of my city,
 My voice was never loud, my speech was low;
 I did not raise my head, I looked (down) at the
 ground.
 Like a slave I was not glorified in the assembly of [*my*
peers].
 May the god Ninurta, who . . . , supply help!
 May the goddess Ishtar, who . . . , have mercy upon me!
 May the shepherd,⁵ the sun of the people,⁵ [*have*
mercy].

³ A cuneiform commentary identifies Nāru or Narru with the god Enlil.

⁴ Zulummaru is the god Ea, according to the commentary.

⁵ i.e. the king.

Oracles and Prophecies

Egyptian Oracles and Prophecies

(Translator: John A. Wilson)

THE ADMONITIONS OF IPU-WER

The following text is "prophetic" in a biblical sense. The "prophet" is not foretelling the future but is standing before a pharaoh and condemning the past and present administration of Egypt. The manuscript is too fragmentary for a full, connected sense. It seems clear, however, that Egypt had suffered a breakdown of government, accompanied by social and economic chaos. These calamities met with indifference in the palace. A certain Ipu-wer, about whom nothing is known apart from the surviving text, appeared at the palace and reported to the pharaoh the anarchy in the land. Ipu-wer first was inclined to absolve the pharaoh of guilt for these woes, but grew more bold and ended with a denunciation of the king who evaded his responsibilities.

Although our manuscript was written in the Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty (1350-1100 B.C.), the original belonged to an earlier time, perhaps to the period between the Old and Middle Kingdoms (2300-2050 B.C.). The language and orthography are "Middle Egyptian." The situation described conforms to that which followed the breakdown of the central government at the end of the Old Kingdom. The pharaoh who is denounced is not named, but may have been one of the last rulers of the Sixth Dynasty or one of the kings of the weak dynasties following.*

The beginning and end of the manuscript are missing, and the body of the text is full of lacunae. Only extracts may be given here. The lost beginning of the text probably gave the narrative setting of Ipu-wer's arrival in court and the reasons for his speeches.

Leyden Papyrus I 344, recto, was facsimiled in C. Leemans, *Monumens égyptiens du Musée d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide* (Leyden, 1841-82), II, Pls. CV-CXIII. The significance of the text was first presented by H. O. Lange, *Prophezeiungen eines ägyptischen Weisen* (SPAW, 1903, 601-10). The definitive study of the text is still that of A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* (Leipzig, 1909). The text is translated in Erman, *LAE*, 92-108. The significance of the text was studied by J. H. Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience* (New York, 1933), 193-200.*

(i 1) . . . Door[keepers] say: "Let us go and plunder." . . . The laundryman refuses to carry his load. . . . Bird-[catchers] have marshaled the battle array. . . . [Men of] the Delta marshes carry shields.¹ . . . (5) . . . A man regards his son as his enemy. . . . A man of character goes in mourning² because of what has happened in the land. . . . Foreigners have become people³ everywhere. . . .

(ii 2) . . . "WHY REALLY, the [face] is pale. The bow-

¹ Men formerly in peaceful pursuits have become violent.

² "In blue," the color of mourning garments.

³ The term "men, humans, people," was used by the Egyptians to designate themselves, in contrast to their foreign neighbors, who were not conceded to be real people.

⁴ A number of parallel stanzas, in general poetic form, begin with words of surprise or protest, rubricized in the text, and here translated: "Why really!"

man is ready. Robbery is everywhere. There is no man of yesterday.⁵ . . .

WHY REALLY, the Nile is in flood, (but) no one plows for himself, (because) every man says: "We do not know what may happen throughout the land!"

WHY REALLY, women are dried up, and none can conceive. Khnum cannot fashion (mortals) because of the state of the land.⁶

WHY REALLY, poor men have become the possessors of treasures. He who could not make himself (5) a pair of sandals is (now) the possessor of riches. . . .

WHY REALLY, many dead are buried in the river. The stream is a tomb, and the embalming-place has really become the stream.

WHY REALLY, nobles are in lamentation, while poor men have joy. Every town says: "Let us banish many from us."

WHY REALLY, . . . dirt is throughout the land. There are really none (whose) clothes are white in these times.

WHY REALLY, the land spins around as a potter's wheel does. The robber is (now) the possessor of riches. . . .

(10) WHY REALLY, the River is blood. If one drinks of it, one rejects (it) as human and thirsts for water.

WHY REALLY, doors, columns, and floor planks are burned up,⁷ (but) the flooring of the palace—life, prosperity, health!—(still) remains firm.⁸ . . .

WHY REALLY, crocodiles [*sink*] down because of what they have carried off, (for) men go to them of their own accord.⁹ . . .

(iii 1) [WHY] REALLY, the desert is (spread) throughout the land. The nomes are destroyed. Barbarians from outside have come to Egypt. . . . There are really no people anywhere.¹⁰ . . . (5) . . .

WHY REALLY, they who built [*pyramids* have become] farmers. They who were in the ship of the god are charged with forced [*labor*]. No one really sails north to [Byb]los today. What shall we do for cedar for our mummies? Priests were buried with their¹¹ produce, and [nobles] were embalmed with the oil thereof as far away as Keftiu,¹² (but) they come no (longer). Gold is lacking. . . . How important it (now) seems when the oasis-people come carrying their festival

⁵ To the Egyptian the past was the good time given by the gods. Here the sudden breakdown of order gives specific point to this statement.

⁶ The potter god shaped infants on his wheel.

⁷ Probably those parts of private houses which were made of wood.

⁸ Either this is said out of respect for the king, or it sets an invidious contrast between the fate of the people and the indifference of the pharaoh.

⁹ Suicide in the River.

¹⁰ cf. n.3 above. In a breakdown of government, restless foreigners infiltrated into the fertile land of Egypt.

¹¹ The produce of foreign trade. Byblos in Phoenicia was an Egyptian shipping point for coniferous wood and resinous oil.

¹² Probably Crete.

provisions: reed-mats, . . . fresh *redmet*-plants, (10) . . . of birds, and . . .¹³

WHY REALLY, Elephantine, the Thinite nome, and the [*shrine*] of Upper Egypt do not pay taxes because of [civil] war. . . . What is a treasury without its revenues for? The heart of the king (must) indeed be glad when truth comes to him!¹⁴ But really, every foreign country [*comes*!] Such is our water! Such is our welfare! What can we do about it? Going to ruin!

WHY REALLY, laughter has disappeared, and is [no longer] made. It is wailing that pervades the land, mixed with lamentation. . . . (iv 1) . . .

WHY REALLY, the children of nobles are dashed against the walls. The (once) prayed-for children are (now) laid out on the high ground. . . . (5) . . .

WHY REALLY, the entire Delta marshland will no (longer) be hidden: the confidence of the Northland is (now) a beaten path.¹⁵ What is it that one could do? . . . Behold, it is in the hands of those who did not know it, as well as those who knew it; foreigners are (now) skilled *in* the work of the Delta. . . . (10) . . .

WHY REALLY, all maid-servants make free with their tongues.¹⁶ When their mistresses speak, it is burdensome to the servants. . . . (v 10) . . .

WHY REALLY, the ways [*are not*] guarded roads. Men sit in the bushes until the benighted (traveler) comes, to take away his burden and steal *what is* on him. He is presented with the blows of a stick and slain wrongfully. . . . Ah, would that it were the end of men, no conception, no (vi 1) birth! Then the earth would cease from noise, without wrangling! . . .

WHY REALLY, grain has perished on every side. . . . Everybody says: "There is nothing!" The storehouse is stripped bare; its keeper is stretched out on the ground. . . . (5) . . . Ah, would that I had raised my voice at that time—it might save me from the suffering in which I am!

WHY REALLY, the writings of the august enclosure are read.¹⁷ The place of secrets which was (so formerly) is (now) laid bare.

WHY REALLY, magic is exposed. *Go-spells* and *enfold-spells* are made ineffectual because they are repeated by (ordinary) people.¹⁸

WHY REALLY, (public) offices are open, and their reports are read.¹⁹ Serfs have become the owners of *serfs*. . . .

WHY REALLY, the writings of the scribes of the mat

¹³ The paltry trade from the nearby oases is contrasted with the former foreign commerce.

¹⁴ This may be ironical. But it may also mean that Ipu-wer was the first to tell the pharaoh about the sad state of the land.

¹⁵ With the frontier policing ineffective, the security of the Delta was broken by invaders.

¹⁶ "Have power-rights over their mouths."

¹⁷ Or "are taken away." The restricted area of the administration had civil and religious writings which were not open to the ordinary public. cf. the following stanzas.

¹⁸ Magic known to everybody was no longer magic. The tentative translation assumes that there were two kinds of magic charms, one beginning with the word "go," the other with the word "enfold."

¹⁹ Or "their inventories are taken away."

have been removed.²⁰ The grain-sustenance of Egypt is (now) a come-and-get-it.²¹

WHY REALLY, the laws (10) of the enclosure are put out-of-doors. Men actually walk on them *in* the high-ways. Poor men *tear them up* in the streets. . . .

WHY REALLY, the children of nobles are *abandoned* in the streets. He who knows says: "Yes, (it is so)!" The fool says: "No, (it is not)!" It is fair in the sight of him who knows it not.²² . . .

(vii 1) ²³BEHOLD now, the fire has mounted up on high. Its flame goes forth against the enemies of the land.

BEHOLD now, something has been done which never happened for a long time: the king has been taken away by poor men.²⁴

BEHOLD, he who was buried as a falcon (*now lies*) on a (*mere*) bier. What the pyramid hid has become empty.

BEHOLD NOW, IT HAS COME TO A POINT WHERE the land is despoiled of the kingship by a few irresponsible men.²⁵

BEHOLD NOW, it has come to a point where (men) rebel against the uraeus,²⁶ the . . . of Re, which makes the Two Lands peaceful.

BEHOLD, the secret of the land, whose limits are unknown(able), is laid bare.²⁷ The Residence (may) be razed within an hour. . . . (5) . . .

BEHOLD, the (guardian-)serpent is taken from her hole.²⁸ The secrets of the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt are laid bare. . . . (10) . . .

BEHOLD, nobles' ladies are (now) *gleaners*, and nobles are in the workhouse. (But) he who never (even) slept on a *plank* is (now) the owner of a bed. . . .

BEHOLD, the owners of robes are (now) in rags. (But) he who never wove for himself is (now) the owner of fine linen. . . .

BEHOLD, he who knew not the lyre is (now) the owner of a harp. He who never sang for himself (now) praises the goddess of music. . . . (viii 1) . . .

BEHOLD, the bald-headed man who had no oil has become the owner of jars of sweet myrrh.

(5) BEHOLD, she who had not (even) a box is (now) the owner of a *trunk*. She who looked at her face in the water is (now) the owner of a mirror. . . . (10) . . .

BEHOLD, the king's men *thrash around among* the cattle of the destitute.²⁹ . . .

²⁰ Scribes seated on mats kept the records of Egypt's grain produce.

²¹ A compound and perhaps colloquial phrase, "when-I-go-down-it-is-brought-to-me."

²² Those who are blissfully unaware of the troubles are fools. The statement may have been intended to implicate the pharaoh indirectly. The passage is in place here. It is an inapt quotation in the Instruction of King Amen-em-het (p. 419 above).

²³ A section in which the stanzas are introduced by a different rubricized word, "Behold." In place of an attitude of surprised protest, Ipu-wer now brings his charges closer home to the palace.

²⁴ The next stanza makes this explicit as the robbing of royal tombs. But there is an implicit attack here on the king who heard the words for his failure to preserve former order.

²⁵ "Men who know not plans."

²⁶ The serpent on the brow of the king, and thus the symbol of kingship.

²⁷ The "secret" was the awful mystery and inviolability of the god who was pharaoh of Egypt. cf. the following stanza.

²⁸ The deified snake which was the guardian of a temple or a palace.

²⁹ The sense seems to be that those directly responsible to the king are

BEHOLD, the king's men *thrash around among geese*, which are presented (to) the gods instead of oxen.³⁰ . . . (ix 1) . . .

BEHOLD, nobles' ladies are growing hungry, (but) the king's men are sated with what they have done.

BEHOLD, not an office is in its (proper) place, like a stampeded herd which has no herdsman.

BEHOLD, cattle are (left) free-wandering, (for) there is no one to take care of them. Every man takes for himself and brands (them) with his name. . . .

BEHOLD, he who had no grain is (now) the owner of granaries. (5) He who had to get a loan for himself (now) issues it. . . . (x 1) . . .³¹

So Lower Egypt *weeps*. The storehouse of the king is a (mere) come-and-get-it for everybody,³² and the entire palace is without its taxes. To it (should belong) barley, emmer, birds, and fish. To it (should belong) white cloth, fine linen, metal, and (5) ointment. To it (should belong) rug, mat, [*flowers*], palanquin, and every good revenue. . . .³³

Remember (xi 1) . . . how fumigation is made with incense, how water is offered from a jar in the early morning.

Remember fattened *ro-geese*, *terep-geese*, and *sat-geese*, how the divine offerings are made to the gods.

Remember how natron is chewed and how white bread is prepared by a man on the day of moistening the head.³⁴

Remember how flagstaves are set up and a stela is carved, while a priest purifies the temples and the house of god is whitewashed like milk; how the fragrance of the horizon³⁵ is made sweet, and how offering-bread is established.

Remember how (ritual) regulations are adhered to, how (religious) dates are distributed, how (5) one who has been inducted into priestly service may be removed for *personal* weakness—that is, it was carried out wrongfully. . . .³⁶

. . . It shall come that he brings coolness upon the heart. (xii 1) Men shall say: "He is the herdsman of all men. Evil is not in his heart. Though his herds may be small, still he has spent the day caring for them." . . . Would that he might perceive their character from the (very) first generation!³⁷ Then he would smite down

running wild in appropriating the property of ordinary citizens. Ipu-wer is now directing his criticism closer to the person of the king.

³⁰ Probably thereby making a profit on a contracted obligation.

³¹ Another series of stanzas, each beginning with the word "destroyed," describes further chaos. This section is too damaged for connected translation.

³² cf. n.21 above.

³³ In the section which follows, each stanza begins with the word "remember," recalling the pious observations of the past as the necessary norm for the future.

³⁴ Moistening the head, like cleansing the mouth with natron-water, was probably some kind of purificatory rite.

³⁵ "The horizon" was the temple.

³⁶ In context full of lacunae there is a transition to a new theme. Unfortunately we cannot be sure about the argument. Ipu-wer is certainly describing the ideal ruler. The alternatives are (a) that this ruler is a pattern from the past, perhaps the sun-god Re, or (b) that the passage is truly messianic and that Ipu-wer is looking forward to the god-king who will deliver Egypt from her woes. This translation takes the latter alternative.

³⁷ The ideal king should know the perennial nature of man. Gram-

evil; he would stretch forth the arm against it; he would destroy the *seed* thereof and their inheritance. . . . (5) . . . (But) there is no pilot in their hour. Where is he today? Is he then sleeping? Behold, the glory thereof cannot be seen. . . . (10) . . .³⁸

. . . Authority, Perception, and Justice are with thee,³⁹ (but) it is confusion which thou wouldst set throughout the land, together with the noise of contention. Behold, one thrusts against another. Men conform to that which thou hast commanded. If three men go along a road, they are found to be two men: it is the greater number that kills the lesser. Does then the herdsman love death?⁴⁰ So then thou wilt command that (xiii 1) a reply be made: "It is *because* one man *loves* and another hates. *That is, their forms* are few everywhere."⁴¹ *This really means that thou hast acted* to bring such (a situation) into being, and thou hast spoken lies.⁴² . . . All these years are civil strife. A man may be slain on his (own) roof, while he is on the watch in his boundary house. Is he brave and saves himself?—that means that he will live. . . . (5) . . . Would that thou mightest taste of some of the oppressions thereof! Then thou wouldst say: . . .⁴³

. . . (10) . . .⁴⁴ But it is still good when the hands of men construct pyramids, when canals are dug, and when groves of trees are made for the gods.

But it is still good when men are drunken, when they drink *miyet* and their hearts are happy.

But it is still good when shouting is in the mouths (of men), when the notables of the districts are standing and watching the shouting (xiv 1 from their *houses*, clothed in a cloak, purified *already and firm bellied* . . . (10) . . .

" . . . None can be found who will stand *in their places*. . . . Every man fights for his sister, and he protects his own person. Is (it) the Nubians? Then we shall make our (own) *protection*. *Fighting police* will hold off the barbarians. Is it the Libyans? Then we shall *turn away*. The Madjoi *fortunately* are with Egypt.⁴⁵ How is it that every man kills his brother? The military classes (xv 1) which we marshal for ourselves have become *barbari-*

matically, the sentence is not an unreal condition, "Would that he had perceived," referring to Re's punishment of mankind (pp. 10-11 above), but a condition of wish, probably referring to the future.

³⁸ In an unintelligible section, here omitted, Ipu-wer uses the second person singular. As Nathan said to David: "Thou art the man," so Ipu-wer must finally be addressing the pharaoh, pinning the responsibility for Egypt's woes directly on the king, as indicated in the following context.

³⁹ *Hu* "authoritative utterance" or "creative command," and *Sia* "intellectual perception" or "cognition," were a pair of related attributes, often deified. As attributes of kingship, they were sometimes linked to *ma'at* "justice" or "truth." Kingship thus needed the ability to comprehend a situation, the authority to meet the situation by command, and the balance of equitable justice.

⁴⁰ The slain people belong to the herd of pharaoh, the herdsman.

⁴¹ It is impossible to understand the statement which Ipu-wer attributes to the pharaoh as an excuse for weakness. Perhaps he is saying that there is more than one side to a question.

⁴² In milder form, this might be translated: "Lies are told thee."

⁴³ In combatting the pharaoh's obscure argument, Ipu-wer again recites some of the anarchy in Egypt. Seemingly he states that personal experience in such troubles would make the king talk differently.

⁴⁴ A series of stanzas now begins with the formula: "It is still, however, good," introducing a nostalgic recollection of former days, which would still be happy in the future.

⁴⁵ The Madjoi, people from lands south of Egypt, were used as police in Egypt.

ans, beginning to destroy that from which they took their being and to show the Asiatics the state of the land.⁴⁶ And yet all the foreigners are afraid of them. . . (10) . . ."⁴⁷

THAT WHICH Ipu-wer SAID, when he answered the majesty of the All-Lord: ". . . To be ignorant of it is something pleasant to the heart. Thou hast done what is good in their hearts, (for) thou hast kept people alive *thereby*. (But still) they cover up (xvi 1) their faces for fear of the morrow.

"Once upon a time there was a man who was old and in the presence of his salvation,⁴⁸ while his son was (still) a child, without understanding. . ."⁴⁹

THE PROPHECY OF NEFERTI¹

The Middle Kingdom delivered Egypt from the civil war and anarchy which had followed the Old Kingdom. These troubles and their ultimate resolution produced a sense of messianic salvation, a feeling which the early pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom probably fostered in their own interests. The following text was apparently composed at that time of happy deliverance, although the earliest extant copies happen to date from the Eighteenth Dynasty, about five centuries later. The text purports to relate how King Snefru of the Fourth Dynasty sought entertainment and how a prophet foretold the downfall of the Old Kingdom and the reestablishment of order by Amen-emhet I, the first king of the Twelfth Dynasty.

Papyrus Leningrad 1116B was published by W. Golénischeff, *Les papyrus hiératiques no. 1115, 1116A, et 1116B de l'Ermitage Impérial à St. Pétersbourg* (St. Petersburg, 1913). The text was studied and translated by A. H. Gardiner in *JEA*, I (1914), 100-06, and translated by Erman, *LAE*, 110-15. The text was used for school purposes in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties and portions appear on two ostraca and two writing tablets.*

NOW IT HAPPENED THAT the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Snefru, the triumphant, was the beneficent king in this entire land. On one of these days it happened that the official council of the Residence City entered into the Great House—life, [prosperity], health!—to offer greeting. Then they went out, that they might offer greetings (elsewhere), according to their daily procedure. Then his majesty—life, prosperity, health!—said to the seal-bearer who was at his side: "Go and bring me (back) the official council of the Residence City, which has gone forth hence to offer greetings on this [day]." (Thereupon they) were ushered in to him (5) immediately. Then they were

⁴⁶ It would seem that Egypt's own troops were disloyal.

⁴⁷ Since the following words contain an "answer" of Ipu-wer, this paragraph, much of which is omitted as unintelligible, contains the pharaoh's disturbed comment, trying to assay Egypt's strength.

⁴⁸ "His salvation" means death. The formula at the beginning of this paragraph is the storytelling formula, "There was a man, who was," and we certainly have the beginning of a narrative here. Either it is told by Ipu-wer as a parable, or it does not belong to the Admonitions of Ipu-wer, which would then end on the ominous note of "fear of the morrow."

⁴⁹ The story defies consecutive translation. It apparently deals with violence to the tomb and to the corpses and funerary furniture. The last two columns of the papyrus are in lamentable destruction.

¹ This translation retains the now traditional name of Nefer-rohu for the Egyptian prophet, even though G. Posener in *Revue d'Égyptologie*, VIII (1951), 171-74, has produced evidence making it highly probable that the man's name is to be read Neferti—cf. the reference to a sage of that name in the text translated on p. 432.

on their bellies in the presence of his majesty a second time.

Then his majesty—life, prosperity, health!—said to them: "(My) people, behold, I have caused you to be called to have you seek out for me a son of yours who is wise, or a brother of yours who is competent, or a friend of yours who has performed a good deed, one who may say to me a few fine words or choice speeches, at the hearing of which my [majesty] may be entertained."

Then they put (themselves) upon their bellies in the presence of his majesty—life, prosperity, health!—once more. THEN THEY SAID BEFORE his majesty—life, prosperity, health!: "A great lector-priest of Bastet,² O sovereign, our lord, (10) whose name is Nefer-rohu—he is a commoner valiant [with] his arm, a scribe competent with his fingers; he is a man of rank, who has more property than any peer of his. Would that he [*might be permitted*] to see his majesty!" Then his majesty—life, prosperity, health!—said: "Go and [bring] him to me!"

Then he was ushered in to him immediately. Then he was on his belly in the presence of his majesty—life, prosperity, health! Then his majesty—life, prosperity, health!—said: "Come, pray, Nefer-rohu, my friend, that thou mayest say to me a few fine words or choice speeches, at the hearing of which my majesty may be entertained!" Then the lector-priest Nefer-rohu said: "Of what has (already) happened or of what is going to happen, O Sovereign—life, prosperity, health!—[my] lord?" (15) Then his majesty—life, prosperity, health!—said: "Rather of what is going to happen. *If it has taken place by today, pass it [by]*."³ Then he stretched forth his hand for the box of writing equipment; then he drew forth a scroll of papyrus and a palette; thereupon he put (it) into writing.⁴

What the lector-[priest] Nefer-rohu said, that wise man of the east, he who belonged to Bastet at her appearances, that child of the Heliopolitan nome,⁵ AS HE BROODED over what (was to) happen in the land, as he called to mind the state of the east, when the Asiatics would move about with their strong arms, would disturb the hearts [of] those who are at the harvest, and would take away the spans of cattle at the plowing. (20) He said:

Bestir thyself, O my heart, as thou bewailest this land in which thou didst begin! To be silent is *repression*. Behold, there is something about which men speak as *terrifying*, for, behold, the great man is a thing passed away (in the land) where thou didst begin. BE

² The lector-priest (literally, "he who carries the ritual") was initiated into the sacred writings and thus was priest, seer, and magician. Bastet was the cat-goddess of Bubastis in the eastern half of the Delta.

³ This must be the general sense, although the wording is obscure. An Egyptian interest in the future, rather than the past, was not normal, but a prophecy which promised that the future would restore the past would be acceptable.

⁴ The pharaoh himself wrote down the prophecy. The Egyptian texts treat Snefru as a friendly and approachable ruler; see B. Gunn in *JEA*, XII (1926), 250-51. Here, instead of calling upon a scribe, he does his own writing; he addresses his courtiers as "my people" and Nefer-rohu as "my friend."

⁵ Although now serving in Bubastis, he had been born in the Heliopolitan nome.

NOT LAX; BEHOLD, IT is before thy face! Mayest thou rise up against what is before thee, for, behold, although great men are concerned with the land, what has been done is as what is not done. *Re must begin the foundation (of the earth over again)*. The land is completely perished, (so that) no remainder exists, (so that) not (even) the black of the nail survives from what was fated.⁶

THIS LAND IS (SO) DAMAGED (that) there is no one who is concerned with it, no one who speaks, no one who weeps. How is this land? The sun disc is covered over. (25) It will not shine (so that) people may see. No one can live when clouds cover over (the sun). Then everybody is deaf for lack of it.⁷

I shall speak of what is before my face; I cannot foretell what has not (yet) come.⁸

THE RIVERS of Egypt are empty, (so that) the water is crossed on foot. Men seek for water for the ships to sail on it. Its course is [become] a sandbank. The sandbank *is against* the flood; the place of water *is against* the [flood]—(both) the place of water *and* the sandbank.⁹ The south wind will oppose the north wind; the skies are no (longer) in a single wind.¹⁰ A foreign bird will be born in the marshes of the Northland. It has made a nest beside (30) men, and people have let it approach through want of it.¹¹ DAMAGED INDEED ARE THOSE good things, those fish-ponds, (where there were) those who clean fish, overflowing with fish and fowl. Everything good is disappeared, and the land is prostrate because of woes from that *food*,¹² the Asiatics who are throughout the land.

Foes have arisen in the east, and Asiatics have come down into Egypt. . . . No protector will listen. . . . Men will enter into the *fortresses*.^{*} Sleep will *be banished* from my eyes, (35) as I spend the night wakeful. THE WILD BEASTS OF THE DESERT WILL drink at the rivers of Egypt and be at their ease on their banks for lack of *some one to scare them away*.

This land is helter-skelter,¹³ and no one knows the result which will come about, which is hidden from speech, sight, or hearing. The face is deaf, for silence *confronts*. I show thee the land topsy-turvy.¹⁴ That which never happened has happened. Men will take up weapons of warfare, (so that) the land lives in (40) confusion. MEN WILL MAKE ARROWS of metal,¹⁵ beg for

⁶ Not so much of the "Black Land" of Egypt survives as might be under a fingernail.

⁷ "Deaf" is unexpected where one awaits "blinded" by the lack of sunlight. The sense may be stunned or inert.

⁸ A curious statement, since the point of the story is that he will prophesy the future. The psychology is apparently that he is projecting himself into a present which extends only to the time of Amen-em-het I—which is an exposure of the actual time of this "prophecy." Note also the significant fluctuation of tenses throughout the "prophecy."

⁹ Perhaps mistranslated, but attempting to hold the idea that neither the banks nor the bed of the stream would receive the life-giving inundation.

¹⁰ The pleasant north wind is the normal wind of Egypt.

¹¹ A strange passage, which either emphasizes the unnaturalness of nature in the distressed times or else is an oblique reference to Asiatics infiltrating into the Delta.

¹² The Asiatics are a bitter diet for the Egyptians?

¹³ A compound expression, "is brought-and-taken."

¹⁴ A compound expression, *seni-meni* "is passed-by-and-sick."

¹⁵ W. Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres* (Leipzig, 1926),

the bread of blood, and laugh with the laughter of sickness.¹⁶ There is no one who weeps because of death; there is no one who spends the night fasting¹⁷ because of death; (but) a man's heart pursues himself (alone)* (Dishevelled) mourning is no (longer) carried out to-day, (for) the heart is completely *separated from* it. A man will sit still while crooking his back while one man kills another. I show thee the son as a foe, the brother as an enemy, and a man (45) killing his (own) father.

EVERY MOUTH IS FULL OF "LOVE ME!", AND everything GOOD has disappeared. The land is perished, (*as though*) laws *were* destined for it: the damaging of what had been done, the emptiness of what had been found,¹⁸ and the doing of what had not been done. Men take a man's property away from him, and it is given to him who is from outside. I show thee the possessor in need and the outsider satisfied. He who never filled for himself (*now*) *empties*.¹⁹ Men will give something (simply) out of hate, in order to silence the mouth that speaks. If a statement is answered, an arm goes out with a stick, and men speak with: "Kill him!" THE UTTERANCE OF SPEECH IN THE HEART is like a fire. (50) Men cannot suffer what issues from a *man's* mouth.

The land is diminished, (but) its administrators are many; bare, (but) its taxes are great; little in grain, (but) the measure is large, and it is measured to overflowing.²⁰

Re separates himself (from) mankind. If he shines forth, then the hour exists. No one knows when midday falls, for his shadow cannot be distinguished.²¹ There is no one bright of face when seeing [him]; the eyes are not moist with water, when he is in the sky like the moon. His prescribed time does not fail. His rays are indeed in (men's) faces in his former way.²²

I SHOW THEE THE LAND TOPSY-TURVY. The weak of arm is (now) the possessor of an arm. Men (55) salute (respectfully) him who (formerly) saluted. I show thee the undermost on top, turned about *in proportion* to the turning about of *my belly*. Men live in the necropolis. The poor man will make wealth. . . . It is the paupers that will be eating bread, while the servants *jubilate*. The Heliopolitan nome, the birthplace of every god, will no (*longer*) *be on earth*.

(THEN) IT IS THAT A KING WILL COME, BELONGING TO THE SOUTH,*Ameni, the triumphant, his name. He is the son of a woman of the land of Nubia; he is one born

50, notes that metal arrow-points were first used in Egypt in the 11th dynasty (about 2100 B.C.).

¹⁶ Hysteria.

¹⁷ "Hungry."

¹⁸ A pious obligation resting upon the Egyptians was to restore the inscriptions of the ancestors which were "found empty," i.e. damaged or containing lacunae. Under the present unsettled conditions what was found empty was left empty.

¹⁹ Perhaps: he who never had to insist on full measure for himself now scrapes the bottom.

²⁰ A land smaller and poorer has more bureaucrats and higher and more exacting taxes.

²¹ The sun's shadow on the shadow-clock determined the hour of noon.

²² The last sentence accords poorly with the idea that the sun is dimmed and is like the moon. A negative may have fallen away.

in Upper Egypt.²³ He will take the [White] Crown; he will wear the Red Crown; (60) he will unite the Two Mighty Ones;²⁴ he will satisfy the Two Lords²⁵ with what they desire. The encirler-of-the-fields (will be) in his grasp, the oar . . .²⁶

REJOICE, ye people of his time! The son of a man²⁷ will make his name forever and ever. They who incline toward evil and who plot rebellion have subdued their speech for fear of him. The Asiatics will fall to his sword, and the Libyans will fall to his flame. The rebels belong to his wrath, and the treacherous of heart to (65) the awe of him. The uraeus-serpent which is on his brow stills for him the treacherous of heart.

THERE WILL BE BUILT the Wall of the Ruler—life, prosperity, health!²⁸—and the Asiatics will not be permitted to come down into Egypt that they might beg for water in the customary manner, in order to let their beasts drink. And justice will come into its place, while wrongdoing is *driven* out.²⁹ Rejoice, he who may behold (this) (70) and who may be in the service of the king!

The learned man will pour out water for me,³⁰ when he sees what I have spoken come to pass.

IT HAS COME (TO ITS END) in [success], by the *Scribe* . . .

THE DIVINE NOMINATION OF THUT-MOSE III

Although the pharaoh Thut-mose III became the great conqueror and empire builder, his origins seem to have been comparatively humble. He was one of the sons of a pharaoh, but his mother was probably not of the royal line. Powerful forces—perhaps the priesthood of Amon of Karnak, to whom he always was particularly generous—made him their choice for the throne when he was a young and modest priest. This was stated as being the oracular choice of the god himself. In the later years of Thut-mose's reign, he gave the following account of his miraculous nomination to the kingship and his indebtedness to the god Amon.

The inscription is carved on the walls of the Temple of Amon at Karnak. The text was published by K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* (*Urk.*, iv, Leipzig, 1905), II, 155-76, with antecedent bibliography. In a companion volume (Leipzig, 1914), Sethe gave a translation into German. The significance of the text was brought out by J. H. Breasted, *A New Chapter in the Life of Thutmose III* (*Untersuch.*, II, ii, Leipzig, 1900). Translation by Breasted, *AR*, II, §§131-66. Sethe guesses at a date in Thut-mose's 42nd year (close to 1450 B.C.). The beginning of the inscription is lost, but the pharaoh seems to be acquainting his court with the basis of his divine title to rule.

(1) . . . (The god Amon)—he is my father, and I am his son. He commanded to me that I should be upon his throne, while I was (still) a nestling. He begot me

²³ Ameni was an abbreviated name for Amen-em-het (I). Nothing is known of his mother's race.

²⁴ The two tutelary goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, who united as the Double Crown.

²⁵ Horus and Seth.

²⁶ As one act of the coronation ceremonies, the pharaoh, grasping an oar and some other object, dedicated a field by running around it four times.

²⁷ A man of birth and standing.

²⁸ A series of fortresses along the eastern frontier, as in the story of Si-nuhe, p. 19 above.

²⁹ The coronation of each pharaoh reinstated the old order of *md'at* "justice," and expelled "deceit" or "wrongdoing."

³⁰ As a libation at the tomb.

from the (*very*) middle of [his] heart [*and chose me for the kingship* . . . There is no lie], there is no equivocation therein—when my majesty was (only) a puppy, when I was (only a newly) weaned child who was in his temple, before my installation as prophet had taken place.¹ . . .

While I was in the guise and role of the "Pillar-of-His-Mother" priest, like the youth of Horus in Khemmis,² and I was standing in the north colonnaded hall,³ [*Amon-Re came forth from*] the glory of his horizon.⁴ He made heaven and earth festive with his beauty, and he began a great marvel, with his rays in the eyes of men like the rising of Har-akhti. The people gave him (5) [*praise, when he halted at the* . . .] of his temple. Then his majesty⁵ offered him incense upon the flame and presented to him a great oblation of oxen, cattle, and wild beasts of the desert . . . [*The procession*] made the circuit of the colonnaded hall on its two sides, but (it) was not in the heart of those who were present to his actions,⁶ in seeking out my majesty everywhere. (Then he)⁷ really recognized me, and he halted . . . [*I touched*] the ground; I bowed myself down in his presence. He set me before his majesty, I being posted at the Station [of] the Lord.⁸ Then he *worked a marvel* over me.⁹ . . . [*These things really happened, without*] equivocation, though they were remote from the faces of mankind and mysterious in the hearts of the gods . . . There is no one who knows them; there is no one who can judge them . . .

[He opened for] me the doors of heaven; he spread open for me the portals of its horizon.¹⁰ I flew up to the sky as a divine falcon, that I might see his mysterious form which is in heaven, that I might adore his majesty. (10) . . . I saw the forms of being of the Horizon God on his mysterious ways in heaven.

Re himself established me, and I was endowed with [his] crowns [which] were upon his head, his uraeus-serpent was fixed upon [my brow] . . . I [*was equipped*] with all his states of glory; I was made satisfied with the understanding of the gods, like Horus when he took account of himself¹¹ at the house of his father Amon-Re. I was [*perfected*] with the dignities of a god . . . [He established] my crowns, and drew up for me my titulary himself.¹²

¹ The rank of the *hem-netjer* "servant of the god," conventionally translated as "prophet," was that of a high temple officiant.

² The priestly role, "Pillar-of-His-Mother," goes back to the myth of Horus and his mother Isis in the Delta swamps of Khemmis, the mythical birth-place of Horus.

³ This should have been located between the 4th and 5th pylons of the Temple of Amon at Karnak.

⁴ The image of the god was carried out of his shrine.

⁵ The then reigning king, Thut-mose I or II.

⁶ Those who witnessed the movements of the god's portable shrine could not understand why he was circling the hall.

⁷ The omission of the pronoun is troublesome, but the sense demands its restoration.

⁸ The place where the king stood in the temple. cf. pp. 248, 375.

⁹ Or: "Then he marvelled over me."

¹⁰ Poetical terms are used for the entry of the king-designate into the holy of holies of the temple.

¹¹ "Counted his body," in the sense of recognizing his mature powers, after Horus had been awarded the kingship by Re.

¹² Sethe points out that the fivefold titulary which follows has a form which characterizes the latter part of Thut-mose's reign (after his 30th year), which would set a *terminus a quo* for this inscription.

(I) He fixed my falcon upon the facade; he made me mighty as a mighty bull; he made me appear in the midst of Thebes, [in this my name of "Horus: the Mighty Bull, Appearing in Thebes."]¹³

(II) [*He made me wear the Two Goddesses; he made my kingship to endure like Re in heaven*, in] this my [name] of "the Two Goddesses: Enduring in Kingship like Re in Heaven."¹⁴

(III) He fashioned me as a falcon of gold; he gave me his power and his strength; I was august in these his appearances, in this my name [of "Horus of Gold: Powerful of Strength, August of Appearances."]

(IV) [*He caused that I appear as King of Upper and Lower Egypt in the Two Lands; he established my forms like Re*, in this my name of] "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Menkheper-Re."¹⁵

(V) I am his son, who came forth out of him, perfect of birth like Him Who Presides over Hesret;¹⁶ he united all my beings, in this my name of "the Son of Re: Thut-mose-United-of-Being, living forever and ever."

(15) . . . He made all foreign countries [come] bowing down to the fame of my majesty. Terror of me is in the hearts of the Nine Bows;¹⁷ all lands are under [my] sandals. He has given victory through the work of my hands, to extend [the frontiers of Egypt] . . . He is rejoicing in me more than (in) any (other) king who has been in the land since it was (first) set apart.

I am his son, the beloved of his majesty. What I shall do is what his *ka* may desire. I bring forward this land to the place where he is. I cause that [*his temple*] encompass . . . effecting for him the construction of enduring monuments in Karnak. I repay his good with (good) greater than it, by making him greater than the (other) gods. The recompense for him who carries out benefactions is a repayment to him of even greater benefactions. I have built his house with the work of eternity, . . . my [*father*], who made me divine. I have extended the places of him who made me. I have provisioned his altars upon earth. I have made the god's slaughtering-block to flourish for him with great sacrifices in his temple: oxen and cattle without limit. . . . I have enriched for him his two granaries with barley and emmer without limit. I have increased for him the divine offerings, and I have given him more (20) [than there was before] . . . for this temple of my father Amon, in every feast [of his] every day, and he is satisfied with that which he wished might be.

I know for a fact that Thebes is eternity, that Amon is everlastingness, Re (is) the Lord of Karnak, and his glorious Eye which is in this land (is) Hermonthis.¹⁸ . . .

¹³ The first, or "Horus," name was characteristically written within a palace facade surmounted by a falcon.

¹⁴ The second, or "Two Goddesses," name made the pharaoh the embodiment of his two crowns.

¹⁵ The prenomen of this pharaoh, Men-kheper-Re, meant something like: "Established is the Form of Re."

¹⁶ The god Thoth. The nomen, Thut-mose, meant "Thoth Has Given Birth."

¹⁷ The nine traditional enemies of Egypt.

¹⁸ The Eye of the sun-god was a force of great and complex nature. It is here identified with the old cult-site of Hermonthis, the original seat of

[I] have [*provided his temple workshop with*] . . . , settled with serfs. I have filled it with my cap[turings] in the countries of the north and south, with the children (40) of the princes of Retenu and with the children [of the princes] of Nubia, as my father, [Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands], decreed. . . .

THE DIVINE NOMINATION OF AN ETHIOPIAN KING

The diffusion and persistence of custom are shown by the following inscription, which is to be dated shortly after 600 B.C. and comes from the Ethiopian kingdom which had its capital at Napata near the Fourth Cataract. Despite differences in time and distance, the essential situation is the same as in the nomination of Thut-mose III: it is the god of Karnak, Amon-Re, here resident at Napata, who makes the choice. The situation conforms generally to the account of the selection of Ethiopian kings as given by Diodorus (III, 5,1).

Stela 939 in the Cairo Museum was found at Gebel Barkal near the Fourth Cataract. The text is published in H. Schäfer, *Urkunden der älteren Aethiopienskönige* (*Urk.*, III, Leipzig, 1905), 81-100. All the royal names in the inscription have been hacked out and are here supplied with probability but not with certainty.

Year 1, 2nd month of the second season, day 15,¹ under the majesty of the Horus: Beautiful of Appearances; the Two Goddesses: Beautiful of Appearances; the Horus of Gold: Mighty of Heart; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: [Merka-Re]; the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: [Aspalta], beloved of Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Resident in the Pure Mountain.²

Now the entire army of his majesty was in the town named Pure Mountain, in which Dedwen, Who Presides over Nubia, is the god—he is (also) the god of Cush³—after the death of the Falcon upon his throne.⁴ Now then, the trusted commanders from the midst of the army of his majesty were six men, while the trusted commanders and overseers of fortresses were six men. Now then, the trusted chief secretaries were six men, while the officials and chief treasurers of the palace were seven men.⁵ Then they said to the entire army: "Come, let us cause (5) our lord to appear, (for we are) like a herd which has no herdsman!" Thereupon this army was very greatly concerned, saying: "Our lord is here with us, (but) we do not know him! Would that we might know him, that we might enter in under him and work for him, as the Two Lands work for Horus, the son of Isis, after he sits upon the throne of his

the Theban district. The inscription continues with a detailed statement of Thut-mose's good works, of which only the passage about foreign captives is here translated.

¹ Or "day 13." Around 600 B.C., this date would fall early in July.

² "Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands" was the title of Amon-Re at Karnak in Egypt. "The Pure Mountain" was Gebel Barkal, dominating the town of Napata. Here Amon-Re was an honored and effective guest god.

³ Ethiopia. It is interesting that Dedwen does not effect the oracular nomination, but Amon-Re does, just as he did in Egypt.

⁴ The previous Ethiopian king, G. A. Reisner, in *JEA*, IX (1923), 75, gives Inlc-Amon (Anlaman) as the predecessor of Aspalta.

⁵ *Sic*, but read probably "six men," as the nominating college would presumably have equal numbers from the various branches of the government.

father Osiris!⁶ Let us give praise to his two crowns."
... (10) ...⁷

Then the army of his majesty all said with one voice: "Still there is this god Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Resident in the Pure Mountain. He is (also) a god of Cush. Come, let us go to him. We cannot do a thing without him; nothing is good which is done without him, (but) a good fortune (comes) from the god. He is the god of the kings of Cush since the time of Re. It is he who will guide us. In his hands is the kingship of Cush, which he has given to the son whom he loves. . . ."

So the commanders of his majesty (15) and the courtiers of the palace went to the Temple of Amon. They found the prophets and the major priests waiting outside the temple. They said to them: "Pray, may this god, Amon-Re, Resident in the Pure Mountain, come, to permit that he give us our lord, to revive us, to build the temples of all the gods and goddesses [of] Upper and Lower Egypt,⁸ and to present their divine offerings! We cannot do a thing without this god. It is he who guides us."

Then the prophets and the major priests entered into the temple, that they might perform every rite of his purification and his censuring. Then the commanders of his majesty and the officials of the palace entered into the temple and put themselves upon their bellies before this god. They said: "We have come to thee, O Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Resident in the Pure Mountain, that thou might give (to) us a lord, to revive us, to build the temples of the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, and to present divine offerings. That beneficent office is in thy hands—mayest thou give it to thy son whom thou lovest!"

Then they offered⁹ the King's Brothers before this god, (but) he did not take one of them. For a second time there was offered the King's Brother, Son of Amon, and Child of Mut, Lady of Heaven, the Son of Re: [Aspalta], living forever. Then this god, Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, said: "He is your king. It is he who will revive you. It is he who will build every temple of Upper and Lower Egypt. It is he who will present their divine offerings. His father was my son, the Son of Re: [Inle-Amon], the triumphant. His mother is the King's Sister, King's Mother, Mistress of Cush, (20) and Daughter of Re: [Nenselsa], living forever.¹⁰ . . . He is your lord."

⁶ Ethiopia adhered scrupulously to the hallowed tradition of Egypt, where the dead king was an Osiris and the new king a Horus. Ethiopia even had two crowns to correspond to the two parts of the land of Egypt.

⁷ Four different members of the nominating college next voice opinions, but without a satisfactory solution.

⁸ An unconscious or a propagandistically deliberate extension of the power of the Ethiopian king to Egypt proper.

⁹ "Laid."

¹⁰ At the top of the stela a scene shows this queen mother pleading with "Amon of Napata" for the nomination of her son [Aspalta]. Here her epithet "living forever"—not "the triumphant"—shows that she is still alive. In the main inscription there follow the names of six maternal ancestors of [Nenselsa].

(The Ethiopian officials accept this nomination gratefully. Aspalta enters into the presence of Amon, receives the crown and sceptre, asks for divine guidance, and receives the god's assurances.)

A DIVINE ORACLE THROUGH VISIBLE SIGN

The gods of Egypt gave visible indications to answer questions which were put to them at appropriate times and in appropriate ways. Examples of the divine nomination of rulers are given on pp. 446-448. A case of simpler nature is given below, in which the deified pharaoh Neb-pehti-Re (Ah-mose I), who was being carried in procession by priests, halted to give answer to questions submitted to him. In the presence of witnesses, the god accepted one of two alternatives laid before him with regard to the ownership of a certain field.

The scene above the inscription shows the ceremonial barque of "the good god, the Lord of the Two Lands: Neb-pehti-Re Ah-mose," carried on the shoulders of four pairs of priests and attended by the "Prophet Pa-iry, the triumphant." Facing this barque in an attitude of worship or appeal is the "Priest of Osiris, Pa-ser."

The inscription is dated in the fourteenth year of Ramses II (about 1287 B.C.). Ah-mose I, who had reigned about 1570-1545 B.C., presumably had a mortuary chapel at Abydos, where he was worshiped as a god and from which he might emerge in procession. The stela was found at Abydos and is in the Cairo Museum (*Journal d'entrée* No. 43649). It was published by G. Legrain in *ASAE*, xvi (1916), 161-70, with a photographic plate.

Year 14, 2nd month of the first season, day 25, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: User-maat-Re Setep-en-[Re; the] Son [of Re: Ra]mses [Meri-Amon], given life.¹ The day of the appeal² which the Priest Pa-ser and the Priest Tjay made, to lay a [charge before the good god] Neb-pehti-Re. The Priest Pa-ser appealed: "As for this field, it belongs to *Pai, the son of Sedjemenef*,³ and (to) the children of Hayu." And the god remained still.⁴ [Then he] appealed to the god with the words: "It belongs to the Priest Pa-ser, son of Mose." [Then] the god nodded very much,⁵ in the presence of the priests of [the good god] Neb-pehti-Re: the Prophet Pa-iry, the Priest of the Front Yanzab, the Priest [of the Front] Tja-nofer, the Priest of the Rear Nakht, and the Priest of the Rear Thut-mose.⁶

Done by the Outline Draftsman of the House-of-Ramses-Meri-Amon-in-the-House-of-Osiris, Neb-mehit.⁷

¹ About 1287, this date would fall close to the beginning of September.

² Here and below, literally "approach (with a petition)."

³ It is possible to read "my son Sedjemenef," but the translation given is equally possible, and it seems less likely that Pa-ser would be disputing the possession of a field with his own son.

⁴ The portable image of the god in his shrouded shrine gave no visible response to the first alternative. In other oracular texts, a word is used for a visible negative response, probably to be translated "recoil," that is, to lean backward.

⁵ That is, leaned forward repeatedly or very markedly.

⁶ The five witnesses to the oracle, which established legal ownership of the field in question, were the "prophet" (a conventional rendering of a priestly title) who attended the portable barque, two priests of the front carrying-poles, and two priests of the rear carrying-poles.

⁷ The inscription was made by an artist of a temple of Ramses II at Abydos.

A DIVINE ORACLE THROUGH A DREAM

One way in which the gods might make their wishes known was through dreams.¹ The "Sphinx Stela" relates how the god who was in the Sphinx, Harmakhis, asked Thut-mose IV, before he had ascended the throne, to clear that great image of its encumbering sand.

Thut-mose IV reigned about 1421-1413 B.C. The present text is a pious restoration from somewhere between the 11th and 7th centuries B.C. The general similarity of the inscription to the "Sports Stela" of Amen-hotep II (pp. 244-245 above) shows that it faithfully restores a known psychology of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

The stela was discovered between the paws of the Sphinx and still stands there. The text was presented in C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (Berlin, 1849-59), III, 68. Its best publication was by A. Erman, *Die Sphinxstela* (*SPAW*, 1904, 428-44). Translated by Breasted, *AR*, II, §§810-15.

(1) Year 1, 3rd month of the first season, day 19, under the majesty of (Thut-mose IV).² . . .

(5) . . . Now he used to occupy himself with sport on the desert highland of Memphis, on its southern and northern sides, shooting at a target of copper, hunting lions and beasts of the desert, making excursions in his chariot, (for) his horses were swifter than the wind, together with one or another of his retinue, and nobody at all knew of it.³

Now when his hour came for giving a rest to his retinue, (he paused) at the ruins of Harmakhis,⁴ beside Sokar in Gizeh; Renenut in Tjamut in the heavens; Mut of the northern . . . , Lady of the Southern Wall; Sekhmet, Presiding Over *Khas*; and Hike,⁵ the first-born of the holy place of primeval times; near the lords of Babylon,⁶ the divine way of the gods to the horizon west of Heliopolis. Now the very great statue of Khepri⁷ rests in this place, great of fame, majestic of awe, upon which the shadow of Re rests. The villages of Memphis and of every town which is beside it come to it, with their arms (outstretched) in praise before it, bearing great oblations to its *ka*.

One of these days it happened that the King's Son Thut-mose⁸ came on an excursion at noon time. Then he rested in the shadow of this great god. Sleep took hold of him, slumbering at the time when the sun was at (its) peak. He found the majesty of this august god speaking with his own mouth, as a father speaks to his son, saying: "See me, look at me, my son, Thut-mose! I am thy father, Harmakhis-Khepri-Re-Atum. I shall give thee my kingdom (10) upon earth at the head of the living. Thou shalt wear the southern crown and the northern crown on the throne of Geb, the crown prince (of the gods). Thine is the land in its

¹ cf. the encouragement given to Amen-hotep II by the god Amon in the text of p. 246 above and perhaps the appearance of Amen-em-het I to his son (n.3 on p. 418). See also B. Gunn in *JEA*, xxvii (1941), 4, n.1.

² Around 1420 B.C. this date would have fallen in October. The present translation omits some lines of general praise of the king.

³ The setting is similar to that in the "Sports Stela," pp. 244-245.

⁴ The Sphinx. Other gods and goddesses of the Gizeh necropolis are listed in the following context.

⁵ The god "Magic."

⁶ Egyptian Babylon, on the east bank opposite Gizeh.

⁷ The Sphinx.

⁸ Thus, before he had become king.

length and its breadth, that which the Eye of the All-Lord illumines. Provisions are thine from the midst of the Two Lands and the great tribute of every foreign country. The time is long in years that my face has been toward thee and my heart has been toward thee and thou hast been mine. Behold, my state was like (that of) one who is in *need*, and my whole body was going to pieces. The sands of the desert, that upon which I had been, were encroaching upon me; (but) I waited to let thee do what was in my heart, (for) I knew that thou art my son and my protector. *Approach* thou! Behold, I am with thee; I am thy guide."

When he had finished these words, then this king's son *awoke*, because he had heard these [*words*] . . . and he understood the speech of this god. (But) he set silence in his heart, (for) [he] said: ". . . Come, let us go to our house in the city. They shall protect the offerings to this god which ye will bring to him: cattle, . . . , and all green things. We shall give praise [to] Wen-nofer⁹ . . . , Khaf-[Re], the image made for Atum-Harmakhis,¹⁰ . . . Khepri in the horizon west of Heliopolis. . . ."¹¹

For an example of a prophetic frenzy, see the passage in the story of Wen-Amon (p. 26 above). Another example of an oracle through visible sign is in the Legend of the Possessed Princess (p. 30 above). Other examples of divine guidance through dreams will be found on pp. 30; 32; 246; and 418; n.3.

Akkadian Oracles and Prophecies

(Translator: Robert H. Pfeiffer)

ORACLES CONCERNING ESARHADDON

Text: Rawlinson, Vol. IV, Plate 68 (2nd ed., Plate 61). Translations: M. Jastrow, Jr., *Die Religion Babylonien und Assyrien* (Giessen, 1912), Vol. II, pp. 158-65; for earlier translations see *ibid.* p. 158, note 2. Fr. Schmidke, *Asarhaddons Stadthalterschaft in Babylonien und seine Thronbesteigung in Assyrien (Altorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen, 1, 2 [Leyden, 1916])*. E. Ebeling, *AOT*, pp. 281-3. Luckenbill, *AR*, Vol. II, pp. 238-241. The text is dated during the reign of Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.).

(15) [Esarhad]don, king of the countries, fear not! [No]tice the wind which blows over you; I speak of it without. . . . Your enemies, (10) like a wild boar in the month of Sivan, from before your feet will flee away. I am the great divine lady, I am the goddess Ishtar of Arbela, who (15) will destroy your enemies from before your feet. What are the words of mine, which I spoke to you, that you did not rely upon? I am Ishtar of Arbela. (20) I shall lie in wait for your enemies, I

⁹ Osiris.

¹⁰ Thus relating Khaf-Re (Chephren) to the Sphinx, as does the "Sports Stela," p. 244.

¹¹ The end of the text is lost, but it is clear that Thut-mose must have cleared the Sphinx from sand for the story to have point.

shall give them to you. I, Ishtar of Arbela, will go before you and behind you: (25) fear not! You are in a state of rebirth: I am in a state of woe, (whether) I stand (or) I sit down.

(Oracle) from the lips of the woman Ishtar-latashiat (30) of Arbela.

(31) King of Assyria, fear not! The enemy of the king of Assyria I deliver to slaughter! (i 34-40 and ii 1-8 are fragmentary)

(ii 9) (Oracle) from the lips of the woman Sinqishamur (10) of Arbela.

(11) I rejoice over Esarhaddon, my king; Arbela rejoices!

(13) (Oracle) of the woman Rimute-allate of the city Darahuya (15) which is in the midst of the mountains.

(16) Fear not, Esarhaddon! I, the god Bel, speak to you. The beams of your heart (20) I strengthen, like your mother, who caused you to exist. Sixty great gods are standing together with me and protect you. The god Sin is at your right, the god Shamash at your left; (25) sixty great gods stand round about you, ranged for battle. Do not trust men! Turn your eyes to me, look at me! (30) I am Ishtar of Arbela; I have turned Ashur's favor unto you. When you were small, I sustained you. Fear not, praise me! Where is that enemy (35) which blew over you when *I did not notice*? The future is like the past! I am the god Nabu, lord of the tablet stylus, praise me!

(40) (Oracle) from the lips of the woman Baia of Arbela.

(iii 15) I am Ishtar of Arbela, O Esarhaddon king of Assyria. In the cities of Ashur, Nineveh, Calah, Arbela, protracted days, (20) everlasting years, unto Esarhaddon my king shall I grant. I am your great *protector*. (25) Your gracious leader am I, who unto protracted days, everlasting years (30) have fixed your throne under the wide heavens; with golden *nails*, in the midst of the heavens I *make it firm*. The light of the *diamond* before Esarhaddon king of Assyria (35) I cause to shine. Like the crown of my head I *guard* him. "Fear not, O king," I said to you, (40) "I have not abandoned you." (iv 1) I have given you confidence, I shall not let you be disgraced. With assurance I have made you cross the river. (5) O Esarhaddon, legitimate son, offspring of the goddess Ninlil, *hero*! For you, with my own hands, your foes (10) shall I crush. Esarhaddon, king of Assyria . . . (lines 11 and 12 are obscure). Esarhaddon in the city Ashur (15) protracted days, everlasting years shall I grant you. Esarhaddon, in Arbela my mercy is your shield. (20) Esarhaddon, [legitimate] son, offspring of the goddess Nin[lil], [your] mind is sagacious. I love you (25) greatly . . . (lines 26-39 are fragmentary).

(v 1-3, obscure) (4-5) Those who speak (deceitfully) soothing (words), from before his feet I shall cut to pieces. You, you indeed, O king, are my king!

(10) (Oracle) from the mouth of the woman Ishtar-bel-daini, *oracle-priestess* of the king.

(12) I, Belit of Arbela, (say) to the king's mother,

"Because you have complained with me (saying), (15) 'What is to the right, what is to the left you place in your bosom; but where is the offspring of my heart?' (20) You let him be chased through the open country.—Now, O king, fear not! The royalty is in you, the might is in you indeed!"

(24-25) (Oracle) from the lips of the woman Belit-abisha of Arbela.

(26) Peace to Esarhaddon king of Assyria! Ishtar of Arbela has gone forth into the open country. Peace unto her child (the king)! (30) You will send into the midst of the city. . . .

(vi 1) . . . good. [Ishtar] of Arbela his . . . (5) will fill. (Why) did you not trust the former oracle which I spoke to you? Now (10-11) you may trust the later one. Praise me! Like the day (14-15) (when) the storm *shrieked* (line 16 is obscure) before me; praise me! (line 18 is obscure) from my palace (20) shall I drive. Excellent food you will eat, excellent water you will drink; in your palace (25) you will be comfortable. Your son, your grandson will exercise the royal power on the knees of the god Ninurta.

(30) (Oracle) from the lips of Ladagil-ilu, of Arbela.

A LETTER TO ASHURBANIPAL

Text: *ABL*, Vol. ix, No. 923. Translation: E. G. Klauber, *Assyrisches Beamtenum nach den Briefen der Sargonidenzeit* (*LSS*, v, 3), p. 20. A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria* (New York, 1923), pp. 380, 415 f. L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire* (1930), Vol. II, pp. 140-3. R. H. Pfeiffer, *State Letters of Assyria* (*American Oriental Series*, Vol. 6 [New Haven, 1935]), pp. 173 f. The text is a letter of Marduk-shum-usur to Ashurbanipal (668-633 B.C.).

(obverse 7)

In a dream the god Ashur said to (Sennacherib) the grandfather of the king my lord, "O sage!" You, the king, lord of kings, are the offspring of the sage and of Adapa. . . . You surpass in knowledge Apsu (the abyss) and all craftsmen. . . . (10) When (Esarhaddon) the father of the king my lord went to Egypt, he saw in the region of Harran a temple of cedarwood. Therein the god Sin was leaning on a staff, with two crowns on his head. The god Nusku was standing before him. The father of the king my lord entered. (The god) placed [*a crown*] upon his head, saying, "You will go to countries, therein you will conquer!" (15) He departed and conquered Egypt. The remaining countries, not yet subjected to the gods Ashur (and) Sin, the king, lord of kings, will conquer.

ORACLE OF NINLIL CONCERNING ASHURBANIPAL

Text: S. Arthur Strong, On Some Oracles to Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, *BA*, II (1894), 645. J. A. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*, Vol. I (*Assyriologische Bibliothek*, XIII [Leipzig, 1895]), Plates 26-7. Translations: M. Jastrow, Jr., *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* (Giessen, 1912), Vol. II, pp. 170-4; for earlier translations and for other oracles, see *ibid.* p. 170, note 1, and M. Streck, *Assurbanipal* (*VAB*, VII, [Leip-

zig, 1916]), Vol. 1, p. clxxiii. Dated presumably in 667 B.C., at the beginning of Ashurbanipal's reign.

(1) The goddess Ninlil is highly regarded (as a) sibyl. This is the word of Ninlil herself for the king, "Fear not, O Ashurbanipal! Now, as I have spoken, it will come to pass: I shall grant (it) to you. Over the people of the four languages (and) over *the armament* of the princes (5) you will exercise sovereignty. . . .

(8) [The kings] of the countries confer together (saying), "Come, (let us rise) against Ashurbanipal. . . .

(10) The fate of our fathers and our grandfathers (the Assyrians) have fixed: [let not his might] cause divisions among us.

(12) [Nin]lil answered saying, "[The kings] of the lands [I shall *over*]throw, place under the yoke, bind their feet in [strong fetters]. For the second time I proclaim to you that as with the land of Elam and the Cimmerians [I shall proceed]. (15) I shall arise, break the thorns, open up widely my way through *the briars*. With *blood* shall I turn the land into a rain shower, (fill it with) lamentation and *wailing*. You ask, "What lamentation and *wailing*?" Lamentation enters Egypt, *wailing* comes out (from there).

(20) Ninlil is his mother. Fear not! The mistress of Arbela bore him. Fear not! As she that bears for *her child*, (so) I care for you. I have placed you like an *amulet* on my breast. At night I place a spread over you, all day I keep a cover on you. In the early morning heed your supplication, heed your conduct. (25) Fear not, my son, whom I have raised.

AN ORACULAR DREAM CONCERNING ASHURBANIPAL

Text: Rawlinson, Vol. III, Plate 32. G. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal* (London, 1871), pp. 117 ff. H. Winckler, *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexte* (Leipzig, 1895), Vol. III, pp. 38-48. Translations: Smith, *op. cit.* P. Jensen, in E. Schrader's *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek* (Berlin, 1890), Vol. II, pp. 250-3. M. Streck, *Assurbanipal* (Leipzig, 1916), Vol. II, pp. 114-19. Luckenbill, *AR*, Vol. II, pp. 332-3. For other examples of oracular dreams in cuneiform texts, see M. Jastrow, Jr., *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* (Giessen, 1912), Vol. II, pp. 955-8. This text (cylinder B of Ashurbanipal) is dated in 648 B.C.

(v 46) The goddess Ishtar heard my anxious sighs and, "Fear not!" she said, and filled my heart with confidence. "Inasmuch as you have lifted your hands in prayer (and) your eyes are filled with tears, I have mercy." During the night in which I appeared before her, (50) a seer reclined and saw a dream. When he awoke Ishtar showed him a night vision. He reported to me as follows: "Ishtar who dwells in Arbela came in. Right and left quivers were hanging from her. She held the bow in her hand (55) (and) a sharp sword was drawn to do battle. You were standing in front of her and she spoke to you like the mother who bore you. Ishtar called unto you, she who is exalted among the gods, giving you the following instructions: 'You will contemplate fulfilling my orders. (60) Whither your

face is turned, I shall go forth. You told me: 'Wherever you go, let me go with you, O Lady of Ladies!' She informed you as follows: 'You shall stay here, where the dwelling of Nabu is. (65) Eat food, drink wine, supply music, praise my divinity, while I go and do that work in order that you attain your heart's desire. Your face (need) not become pale, nor your feet become exhausted, (70) nor your strength come to nought in the onslaught of battle.' In her loving bosom she embraced you and protected your whole figure. Before her a fire was then burning. To the conquest of [your] enemies [she will march forth] at (your) side. (75) Against Teumman, king of Elam, with whom she is wroth, she has set her face."

PROPHECIES

Text: E. Ebeling, *KAR*, Fascicule IX, No. 421. Translation: E. Ebeling, *AOT*, pp. 283-4.

(obverse i)

A prince will arise and [exercise sover]eignty eighteen years. (1)

The country will live safely, the heart of the country will be glad, men will [enjoy abun]dance.

The gods will make beneficial decision for the country, good rainfalls [will come].

. . . (obscure)

The deity of cattle and the deity of grain will produce *abundance* in the land.

Rainfalls (*sic!*) and high water will prevail, the people of the land will observe a festival.

But the ruler will be slain with a weapon during an uprising.

A prince will arise, thirteen years will he exercise sovereignty.

There will be a rebellion of Elam against Akkad. (10) Akkad's booty will be plundered.

(Elam) will destroy the temples of the great gods, the downfall of Akkad will be decided.

Revolution, chaos, and calamity will occur in the country.

A dreadful (man), son of a nobody, whose name is not mentioned, will arise.

As king he will seize the throne, he will destroy his lords with weapons.

Half the troops of Akkad will fall, in the gorges of Tupliash

They will fill plain and hills.

The people of the land will experience great scarcity.

A prince will arise, his days will be few, the land (will have) no lord.

A prince will arise, three years will he exercise sovereignty. (20)

[The canals] and the rivers will fill up with sand.

. . . .

(obverse iii)

[A prince will arise, . . . years will he exercise
sovereignty.] (1)
This same king [will rule] the world.
His people will [produce] abundance. . . .
The regular sacrifice *for the gods*, which had been
discontinued will come (again), the gods. . . .
Good rainfalls will come, there will be abundance in
[the land].
Cattle [will lie down] safely on the plain. . . .
. . . .
The procreation of cattle [will thrive].

A prince will arise, eight years will he exercise the
sovereignty.
(the rest is lost)

(reverse i)

A prince will arise, three years [will he exercise the
sovereignty.] (2)
The rest of mankind [*will descend*] into the earth.
Cities will decay, houses [will be desolate].

Revolution, destruction will occur,
Unto Akkad *from* the enemy's country. . . .
The sacred object of Ekur and of Nippur will [be
brought] into the [enemy] country.
. . . to Nippur. . . .
The same ruler [will defeat] with weapons the land of
Amurru.

A prince will arise, eight years will he [exercise] the
sovereign[ty]. (10)
The temples of the gods [*will rise*] from the dust.
The sanctuaries of the great gods (*sic!*) [will be
restored] on their sites.
Rain showers and high water [will come].
People, who have *seen* evil. . . .
Wealth will come on the street, . . . wealth. . . .
. . . will prostrate himself before the child, stretch out
his hand.
. . . the mother will speak what is right with her
daughter. . . .
(the rest is fragmentary and obscure)

VII. Lamentations



A Sumerian Lamentation

TRANSLATOR: S. N. KRAMER

Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur

The composition bewails the destruction of Ur at the hands of the Elamites and Subarians.¹ It consists of 436 lines divided into 11 "songs"² or stanzas of uneven length; they are separated from one another by an "antiphon"³ of one or two lines. The text has been reconstructed from 22 tablets and fragments; except for one tablet which probably comes from Ur,⁴ they were all excavated at Nippur. The tablets on which the poem is inscribed all date from the Early Post-Sumerian period, that is, the period between the fall of the Third Dynasty of Ur and the beginning of Kassite rule in Babylonia: roughly speaking therefore, sometime in the first half of the second millennium B.C. Its actual composition, too, must of course postdate the fall of Ur III; just how long after, however, it is impossible to say.⁵ A scientific edition of the poem including a transliteration, translation, and commentary, as well as a complete list of variants, will be found in *AS 12* (1940). One of the most significant discussions of the text is that of Jacobsen in *AJSL*, LVIII (1941), 219-224;⁶ Jacobsen has also translated several passages from the poem in *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (1946), where Mrs. H. A. G. Frankfort is responsible for the poetical renderings.⁷ A new translation of the entire composition based on the text as reconstructed in *AS 12*, has been published by M. Witzel in *Orientalia NS*, xiv (1945), 185-234 and *ibid.*, xv (1946), 46-63.

⁸He has abandoned hi[s] stable, his sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to⁹ the wind;

¹ cf. Jacobsen, *AJSL*, LVIII (1941), 220, n.4.

² The word "song" or "stanza" is an approximate rendering for a Sumerian complex whose more exact meaning is still uncertain.

³ The word "antiphon" is an approximate rendering of a Sumerian complex whose more exact meaning is still uncertain.

⁴ cf. *AS 12*, 77, n.716a; and *ibid.*, 96, n.800a.

⁵ Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, 219-221, comes to the very definite conclusion that the lamentation was written no more than seventy or eighty years after the destruction, but, unless I am very much mistaken, he has considerably oversimplified the problems involved.

⁶ Especially valuable is the last paragraph entitled "Details," where he makes some excellent suggestions for the translation of a number of passages.

⁷ cf. pp. 141-142 for lines 173-189, 203-204, and 208-218 of the lamentation, and pp. 196-197 for lines 152-164.

⁸ The first song begins with the line "He has abandoned his stable, his sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind," and repeats the second half of this line as a sort of refrain in each of the remaining lines which list the more important temples of Sumer together with the deities who have abandoned them. This list runs as follows: Enlil has abandoned Nippur, while his wife Ninlil has abandoned the Kiur, a part of great Ekur temple in Nippur; the mother-goddess Ninmah has abandoned Kesh; the goddess Ninisinna, "the lady of Isin," has abandoned the shrine Egalmah in Isin; Inanna has abandoned Erech; Nanna, the moon-god, has abandoned Ur and its temple Ekishnugal, while his wife Ningal has abandoned her shrine the Enunkug; Enki, the water-god and god of wisdom, has abandoned Eridu; the goddess Nin . . . has abandoned Larak; Shara, the tutelary deity of Umma, has abandoned his temple the Emah, while his wife Usaharra has abandoned Umma; the remaining deities and place names all belong to the city of Lagash and its environs, thus: Bau, the wife of Ningirsu, the tutelary deity of Lagash has abandoned the city Urukug and the temple *Bagara*, while her son Abbau has abandoned the shrine Maguenna; The *lamassu*, a protecting genie, has abandoned the temple Etarsirsir; the mother of Lagash, Gatumdug, has abandoned Lagash; Ningula of Nina has abandoned Sirara; Dumuziabzu, "Tammuz of the Apsu," has abandoned Kinirshag; the goddess Ninmar has abandoned the shrine Guabba. For some reason as yet uncertain, the first "song" is written not in the main Sumerian

The wi[lld o]x has abandoned his stable, his sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind.

The lord of all the lands has abandoned (his stable), his sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind;

Enlil has abandoned . . . Nippur, his sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind.

His wife Ninlil has abandoned (her stable), her sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind;

Ninlil has abandoned their house Ki[ur], her sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind.

The qu[ee]n of Kesh has [ab]andoned (her stable), her sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind;

Ninmah has [aba]ndoned their house Kesh, her sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind.

She who is¹⁰ of Isin has abandoned (her stable), her sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind;

Ninisinna has a[ban]doned the shrine Egalmah, her sh[ee]pfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind. (10)

The queen of Erech¹¹ has abandoned (her stable), her [sheepfold] (*has been delivered*) to the wind;

Inanna has abandoned their house Erech, her sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the [wind].

Nanna has abandoned Ur, his sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the [wind];

Sin has abandoned Ekishnugal,¹² [his] sheep[fold] (*has been delivered*) to the wind.

His wife Ningal has aban[doned] (her stable), her [sheepfold] (*has been delivered*) to the wind.

Ningal has aban[doned] her Enunkug, her [sheepfold] (*has been delivered*) to the wind.

The wild ox¹³ of Eridu has abandoned (his stable), his sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind;

Enki has abandoned their house Eridu, his sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind.

Nin . . . has abandoned their house Larak, her sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind.

Shara has abandoned the Emah, his sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind; (20)

Usaharra has abandoned their house Umma, her sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind.

dialect but in the Emesal dialect, which is usually reserved for speeches by female deities or recitations by certain classes of priests.

⁹ The words "has been delivered to" in this and the following lines should have been treated as uncertain in the translation in *AS 12* because of the grammatical uncertainty in the preceding Sumerian complexes.

¹⁰ The Sumerian word rendered "the lady" in *AS 12* should have been translated "she who is."

¹¹ In *AS 12* the name of this city is written throughout as Uruk; however in my following publications I have used the biblical form Erech, and for the sake of consistency this form will be used in the present translation.

¹² For the reading Ekishnugal instead of Ekishshirgal, cf. Shuster, *ZA*, XLIV (1938), 263, n.10, and particularly the phonetic writing of the name in Gadd and Legrain, *UET*, I, No. 169, line 9, where it is written as Ekeshnu(n)gal.

¹³ "The wild ox" should not have been rendered as uncertain in *AS 12*.

Bau¹⁴ has abandoned Urukug, her sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind;
 The holy *Bagara*, her chamber, she has abandoned, her sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind.
 Her son Abbau has abandoned (his stable), his sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind;
 Abbau has abandoned the Maguenna, his sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind.
 The *lamassu of the holy house*¹⁵ has abandoned (his stable), his sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind;
 The *lamassu* has abandoned Etarsirsir,¹⁶ his sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind.
 The mother of Lagash has abandoned (her stable), her sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind;
 Gatumdug¹⁷ has abandoned their house Lagash, her sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind.
 She who is¹⁸ of Nina has abandoned (her stable), her sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind; (30)
 Ningula has abandoned their house Sirara, her sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind.
 The lord of Kinirshag has abandoned (his stable), his sheepfold *has been delivered* to the wind;
 Dumuziabzu has abandoned their house Kinirshag, his sheepfold *has been delivered* to the wind.
 She who is¹⁸ of Guabba has abandoned (her stable), her sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind.
 Ninmar has abandoned the shrine Guabba, her sheepfold (*has been delivered*) to the wind.
 The first song.
 His sheepfold *has been delivered* to the wind, he makes [grie]vous its wail;
The cow of . . . without a stable . . . ;
 Its antiphon.
 O city, a bitter lament set up as thy lament;¹⁹ (40)
 Thy lament which is bitter—O city, set up thy lament.
 His righteous city which has been destroyed—bitter is its lament;
 His Ur which has been destroyed—bitter is its lament.
 Thy lament which is bitter—O city, set up thy lament;
 His Ur which has been destroyed—bitter is its lament.
 Thy lament which is bitter—how long will it grieve thy weeping lord?

¹⁴ The names Bau and Abbau are also read Baba and Abbaba, but probably the two readings represent slightly variant pronunciations of the same word.

¹⁵ "House" instead of "temple" in *AS* 12.

¹⁶ For the reading Etarsirsir, cf. Nougayrol, *JCS*, 1 (1947), 332, n.18.

¹⁷ In *AS* 12 this name was read in its Emesal form Masisib; this was inconsistent since all the other names were read as they appear in the main dialect, and not in the Emesal.

¹⁸ "She who is" instead of "the lady" in *AS* 12.

¹⁹ Like the first "song," the second too is written in the Emesal dialect (cf. end of n.8). Beginning with a cry directed to Ur to "set up a bitter lament," the first part of the "song" continues with several variations on the theme of Ur and her lament. The cry to "set up a bitter lament" is then directed to other centers of Sumer, namely to Nippur and its main temple, the Ekur, as well as the shrines Magishshua, Ubshukinnakku, and perhaps Kiur; to Lagash, particularly its district Urukug, the temple Etarsirsir, and the shrine Maguenna; to Isin and its temple Egalmah; to Erech and Eridu. Toward the end of the "song" however, it returns once more to Ur and in words spoken directly to the city, bewails its destruction, the loss of its people, and the transformation of its ordinances into inimical ordinances.

Thy lament which is bitter—how long will grieve the weeping Nanna?
 O thou brickwork of Ur, a bitter lament set up as thy lament;
 O Ekishnugal, a bitter lament set up as thy lament;
 O thou shrine Enunkug, a bitter lament set up as thy lament. (50)
 O thou Kiur, thou *kigallu*,²⁰ a bitter lament set up as thy lament;
 O thou shrine of Nippur . . . , a bitter lament set up as thy lament;
 O thou brickwork of the Ekur, a bitter lament set up as thy lament.
 O Magishshua, a bitter lament set up as thy lament.
 O Ubshukinnakku, a bitter lament set up as thy lament.
 O thou brickwork of Urukug, a bitter lament set up as thy lament;
 O Etarsirsir, a bitter lament set up as thy lament;
 O Maguenna, a bitter lament set up as thy lament.
 O thou brickwork of Isin, a bitter lament set up as thy lament;
 O thou shrine Egalmah, a bitter lament set up as thy lament. (60)
 O thou brickwork of Erech, a bitter lament set up as thy lament.
 O thou brickwork of Erid[u], a bitter lament set up as thy lament.²¹
 Thy lament which is bitter—how long will it grieve thy weeping lord?
 Thy lament which is bitter—how long will it grieve the weeping Nanna?
 O thou city of *name*, thou hast been destroyed;²²
 O thou city of *high walls*, thy land has perished.
 O my city, like an innocent ewe thy lamb has been torn away from thee;
 O Ur, like an innocent goat thy kid has perished.
 O city thy rites *unto inimical dread and awe*,²³
 Thy ordinances²⁴—unto inimical ordinances, have been transformed. (70)
 Thy lament which is bitter—how long will it grieve thy weeping lord?
 Thy lament which is bitter—how long will it grieve the weeping Nanna?
 The second song.

²⁰ For one meaning of the word *kigal* (*kigallu* is the Akkadian loan word), cf. *PAPS*, LXXXV (1942), 312; its meaning when used alongside of the Kiur is uncertain.

²¹ Lines 48-62 have quite a different arrangement in one of the texts; cf. *AS* 12, p. 22, n.41a.

²² For another possible rendering of this and the following line, cf. Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 223.

²³ Note the new rendering of this difficult line; it is based on the assumption that it parallels the first part of line 70. Actually the last part of the line might have been expected "unto inimical rites" rather than "unto inimical dread and awe"; perhaps "dread and awe" are intended as a descriptive substitute for "rites."

²⁴ The word "ordinances" attempts to render the Sumerian word *me* which designates a theological concept developed by the Sumerian thinkers to answer the problem as to what keeps the cosmic entities and phenomena, once created, operating continuously and harmoniously, without conflict and confusion. To judge from the various contexts, the word *me* seems to denote a set of rules and regulations assigned to each cosmic deity and phenomenon for the purpose of keeping it operating forever in accordance with the plans laid down by the creating deities.

His [righteous city] which has been destroyed—bitter
is its lament;

His Ur which has been destroyed—bitter is its lament;
Its antiphon.

Together with the lord, whose house has been attacked,
his city was given over to tears;²⁵

Together with Nanna, whose land had perished,

Ur joined (its) lament.

The righteous woman,²⁶ because of his city to grieve the
lord, (80)

Ningal, because of his [land] to give no rest to [the
lord]

Unto h[im] for the sake of his city approached—bitterly
she weeps,

Unto the lord for the sake of his house which had been
attacked approached—bitterly she weeps;

[For the sake] of his [city which had been attacked]
she approached him—bitterly she weeps.

[For the sake] of his [house] which had been attacked
she approached him—its bitter lament she sets
before him.

The woman, after her . . . had set the lamentation down
upon the ground,²⁷

Herself utters softly the wail of the smitten house.

"The storm ever breaking forth—its wail has filled me
full."²⁸

Raging about because of the storm,

Me, a woman, the storm ever breaking forth—its wail
has filled me full. (90)

The storm ever breaking forth—its wail has filled me
full.

During the day a bitter storm having been raised unto
me,

I, although, for that day I tremble,

Fled not before that day's violence.

Because of its affliction I saw not one good day during
my rule, one good day during my rule.

At night a bitter lament having been raised unto me,

²⁵ The third "song" informs us that Ningal, the wife of the moon-god Nanna, moved by Ur's bitter plight, approached her husband and, determined to give him no rest and to arouse him to the fate of her city and house, wept bitterly before him: Day and night she is pursued by the wailing and lamenting resulting from a destructive storm; not even in her sleeping place is there any peace and rest. To be sure, she makes numerous attempts to halt the suffering and destruction of her city and land, but she fails to save Ur from its cruel fate. The Ekishnugal has caved in like a garden hut; it is exposed to wind and rain like a tent. Her house and city have been torn down like a sheepfold; her possessions are dissipated. As for the renderings of lines 77-79, the modifications follow Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, 221, n.11, where most of the points are well taken.

²⁶ "Woman" instead of "lady" in *AS 12*.

²⁷ Note the new, though still doubtful, translations for lines 86-7; they are based primarily on Jacobsen's suggestions (*loc. cit.*, 223, n.18); cf. also Witzel's excellent suggestion that the third sign in line 86 is AD (*Orientalia NS*, xv [1946], 47) its meaning in our line, however, remains uncertain.

²⁸ For lines 88-112, cf. the excellent rendering by Jacobsen-Frankfort in *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, pp. 196-197; much of its effectiveness is due to a not overly literal approach in the translation of the Sumerian words and phrases and to a flexible treatment of the Sumerian line order. However, for our present purpose, and under present conditions—not a few of the renderings in the Jacobsen-Frankfort translation of this passage are far from assured—it is advisable to follow the more literal translations in *AS 12*. Note, however, the modifications in the translations of lines 94, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104, and 109; some of these were suggested by the renderings in *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*; others are due to several excellent suggestions made by Witzel, *loc. cit.*, pp. 48-49, to lines 99, 102, 103, and 108.

I, although, for that night I tremble,
Fled not before that night's violence.

The storm's cyclonelike destruction—verily its terror has
filled me full.

Because of its [affliction] in my nightly sleeping place,
in my nightly sleeping place verily there is no peace
for me; (100)

Nor, verily, because of its affliction, has the quiet of my
sleeping place, the quiet of my sleeping place been
allowed me.

Although, because in my land there was bitter [distress],
I, like a cow for (its) calf, trudge the earth,
My land was not delivered of fear.

Although, because in my city there was bitter [distress],
I, like a bird of heaven, flap (my) wings,

(And) to my city I fly,

My city on its foundation verily was destroyed;

Ur where it lay verily perishes.

Although because the hand of the storm appeared
above, (110)

I screamed and cried to it, 'Return, O storm, to the plain,'
The storm's breast verily rose not to depart,

Me, the woman,²⁹ in the Enunkug, my house of ladyship,
For whose rule long days had not been granted me,

Verily weeping and lamentation follow.

As for the house which used to be the place where was
soothed the spirit of the black-headed people,

Instead of its feasts wrath (and) distress verily multiply.²⁹
Because of its affliction, in my house, the favorable

place,³⁰

My attacked righteous house upon which no eye had
been cast,

With heavy spirit, laments that are bitter, (120)
Laments that are bitter, have been brought.

My house founded by the righteous,³¹

Like a garden hut, verily on its side has caved in.

The Ekishnugal, my royal house,

The righteous house, my house which has been given
over to tears,

Whose building, falsely, whose perishing, truly,

Had been set for me as its lot and share,³²

Like a tent, the house where the crops have been . . . ,

Like the house where the crops have been . . . , to wind
and rain verily has been exposed.

Ur, my all-surpassing chamber,³³ (130)

My smitten house (and) city which have been torn
down;

Like the sheepfold of a shepherd verily has been torn
down;

My possessions which had accumulated in the city
verily have been dissipated."

²⁹ Note the modified rendering of this line; cf. Witzel's comment to *he-en-ga*, *loc. cit.*, p. 50; Witzel also suggests a variant rendering of this line which is well worth noting.

³⁰ Note the modifications in the renderings of lines 118-121; cf., too, Witzel, *loc. cit.*, p. 50. The implications of the phrase "upon which no eye had been cast," are uncertain.

³¹ "The righteous" instead of "a righteous man" in *AS 12*.

³² "Had" and "set" for "has" and "established" in *AS 12*.

³³ "All-surpassing" instead of "extra large" in *AS 12*; note, too, Witzel's suggestion to the line in *loc. cit.*, p. 50.

The third song.
 Ur has been given over to tears;
 Its antiphon.
 "On that day, after *the lord had been overcome by the storm*,³⁴
 After, *in spite of the 'lady,'* her city had been destroyed;
 On that day, *after the lord had been overwhelmed by the storm*,
 After they had *pronounced*³⁵ the utter destruction of
 my city; (140)
 After they had *pronounced* the utter destruction of Ur,
 After they had directed³⁶ that its people be killed—
 On that day verily I abandoned not my city;
 My land verily I forsake not.
 To Anu the water of my eye verily I poured;
 To Enlil I in person verily made supplication.
 'Let not my city be destroyed,' verily I said unto them;
 'Let not Ur be destroyed,' verily I said unto them;
 'Let not its people perish,' verily I said unto them.
 Verily Anu changed not³⁷ this word; (150)
 Verily Enlil with its 'It is good; so be it' soothed not my
 heart.

For the second time, when the council had . . . ed³⁸
 (And) the Anunnaki . . . *had seated themselves*,
 The legs verily I . . . ed, the arms verily I *stretched out*,
 To Anu the water of my eye verily I poured;
 To Enlil I in person verily made supplication.
 'Let not my city be destroyed,' verily I said unto them;
 'Let not Ur be destroyed,' verily I said unto them;
 'Let not its people perish,' verily I said unto them.
 Verily Anu changed not this work; (160)
 Verily Enlil with its 'It is good; so be it' soothed not my
 heart.

The utter destruction of my city verily they directed,
 The utter destruction of Ur verily they directed;
 That its people be killed, as its fate verily they decreed.
 Me like one who has given them my . . . —
 Me of my city verily they *deprived*;³⁹
 My Ur of me verily they *deprived*.
 Anu changes not his command;
 Enlil alters not the command which he had issued."
 The fourth song. (170)
 Her city has been destroyed; her ordinances have become
 inimical;
 Its antiphon.

³⁴In the fourth "song" Ningal continues her lament before Nanna, describing her efforts in behalf of her city and bemoaning their futility: It was Anu and Enlil who had ordered Ur to be destroyed and its people to be killed. And when she, Ningal, wept before them and pleaded that Ur should not be destroyed and that its people should not perish, they denied her plea. Anu and Enlil have ordered the destruction of Ur and the death of its people, and they are not wont to change their commands.

³⁵"Pronounced" in this and the following line instead of "commanded" in *AS* 12.

³⁶"Directed" in this line and in lines 162-163 instead of "ordered" in *AS* 12.

³⁷"Changed not" for "turned not to"; cf. Witzel's constructive comment in *loc. cit.*, p. 51.

³⁸For lines 152-164, cf. Jacobsen, *JNES*, 11 (1943), 172, and Jacobsen-Frankfort, *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, p. 197; the suggestions there made for the rendering of the words and phrases here left untranslated in the first three lines of this passage do not seem to me to hit the mark.

³⁹The new renderings of this line and the next follow Witzel's suggestion, *loc. cit.*, p. 52.

Enlil called the storm;⁴⁰ the people groan.⁴¹
 The storm of overflow he carried off from the land; the
 people groan.
 The good storm he carried off from Sumer; the people
 groan.
 To the evil storm he issued directions;⁴² the people
 groan.
 To Kingaluda, the tender of the storm, he entrusted
 it.⁴³
 The⁴⁴ storm that annihilates the land he called; the
 people groan.
 The evil winds he called; the people groan.
 Enlil brings Gibil to his aid.⁴⁵ (180)
 The great storm of heaven he called; the people groan.
 The great storm howls above; the people groan.
 The land-annihilating storm roars below; the people
 groan.
 The evil wind, like the rushing torrent, cannot be
 restrained;
 The boats of the city it attacks (and) devours,⁴⁶
 At the base of heaven *it made the . . . whirl*; the people
 groan.
 In front of the storm *fires burned*;⁴⁷ the people groan.
 To the battling storms was joined the scorching heat;⁴⁸
 . . . fires burned.⁴⁹
 The day *was deprived* of the rising of the bright sun,
 of the good light,⁵⁰ (190)
 In the land the bright sun rose not, like the evening
 star it shone.
 The night *was deprived* by the South Wind of *its*
customary feasts and banquets;

⁴⁰In the fifth "song" which is written entirely in the main Sumerian dialect, the poet describes in detail an overwhelming affliction which overtook Ur in the form of a devastating storm. Beginning with a statement that after he had carried off from Sumer the "good storm," the "storm of overflow," Enlil called against the land the "evil storm," much of the remainder of the "song" concerns itself with a description of this evil storm and with other destructive elemental forces which aid and abet it.

⁴¹There is some possibility that the rendering "groan" should be changed to "mourn"; cf. Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 223. For lines 173-189, cf. now the Jacobsen-Frankfort translation in *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, pp. 141-142; it reads excellently indeed, but its renderings are perhaps too free for reference works. Thus e.g. the same Sumerian word is translated as "storm" in one line and "wind" in another; the same Sumerian complex is rendered as "disastrous wind" in one line and as "tempest" in another. Moreover, starting with the line "All these he gathered at the base of heaven" (the last line on p. 141 of the book; it corresponds to our line 186) some of the renderings should be treated as doubtful; particularly is it uncertain that the subject of these lines is Enlil. For although it is to be admitted that the assumption that Enlil is the subject gives excellent sense to the passage, the text as it stands hardly justifies it.

⁴²"Issued directions" instead of "gave (his) order" in *AS* 12.

⁴³For the rendering of this line cf. Jacobsen's excellent comment in *loc. cit.*, p. 223. Note that the refrain is omitted here since the line is really a continuation of the preceding line.

⁴⁴"The" in this line and the next and in line 181, for "to the" in *AS* 12.

⁴⁵Note the omission of the refrain; perhaps this line is closely connected with the preceding, cf. n.43 (note, too, the period at the end of this line instead of the semicolon in *AS* 12).

⁴⁶Lines 185-187 seem to go together (the subject is "the evil wind" in all three lines), hence perhaps the refrain is found only in the last of the three lines; note, too, that the refrain is missing in lines 188-192, perhaps for no better reason in some cases than for lack of space.

⁴⁷Note that in this line and those following the present rendering differs from that in *AS* 12 in not treating "the evil wind" (line 184) as the subject of the verbal forms.

⁴⁸For the new rendering, cf. particularly Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 223.

⁴⁹The first half of the line seems to me too doubtful at present for any fruitful attempt at its translation.

⁵⁰Note the new renderings for lines 190-192; cf. Witzel, *Orientalia* NS, xiv, 209.

At the side of their⁵¹ cups dust was piled high; the people groan.
 Over the black-headed people, the winds swept; the people groan.
 Sumer is broken up by the *gišburru*;⁵² the people groan. It attacks the land and devours it.⁵³
 The afflicting storm by tears is not adjured;
 The destructive storm makes the land tremble and quake;⁵⁴
 Like the flood storm it destroys the cities.
 The land-annihilating storm set up (its) ordinances⁵⁵ in the city; (200)
 The all-destroying storm came doing evil;⁵⁶
 Like a . . . -storm it placed the . . . upon the people.
 The storm ordered by Enlil in hate, the storm which wears away the land,⁵⁷
 Covered Ur like a garment, enveloped it like linen.
 The fifth song.
 The raging storm has attacked unceasingly; the people groan;
 Its antiphon.
 On that day the (good) storm was carried off from the city;⁵⁸ that city into ruins,⁵⁹ (210)
 O Father Nanna, that city into ruins was made; the people groan.
 On that day the (good) storm was carried off from the land; the people groan.
 Its people, not potsherds, filled its sides;⁶⁰
 Its walls were breached; the people groan.⁶¹
 In its lofty gates, where they were wont to promenade, dead bodies were lying about;
 In its boulevards, where the feasts were celebrated, scattered they lay.⁶²
 In all its streets, where they were wont to promenade, dead bodies were lying about;

⁵¹ "Their" refers perhaps to the "black-headed people" in the next line.

⁵² The *gišburru* is a weapon used in hunting gazelles; cf. line 220.

⁵³ Note the new rendering of the line. Note, that in this and the following lines, the refrain is omitted.

⁵⁴ More literally, "makes the land tremble again and again."

⁵⁵ "Decrees" (here rendered "ordinances") should have been treated as doubtful in AS 12; cf. Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 223.

⁵⁶ "Came doing evil" should have been treated as doubtful in AS 12; note, too, the slightly different rendering in the next line.

⁵⁷ Note the new rendering; cf. particularly Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 223.

⁵⁸ The sixth "song" too is written in the main Sumerian dialect. The first three lines speak of a "storm" which had been directed against Ur and Sumer and had turned them into ruins; practically the entire remainder of the "song," however, treats of the calamities that befell Ur as a result of her defeat in battle: The walls of Ur were breached, and the dead bodies of its people filled the gates. In their streets and boulevards they were ruthlessly attacked and laid low. Those who had been killed by the enemies' weapons lay unburied and untended; those who escaped were prostrated by the "storm." In Ur weak and strong alike perished through famine. Parents who did not leave their houses were overcome by fire, suckling babes were carried off by the waters. Judgment and counsel perished in the land. Parents abandoned their children, husbands their wives; all their possessions were scattered about. Gone is Ningal, its lady; she has departed like a flying bird. Lofty Ekishnugal is devoured by the axe; the Subarians and the Elamites break it up with the pickaxe and turn it into ruins. Ningal cries "Alas for my city, alas for my house." Ur is destroyed and its people are dispersed.

⁵⁹ Note that the refrain is only used intermittently throughout this "song." For lines 208-218, cf. the Jacobsen-Frankfort translation in *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, p. 142.

⁶⁰ cf. Jacobsen's suggestion in *loc. cit.*, p. 223.

⁶¹ For the new rendering, cf. Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 223, and Witzel, *Orientalia NS*, xv, 53.

⁶² For the new rendering, cf. Jacobsen-Frankfort, *loc. cit.*, p. 142.

In its places, where the festivities of the land took place, the people lay in heaps.⁶³
 The blood of the land, like bronze and lead . . . ;
 Its dead bodies, like fat placed in the sun,⁶⁴ of themselves melted away.
 Its men who were brought to an end by the axe were not covered with head-bandages;⁶⁵
 Like a gazelle held fast by the *gišburru*,⁶⁶ (their) mouths bit the dust. (220)
 Its men who were struck down by the spear were not bandaged;
 Lo (as) in the place where their mother labored they lay stricken in their blood.
 Its men who were brought to an end by the battle-mace were not . . . d;
 (Although) they were not drinkers of strong drink, they drooped neck over shoulder.
 Who kept standing⁶⁷ near the weapons, by the weapons was killed; the people groan.
 Who escaped them, by the storm was prostrated;⁶⁸ the people groan.
 Ur—its weak and (its) strong perished through hunger;
 Mothers and fathers who did not leave their houses, were overcome by fire;
 The young lying on their mothers' laps,⁶⁹ like fish were carried off by the waters;
 Of the nursemaids, pried open were their strong *kirimmu-garments*;⁷⁰ (230)
 The judgment of the land perished; the people groan.
 The counsel of the land was dissipated; the people groan.
 The mother left her daughter; the people groan.
 The father turned away from his son; the people groan.
 In the city the wife was abandoned, the child was abandoned, the possessions were scattered about;
 The black-headed people into their family places⁷¹ . . . were carried off.
 Its lady like a flying bird departed from her city;
 Ningal like a flying bird departed from her city;
 On all its possessions which had been accumulated in the land, a defiling hand was placed.
 In all its storehouses which abounded in the land, fires were kindled; (240)
 At its rivers Gibil,⁷² the purified, relentlessly did (his) work.

The lofty unapproachable mountain, the Ekishnugal—
 Its righteous house by large axes is devoured;

⁶³ For the new rendering, cf. Falkenstein, *ZA*, XLVII (1942), 190 and Jacobsen-Frankfort, *loc. cit.*, p. 142.

⁶⁴ cf. Jacobsen-Frankfort, *loc. cit.*, p. 142, and Witzel, *Orientalia NS*, xiv, 211.

⁶⁵ Note the new renderings of this line, line 221, and lines 223-224, and cf. several excellent suggestions made by Witzel, *Orientalia NS*, xv, 53-54.

⁶⁶ cf. n.52.

⁶⁷ "Kept standing" instead of "was stationed" in AS 12.

⁶⁸ The rendering of this phrase should have been indicated as doubtful in AS 12.

⁶⁹ "Laps" instead of "bosoms," cf. Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 224, and Witzel, *Orientalia NS*, xiv, 213.

⁷⁰ Note the new and still doubtful rendering of this line; cf. Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 224.

⁷¹ For the new rendering of this phrase, cf. Jacobsen, *JNES*, II, 171, n.70.

⁷² The god of fire.

The Subarians and the Elamites, the destroyers, *made of it* thirty shekels.⁷³

The righteous house they break up with the pickaxe; the people groan.

The city they make into ruins; the people groan.

Its lady cries: "Alas for my city," cries: "Alas for my house";

Ningal cries: "Alas for my city," cries: "Alas for my house.

As for me, the woman,⁷⁴ my city has been destroyed, my house too has been destroyed;

O Nanna, Ur has been destroyed, its people have been dispersed." (250)

The sixth song.

In her stable, in her sheepfold the lady utters bitter words:

"The city is being destroyed by the storm"; (252a)

Its antiphon.

Mother Ningal in her city like an enemy stood aside.⁷⁵

The woman⁷⁶ loudly utters the wail for her attacked house;

The princess in Ur, her attacked shrine, bitterly cries:

"Verily Anu has cursed my city, my city verily has been destroyed;

Verily Enlil has turned inimical to my house, by the pickaxe verily it has been *torn up*.

Upon him who comes from below verily he hurled fire—alas my city verily has been destroyed;

Enlil upon him who comes from above verily hurled the flame. (260)

Outside the city, the outer city⁷⁷ verily has been destroyed—'alas for my city' I will say.

Inside the city, the inner city verily has been destroyed—'alas for my house' I will say.

⁷³ That is, perhaps, treated it with the utmost contempt; note the amount "thirty shekels."

⁷⁴ "Woman" instead of "lady" in *AS* 12.

⁷⁵ In the first three lines the poet introduces "mother" Ningal on the point of uttering a bitter wail for the terrible fate that overtook her city and shrine; the contents of this rather long lament are then given in the form of a soliloquy by the embittered goddess (lines 257-298): Anu has cursed her city, and Enlil has turned inimical to her house. The inner city as well as the outer city have been destroyed. In the rivers of Ur the dust has gathered; there is no fresh water. There is no grain in the fields; gone is the field worker. Her palm groves and vineyards have brought forth the mountain thorn. Her possessions have been carried off to the lower lands and the upper lands; her precious metal, stone, and lapis lazuli lie scattered about. Her ornaments of precious metal and stone adorn the bodies of those who "know" not precious metal and stone. Her sons and daughters have been carried off into captivity; she is no longer queen of Ur. Her city and house have been destroyed; a strange city and a strange house have been erected in their place. Woe is her; Ur is destroyed, and its people are dead. Where then shall she sit down, where shall she stand up? Here follows an interruption of the goddess's words in which the poet describes the violence of her lament (lines 299-301); the deity's bitter soliloquy then continues: Woe is her; her house is a stable torn down, her cows are dispersed, the weapon has fallen on her ewes. She has gone forth from the city and found no rest; she has gone forth from the house and found no dwelling place. She is a stranger in a strange city; curses and abuse are heaped upon her. She approached her lord Nanna for the sake of his house and city which have been destroyed and weeps bitterly before him. Woe is her; "O my 'city-fate,'" she will say, "bitter is my 'city-fate.'" "O my house which has been destroyed," she will say, "bitter is my 'house-fate.'" Like a fallen ox she will lie down beside the ruins of her city and her house, and will not rise up. Bitter is the destruction of her house and city attacked without cause.

⁷⁶ "Woman" instead of "lady" in *AS* 12.

⁷⁷ For "outer city" and "inner city," cf. Witzel, *Orientalia* NS, xiv, 215, 217.

My houses of the outer city verily have been destroyed—'alas for my city' I will say;

My houses of the inner city verily have been destroyed—'alas for my house' I will say.

My city like an innocent ewe has not been . . . ed, gone is its trustworthy shepherd;

Ur like an innocent ewe has not been . . . ed, gone is its shepherd boy.

My ox in its stable has not been . . . ed, gone is its herdsman;

My sheep in its fold has not been . . . ed, gone is its shepherd boy.

In the rivers of my city dust has gathered, into *fox-dens*⁷⁸ verily they have been made;

In their midst no sparkling waters flow, gone is its *riverworker*. (270)

In the fields of the city there is no grain, gone is its fieldworker;

My fields verily like fields torn up by the pickaxe have brought forth. . . .

My palm groves and vineyards that abounded with honey and wine verily have brought forth the mountain thorn.

My plain where the *kazallu*⁷⁹ and *strong drink were prepared* verily like an oven has become *parched*.

My possessions like *heavy locusts* on the move verily . . . have been carried off—'O my possessions' I will say.

My possessions verily he who came from the (lands) below,⁸⁰ to the (lands) below has carried off—'O my possessions' I will say.

My possessions verily he who came from the (lands) above, to the (lands) above has carried off—'O my possessions' I will say.

Verily my (precious) metal, stone, and lapis lazuli have been scattered about—'O my possessions' I will say.

My treasure verily *has been dissipated*⁸¹—'O my possessions' I will say.

My (precious) metal, verily they who know not (precious) metal have fastened about their hands. (280)

My (precious) stones verily they who know not (precious) stones have fastened about their necks.

Verily all my birds and winged creatures have flown away—'alas for my city' I will say.

My daughters and sons verily . . . have been carried off—'alas for my men' I will say.

Woe is me, my daughters verily in a strange city carry strange banners;

With . . . verily the young men and young women have been fastened.

[*Woe is me*, my city] which no longer exists—I am not its queen;

[O Nanna], Ur which no longer exists—I am not its mistress.

⁷⁸ cf. Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 224.

⁷⁹ Perhaps some kind of drug.

⁸⁰ "(Lands) below" and "(lands) above" in this and the next line instead of "lower lands" and "upper lands" in *AS* 12.

⁸¹ The four dots in *AS* 12 are superfluous.

⁸² "Woman" instead of "lady" in *AS* 12.

I whose house verily has been made *into ruins*, whose city verily has been destroyed,
 I, the righteous woman, in place of whose city verily a strange city has been built,⁸³
 I whose city verily has been made *into ruins*, whose house verily has been destroyed, (290)
 I, Ningal, in place of whose house verily a strange house has been built—
Woe is me, the city has been destroyed, the house too has been destroyed;
 O Nanna, the shrine Ur has been destroyed, its people are dead.
Woe is me, where shall I sit me down, where shall I stand up?
Woe is me, in place of my city a strange city is being built;
 I, Ningal—in place of my house a strange house is being erected.
 Upon its removal from its place, from the plain, 'alas for my city' I will say;
 Upon its removal from my city, Ur, 'alas for my house' I will say."
 The woman tore her hair like the . . . reed;⁸⁴
 Her chest, the pure . . . , she strikes, "alas for my city" she cries. (300)
 Her eyes are flooded with tears; bitterly she weeps.
 "Woe is me, in place of my city a strange city is being built;
 I, Ningal—in place of my house a strange house is being erected.
Woe is me, I am one whose house is a stable torn down, I am one whose cows have been dispersed;
 I, Ningal—like an unworthy shepherd the weapon has fallen on (my) ewes.
Woe is me, I am one who has been exiled⁸⁵ from the city, I am one who has found no rest;
 I, Ningal—I am one who has been exiled from the house, I am one who has found no dwelling place.
 Lo, I am a stranger sitting with raised head in a strange city;
 Curses and abuses press upon me, head and limb;
 (Against) the curse of those who inhabit its dwelling places, I (dare) not speak out. (310)
 In that place for the sake of his city I approached him—bitterly I weep;
 To the lord for the sake of his house which had been attacked I approached—bitterly I weep.
 For the sake of his house which had been attacked I approached him—bitterly I weep.
Woe is me, 'O my city-fate'⁸⁶ I will say, 'bitter is my city-fate';

⁸³ For a somewhat different interpretation of lines 289, 291, 295-296, cf. Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 221 and n.7. In line 289, note "city" instead of "cities" in *AS* 12.

⁸⁴ The subject in lines 299-301 is Ningal; for the new rendering of the passage, cf. Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 222, n.12, and Witzel, *Orientalia* NS, xv, 56.

⁸⁵ For "been exiled" in this and the next lines, cf. the excellent suggestion by Witzel, *loc. cit.*, p. 56.

⁸⁶ For the new renderings in this and the next line, cf. Witzel, *loc. cit.*, p. 57.

I, the queen—"O my house which has been destroyed,' I will say, 'bitter is my house-fate.'
 O my brickwork of Ur which has been torn down, which has been wrecked,
 O my righteous house, my city which has been made into ruins,
 In the *debris* of thy righteous house which has been destroyed, I lay me down alongside of thee;
 Like a fallen ox, from thy wall I do not rise up. (320)
Woe is me, untrustworthy was *thy* building, bitter is thy destruction.
 O Ur, my, the woman's shrine⁸⁷ whose offerings have been cut off,
 O Enunkug, my house of *burnt offerings* whose bounty is no longer satisfying,
 O my city which *exists no longer*, my (city) attacked without cause,
 O my (city) attacked and destroyed, my (city) attacked without cause,
 Behold the storm ordered in hate—its violence has not *abated*;⁸⁸
 O my house of Sin in Ur, bitter is thy destruction."
 The seventh song.
 "Alas for my house, alas for my house."
 Its antiphon. (330)
 O queen, *make* thy heart *like water*; thou, how dost thou live!⁸⁹
 O Ningal, *make* thy heart *like water*, thou, how dost thou live!
 O thou righteous woman⁹⁰ whose city has been destroyed, now *how dost thou exist!*
 O thou Ningal whose land has perished, *make* thy heart *like water!*
 After thy city had been destroyed, now *how dost thou exist!*
 After thy house had been destroyed, *make* thy heart *like water!*
 Thy city *has become* a strange city; now *how dost thou exist!*
 Thy house *has become* a house of tears, *make* thy heart *like water!*

⁸⁷ "Woman's" for "lady's" in *AS* 12.

⁸⁸ Note the new rendering of this line; it follows in part the suggestions made by Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 224.

⁸⁹ In the eighth "song," our poet once again addresses the goddess Ningal. Beginning with the words "O queen, *make* thy heart *like water*; thou, how dost thou live!" and repeating this and parallel phrases as a persistent refrain, the "song" dwells on the misfortunes that have befallen her city and temple, but concludes with words of comfort and consolation. Her city has been destroyed and her house has perished. Her city has become a strange city; her house has become a house of tears and has been given over to the pickaxe. She is no longer queen of her people; these have been led to slaughter. Her city has been made into ruins, her house has been laid bare. Ur, the shrine, has been given over to the wind. Its priests are gone; its rites are no longer performed. The black-headed people celebrate not her (Ningal's) feasts, play no music, pour no libations. Her song has turned to weeping and her music to lamentation. The fat of the ox is not prepared for her, nor the milk of her sheep; the fisherman brings not her fish, nor the bird-hunter her birds. Her rivers and roads are overgrown with weeds. Her city weeps before her; her house cries her "Where, pray?" May she, Ningal, return like an ox to her stable, like a sheep to her fold, like a young child to her chamber. May Anu utter her *ahulappu*, her "tis enough" (of suffering); may Enlil decree her favorable fate, may he return Ur to its place for Ningal to exercise her queenship.

⁹⁰ "Woman" instead of "lady" in *AS* 12.

Thy city which has been made into ruins—thou art not its *mistress*;⁹¹
 Thy righteous house which has been given over to the pickaxe—thou dost not dwell as its dweller. (340)
 Thy people who have been led to slaughter—thou enterest not as their queen.
 Thy tears *have become* strange tears, thy land weeps not;
 Without “tears of supplication” it inhabits foreign lands;⁹²
 Thy land like one who has *multiplied . . . shuts tight its mouth*.⁹³
 Thy city has been made into ruins; now *how dost thou exist!*
 Thy house has been laid bare;⁹⁴ *make* thy heart *like water!*
 Ur, the shrine, has been given over to the wind; now *how dost thou exist!*
 Its *pašišu* verily *has not been brought into the*⁹⁵ . . . *make* thy heart *like water!*
 Its *énu* verily dwells not in the *giparru*; now *how dost thou exist!*
 Its . . . who cherishes lustrations makes no lustrations for thee; (350)
 Father Nanna has not perfected thy decrees in the holy . . .⁹⁶
 Thy *mahhu* in thy holy *gigunú* dressed not in linen;
 Thy righteous *énu* chosen . . .,⁹⁷ in the Ekishnugal,
 From the shrine to the *giparru* proceeds not joyfully.
 In the *aĥu*, thy house of feasts, they⁹⁸ celebrated not the feasts;
 On the *uppu* and *alú*⁹⁹ they played not for thee that which brings joy to the heart, the . . . -music.¹⁰⁰
 The¹⁰¹ black-headed people do not wash themselves during thy feasts,
 Like . . . verily dirt has been decreed for them; verily their appearance has changed.
 Thy song has been turned into weeping . . . ;
 Thy . . . -music has been turned into lamentation. . . . (360)
 Thy ox verily has not been brought into its stable, its fat has not been prepared for thee;
 Thy sheep verily stays not in its fold, its milk is not presented to thee.¹⁰²

⁹¹ The four dots at the end of this line in *AS 12*, are superfluous.

⁹² Perhaps the rendering of this line should read: “Without ‘tears of supplication’ foreigners inhabit it.” cf. Witzel, *loc. cit.*, p. 58.

⁹³ In *AS 12*, p. 59, n.551 should read: More literally perhaps: “pressed the hand on the mouth.”

⁹⁴ “Laid bare” instead of “made into a pasture” in *AS 12*.

⁹⁵ Note the new rendering of the line; the word following “into the” might be expected to parallel the *giparru* in line 349 and the *gigunú* in line 352 and thus be the name of a part of the temple complex; cf. also *JCS*, 1 (1947), 43, n.250. The *pašišu*, the *énu* (line 349), and the *mahhu* (line 352) are important priestly classes in the service of the temple.

⁹⁶ Note the new rendering of the line.

⁹⁷ Note the new rendering; it is doubtful if the suggested restoration *hi-li* in *AS 12* is correct.

⁹⁸ “They” in this and the next line presumably refer to “the black-headed people” of line 357.

⁹⁹ The *uppu* and the *alú* are two musical instruments.

¹⁰⁰ Note the different word order in the translation in *AS 12*.

¹⁰¹ “The” for “thy” in *AS 12*. Note, too, the new rendering of the remainder of the line, cf. Witzel, *Orientalia NS*, xiv, 227.

¹⁰² “Presented to” instead of “prepared for” in *AS 12*.

Thy . . . fat from the stable has not been brought for thee . . . ;
 Thy . . . milk from the sheepfold has not been brought for thee. . . .
 Thy fisherman *and . . . fish were overtaken* by misfortune . . . ;
 Thy bird-hunter *and . . . birds . . .*
 Thy river which had been made fit for the *maĥurru*-boats—in its midst the . . . -plant grows;
 On thy road which had been prepared for the chariots the mountain thorn grows.
 O my queen, thy city weeps before thee *as its mother*;¹⁰³
 Ur, like the child of a street which has been destroyed *seeks a place* before thee. (370)
 The house, like a man who has lost *everything stretches out* the hands to thee;
 Thy brickwork of the righteous house, like a human being cries thy “Where, pray?”
 O my queen, verily thou art one who has departed from the house; thou art one who has departed from the city.

How long, pray, wilt thou stand aside in the city like an enemy?

O Mother Ningal, (how long) wilt thou hurl challenges in the city like an enemy?

Although thou art a queen beloved of her city, thy city . . . thou hast abandoned;

[Although] thou art [a queen¹⁰⁴ beloved of her people], thy people . . . thou hast abandoned.

O Mother Ningal, like an ox to thy stable, like a sheep to thy fold!

Like an ox to thy stable of former days, like a sheep to thy fold!

Like a young child to thy chamber, O maid, to thy house! (380)

May Anu, the king of the gods, utter thy “*'tis enough*”;

May Enlil, the king of all the lands, decree thy (favorable) fate.

May *he* return thy city to its place for thee; exercise its queenship!¹⁰⁵

May *he* return Ur to its place for thee; exercise its queenship!

The eighth song.

My ordinances have become inimical;

Its antiphon.

Alas, all the storms together have flooded the land.¹⁰⁶

The great storm of heaven, the ever roaring storm,

¹⁰³ Note the new rendering; cf. Witzel, *loc. cit.*, p. 227.

¹⁰⁴ Note restoration of “a queen” instead of Mother Ningal, and cf. Witzel, *Orientalia NS*, xv, 59.

¹⁰⁵ Two variant texts have two lines preceding this line; they read: “May *he* return Nippur to its place for thee; exercise its queenship! May *he* return Isin to its place for thee; exercise its queenship!” In these two texts, therefore, Nippur and Isin are treated more or less as equals of Ur.

¹⁰⁶ The ninth and tenth “songs” together—from the point of view of their contents there seems to be no reason for the division into two songs—contain the poet’s plea to Nanna not to permit the “storm” to overwhelm Ur and its inhabitants. Beginning with the statement: “*Alas*, all the storms together have flooded the land,” they continue with a description of the “storms” and their destructive deeds, and conclude with a number of curses against it.

The afflicting storm which sated the land,¹⁰⁷ (390)
 The storm which destroyed cities, the storm which
 destroyed houses;
 The storm which destroyed stables, the storm which
 destroyed sheepfolds,¹⁰⁸
 Which stretched out (its) hand over the holy *rites*,
 Which placed a defiling hand on the weighty counsel,
 The storm which cut off all that is good from the land,
 The storm which held the black-headed people in its
 ban—¹⁰⁹
 The ninth song.
 The storm which . . . ;
 Its antiphon.
 The storm which knows not the mother, the storm
 which knows not the father, (400)
 The storm which knows not the wife, the storm which
 knows not the child,¹¹⁰
 The storm which knows not the sister, the storm which
 knows not the brother,
 The storm which knows not the weak, the storm which
 knows not the strong,
 The storm *on whose account* the wife *is forsaken*, *on*
whose account the child *is forsaken*;
 The . . . -storm, the storm which caused the land to
 perish,¹¹¹
 The storm ordered in hate which sated the land—
 O Father Nanna, let not that storm establish itself *near*
thy city!
Look not (unfavorably) upon thy black-headed people!
 Let not the storm, like rain pouring down from heaven,
turn . . . !
 (*The storm*) which *overwhelmed* the living creatures
 of heaven and earth, the black-headed people—(410)
 May that storm be entirely destroyed!

¹⁰⁷ Note the new renderings of lines 390, and 395-396; they are based on the assumption that the first Sumerian word has the meaning "storm"; cf. also Witzel, *Orientalia* NS, xiv, 229, 231. Note, too, that lines 390, 393-396, 398, 400-406, and 410, end in a Sumerian sign which may indicate that line 388 is to be repeated after each of them as a refrain.

¹⁰⁸ "Destroyed" instead of "destroy" in *AS* 12; so quite correctly Witzel, *loc. cit.*, 229.

¹⁰⁹ Note that line 396 should not be followed by a period; the description of the storm is continued after lines 397-399 which, for reasons that are far from obvious, have been interposed here to separate the two "songs."

¹¹⁰ As Witzel, *Orientalia* NS, xv, 60, has pointed out, the Sumerian transliteration to this line in *AS* 12 erroneously read *šet* for *dumu*.

¹¹¹ Note the new renderings to lines 405-406 and cf. the comparable text in lines 202-203; indeed one of the texts has a variant to line 406 whose contents are identical with line 203, that is: "The storm ordered by Enlil in hate, the storm which wears away the land."

Like the great gate of night may the door be closed on it!
 Let not that storm be given a place in the *numbering*
 May its record *hang by a (clay) nail outside* the house
 of Enlil!
 The tenth song.
Unto distant days, other days, future days;
 Its antiphon.
*From distant days, when the land was founded,*¹¹²
 O Nanna, the *humble*¹¹³ *who have taken thy path*,
 Have brought unto thee *their tears of the smitten* house;
 before thee *is their cry!* (420)
*Verily*¹¹⁴ thy black-headed people who have been cast
 away, prostrate themselves unto thee!
Verily thy city which has been made into ruins set up
 a wail unto thee!
 O Nanna, may thy city which has been returned to its
 place, step forth gloriously before thee!
 Like a bright star let it not be destroyed; may it proceed
 before thee!
 . . . man shall . . . ;
 [The man] of [offer]ings shall utter prayers unto thee.
 . . . who art . . . of the [lan]d,
 . . . ,
 Undo the sins of its . . . !
 Soothe the heart of. . . .¹¹⁵ (430)
 Upon that which the man of offerings has brought,
 gaze with steadfast eye!
 O Nanna, thou whose penetrating gaze *searches* the
 bowels,¹¹⁶
 May every evil heart of its people be pure before thee!
 May the heart of those who dwell in the land be *good*
 before thee!¹¹⁷
 O Nanna, thy city which has been returned to its place
 exalts thee.
 The eleventh song.¹¹⁸

¹¹² The last "song" contains a prayer addressed by the poet to Nanna to restore Ur and its people to their original and favored position. While the first five lines seem to describe the abjectness and humility of the black-headed people, the remaining lines contain a plea to Nanna to look steadfastly and kindly upon the prayers, offerings, and "hearts" of the dwellers of Ur.

¹¹³ cf. Jacobsen's excellent suggestion in *loc. cit.*, p. 224.

¹¹⁴ "Verily" in this and the next line for "may" in *AS* 12.

¹¹⁵ Note the modified renderings in this and the next line.

¹¹⁶ For "searches the bowels" cf. Jacobsen's suggestion in *loc. cit.*, p. 224.

¹¹⁷ For a possible variant rendering, cf. Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 224.

¹¹⁸ The colophon of the best preserved tablet contains the statement that it is the work of "the hand of Apil-Sumugan; the month of Tishrê, the sixteenth day." The line giving the date-formula for the year is destroyed, but there is some reason to believe that it belonged to the reign of Samsuiluna, the son of Hammurabi.



VIII. Secular Songs and Poems



Egyptian Secular Songs and Poems

TRANSLATOR: JOHN A. WILSON

A Song of the Harper

A common scene in the tombs of ancient Egypt shows a harper entertaining guests at a feast. More than once he calls upon them to surrender themselves to pleasure, because they can have no certainty that earthly diligence will lead to eternal bliss.

The present translation is made from Papyrus Harris 500 (now British Museum 10060), recto vi 2-vii 3, a manuscript of about 1300 B.C. A closely similar version was in the Sakkarah tomb of Pa-Aton-em-heb, of the Amarna period (about 1375-1360 B.C.), now in Leyden. The version in the tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes (Tomb No. 50, about 1350-1320 B.C.) was somewhat different. The title given below shows that the original was ascribed to the reign of one of the Intef kings before or after the Twelfth Dynasty. The theme may have been characteristic of the groping for value which followed the collapse of the Old Kingdom. However, the use of the text in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties shows that this hedonism was an acceptable literary expression for some centuries.

M. Lichtheim studied this and other harper's songs in *JNES*, iv (1945), 178 ff., translation on pp. 192 f., bibliography on pp. 211 f. The present translation is made from W. M. Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der alten Aegypter* (2nd printing, Leipzig, 1932), Pls. 13-15.* (See Addenda).

The song which is in the House of King Intef, the triumphant, and which is before the singer with the harp.

Prosperous is he, this good prince,
Even though good fortune may suffer harm!¹
Generations pass away, and others remain
Since the time of the ancestors.²
The gods who lived formerly rest in their pyramids,
The beatified dead also, buried in their pyramids.³ (5)
And they who built houses—their places are not.
See what has been made of them!
I have heard the words of Ii-em-hotep and Hor-dedef,
With whose discourses men speak so much.⁴
What are their places (now)?
Their walls are broken apart, and their places are
not—
As though they had never been!
There is none who comes back from (over) there,
That he may tell their state,
That he may tell their needs,
That he may still our hearts,
Until we (too) may travel to the place where they
have gone.

¹ The fate of death may not be happy, but this prince need not fear. The version in the tomb of Nefer-hotep, "How weary is this righteous prince; the goodly fortune has come to pass," makes death a kindly release.

² The Nefer-hotep version, "Generations pass away since the time of the god, (but) young people come in their place," shows that the meaning is the transition from one generation to another.

³ The dead kings and nobles of older times.

⁴ Ii-em-hotep, the famous vizier of Djoser, and Hor-dedef, the son of Khufu, were traditional sages of Egypt. See p. 432, n.4.

Let thy desire flourish,
In order to let thy heart forget the beatifications for thee.⁵

Follow thy desire, as long as thou shalt live.

Put myrrh upon thy head and clothing of fine linen
upon thee, (10)

Being anointed with genuine marvels of the god's
property.

Set an increase to thy good things;

Let not thy heart flag.

Follow thy desire and thy good.

Fulfill thy needs upon earth, after the command of
thy heart,

Until there come for thee that day of mourning.

The Weary [of Heart] hears not their

[mourn]ing,⁶ (vii 1)

And wailing saves not the heart of a man from the
underworld.

REFRAIN: Make holiday, and weary not therein!

Behold, it is not given to a man to take his property
with him.

Behold, there is not one who departs who comes back
again!

Love Songs

The later Egyptian Empire (1300-1100 B.C.) has provided us with several collections of love songs. They were apparently intended to be sung to the accompaniment of some musical instrument. They express an enjoyment of nature and the out-of-doors. As in the Song of Songs, the lovers are called "my brother" and "my sister."*

a

Papyrus Harris 500, now British Museum 10060, recto iv 1-7, of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Photograph in *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Second Series*, ed. by E. A. W. Budge (London, 1923), Pl. XLIII. Hieratic text, transcription into hieroglyphic, translation, and commentary in W. M. Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der alten Aegypter*, Pls. 8-9, pp. 20-22. Translation in Erman, *LAE*, 246-47.

THE BEGINNING OF THE beautiful SONGS OF ENTERTAINMENT of thy sister, the beloved of thy heart, as she comes from the meadow.

My brother, my beloved,
My heart pursues the love of thee,
All that thou hast brought into being.

⁵ An important part of the funerary services was "beatification" or "making (the deceased) an effective personality."

⁶ Osiris, the god of the dead, is not concerned with the earthly mourning for the dead.

I say to thee: "See what I am doing!"
 I have come from setting my trap with my (own)
 hand;
In my hand are my bait and my snare.
 All the birds of Punt, they alight in Egypt,
 Anointed with myrrh.¹
 The first one comes and takes my worm.
 Its fragrance is brought from Punt,
 And its talons are full of resin.
 My wish for thee is that we loose them together,
 When I am alone with thee,
 That I might let thee hear the cry
 Of the one anointed with myrrh.
How good it would be
 If thou wert there with me
 When I set the trap!
 The best is to go to the fields,
 To the one who is beloved!
 THE END.

b

Also from Papyrus Harris 500, recto v 6-8. Facsimiled on Pl. XLIV of the British Museum publication noted above. Müller, *op. cit.*, Pls. 10-11, p. 24. Erman, *op. cit.*, 247-48.

The voice of the swallow speaks and says:
 "The land has brightened—What is thy road?"²
 Thou shalt not, O bird, *disturb* me!
 I have found my brother in his bed,
 And my heart is still more glad,
 (*When he*) said to me:
 "I shall not go afar off.
 My hand is in thy hand,
 I shall stroll about,
 And I shall be with thee in every pleasant place."
 He makes me the foremost of maidens.
 He injures not my heart.
 THE END.

c

From Cairo Ostrakon 25218, lines 6-10. Photographs of the potsherd carrying the text in G. Daressy, *Ostraca (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Cairo, 1901)*, Pls. XLIII-XLV. Transcript of the hieratic in G. Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke*, II (Leipzig, 1927), 39. Müller, *op. cit.*, Pl. 17, p. 42. Erman, *op. cit.*, 243. Nineteenth Dynasty.

The love of my sister is on yonder side,³
 A stream lies between us,
 And a crocodile waits in the shallows.
 But when I go down into the water,
 I wade the current,

¹ Punt, a land on the Arabian Sea, was famous for gums and perfumes. The theme of this song is that the maiden has been catching birds from the lands of fragrant gums, and she wishes that her "brother" might join her in this pastime, with its implications of rich perfumes and merry-making. cf. the frequent references to myrrh and spices in the Song of Songs, chap. 4 and 5.

² Where are you walking in the early morning? The swallow invites the maiden to the pleasures of the open fields. She, however, seeks out the company of her "brother." cf. Song of Songs 2:12-13, with "the voice of the turtle-dove."

³ Though a flowing stream with lurking crocodiles lies between the youth and his "sister," the love of her is a magic charm to carry him successfully across to her. cf. Song of Songs 8:7.

My heart is great upon the stream,
 And the waves are like land unto my feet.
 It is the love of her that makes me steady,
 For it makes a water-charm for me!
 When I see my sister coming,
 My heart dances,
 And my arms open wide to embrace her, . . .
 When *the mistress* comes to me.
 THE END.

d

From Papyrus Chester Beatty I, verso C ii 4-9, of the Twentieth Dynasty and from Thebes. Published by A. H. Gardiner, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty* (London, 1931), Pl. XXIII, pp. 31-32.

THIRD STANZA.⁴

My heart intended to see *Nefrus*,⁵
 That I might sit in her home.
 But I found *Mehy* driving on the road,
 Together with his gallants.
 I know not how to take me from his presence,
 That I might pass him freely by.
 See, river is like road,
 And I know not the place of my feet.
 Very foolish art thou, my heart—
 Wherefore wouldst thou make free with *Mehy*?
 Behold, if I pass by before him,
 I shall tell him of my waverings;
 "Behold, I am thine!" I shall say to him;
 And he will boast of my name
 And assign me to the foremost harem
 Of those who are in his retinue.

e

Also from Papyrus Beatty I, verso C iv 6-v 2. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, Pls. XXV-XXVI, p. 34.

SEVENTH STANZA.⁶

Seven (days) to yesterday I have not seen the sister,
 And a sickness has invaded me.
 My body has become heavy,
 Forgetful of my own self.⁷
 If the chief of physicians come to me,
 My heart is not content (with) their remedies;
 The lector priests,⁸ no way (out) is in them:—
 My sickness will not be probed.

⁴ Papyrus Beatty I, C, contains "THE BEGINNING OF THE SPEECHES OF GREAT ENTERTAINMENT," with seven numbered stanzas, of which this is the third. By a characteristic Egyptian literary device, there is a pun on the word "third" at the beginning and end of the stanza: *khemet* "three," *khemet* "intended," and *imiu-khetef* "who are in his retinue."

⁵ The translation depends for good sense on treating two words as proper names, even though they are not properly determined as names: *nefrus* "her beauty," and *mehy* "flax." Possibly there was some colloquially known implication in these two terms. It would then seem that the maiden went out to visit a girl friend and unexpectedly met her "brother" riding with other lusty youths. She was covered with confusion and feared that her emotions might be so obvious that he would scorn her and turn her over to one of his group.

⁶ cf. n.4 above. Here the word "seven" is employed in place of a pun. The theme of the song is that of Song of Songs 2:5 or 5:8: "I am sick from love." Physicians and magicians cannot diagnose or cure the youth's ailment, but the mere sight of his "sister" will make him well.

⁷ Often in the sense of losing consciousness.

⁸ Who read magic spells for the cure of disease.

To say to me: "Here she is!" is what will revive me;
 Her name is what will lift me up;
 The going in and out of her messengers
 Is what will revive my heart.
 More beneficial to me is the sister than any remedies;
 She is more to me than the collected writings.
 My health is her coming in from outside:
 When (I) see her, then (I) am well.
 If she opens her eye, my body is young (again);
 If she speaks, then I am strong (again);
 When I embrace her, she drives evil away from me—
 But she has gone forth from me for seven days!

f

Also from Papyrus Beatty I, verso G i 5-ii 1. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, Pls. xxix-xxx, p. 35.

Would that thou wouldst come (to the sister speedily),⁹
 Like a horse of the king,
 Picked from a thousand of all steeds,
 The foremost of the stables!
 It is distinguished in its food,
 And its master knows its paces.
 If it hears the sound of the whip,
 It knows no delay,
 And there is no foremost of the chasseurs¹⁰
 Who can stay before it (to hold it).
 How well the sister's heart knows
 That he is not far from the sister!
 THE END.

Songs of the Common People

WORKERS IN THE FIELD

Many of the working songs in the modern Near East are antiphonal, with a leader and a chorus. Scenes and legends suggest that the same was true in antiquity, although it is difficult to present a single clear case. The following two songs are separated in the scene in which they occur: the first is attached to a group of plowmen and the second to a near-by group of reapers. The general similarity of words and the "answering refrain" justify their juxtaposition here.

The texts are in an agricultural scene in an Eighteenth Dynasty (16th-14th centuries B.C.) tomb at el Kab, published by J. J. Tylor, *The Tomb of Paheri (Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab, London, 1895)*, Pls. iv-v.

Over the Plowmen

A good day—it is cool.
 The cattle are pulling,

⁹ This is one of three stanzas. Since the other two stanzas begin: "Would that thou wouldst come to the sister quickly," it is clear that the text here should be so completed. The first stanza expresses the maiden's hope that her "brother" will come to her as swiftly as a royal courier, the third stanza that he would come as swiftly as a gazelle bounding over the desert. Here we have the second stanza, longing that he come as swiftly as the fastest horse of the royal stables. cf. Song of Songs 1:9: "I have compared thee, O my love, to a steed in Pharaoh's chariots." For the gazelle as a figure of swift arrival, cf. Song of Songs 2:8-9; 8:14.

¹⁰ *Teher*, a foreign word (perhaps Hittite) for a chariot-warrior; cf. p. 239, n.3.

And the sky does according to our desire—
 Let us work for the noble!

Over the Reapers

The answering refrain which they say:
 This good day is come forth in the land;
 The north wind is come forth,
 And the sky does according to our desire—
 Let us work as our hearts may be bound!

A Threshing Song

In the same scene, a herdsman is shown driving his cattle around and around to thresh out the grain. He urges them that their monotonous labor is easy and profitable.

Thresh ye for yourselves, thresh ye for yourselves,
 O cattle!
 Thresh ye for yourselves, thresh ye for yourselves!
 Straw to eat, and barley for your masters—
 Let not your hearts be weary, for it is cool.

A SONG OF THE HERDSMAN

In scenes of earlier times, as the herdsman drives his sheep to tread out the grain, he sings a song which, in humorous allusion, implies that he is out of his usual place. The text occurs in the same setting in two Sakkarah tombs of the Old Kingdom (25th-24th centuries B.C.). It is given in A. Erman, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder des alten Reiches (APAW, 1919)*, 19-20, and translated in Erman, *LAE, 131*.*

The herdsman is in the water among the fish:
 He talks with the shad
 And greets the oxyrhynchus fish.
 O west, where is the herdsman (now),
 The herdsman of the west?

A SONG OF THE CARRIERS OF A PALANQUIN

Three Old Kingdom scenes which depict a noble traveling in a palanquin give the words of the porters. The recurring words, "It is pleasanter full than when it is empty," link these three together in the recognized refrain of a song. The longest of these texts is the most difficult, and only the concluding words can be translated with certainty. It comes from the Dahshur tomb of Ipi, and is now Cairo Museum 1536, published by L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des alten Reiches I (Catalogue général . . . du Musée du Caire, Berlin 1937)*, 240. The following translation follows the imaginative rendering of W. Wreszinski in *OLZ*, xxvi (1923), 309-12, which has the merit of giving the feeling of the song, even though some of the words remain uncertain.

Go down into *the palanquin*, and it is sound!
 Go down into *the palanquin*, and it is well!
The carrying-poles are on the support of the carriers.
O palanquin of Ipi, be as heavy as I wish—
 It is pleasanter full than when it is empty!

SONGS AT A FEAST

An annual feast at Luxor had as its central feature the journey of the god Amon and of the pharaoh by boat between Karnak and Luxor. In scenes of the time of Tut-ankh-Amon (about 1361-1352 B.C.) in the Temple of Luxor, this ceremonial

procession is shown, and there are two brief songs about a drinking place set up for the entertainment of the sailors of the god's boat. Each song is credited to the goddess Neith. One of them follows, as published by W. Wolf, *Das schöne Fest von Opet* (Leipzig, 1931), 56-57, (No. 15 a,b), and by K. Sethe in *Z.AeS*, LXIV (1929), 1-5.

A drinking place has been built for the menials who are in the ship of ships.

The ways of the earth god have been hacked open for (thee), O Nile, great and high!

Mayest thou satisfy thy Two Goddesses

For Horus, the strong of arm,

When the god is rowed, carrying the beauty of the god.¹

Hat-Hor has effected the beauty of good things

For King (Tut-ankh-Amon), beloved of Amon and favored of the gods.

So says Neith.

Close by this song there are depicted eight women with sistrum-rattles and eight priests clapping their hands in measure. The text (Wolf, *op. cit.*, 57 [No. 15, c]) relates them to the songs of the entire scene.

The chorus which sets the measure while the journey takes place upon the river:

O Amon, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, thou livest forever!

In the same large scene units of soldiers swing along in gay and vigorous movement, with some of the Negro troops breaking out in jubilant dance. Over the heads of the soldiers their songs of festivity are written (Wolf, *op. cit.*, 63-64 [No. 34]).

[The leaders of] the army. They rejoice in front of his majesty: "How happy is the good ruler when he has conveyed Amon, for He decreed to him valor against the south and victory against [the north]! Amon [is the god who decreed] the victory to the ruler!"²

[The soldiers] who are following his majesty. The chorus of jubilation which they utter: "King (Tut-ankh-Amon) is conveying Him who begot him! Decreed for him was kingship from the beginning of the lifetime of Re in heaven. He is rewarded with valor and victory over every foreign country that attacks him. Amon decreed the victory to King (Tut-ankh-Amon)! Amon is the god who decreed the victory to the ruler!"

Another song of military triumph, presumably sung by returning soldiers, will be found on p. 228 above.

In Praise of the City Ramses

The pharaohs of the Nineteenth Dynasty established their residence city, the biblical Ramses or Raamses, in the north-

¹ The divine pharaoh is rowed, transporting the image of the god Amon.

² The triumphant words, "Amon is the god who decreed the victory to the ruler!" may be followed from the texts of Hat-shepsut (about 1486-1469 B.C.) to Ramses IV (about 1164-1157 B.C.), with at least fifteen occurrences and perhaps a partial recurrence under Pi-ankhi (about 720 B.C.). Its setting is always some scene or text of triumphant return. See J. A. Wilson in *JEA*, xvii (1931), 214-16.

eastern Delta.¹ The glories of this new capital were celebrated in poetical compositions like the following.

(a) From Papyrus Anastasi II (British Museum 10243), recto i 1-ii 5, with a parallel text in Papyrus Anastasi IV (British Museum 10249), recto vi 1-10. Both manuscripts are school compositions dated to the end of the 13th century B.C. and ascribed to Memphis. Facsimiled in *Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collections of the British Museum*, II (London, 1842), Pls. LXIII-LXIV, LXXXVII, with the Anastasi II text also in G. Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke*, II (Leipzig, 1927), Pls. 37-38. Transcription into hieroglyphic by A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, VII, Brussels, 1937), 12-13, 40-41. Translations by A. H. Gardiner in *JEA*, v (1918), 187-88, and by Erman, *LAE*, 270-71.*

(b) From Papyrus Anastasi III (British Museum 10246), recto i 11-iii 9, of the same characteristics as the above. Parallels from a papyrus in Vienna (Papyrus Rainer 53) and from an ostrakon in Queen's College, Oxford. Facsimiled in *Select Papyri*, etc., Pls. LXXXIV-LXXXVI. Transcription into hieroglyphic by Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 21-23, 137-38. Translations by Gardiner in *JEA*, v, 184-86, and by Erman, *LAE*, 206-07. The present translation omits many of the good products listed as available at Ramses.* Translated by Caminos, *op.cit.*, 73-82.

a

THE BEGINNING OF THE RECITAL of the might of the Lord of Egypt.

His majesty—life, prosperity, health!—has built himself a castle, the name of which is "Great of Victories." It is between Djahi² and Egypt, and is full of food and provisions. It is like unto Hermonthis,³ and its lifetime is like (that of) Memphis. The sun rises in its horizon, and sets within it. All men have left their towns and are settled in its territory. Its west is the House of Amon, its south the House of Seth. Astarte appears in its orient, and Uto in its north.⁴ The castle which is in it is like the horizon of heaven. Ramses Meri-Amon is in it as a god, Montu-in-the-Two-Lands as a herald, Sun-of-Rulers as a vizier, and Joy-of-Egypt (ii 1) Beloved-of-Atum as a mayor.⁵ (Thus) the land comes down into its (proper) place.

The Great Prince of Hatti sent (a message) to the Prince of Kode:⁶ "Prepare thyself, that we may hasten to Egypt and say: 'The will of the god is come to pass,' that we may make words of blandishment to Usermaat-Re⁸—life, prosperity, health! He gives breath to whom he will, and every foreign country exists (only

¹ The location of Ramses has been much disputed, and scholars are not yet in agreement. For its location at Tanis, modern San el-Hagar in the northeastern Delta, see A. H. Gardiner in *JEA*, xix (1933), 122 ff.; xxx (1944), 60; and R. Weill in *JEA*, xxi (1935), 17 ff. For a view that Ramses may have been at modern Qantir, about 15 miles south of San el-Hagar, cf. W. C. Hayes, *Glazed Tiles from a Palace of Ramses at Qantir (Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers*, No. 3, New York, 1937), 8.*

² Centrally the Phoenician coast, but carrying down into Palestine.

³ An old cult-center south of Thebes.

⁴ Temples of the gods mark the four quarters of the city. The Semitic goddess Astarte is appropriately in the east. The Egyptian goddess Uto is sometimes called Buto modernly.

⁵ Ramses II is a god of the city, and, through his epithets, is all the important administrators.

⁶ Kode or Qedi was the north Phoenician coast, carrying into Cilicia. The present section does not deal with the city Ramses, but with a projected visit by the Hittite king to Egypt. This may have fallen shortly before Ramses II's 21st year, in which he signed a treaty with Hatti. cf. pp. 199-201 and 256-258 above, ad Breasted, *AR*, III, §§425-26; E. Cavaignac, *L'Égypte et le Hatti vers 1302*, in *Mélanges Maspero* (Cairo, 1934), I, 357-60.

⁷ The god would be Ramses II, and the statement would be an expression of submission by Hatti and Kode to Egypt.

⁸ Ramses II.

through the love of him. Hatti is in his power alone. If the god receives not its offering, it does not see the water of heaven, for it is in the power of User-maat-Re—life, prosperity, health!—the bull that loves valor!⁹

THE END.

b

The Scribe Pai-Bes communicating to his lord, the Scribe Amen-em-Opet: In life, prosperity, health! It is a letter to let [my] lord know. Another communication to my lord, to wit:¹⁰

I have reached Per-Ramses,¹¹ and have found (ii 1) it in [very, very] good condition, a beautiful district, without its like, after the pattern of Thebes. It was [Re] himself [who founded it.]

The Residence is pleasant in life; its field is full of everything good; it is (full) of supplies and food every day, its *ponds* with fish, and its lakes with birds. Its meadows are verdant with grass; its banks bear dates; its melons are abundant on the sands. . . . Its granaries are (so) full of barley and emmer (that) they come near to the sky. Onions and leeks (5) are *for food*, and lettuce of the *garden*, pomegranates, apples, and olives, figs of the orchard, sweet wine of *Ka-of-Egypt*,¹² surpassing honey, red *wedj*-fish of the canal of the Residence City, *which* live on lotus-flowers, *bedin*-fish of the *Hari*-waters, . . .¹³

The Shi-Hor¹⁴ has salt, and the *Her canal* has natron.

⁹ If Ramses does not receive Hatti's offer of submission, Ramses is able to withhold rain from Hatti. cf. p. 257 above.

¹⁰ Pai-Bes, the pupil, is writing to Amen-em-Opet, his master.

¹¹ "The House of Ramses," in full, "the House of Ramses Meri-Amon—life, prosperity, health!" to which the Vienna papyrus adds "the great *ka* of the Re-Har-akhū" as an epithet. Our text uses another epithet of Per-Ramses, "Great of Victories," as a designation for the city.

¹² A well-known vineyard of the Delta.

¹³ Other varieties of fish follow.

¹⁴ The biblical "the Shihor (which is before Egypt)," literally, "the

Its ships go out and come (back) to mooring, (so that) supplies (10) and food are in it every day. One rejoices to dwell within it, and there is none who says: "Would that!" to it.¹⁵ The small in it are like the great.

Come, let us celebrate for it its feasts of the sky, as well as its feasts at the beginning of the seasons.¹⁶

The reed-thicket¹⁷ comes to it with papyrus; the Shi-Hor with rushes. . . . (iii 1) . . . The young men of "Great of Victories" are dressed up every day, with sweet oil upon their heads and newly dressed hair. They stand beside their doors, their hands bowed down with flowers, with greenery of the House of Hat-Hor and flax of the *Her canal*, on the day when User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re—life, prosperity, health!—Montu-in-the-Two-Lands enters in, on the morning of the Feast of Khoiak.¹⁸ (5) Every man is like his fellow in uttering their petitions.

The ale of "Great of Victories" is sweet; . . .¹⁹ beer of Kode²⁰ from the harbor, and wine of the vineyards. The ointment of the *Segbeyen* waters is sweet, and the garlands of the *garden*. The singers of "Great of Victories" are sweet, being instructed in Memphis.

(So) dwell content of heart and free, without stirring from it, O User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re—life, prosperity, health!—Montu-in-the-Two-Lands, Ramses Meri-Amon—life, prosperity, health!—thou god!

THE END.

Waters of Horus." Presumably the Tanite branch of the Nile, with its salt-flats.

¹⁵ No one feels a lack in the city Ramses.

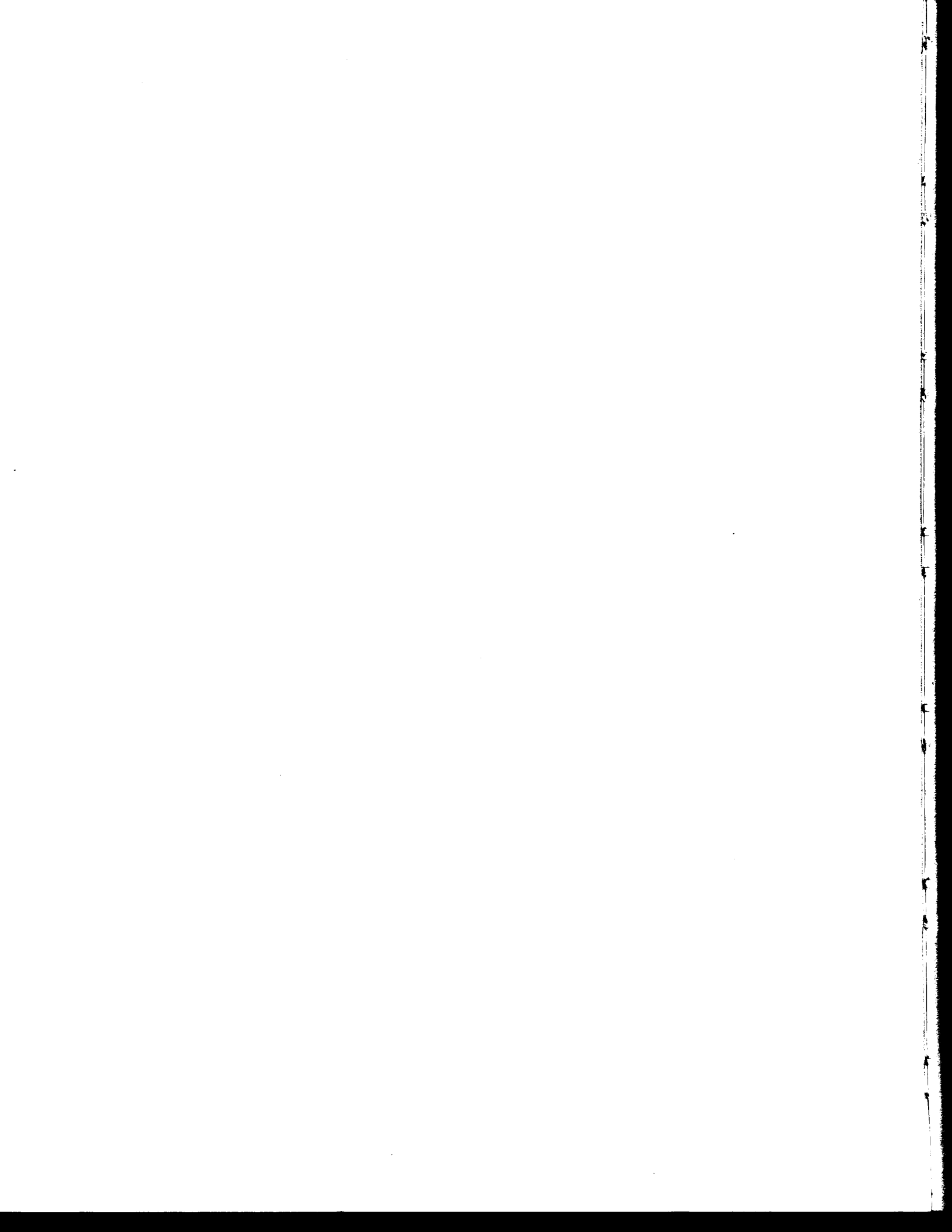
¹⁶ The "feasts of the sky" were those astronomically set, such as those of the phases of the moon. The seasonal feasts included the Coronation Feast, the Rising of the Dog-Star, the Feast of Opet, etc., which recurred with regularity.

¹⁷ The word used appears also in Hebrew in "the Sea of Reeds" (conventionally translated "Red Sea"). See Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II, 201* f.

¹⁸ The relation of this feast to the king's entry into the city is not clear.

¹⁹ Other drinks are listed.

²⁰ See n.6 above.



IX. Letters



An Egyptian Letter

TRANSLATOR: JOHN A. WILSON

A Satirical Letter

This text was one of the admired literary compositions of the late Empire and was used for the instruction of apprentice scribes. A royal official Hori received a letter from a scribe Amen-em-Opet. Hori responded in lofty and sarcastic vein, attempting to expose the weaknesses in his correspondent's qualifications for office. A particular value for our purposes is the summary catalogue of places in the Egyptian empire in Asia.

Papyrus Anastasi I (British Museum 10247) is of the late Nineteenth Dynasty (end of the 13th century B.C.) and probably comes from Memphis. In addition, from the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, there are three fragmentary papyri and about fifty ostraca, schoolboy exercises. Facsimiled in *Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collections of the British Museum*, II (London, 1842), Pls. xxxv-lxii. The standard study of the text was made by A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts. Series I. Part I. The Papyrus Anastasi I and the Papyrus Koller Together with the Parallel Texts* (Leipzig, 1911). The most significant fragments appearing since Gardiner's publication have been presented by G. Farina, in *RSO*, XIII (1932), 313 ff., by G. Posener, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh (Documents de jouilles . . . I, Cairo, 1934-38)*, I, cf. Index on pp. 29-30, by G. Posener, in *Mélanges Maspero*, I (Cairo, 1934), 327 ff., by J. Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques (Catalogue général . . . du Musée de Caire* (Cairo, 1930-35), No. 25773, and by A. H. Gardiner, ed., *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series. Chester Beatty Gift* (London, 1935), 130, Pl. 72. A translation in Erman, *LAE*, 214-34.*

The Writer

THE SCRIBE, CHOICE OF HEART, persevering of counsel, for whose utterances there is rejoicing when they are heard, skilled in the Word of God,¹ (for) there is nothing which he does not know. He is a hero valiant in the work of Seshat,² a servant of the Lord of Hermopolis³ in his bureau of writing, the teacher of apprentices in the Office of Writings, the first of his fellows, foremost of his colleagues, prince of his generation, without any like unto him. . . . (5) . . . Swift is he in inscribing empty scrolls, a youth distinguished of appearance and pleasing of charm, who can explain the difficulties of the annals like him who composed them. All that issues from his mouth is steeped in honey, and the heart is treated therewith as if (with) medicines. The groom of his majesty—life, prosperity, health!—the attendant of the Lord—life, prosperity, health!—who trains the steeds of the Sovereign. He is an energetic digger (ii 1) for the stable. . . . Hori, son of Wen-nofer, of Abydos, the Island of the Righteous, born of Ta-Usert in the district of Bilbeis, the Singer of Bastet in the Field of the God.⁴

¹ The divine order as revealed in the sacred writings. Hence, skilled at writing.

² The goddess of writing.

³ Thoth, god of wisdom and patron of scribes.

⁴ His mother was a singer for the goddess Bastet in the Bubastis region.

The Salutation

HE GREETs his friend, his excellent brother, the royal scribe of orders to the victorious army, choice of heart, goodly of character, wise of understanding, whose like does not exist in any scribe, . . . (5) . . . the Scribe of . . . , Amen-em-Opet, son of the Steward Mose, the possessor of reverence:

MAYEST THOU LIVE, MAYEST THOU PROSPER, MAYEST THOU BE HEALTHY, MY excellent BROTHER, equipped and steadfast, without having a wish. . . .⁵

Criticism of Amen-em-Opet's Letter

ANOTHER MATTER, to wit: Thy letter (iv 6) reached me in an hour of relaxing for a while. I found thy message as I was sitting beside the horse which is in my charge. I rejoiced and was glad and ready to answer. When I went into thy⁶ stall to look at thy letter, I found that it was neither praises nor insults. Thy statements mix up this with that; all thy words are upside-down; they are not connected. . . . (v 1) . . . (So) I write to thee to instruct thee, like a friend teaching one greater than himself to be an excellent scribe. Now as for me, when thou speakest, I shall answer it. Lo, thy speeches are (only) idle⁷ talk. Thou makest thyself like one agitated to scare me. (5) But I am not in dread before thee, (for) I know thy nature. So I thought that thou wouldst answer it all by thyself. (But) lo, thy supporters stand behind thee.⁸ Thou hast gathered many fowlers⁹ as helpers, like those who would be (gathered) for a law court. Thy face is wild, as thou standest wheedling the backers, saying: "Come with me, that ye may give me a hand!" Thou presentest them with gifts for each man, and they say [to] thee: "Let thy heart be steadfast. We shall attack him." Thou standest in agitation . . . , and they sit deliberating, (vi 1) the six scribes.¹⁰ . . . (vii 1) . . . Thy letter is (too) inferior to permit that one listen to it. . . . If thou hadst known beforehand that it was no good, thou wouldst not have sent it. . . .

Hori's Reply

I REPLY TO THEE IN LIKE MANNER in a letter (5) which is original from the first page to the colophon. It is filled with utterances of my lips, which I created all by myself, no other being with me. By the *ka* of Thoth,¹¹

⁵ The text continues at length with good wishes.

⁶ Sic, read "my."

⁷ "Cool," perhaps in the sense of spiritless or vain.

⁸ Hori intimates that Amen-em-Opet cannot write a letter without help.

⁹ The word may be corrupt. If correct, the sense would be that common persons like catchers of birds were helping Amen-em-Opet, gathered as he might gather witnesses for a law court.

¹⁰ "Scribes" is of course sarcastic. The text goes on to detail how each of six assistants contributes to Amen-em-Opet's own confusion.

¹¹ cf. n.3 above.

I did (it) by myself! I did not call to a scribe to have him witness (it). I shall give thee more in twenty parts; I shall repeat for thee what thou hast said, (each) part in its place, the fourteen *sections* (of) thy letter. Fill my hand with papyrus, and I shall tell thee many things and pour out for thee choice things. (viii 1) . . . All my words are sweet and pleasant; that is, I do not act like thee, when . . . thou beginnest to me with insults in the first part and dost not greet me at the beginning of thy letter. Far from me is what thou hast said; it does not come near, for my god Thoth is a shield about me. . . . (5) . . . Why am I evil in thy heart, so that thou shouldst slander me? To whom have I mentioned thee with evil words? I (only) composed for thee a volume like a (work of) entertainment, at hearing which men are amused as (at) a sport.¹²

AGAIN THOU HAST SAID of me: "Crippled of arm and without strength." Thou dost minimize me as a scribe when thou sayest: "He does not know (anything)." I shall not spend a moment (ix 1) beside thee, wheedling thee and saying: "Be my supporter: another man is troubling me!" . . . I know many men without strength, crippled of arm, feeble, and without their force, but they are rich in houses, in supplies and food, and they speak no wish [about] anything. Come, let me tell thee the nature of the scribe Rey, (5) who was called the *firebrand* of the granary. He did not stir nor run since his birth. His abomination was energetic work, and he would not know it. (Yet) he is resting in the West, with his body whole, and terror of the good god has not carried him off.¹³ . . . (x 1) . . . Let me tell thee of Pa-hery-pedjet, who is in Heliopolis. [He is an] old man [of] the Palace—life, prosperity, health! He is smaller than a tomcat (but) bigger than an ape, and he is in good state in his (own) house. . . . Thou hast heard the name of *Ki-sep*, . . . who goes on the ground without being noticed, unkempt of clothing and firmly wrapped up. If thou shouldst see him in the evening in the dark, then thou wouldst say of him: "A bird that is passing by." Put him in the scale that thou mayest see (5) how heavy he is. He will come out for thee at twenty *deben*,¹⁴ not counting *old clothes*. If thou blowest beside him as he is passing by, he will fall far down like a leaf of foliage. . . . O Who-is-it,¹⁵ my friend who knows not what he says, see, I solve thy grievous difficulties and make them easy!

THOU ART COME (xi 1) provided with great mysteries, and thou tellest me a saying of Hor-dedef,¹⁶ (although) thou knowest not [whether it is] good or bad. What chapter is before it, what after it? Now thou art a scribe of experience at the head of his colleagues. The teaching of every book is engraved upon thy heart.

¹² Amen-em-Opet took offense at Hori's previous letter, which had been intended as playful rather than malicious.

¹³ Despite his laziness, Rey rests content in death. Hori now follows with accounts of three other officials who were successful despite handicaps.

¹⁴ Not quite four pounds.

¹⁵ What's-Your-Name, a lofty pretended forgetfulness of Amen-em-Opet's name.

¹⁶ One of the traditional wise men of Egypt. cf. p. 432, n.4. For his "wisdom," cf. pp. 419-420.

How felicitous is thy tongue, corresponding to thy words! A saying comes out from thy mouth at more than three *deben* (weight).¹⁷ . . . My eyes are dazzled by what thou doest, and I am astonished when thou sayest: "I am more profound (5) as a scribe than heaven or earth or the underworld. I know the mountains in *deben* and *hin*!"¹⁸ (But) the House of Books is hidden; it is not visible; its Ennead is concealed and far from [thy sight]. Tell me what thou knowest; then I shall answer thee: "Beware lest thy fingers approach the Word of God!"¹⁹ . . .

(In the context not translated here, Hori sets Amen-em-Opet a number of tests of calculation or administration, to demonstrate that Amen-em-Opet is incapable as a responsible government official.)

The Problem of a Military Mission

O alert SCRIBE, understanding of heart, who is not ignorant at all, (xvii 3) torch in the darkness at the head of the troops—and it gives light to them! Thou art sent on a mission to *Djahan*²⁰ at the head of the victorious army, to crush those rebels called *Nearin*.²¹ The bowmen of the army which is before thee amount to 1,900, the Sherden 520, the Qeheq 1,600, the Meshwesh (100), and the Negroes 880—TOTAL 5,000 in (5) all, not counting their officers.²² There is brought thee a peace offering before thee: bread, cattle, and wine. The number of men is too great for thee, whereas the provisions are too small for them. . . . Thou receivest them, placed in the camp. The troops are ready and prepared. Make them quickly into portions, that of each man at his hand. The Bedouin look on furtively, (saying): "*Sopher yodea!*"²³ Midday is come, the camp is hot. "Time to start! Don't let the troop commander be angry! Much marching is ahead of us. *What bread have we* at all? (xviii 1) Our night-quarters are far away. O Who-is-it,²⁴ what does it mean, this beating of us?" So thou art an experienced scribe, if thou (canst) approach to give the provisions, (but) an hour *comes into* a day for lack of a scribe from the Ruler—life, prosperity, health!²⁵ "This (business of) bringing thee to beat us—it's no good, *my boy!* He²⁶ will hear and will send to destroy thee!"

The Problem of Asiatic Geography

THY LETTER abounds in *cutting speeches*, is loaded with big words. See, thou art rewarded with that which was sought—a greater load for thee than thou hast

¹⁷ All this is of course ironical.

¹⁸ In weight and measure.

¹⁹ See n.1 above. Hori is arguing that real learning is not as simple as Amen-em-Opet airily claims.

²⁰ Probably to be emended to Djahi, "Phoenicia" and adjacent territory.

²¹ Hebrew *ne'drim* "boys, young men," also used of warriors, e.g. I Kings 20:14 ff. cf. p. 256, n.12.

²² We know too little about the sizes of armies at this time to state whether this is a large expedition or a small punitive force. Of the 5,000, 1,900 were Egyptian. The Sherden were of the "Peoples of the Sea," like the Philistines, cf. p. 255b, n.2. The Qeheq and Meshwesh were Libyans.

²³ Semitic: "O wise scribe!"

²⁴ See n.15 above.

²⁵ With his troops aggrieved about their rations, he waits endlessly for help from the king.

²⁶ The king.

wished. "I am a scribe, a *mahir!*"²⁷ thou sayest again. If there be truth in what thou sayest, come out (5) that thou mayest be tested! A horse is harnessed for thee, swift as a jackal . . . It is like a whirlwind when it goes forth. Thou loosest the reins and takest the bow. Let us see what thy hand can do. I shall explain for thee the nature of a *mahir* and let thee see what he has done.

Thou hast not gone to the land of Hatti,²⁸ thou hast not seen the land of Upi.²⁹ Khedem, thou knowest [not] its nature, nor Yegdy either. What is it like, the Simyra of Sessi³⁰—life, prosperity, health!? On which side of it is the city of Aleppo? (xix 1) What is its stream like? Thou hast not gone forth to Kadesh and Tubikhi.³¹ Thou hast not gone to the region of the Bedouin with the bowmen of the army. Thou hast [not] trodden the road to *the Magur*, where the sky is darkened by day and it is overgrown with *cypresses* and oaks and cedars which reach the heavens. Lions are more numerous than leopards or *bears*, (and it is) surrounded by Bedouin on (every) side of it. Thou hast not climbed the mountain of Shawe,* *barefoot*, thy hands (5) laid upon [*thy bow*], thy chariot *laced* with ropes, thy horse in tow. Pray let [me tell thee of] . . . -beret. Thou art dismayed (at) climbing it and crossest its stream *above* it. (Thus) thou seeest the taste of (being) a *mahir*, with thy chariot laid upon thy [*shoulder*] and thy [*assistant*] tired out. Thou reachest a halt in the evening, with thy whole body crushed and battered, thy [members] belabored, . . . thyself in sleep.

Thou awakest, (xx 1) for it is the hour of starting in the *sickly* night. Thou art alone for the harnessing; no brother comes for a brother. The *sneak-thieves*³² have entered into [the] camp, the horse is untied, the . . . has been lost in the night, and thy clothes have been stolen. Thy groom awoke in the night, saw what he³³ had done, and took what was left. He has entered among those who are wicked, he has mingled with the Bedouin tribes, and he has made himself into the likeness of an Asiatic. (5) The foe had come to *raid* furtively and found thee inert. When thou awakest, thou findest no trace of them, and they have carried off thy property. (Thus) thou art become a fully equipped *mahir*, as thou fillest thy ear.³⁴

LET ME TELL THEE OF another strange city, named Byblos. What is it like? And its goddess? Once again—[thou] hast not trodden it. Pray, instruct me about Beirut, about Sidon and Sarepta. Where is the stream (xxi 1) of the Litani? What is Uzu like?³⁵ They say

²⁷ Semitic "swift, skillful," here used of the Egyptian courier to foreign lands.

²⁸ The Hittite territory of Anatolia and north Syria.

²⁹ Or Ube, the Damascus area. Some of the following place names cannot be identified.

³⁰ Simyra was a north-Phoenician town. Sessi was a nickname of Ramses II, who must have had some special interest in that town.

³¹ Since Tubikhi was in Syria and the other towns here identifiable are northern, this Kadesh is probably that on the Orontes.

³² Apparently from the Semitic root *nahar* "to flow," here in a feminine noun, perhaps collective, "the band of gliders"?

³³ Sic, but read "they."

³⁴ With this experience.

³⁵ Old Tyre on the mainland.

another town is in the sea, named Tyre-the-Port. Water is taken (to) it by the boats, and it is richer in fish than the sands.

LET ME TELL THEE another difficult case—the crossing of Seram.³⁶ Thou wilt say: "It burns more than a sting!" Very sick is the *mahir*. Come, set (me) on the way southward to the region of Acre. Where does the Achshaph road come? (5) *At* what town? Pray, teach me about the mountain of User. What is its head³⁷ like? Where does the mountain of Shechem come? . . . Where does the *mahir* make the journey to Hazor? What is its stream like? Put me (on) the track to Hamath, Deger, and Deger-El, the promenade ground of every *mahir*. (xxii 1) Pray, teach me about its road and show me *Yan*. If one is traveling to *Adummim*, which way is the face? Do not *shrink* from thy teaching! Guide us (to) know them!

COME, that I may tell thee other towns which lie above them. Thou hast not gone to the land of Takhshi,³⁸ Kur-mereren, Timnat, Kadesh, Deper, Azai, or Harnaim. Thou hast not seen Kiriath-Anab and (5) Beth-Sepher. Thou dost not know Adurun* or Zedpet either. Thou dost not know the name of Khenrez, which is in the land of Upi,³⁹ the bull upon its boundary, the place where the battle array of every hero may have been seen. Pray, teach me about the *appearance* of Qiyen, let me know Rehob, explain Beth-Shan and Tirqa-El. The stream of (xxiii 1) Jordan, how is it crossed? Let me know the way to pass Megiddo, which is *above* it.

Thou art a *mahir*, experienced in deeds of heroism. A *mahir* such as thou art should be found (able) to *stride* at the head of an army! O *maryanu*,⁴⁰ forward to shoot! Behold, the *ambuscade* is in a *ravine* two thousand cubits deep, filled with boulders and pebbles. Thou makest a *detour*, as thou graspest the bow. Thou makest a *feint* to thy left, that thou mightest make the chiefs to see, (but) (5) their eyes are good and thy hand *falters*. "*Abata kama ir, mahir ne'am!*"⁴¹ (Thus) thou makest a name for every *mahir*, officers of Egypt! Thy name becomes like (that of) Qazardi, the Chief of Aser,⁴² when the *bear* found him in the balsam tree.

The narrow valley is dangerous with Bedouin, hidden under the bushes. Some of them are of four or five cubits⁴³ (*from*) *their noses to the heel*, and fierce of face. Their hearts are not mild, and they do not listen to wheedling. Thou art alone; there is no *messenger* with thee, no army host behind thee. Thou findest no

³⁶ Written *D-r'-m*. If the geographic progress south along the Phoenician coast applies here, this should be Ras Naqura, the "Ladder of Tyre." It has been pointed out that there is here a pun on the Hebrew word *sir'ah* "hornet," with the crossing of Seram stinging like a hornet.

³⁷ The Semitic word *ras* is used for "head."

³⁸ Takhshi and the following probably in northeast Syria.

³⁹ See n.29 above.

⁴⁰ From the Vedic *márya* "man, noble." cf. p. 22, n.2.

⁴¹ Hori is showing off his knowledge of Semitic with this sentence. The first and third words cannot be translated with certainty. Gardiner, following M. Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdwörter* . . . (Leipzig, 1909), II, 2-3, renders: "Thou slayest like a lion, O pleasant Maher." W. F. Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (New Haven, 1934), 33, renders: "I perish like a lamb, O good mahar!"

⁴² Possibly Asher. The episode referred to is unknown. See A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I, 193*; II, 265*.

⁴³ Around seven to nine feet tall.

scout, that he might make thee a way of (xxiv 1) crossing. Thou comest to a decision by going forward, although thou knowest not the road. *Shuddering* seizes thee, (*the hair of*) thy head *stands up*, and thy soul lies in thy hand. Thy path is filled with boulders and pebbles, without a *toe hold* for passing by, overgrown with reeds, thorns, *brambles*, and "wolf's-paw." The ravine is on one side of thee, and the mountain rises on the other. Thou goest on *jolting*, with thy chariot on its side, afraid to press (5) thy horse (too) hard. If it should be thrown toward the abyss, thy *collar-piece* would be left uncovered and thy *girth* would fall. Thou unfastenest the yoke in order to *repair the collar-piece* in the middle of the narrow valley. Thou art not competent in the way to bind it; thou knowest not how to *lash* it. The . . . is left where it is; the harness is (already) too heavy to carry its weight. Thy heart is disgusted. Thou startest to trot. The sky is opened.⁴⁴ Then thou thinkest that the foe is behind thee. Trembling seizes thee. (xxv 1) If only thou hadst a hedge of *shrubs*, that thou mightest put it on the other side! The horse is *played out* by the time thou findest a night-quarters. Thou seest the taste of pain!

Thou art come into Joppa, and thou findest the meadow blossoming in its season. Thou breakest in *to the inside* and findest the fair maiden who is watching over the gardens. She takes thee to herself as a companion and gives thee the color of (5) her lap. (But) thou art perceived and makest a *confession*. Judgment is passed on a *mahir*: thou must sell thy shirt of good Upper Egyptian linen. Tell (me) *how* thou sleepest every evening with a piece of *wool* over thee. Thou dost sleep, for thou art worn out. A *coward* steals thy bow, thy *sheath-knife*, and thy quiver. Thy reins are cut in the darkness. Thy horse is gone and *starts a runaway* over the slippery ground, as the road stretches out before him. He (xxvi 1) smashes thy chariot. . . . Thy weapons have fallen to the ground and are buried in the sand; [they] are become *dry land*. Thy *assistant* begs *food for thee*: "May ye give food and water, for I have arrived safely." (But) they act deaf of face, they do not listen, they pay no attention to thy talk.

Thou art introduced into the armory, and workshops surround thee. Craftsmen and leatherworkers are close by thee, and they do (5) all that thou hast desired. They take care of thy chariot, so that it ceases to be loose. Thy pole is newly *trimmed*, its *attachments* are applied. They put *bindings* on thy *collar-piece* and the . . . They fix up thy yoke. They apply thy *ensign*, engraved (with) the chisel, to the . . . They put a *knob* on thy whip and fasten a *lash* to it. Thou goest forth quickly to fight at the pass, to accomplish deeds of heroism.

O WHO-IS-IT,⁴⁵ thou choice scribe, *mahir* (xxvii 1) who

⁴⁴ He comes out of the wooded valley into the open.

⁴⁵ See n.15 above. In the listing of Asiatic places, there has been some rough and inconsistent itinerary, working from north Syria to Joppa. The final section deals with the road between Egypt and Palestine, working east from the Egyptian frontier to Gaza. See A. H. Gardiner in *JEA*, vi (1920), 99-116, for a parallel to the material of Seti I (which is on p. 254 above).

knows (how to use) his hand, foremost of the *nearin*,⁴⁶ first of the army host, [let me relate to] thee the [foreign countries] of the end of the land of the Canaan. Thou answerest me neither good nor evil; thou returnest me no report. Come, let [me] tell thee *many things as far as* the Fortress of the "Ways [of Horus]."⁴⁷ I begin for thee with the "Dwelling of Sessi—life, prosperity, health!"⁴⁸ Thou hast not trodden it at all. Thou hast not eaten the fish of . . . ; thou hast not bathed in it. Pray, let me recall to thee Husayin—where is its fortress?⁴⁹ (5) Come now to the region of Uto of Sessi—life, prosperity, health!⁵⁰—*in his stronghold* of Usermaat-Re—life, prosperity, health!—and Seba-El, and Ibsaqab.⁵¹ Let me tell thee the nature of Aiyanin. Thou knowest not its rules.⁵² Nekhes and Hebrēt,⁵³ thou hast not seen them since thy birth. O *mahir*, where are they? Raphia—what is its wall like? How many *iters* march is it as far as Gaza?⁵⁴ Answer quickly! Make me a report, that I may call thee *mahir* and boast to (xxviii 1) others of thy name *maryanu*⁵⁵—so shall I speak to them.

Conclusion

Thou art angry at what [I] say to thee. (But) I am competent of heart in every office. My father taught me what he knew and instructed me a million times. I know how to take the reins—even beyond thy experience! There is no hero who can compare himself to myself. I am initiated in the *service* of Montu.⁵⁶

How damaged is everything which comes forth over thy tongue! How futile are thy speeches! Thou comest to me wrapped up in confusions, loaded down with mistakes. Thou splittest words apart in charging ahead, and thou dost not weary of *fumbling*. Be strong! Forward! *Make haste*! Thou wilt not fall. What is it like, not to know what one has attained?

Now how will this end? Should I withdraw? Behold, I have arrived! Submit thou! If (5) thy heart is heavy, (still) thy heart is composed. Do not be angry. . . . I have shorn for thee the end of thy letter, that I might answer for thee what thou hast said. Thy speeches are gathered together on my tongue and remain upon my lips. They are confused when heard, and there is no interpreter who can explain them. They are like the words of a man of the Delta marshes with a man of Elephantine.⁵⁷

Now thou art a scribe of the Great Double Door,

⁴⁶ See n.21 above.

⁴⁷ The "Ways of Horus" was applied to the frontier station for the main road across Sinai. Here it is probably the frontier post of Sile, near modern Kantarah. cf. pp. 21, 416.

⁴⁸ cf. n.30 above on "Sessi." Gardiner tentatively locates this place at Tell Habweh, a few miles northeast of Kantarah.

⁴⁹ Despite some difficulties, this might be located at Tell el-Her, about a dozen miles northeast of Kantarah.

⁵⁰ Uto was a goddess. The name "Uto of Sessi" corresponds to a Sinai oasis known at the time of Seti I.

⁵¹ "The Well Ibsaqab" under Seti I.

⁵² Perhaps the rules governing the use of water at "Two Springs."

⁵³ These two occur as stations having water under Seti I.

⁵⁴ Raphia (Rafa) is the first frontier town of Palestine, about 20 mi. southwest of Gaza. The length of an *iter* is not absolutely certain, but may have been six and a half miles.

⁵⁵ See n.40 above.

⁵⁶ God of war.

⁵⁷ At the two extremities of Egypt dialectical differences were marked.

reporting the affairs of the lands, good and fair, [to him] who may see it. Thou shouldst not say: "Thou hast made my name to stink before the rabble and everybody!" See, I have told thee the nature of the *mahir*. I have traversed for thee the *roads of foreign countries*.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Papyrus Anastasi I gives *tenu*, probably to be emended to *Retenu* "Syria-Palestine," but a Turin parallel text gives *metenu* . . . , perhaps "roads . . ."

I have marshaled for thee the foreign countries all together and the towns according to their *order*. Pray, *let thyself* look at them calmly, that thou mayest find thyself (able) to recount them, that thou mayest become with us a . . .⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Here Papyrus Anastasi I breaks off. The Turin parallel continues with a few disconnected phrases.

A Sumerian Letter

TRANSLATOR: S. N. KRAMER

Letter of King Ibbi-Sin

This document is of considerable importance to the modern historian; it provides us with a lively and probably contemporary account of the troubled conditions of the last years of the Third Dynasty of Ur.¹ It purports to be a letter addressed by Ibbi-Sin, the last ruler of the Third Dynasty of Ur,² to Puzur-Numushda, the governor of Kazallu,³ and it refers primarily to events involving Ishbi-Irra, Ibbi-Sin's mortal enemy and founder of the Dynasty of Isin.⁴ Its contents run approximately as follows:⁵ Following the conventional letter heading (lines 1-3) and two lines whose meaning is at present obscure (lines 4-5), we find Ibbi-Sin complaining to Puzur-Numushda that he (i.e. the latter) and a fellow governor by the name of Qirbubu had failed to come to his support at a crucial moment in the struggle with Ishbi-Irra (lines 6-14). Ibbi-Sin then continues with an admission that Enlil, the leading deity of the Sumerian pantheon, had indeed bestowed the kingship on Ishbi-Irra, the man of Mari,⁶ who is not a Sumerian, and that the latter seems to be on the verge of subjecting all Sumer to his rule (lines 15-31).⁷ Nevertheless he ends the letter on a note of optimism; with the help of the Martu,⁸ Ishbi-Irra and the Elamites⁹ will be defeated

¹ Unfortunately the authenticity of the contents of the document, at least as it now lies before us, is open to question. On the surface, to be sure, it seems to be a bona fide copy of a letter addressed by the king Ibbi-Sin to his governor Puzur-Numushda; the heading is that in common use for letters from one individual to another. But there are several factors which tend to indicate that, at least in part, it was a literary fabrication of the Sumerian scribes who lived quite some time after the struggle between Ibbi-Sin and Ishbi-Irra which resulted in the end of the Third Dynasty of Ur. In the first place it is important to bear in mind that the present text, as we have it, can be only a copy of the original letter, if one ever existed; the script dates from a time considerably later than the Ur III period. Secondly, we now have three copies of the letter, and in the course of time, several more may be uncovered. Obviously, therefore, this letter—and there are also examples of letters purported to be written by Ibbi-Sin and a well-known Isin ruler, Lipit-Ishtar—was treated by the teachers of the Nippur scribal schools as a kind of practice composition for the use of their students. Moreover, the contents of the letter, particularly the passage describing Enlil's harsh decisions against Sumer and Ur (lines 15-24), have a literary flavor which seems rather incongruous in a prosaic letter written for an immediate and practical end. Finally, in the matter of grammar, the text before us follows principles current in post Ur III days; that is, if there was an original letter from Ibbi-Sin to Puzur-Numushda, its text was tampered with and "modernized." But no matter how and why the later scribes modified the original text of the letter, its historical portions are no doubt authentic. Indeed, even if we assume that the document before us is a literary fiction of the later scribes, and that no such letter was ever written by Ibbi-Sin, it is still reasonable to assume that its historical details were not invented, but were based on actual data available to the scribes.

² The Third Dynasty of Ur ruled from approximately the middle of the twenty-first century to the middle of the twentieth century B.C.

³ The exact location of Kazallu is still unknown; it is generally assumed to be east of the Tigris.

⁴ After the fall of the Third Dynasty of Ur, the control of Babylonia was in the hands of two dynasties who ruled simultaneously for many years; the one was established by Ishbi-Irra at Isin, about 30 kilometers south of Nippur, and the other at Larsa, not far from Ur.

⁵ As the all too frequent italics show, the text is at times difficult to translate, and the context is not infrequently obscure; the interpretation here presented and based largely on Falkenstein's study, seems to be the most probable on the available data, but is far from assured.

⁶ Mari is situated on the Euphrates more than three hundred kilometers northwest of Nippur; in spite of its distance from the center of Sumer, the city played at times an important role in Sumerian affairs, and a Mari Dynasty ruled over Sumer as early as the middle of the third millennium B.C.

⁷ Note, however, that the meaning of lines 25-31 is very uncertain.

⁸ The Martu are the nomadic people who lived west of Sumer and are generally known by their Akkadian name Amurru.

and once again Sumer's might will become known throughout the foreign lands (lines 32-38).¹⁰

The text of this document is restored from three tablets excavated at Nippur and dating from the first half of the second millennium B.C.; all three are now located in the University Museum.¹¹ One of these tablets was published by G. A. Barton as No. 9 of his *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions* (1918); there, too, will be found a transliteration and translation of the text, pp. 57-59.¹² The other two were published by Leon Legrain as Nos. 3 and 6 of *PBS*, XIII (1922); a transliteration and translation of their contents will be found there on pp. 28-32. The first to recognize that all three tablets contain copies of the same document was Stephen Langdon who published a partial transliteration and translation of the letter in *RA*, XX (1923), 49-51. But it is Adam Falkenstein who has prepared the first scientific edition of the text, including a complete transliteration, translation, and detailed commentary. Falkenstein's study, which appeared in *ZA*, XLIX (1949), 59-79, represents by all odds the most trustworthy effort to get at the meaning of the text, and the present translation is based primarily upon it.¹³

To Puzur-Numushda, the governor¹⁴ of Kazallu speak; thus says your king Ibbi-Sin. (4). . . since I have selected for you . . . troops (and) have put them at your disposal as the governor of Kazallu, are not, as in my case,¹⁵ your troops your renown?¹⁶ (6). Why did you send me thus: "Ishbi-Irra has¹⁷ his eyes on me, and (only) after he has left me will I come." (10) How is it that you did not know when Ishbi-Irra will return to (his) land?¹⁸ (11) Why did not you together with Qirbubu, the governor of Girkal,¹⁹ march forth the troops which had been placed in your hand before

⁹ According to the present rendering of the relevant passage (lines 35-36), the Elamites were the enemies of Ibbi-Sin and the allies of Ishbi-Irra; this agrees with the later tradition that Ibbi-Sin was carried off to Elam as a captive, as well as with the "Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur" (cf. p. 460 of this volume), where it is stated that it was the Elamites who were largely responsible for the destruction of Ur. However the meaning of the crucial verb in line 36 is quite uncertain, and Falkenstein's rendering assumes that the Elamites were the allies, not the enemies, of Ibbi-Sin.

¹⁰ As later events proved, Ibbi-Sin's optimism was quite unjustified. Following his defeat and the destruction of Ur, the Sumerians gradually disappeared from the military and political scene.

¹¹ One of these tablets originally contained the entire text of the letter, while the other two contained only extracts, one being inscribed with lines 1-21 and the other with lines 21-38.

¹² Barton was under the impression that the text was an oracle of Ishbi-Irra.

¹³ Important variations from Falkenstein's renderings will be indicated in the notes. The present writer has also had the opportunity of collating the three tablets, and the results of this collation will be noted in their place.

¹⁴ "Governor" renders the Sumerian word *ensi*(ĝ), more commonly known in its Akkadian form *ishakku*.

¹⁵ Literally, "like me."

¹⁶ Presumably the implication of this difficult sentence is that Puzur-Numushda should have proceeded with his troops against Ishbi-Irra instead of procrastinating. Falkenstein's rendering, which is grammatically quite as justifiable as the present translation, reads: Since I have (sent) you selected . . . troops, they stood at your disposal as governor of Kazallu. But while I was all for (you), not so your troops (and) your levies.

¹⁷ The last sign in this line is miscopied; it is probably GAR.

¹⁸ As Falkenstein correctly surmised, the end of line 10 reads *a-gim(l) nu-e(l)-zu*.

¹⁹ Reading of last part of name is uncertain.

him?²⁰ (13) How is it that you *delay to turn back* the ... ? (15). ... Enlil has sent²¹ evil upon Sumer. (16) Its *enemy* descending from the land ... ,²² he has raised unto the shepherdship of the land.²³ (18) Now did Enlil give the kingship to a worthless man, to Ishbi-Irra who is not of Sumerian seed. *Lo, in* the assembly of the gods Sumer has been prostrated.²⁴ (21) Father Enlil whose commands are ... , verily commanded thus: "*As long as evil doers exist* in Ur,²⁵ Ishbi-Irra, the man of Mari, will tear down its foundations, will measure out²⁶ Sumer." (25) And (*so*) *when* you have been appointed governors of the several cities, they²⁷ have gone over to Ishbi-Irra in accordance with Enlil's word.²⁸ (27)

²⁰ Line 12, according to the original reads: *a-na-as-àm erin(1) šu(1)-zu-šè ì-gál-la igi(1)-zu(1)-šè la-ba-an-súg-gi-za(1)-na(1)*. Falkenstein correctly surmised the reading of several of the miscopied signs.

²¹ The verb read *mu-un-gi*; the sign *u* following *-un-* is a miscopy.

²² The three dots stand for a destroyed sign which may have given the name of the land.

²³ "Land" here refers to Sumer.

²⁴ In *PBS*, XIII, No. 3, the sign *u* following *ki-en-gi* is a miscopy for *pa*.

²⁵ Falkenstein renders this line as: Until the enemy *plunders* (everything) in Ur.

²⁶ To judge from the context "will measure out" should denote some destructive action.

²⁷ That is presumably the inhabitants of the cities.

²⁸ Falkenstein translates lines 25 f. as: If he (Ishbi-Irra) sets you up (now)

(*Even*) after you, like a ... , hand over the city to the enemy²⁹ and *have become*³⁰ a faithful servant, Ishbi-Irra does not know (*you*).³¹ (29) Now *bring you (help) hither*³² in order to restore the good word *and to put an end to the false; let them*³³ *perform ... among its people*. (32) Do not turn away; do not *go against* me. (33) His³⁴ hand will not *reach over* the city; the man of Mari will not exercise lordship *in accordance with (his)* inimical plan. (35) (For) now Enlil has stirred up the Martu from out of their land; *they will strike down*³⁵ the Elamites and capture Ishbi-Irra. With the restoration of the land to its (former) place, (its) might will become known throughout all the lands. It is urgent, do not. ...

as governors of the several cities, they (really "you") will go over to Ishbi-Irra in accordance with the word of Enlil.

²⁹ That is perhaps Ishbi-Irra.

³⁰ Rendering assumes that the end of line 14 of Barton, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, No. 9 reads *mu(1)-dim* instead of *še-ni-dim*.

³¹ That is, perhaps it means to say that Ishbi-Irra will not recognize his services to him.

³² That is, perhaps to Ur.

³³ "Them" may perhaps refer to those whom he brought as help.

³⁴ "His" refers to Ishbi-Irra.

³⁵ The meaning of the Sumerian verb rendered as "strike down" is quite uncertain. Falkenstein, who assumes that the Elamites were allies of Ibbi-Sin, renders this same verb by "will stand at my side" and concludes that it is the Elamites who will capture Ishbi-Irra.

Akkadian Letters

TRANSLATOR: W. F. ALBRIGHT*

The Mari Letters

In 1935-38 André Parrot excavated the palace of king Zimri-Lim (about 1730-1700 B.C.) at Tell el-Hariri, ancient Mari on the Middle Euphrates. Among nearly 20,000 cuneiform tablets found in this palace were some 5,000 letters, mostly written by native Amorites (Northwestern Semites) in a Babylonian full of West-Semitic words and grammatical usages. Personal names, language and customs reflect the culture of the Patriarchal Age in Genesis. There is already a very extensive literature on the letters, only a few of the more important items of which can be listed here. The principal edition of them is in Volumes xxii ff. of *Musée du Louvre: textes cunéiformes* (1941-); *Archives royales de Mari* by G. Dossin, Charles-F. Jean, J. R. Kupper (1950-) give generally excellent translations (the first 5 parts are completely indexed in Vol. xv, 1954). For comprehensive surveys see Dossin, *Syria*, xix (1938), pp. 105-126; W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, No. 77, pp. 30 ff., 78, pp. 23 ff.; W. von Soden, *Welt des Orients*, 1, pp. 187-204 (where a good bibliography and map will also be found). For historical orientation see also F. M. Th. Böhl, *King Hammurabi of Babylon in the Setting of His Time* (Amsterdam, 1946), and Dossin, *Samsi-Addu 1^{er} roi d'Assyrie* (Brussels, 1948). J. R. Kupper's monograph, *Un gouvernement provincial dans le royaume de Mari (RA, xli, 1947)*, pp. 149-183, provides an excellent survey of the administrative system of Mari. A very good popular account of the results of the excavations of Mari, with particular attention to the letters, will be found in George E. Mendenhall's *Mari*, in the *Biblical Archaeologist*, xi (1948), pp. 1-19.

a

Published and translated by G. Dossin in *RA*, xxxv (1938), pp. 178 f.

To my lord say: Thus Bannum, thy servant. Yesterday, (5) I departed from Mari, and spent the night at Zuruban. All the Benjaminites¹ raised fire-signals.² (10) From Samanum to Ilum-Muluk, from Ilum-Muluk to Mishlan, all the cities of the Benjaminites (15) of the Terqa district raised fire signals in response, and so far I have not ascertained the meaning of those signals. Now, I shall (20) determine the meaning, and I shall write to my lord whether it is thus or not. Let the guard of the city of Mari be strengthened, (25) and let my lord not go outside the gate.

b

Published by C. F. Jean in *Archives royales de Mari*, II, No. 22. For his preliminary translation see *RA*, xxix, pp. 64 f.; the following is fully revised.

* In collaboration with George E. Mendenhall.

¹ The cuneiform text has the singular *Bin-yamina'a*, but the name is generally written *Banu-yamina*, literally "Children of the South (Right)." On this nomadic group, opposed to the *Banu Sim'al*, "Children of the North (Left)," see G. Dossin, *Mélanges Dussaud*, II, pp. 981-996. There is no reason to suppose that these Benjaminites are the same as the later biblical tribe.

² On fire signals in the Mari Letters, with parallels from other ancient literature, including the Bible and the Lachish ostraca, see Dossin, *RA*, xxxv, pp. 174-186. With their aid the ancients were able to communicate with great rapidity over considerable distances.

To my lord say: Thus Ibal-pi-Il, thy servant. (5) Hammurabi spoke to me as follows: "A heavily armed force had gone out to raid the enemy column, but there was no suitable base to be found, so that force has returned empty-handed and the column of the enemy is proceeding in good order without panic. Now let a light armed force go to raid the enemy column and capture informers."

Thus Hammurabi spoke to me. I am sending Sakirum with three hundred troops to Shabazum, (20) and the troops which I have sent are one hundred fifty [Hanu], fifty Suhu, and one hundred troops from the bank of the Euphrates River; and there are three hundred troops of Babylon. In the van of the troops of my lord there goes Ilu-nasir, the seer,³ the subject of my lord, (25) and one Babylonian seer goes with the troops of Babylon. These six hundred troops are based in Shabazum, and the seer assembles the omens. When the appearance of their (30) omens is favorable, one hundred fifty go out and one hundred fifty come in. May my lord know this. The troops of my lord are well.

c

Published by C. F. Jean in *Archives royales de Mari*, II, No. 37, and translated in *Revue des études sémitiques*, 1944, pp. 10 f.; the following is fully revised.

To my lord say: Thus Ibal-Il, thy servant. The tablet of Ibal-Adad from Aslakka (5) reached me and I went to Aslakka to "kill an ass"⁴ between the Hanu and Idamaras. A "puppy and lettuce"⁵ they brought, but I obeyed my lord and (10) I did not give the "puppy and lettuce." I caused the foal of an ass⁶ to be slaughtered. I established peace between the Hanu and Idamaras. (15) In Hurra, in all of Idamaras, the Hanu are victorious, as a victor who has no enemy.⁷ May my lord be pleased. This tablet of mine (20) I will have delivered to my lord in Rataspatum. I will reach my lord by the third day after this tablet of mine. (25) The camp and the Banu-Sim'al⁸ are well.

³ Cuneiform *barum*. In later times Balaam was just such a *baru*; cf. *JBL*, LXIII (1944), p. 231 and n.141.

⁴ This expression is always in Amorite, transcribed in cuneiform *hayaram qatalum* (Heb. *qatol 'air*); it means simply "make a treaty," which was solemnized by the sacrifice of a young ass, much as the later Saracens of St. Nilus' time sacrificed a camel.

⁵ On the meaning of these words and parallels from other ancient cultures see G. E. Mendenhall, *BASOR*, No. 133, pp. 26-30 (1954). The words *meranum* and *hassum* have their ordinary Akkadian meanings.

⁶ The expression is "young ass, son of a she-ass." Exactly the same Hebrew words are employed in the passage Zech. 9:9=Matthew 21:5.

⁷ The cuneiform text must be read *šab'um gerem ul isu*, obviously referring to the bloodless victory of the Hanu (the most important tribe of Mari) over their former foes in the southeastern marches.

⁸ See above, n.1.

d

Published by C. F. Jean in *Archives royales de Mari*, II, No. 131, and translated in *Revue des études sémitiques*, 1944, pp. 26 f.; the following is fully revised.

To my lord say: Thus Mashum, thy servant. (5) Sintiri wrote to me for help, and I reached him with troops at Shubat-Shamash. The next day word of the enemy (10) came as follows: "Yapah-Adad has made ready the settlement Zallul on this side on the bank of the Euphrates River, and with two thousand troops of the Hapiru of the land (15),⁹ is dwelling in that city." This word came to me, and from Shubat-Shamash, with troops of my command and with troops of the command of (20) Sintiri, I hurried, and made ready the town of Himush over against the town of Zallul. Between the two (25) cities (there is a distance of) thirty "fields." When I had made ready the city of Himush over against him, and he saw that the land was hastening to (my) aid, (30) he raised a fire signal, and all the cities of the land of Ursum on the other side acknowledged it. The *security* forces which are stationed within the brick-*enclosure* are numerous, and, lest they (35) wipe out the troops, I did not draw near the city. This tablet of mine I send to my lord from the bank of the Euphrates River. The troops and *cattle* are well.

The Amarna Letters

In 1887 an Egyptian peasant woman discovered a collection of cuneiform tablets at Tell el-Amarna in Middle Egypt, the site of Akh-en-Aton's capital in the early fourteenth century B.C. These tablets were sold to European museums and private dealers; some of them escaped attention for nearly thirty years. Subsequently excavation disclosed enough additional tablets to bring the total collection up to about 377 numbers. Almost all of them are letters belonging to the royal archives of Amen-hotep III and his son Akh-en-Aton. Nearly 300 letters were written by Canaanite (or rarely Egyptian) scribes in Palestine, Phoenicia, and southern Syria, about half of them in Palestine proper. These letters are written in a conventional vulgar Akkadian, full of canaanitisms in grammar and vocabulary. Occasionally we find a letter written mostly in Canaanite with scattered Akkadian formulas and ideograms. They date from the last years of Amen-hotep III and the reign of his successor; a very few may date from the ephemeral reign of Akh-en-Aton's son-in-law and successor, Smenkhkare.

The original publications, though antiquated, are important for the cuneiform texts: note especially H. Winckler and L. Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna*, Berlin, 1889-90; C. Bezold and E. A. W. Budge, *The Tell El-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, London, 1892. All the older material was reexamined and collated with the greatest care by the Norwegian Assyriologist, J. A. Knudtzon, in his invaluable transcription and translation, to which O. Weber added a detailed commentary and E. Ebeling a valuable glossary: *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln (VAB, Vol. II)*, Leipzig, 1907-15. Since then the Berlin tablets were reedited admirably by O. Schroeder, *Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna* (Leipzig, 1915). S. A. B. Mercer's two-volume work, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets* (Toronto, 1939), has no independent value and is full of errors not found in Knudtzon's edition.

⁹ On the Hapiru (Habiru) or 'Apiru in the Mari texts see especially E. Dhorme, *RHR*, cxviii, pp. 170-187.

Among minor publications the following will be found of particular significance: F. Thureau-Dangin, *Nouvelles lettres d'el-Amarna*, *RA*, xix, pp. 91-108; C. H. Gordon, *The New Amarna Tablets*, *Orientalia*, xvi, pp. 1-21; W. F. Albright, *The Egyptian Correspondence of Abimilki, Prince of Tyre*, *IEA*, xxiii, pp. 190-203; Albright, *Cuneiform Material for Egyptian Prosopography, 1500-1200 B.C.*, *JNES*, v, pp. 7-25; Albright, various papers, mainly in *BASOR*, No. 86 ff. J. De Koning's monograph, *Studien over de El-Amarnabrieven en het Oude-Testament, inzonderheid uit historisch oogpunt* (Delft, 1940), contains much material, but must be used with the greatest caution.

The translations offered below represent the combined work of W. F. Albright and George E. Mendenhall, with a few corrections by W. L. Moran, S. J.—E.

EA, No. 137¹

Rib-Ad[di spoke] to the king, [his] lor[d, the Sun-god of the lands.] Beneath the feet [of the king, my lord,] seven times, and seven times [I fall.] (5) I have written repeatedly for [garrison troops], but they were not given, [and] the king did [not] listen to the word[s of his servant.] And I sent my courier to the palace, but [he returned] (10) empty-handed—he had no garrison troops. And when the peop[le of] my [house] saw that silver was not given, they ridiculed me like the governors, my brethren, and they despised me.

Further, I (15) went to Hamuniri, and my younger brother is estranging Byblos in order to give the city to the sons of 'Abdu-Ashirta. (20) When my brother saw that my courier came out (from Egypt) empty-handed, (that) there were no garrison troops with him, he despised me, and so he committed a crime and drove me (25) from the city. Let the king not restrain (himself) at the deed of this dog!

Behold, I cannot enter the land of Egypt. I am an old man, there is grievous illness (30) in my body, and the king, my lord, knows that the gods of Byblos are holy, and the illness is severe; and my sin I have redeemed (by a vow) from the gods, so I have not entered (35) the presence of the king, my lord.

But behold, my son, the servant of the king, my lord, I have sent before the king, my lord. Let the king hear the words of his servant, and let the king, my lord, give (40) archers, and let them take Byblos, lest rebellious troops and the sons of 'Abdu-Ashirta enter it, and the archers of the king, my lord, (then) need (46) to capture it (*by force*). Behold, many are the people who love me in the city; few are the rebels in it. When an army of archers goes out and they hear (50) about the day of its arrival, then the city will return to the king, my lord. Let my lord know that I would die for him. When I am in the city, I will protect it for my lord, and my heart is fixed (55) on the king, my lord; I will not give the city to the sons of 'Abdu-Ashirta. So my brother has estranged the city in order

¹ This letter was dictated by Rib-Addi, prince of Byblos, to Akh-en-Aton (Amen-hotep IV) about 1370 B.C. or a little later. The old enemy of Rib-Addi, 'Abdu-Ashirta of Amurru (land of the Amorites), was now dead, but his son, 'Aziru, and the latter's brothers continued to menace the territory of Byblos. At this time Rib-Addi had actually been forced to retire from his own city to the comparative safety of Berytus (Beirut), whose prince 'Ammuniri was related to him by marriage.

to give it to the sons of 'Abdu-Ashirta. Let the king, my lord, not hold back from (60) the city. Verily, there is very much silver and gold within it; in its temple there is much wealth. If they take it (the city), let the king my lord do as he please with his servant, but let him give the city Buruzilim (65) for my dwelling place,—behold, I am now with Hamuniri—since *there is left but one city*, namely, Buruzilim. The sons of 'Abdu-Ashirta were hostile, and I was afraid. When I went to Hamuniri (70) because of the sons of 'Abdu-Ashirta when they were powerful against me and there was no breath of the mouth of the king to me, then I said to my lord: "Behold our city Byblos! There is much wealth of the king in it, the property (75) of our forefathers. If the king does not intervene for the city, all the cities of the land of Canaan will (no longer) be his. Let the king not ignore this deed!"

Now I have sent thy servant, my son, to the king, my lord; let the king quickly send him back (80) with troops to take the city. If the king, my lord, be gracious to me and return me to the city, then I will guard it *as before* for the king, my lord. If the king, my lord, does not bring me back into it, then [...] (85) the city from 'Buruzilim' [...] may he do] as he please [to his servant(?). . .] Forsa[ke . . .] Hamu[niri . . .] until when [shall I remain with him(?)].

(90) May [the king, my lord,] hear [the words of] his servant q[quickly(?)] [and send] troops quickly to take the city. Let the king not ignore (95) this grievous deed which was done to the lands of the king, my lord; but let the king rush archers to take the city immediately. (100) If it is said to the king concerning the city: "The city is strong," it is not strong against the warriors of the king, my lord.

EA, No. 147²

To the king, my lord; my pantheon, my Sun-god say: Thus Abimilki, thy servant. Seven and seven times I fall at the feet of the king, my lord. I am the dirt under (5) the feet of the king, my lord. My lord is the Sun-god who rises over the lands day by day, as ordained by the Sun-god, his gracious father; who gives life by his sweet breath, (10) and who lessens when he is hidden; who sets the whole land at peace by his might, who utters his battle-cry in heaven like Baal, so that the whole land quakes at his cry.

Behold, the servant has written to his lord because he has heard the gracious messenger of the king who comes to his servant, and the sweet breath which went forth (20) from the mouth of the king, my lord, to his servant (he has received); and his breath was feeble before the arrival of the messenger of the king, my

² This letter was dictated by Abimilki (Abimelech) of Tyre to Akh-en-Aton about the same time as the previous letter, or perhaps a little later. We know from the peculiar spelling and grammar, as well as from a great many Egyptian words and expressions translated literally from Egyptian, that the scribe who wrote the Abimilki letters was himself a native Egyptian, a fact which is not surprising, since the Amarna letters from the Egyptian court to Asiatic kings and chieftains were all written by Egyptian scribes who had learned cuneiform in the palace schools.

lord, (but now his) breath is not feeble. I remember the words of my father: "Behold, now (25) that the breath of the king has come forth to me, I rejoice greatly, and I am happy day by day. Because I rejoice, the earth does not . . . (30) that I have heard the gracious messenger who (came) from my lord, and all the earth is reverent before the face of my lord, for I have heard the sweet breath, and the gracious messenger (35) who came to me. When the king, my lord, says: "*Be valiant!*" before the great army, then the servant says, "*Aye, Aye!*" to his lord. On my belly, on my back (40) I bear the word of the king, my lord. As for him who hearkens to the king, his lord, and serves him in his place, the Sun-god shall rise over him, and the sweet breath from the mouth of his lord *shall give him life!* (45) but as for him who hearkens not to the word of the king, his lord, his city shall perish, his dynasty shall perish, his name shall not exist in the whole land forever. Behold, the servant who hearkens to his lord—(50) it shall be well with his city, it shall be well with his house; his name shall exist forever. Thou art the Sun-god who rises over me, and a brazen wall which is reared for me, and because of the mighty power of the king my lord (56), I am tranquil.

Behold, I have said to the Sun-god, the father of the king, my lord, "When shall I see (60) the face of the king, my lord?" But behold, I am guarding Tyre, the great city, for the king, my lord, until the mighty power of the king come out unto me, (65) to give water for me to drink, and wood to warm me.

Further: Zimreda, the king of Sidon, has written day by day to the criminal 'Aziru, the son of 'Abdu-Ashirta, concerning everything that he heard from Egypt. (70) Behold, I have written to my lord, (for) it is good that you should know.

RA, XIX, p. 100³

To Indaruta, prince of Achshaph say: Thus the king. Behold, this tablet I have sent to you, saying to you: Be on guard! Verily thou shalt guard (5) the place of the king which is with you. Behold, the king is sending you Hanni, son of Mairea, the commissioner of the king for the land of Canaan, and what he says to you, hear thou (10) very attentively, lest the king find thee at fault. Every word which he speaks to thee, hear thou very willingly, and do it very willingly. And watch, watch, do not be negligent, (15) and thou shalt prepare for the archers of the king much food, much wine of every sort. Behold, he will come to thee quickly, quickly, (20) and will cut off the head of the enemies of the king!

EA, No. 234⁴

To the king, my lord, the Sun-god from heaven: Thus Zatatna, prince of Accho, thy servant, the servant

³ This is a characteristic letter from pharaoh to a Palestinian chieftain. Indaruta (who bears the same Indo-Aryan name as his contemporary Indrota or Indrauta of the Rig Veda) was prince of Achshaph, probably Tell Kisan in the Plain of Acre in southwestern Galilee.

⁴ This letter comes from the time of Akh-en-Aton. Shuta (pronounce *Suta*) was an Egyptian officer, probably the great-grandfather of Ramses II;

of the king, and (5) the dirt (under) his two feet, the ground which he treads. At the two feet of the king, my lord, the Sun-god from heaven, seven times, seven times I fall, both prone and supine. (10) Let the king, my lord, hear the word of his servant! [Zir]damyashda has withdrawn from Biryawaza. [He was] with Shuta, the s[ervant] of the (15) king in the city of [. . .] He did not say anything to him. The army of the king, my lord, has departed. He was with it in Megiddo. (20) I said nothing to him, but he deserted to me, and now Shuta has written to me: "Give (25) Zirdamyashda to Biryawaza!" But I did not consent to give him up. Behold, Accho is (as Egyptian) as Magdal (30) in Egypt, but the king, my lord, has not heard that [Shut]a has turned against me. Now let the king, my lord, send (35) his commissioner and fetch him.

EA, No. 244⁶

To the king, my lord, and my Sun-god, say: Thus Biridiya, the faithful servant of the (5) king. At the two feet of the king, my lord, and my Sun-god, seven and seven times I fall. Let the king know that (10) ever since the archers returned (to Egypt?), Lab'ayu has carried on hostilities against me, and we are not able to pluck the wool, and we are not able to go outside the gate in the presence of Lab'ayu, since he learned that thou hast not given (20) archers; and now his face is set to take Megiddo, (25) but let the king protect his city, lest Lab'ayu seize it. (30) Verily, the city is destroyed by death from pestilence and *disease*. Let the king give (35) one hundred garrison troops to guard the city lest Lab'ayu seize it. Verily, there is no other purpose in (41) Lab'ayu. He seeks to destroy Megiddo.

EA, No. 245⁶

Further, I said to my brethren, "If the gods of the king, our lord, grant (5) that we capture Lab'ayu, then we will bring him alive to the king, our lord"; but my mare was felled by an arrow, and I alighted (10) afterwards and rode with Yashdata, but before my arrival, they had slain him. (15) Verily, Yashdata is thy servant, and he entered the battle with me. And verily, [. . .] (20) the life of the king, m[y lord] [and] [. . .] all in [. . .] of the king, [my] lord, [. . .], and Zurata (25) removed Lab'ayu from Megiddo, saying to me: "I will send him by ship (30) to the king," and Zurata took him and sent him home from Hathanon, for Zurata had received his ransom money (35) in his hand.

Biryawaza (whose name was formerly read erroneously *Namyawaza*) was prince of Damascus under Egyptian suzerainty. All personal names (except Shuta) are Indo-Aryan. Magdal is the Migdol of Exod. 14:2, etc.

⁶ Biridiya was prince of Megiddo at the end of the reign of Amen-hotep III and the beginning of the reign of Akh-en-Aton; his name is Indo-Aryan like most other princely names of northern Palestine at that time. Lab'ayu (whose name meant approximately "lion-like" in Canaanite) was prince of Shechem in the central hill-country and was constantly raiding the territory and caravans of his neighbors on all sides.

⁶ This is the latter part (all that is preserved) of a continued letter from Biridiya of Megiddo. Zurata, whom Biridiya accuses of treachery, was prince of Acre (biblical Accho).

Further, what have I done to the king, my lord, that he should despise me and honor (40) my younger brothers? Zurata has sent Lab'ayu, and Zurata has sent Ba'lu-mihir to their homes, and let the king, my lord, be informed!

RA, xix, p. 97⁷

To the king, my lord, and my Sun-god say: Thus Biridiya, the true servant of the king. (5) At the feet of the king, my lord, and my Sun-god, seven times and seven times I fall. Let the king be informed concerning his servant and concerning his city. (10) Behold, I am working in the town of Shunama, and I bring men of the corvée, (15) but behold, the governors who are with me do not as I (do): they do not (20) work in the town of Shunama, and they do not bring men for the corvée, but I alone (25) bring men for the corvée from the town of Yapu. They come from Shu[nama], and likewise from the town of Nuribda. (30) So let the king be informed concerning his city!

EA, No. 250⁸

'To' the king, my lord, say: Thus Ba'lu-UR.SAG, thy servant. At the feet of the king, my lord, seven times, seven times, I fall. Let the king, my lord, know that (5) the two sons of a rebel against the king my lord, the two sons of Lab'ayu, have determined to destroy the land of the king, my lord, after their father's death. And let the king, my lord, know that (10) many days the two sons of Lab'ayu have *accused* me (saying): "Why hast thou given the town of Giti-padalla into the hand of the king, thy lord—the city which Lab'ayu, our father, captured?" (15) So thus the two sons of Lab'ayu spoke to me: "Declare war against the people of the land of Qena, because they slew our father; and if you do not declare war, then we are hostile to you."

But I answered them: (20) "May the god of the king, my lord, preserve me from making war against the people of the land of Qena, the servants of the king, my lord!" Now may it be agreeable to the king, my lord, to send one of his officers to Biryawaza (25) and let him say to him: "Wilt thou march against the two sons of Lab'ayu, or art thou a rebel against the king?" And after him, let the king, my lord, send to me [. . .] the deed (30) 'of the king,' thy 'lord', against the two sons of Lab'ayu [. . .] Milkilu *has gone in to them*[? . . .] (35) . . . 'land of the king, my lord, with them after Milkilu and Lab'ayu died.' (40) And thus the two sons of Lab'ayu spoke: "Be hostile to the king, thy lord, like our father, when he attacked Shunama and Burquna and Harabu, and (45) destroyed them/

⁷ This letter from the prince of Megiddo is very instructive because of the light it throws on forced labor for the king in the Plain of Esdraelon, several of whose towns and villages are mentioned. The word for "corvée" is the Hebrew *mas*, which is employed a little later of the tribe of Issachar in this very region (Gen. 49:15).

⁸ The prince from whom this letter comes was in control of a district in the northern coastal plain of Palestine, south of Carmel. The death of Lab'ayu is described in EA, No. 245 (cf. n.6). Here his sons are described as continuing their father's activities. Biryawaza, whose help is wanted to subdue the recalcitrants, was prince of Damascus (cf. n.4). Milkilu was prince of Gezer, whose territory adjoined the territory of Ba'lu-UR.SAG ("Baal is a warrior") on the south.

smote them. And he took Giti-rimuni, and he betrayed the helpers of the king, thy lord."

But I answered them: "The god of the king, my lord, preserve me from making (50) war against the king, my lord. The king, my lord, I serve, and my brothers who hearken to me." But the courier of Milkilu does not move from the two sons of Lab'ayu (55) a (*single*) day. Behold, Milkilu seeks to destroy the land of the king, my lord. But there is no other intention with me—I serve the king, my lord, and the word which the king, my lord, speaks do I hear.

EA, No. 252⁹

To the king, my lord, say: Thus Lab'ayu, thy servant. At the feet of my lord I fall. (5) As for what thou hast written, "Are the people strong who have captured the town? How can the men be arrested?" (I reply) "By fighting was the town captured, (10) in spite of the fact that I had taken an oath of conciliation and that, when I took the oath, an (Egyptian) officer took the oath with me! The city as well as my god are captured. I am slandered/blamed (15) before the king, my lord."

Further, when (even) ants are smitten, they do not accept it (passively), but they bite the hand of the man who smites them. (20) How could I hesitate this day when two of my towns are taken?

Further, even if thou shouldst say: "(25) Fall beneath them, and let them smite thee," I should still repel my foe, the men who seized the town and (30) my god, the despoilers of my father, (yea) I would repel them.

EA, No. 254¹⁰

To the king, my lord and my Sun-god: Thus Lab'ayu, thy servant, and the dirt on which thou dost tread. At the feet of the king, my lord, (5) and my Sun-god, seven times and seven times I fall.

I have heard the words which the king wrote to me, and who am I that the king should lose his land (10) because of me? Behold, I am a faithful servant of the king, and I have not rebelled and I have not sinned, and I do not withhold my tribute, and I do not refuse (15) the requests of my commissioner. Now they wickedly slander me, but let the king, my lord, not impute rebellion to me!

Further, (20) my crime is namely that I entered Gezer and said publicly: (25) "Shall the king take my property, and not likewise the property of Milkilu?" I know the deeds which Milkilu has done against me.

(30) Further, the king wrote concerning my son. I did not know that my son associates with the 'Apiru (36), and I have verily delivered him into the hand of Addaya.

⁹ This letter is written in almost pure Canaanite and was not understood until very recently; for a detailed commentary on it see *BASOR*, No. 89, pp. 29-32. Lab'ayu virtuously protests that he was only repelling aggressors who had attacked his native town (not Shechem, which was his capital) in spite of a previous treaty sworn in the presence of an Egyptian official.

¹⁰ In this letter Lab'ayu protests his innocence of all charges against him and assures the king (Amen-hotep III) that he is more loyal than the neighbors who complain against him.

Further, if the king should write for my wife, (40) how could I withhold her? If the king should write to me, "Plunge a bronze dagger into thy heart and (45) die!", how could I refuse to carry out the command of the king?

EA, No. 256¹¹

To Yanhamu, my lord say: Thus Mut-ba'lu, thy servant. At the two feet of my lord I fall. How is it said (5) before thee, "Mut-ba'lu has fled, Ayab has hidden himself?" How can the prince of Pella flee from the face of the commissioner (10) of the king, his lord? As the king my lord lives, as the king my lord lives, Ayab is not in Pella. Behold, he has not been (here) for two months(?). (15) Indeed, ask Ben-ilima, ask Taduwa, ask Yashuya. Again, *at the instance of* (20) the house of Shulum-Marduk, the city of Ashtartu came to (my) help, when all the cities of the land of Garu were hostile, (namely) Udumu, Aduru, (25) Araru, Meshqu, Magdalu, Eni-anabu and Zarqu, and when Hayanu and Yabilima were captured.

Further, behold—after (30) thy writing a tablet to me, I wrote to him. Before thou dost arrive with thy caravan, behold, he will have reached Pella, and he will hear (thy) words.

EA, No. 270¹²

To the king, my lord, my pantheon, my Sun-god, say: Thus Milkilu, thy servant, (5) the dirt (under) thy feet. At the feet of the king, my lord, my pantheon, my Sun-god, seven times, seven times I fall. Let the king, my lord, know (10) the deed which Yanhamu did to me after I left the presence of the king, my lord. Now he seeks (15) two thousand (shekels) of silver from my hand, saying to me: "Give me thy wife and (20) thy children, or I will smite!" Let the king know this deed, and let my lord send to me (26) chariots, and let him take me to himself lest I perish!

EA, No. 271¹³

To the king, my lord, my pantheon, my Sun-god, say: Thus Milkilu, thy servant, (5) the dirt (under) thy feet. At the feet of the king, my lord, my pantheon, my Sun-god, seven times, seven times, I fall. Let the king know (10) that powerful is the hostility against me and against Shuwardata. Let the king, my lord, protect his land (15) from the hand of the 'Apiru. If

¹¹ For a detailed interpretation of this letter see *BASOR*, No. 89, pp. 7-15. Mut-ba'lu (literally "Man of Baal") was prince of Pella in the northern Jordan Valley, opposite Beth-Shan; Ayab (Ayyab, Hebrew Job) was prince of Ashtartu (biblical Ashtaroth) in Bashan. The land of Garu lay in southern Golan between Pella and Ashtartu. Yanhamu, to whom the letter is addressed, was a high Egyptian official of Canaanite (possibly of Hebrew) origin, who seems to have been the Egyptian governor of Palestine at the beginning of the reign of Akh-en-Aton.

¹² Milkilu (Heb. Malchiel) was prince of Gezer. For Yanhamu see the previous letter.

¹³ For Milkilu see the previous letter. Shuwardata (with an Indo-Aryan name) was prince of the Hebron region in the southern hill-country, and frequently appears in association with Milkilu. The 'Apiru (formerly called Habiru) were a strong semi-nomadic people, or rather class of population in Syria and Palestine. While there is much reason to identify them with the Hebrews of the Patriarchal Age, the combination still remains uncertain and cannot be made the basis for any historical inferences.

not, (then) let the king, my lord, send chariots (20) to fetch us, lest our servants smite us.

Further, let the king, my lord, ask (25) Yanhamu, his servant, concerning that which is done in his land.

RA, xxxi, pp. 125-136¹⁴

To Milkilu, prince of Gezer. Thus the king. Now I have sent thee this tablet to say to thee: Behold, (5) I am sending to thee Hanya, the commissioner of the archers, together with goods, in order to procure fine concubines (i.e.) *weaving women*: silver, gold, (linen) garments, (10) *turquoise*, all (sorts of) precious stones, chairs of *ebony*, as well as every good thing, totalling 160 deben. Total: 40 concubines: the price of each concubine is 40 (shekels) of silver. (15) So send very fine concubines in whom there is no blemish. (19) And let the king, thy lord, say to thee, "This is good. To thee life has been *decreed*." And mayest thou know that (25) the king is well, like the Sun-god. His troops, his chariots, his horses are very well. Behold, the god Amon has placed the upper land, (30) the lower land, the rising of the sun, and the setting of the sun under the two feet of the king.

EA, No. 280¹⁵

To the king, my lord, my pantheon, my Sun-god, say: Thus Shuwardata, (5) thy servant, the dirt (under) thy feet! At the feet of the king, my lord, my pantheon, my Sun-god, seven times, seven times, I fall! (9) The king, my lord, sent me to make war against Keilah. I have made war (and) I was successful; my town has been restored (15) to me. Why did 'Abdu-Heba write to the people of Keilah (saying): "Take (my) silver and (20) follow me!" And let the king, my lord, know that 'Abdu-Heba had taken the town from my hand.

Further, (25) let the king, my lord, investigate; if I have taken a man or a single ox or an ass from him, then he is in the right! (30)

Further, Lab'ayu is dead, who seized our towns; but behold, 'Abdu-Heba is another Lab'ayu, and (35) he (also) seizes our towns! So let the king take thought for his servant because of this deed! And I will not do anything until the king sends back a message to his servant.

RA, xix, p. 106¹⁶

To the king, my lord, my Sun-god, my pantheon, say: Thus Shuwardata, thy servant, servant of the king

¹⁴ This letter from pharaoh to Milkilu of Gezer throws an interesting light on the rôle of the Canaanite princes in organizing royal commerce in Asia; Egyptian products and manufactured articles are to be exchanged for the best quality of slave-girls.

¹⁵ Shuwardata, prince of the Hebron district (cf. n.13) here protests to pharaoh (Akh-en-Aton) that 'Abdu-Heba, prince of Jerusalem, is just as aggressive as the unlamented Lab'ayu (see the previous letters).

¹⁶ This letter, from the beginning of Akh-en-Aton's reign, is an extraordinarily illuminating illustration of the situation in Palestine at that time. Just who this redoubtable 'Apiru chieftain was we do not learn, since the proud feudal princes disdained even to mention names of the semi-nomadic 'Apiru. However, he was sufficiently dangerous to unite the arch-foes, 'Abdu-Heba and Shuwardata, and to induce them to offer fifty chariots (a very considerable offer for Palestinian chieftains) to the princes of Accho

(5) and the dirt (under) his two feet, the ground (on) which thou dost tread! At the feet of the king, my lord, the Sun-god from heaven, seven times, seven times I fall, both (10) prone and supine.

Let the king, my lord, learn that the chief of the 'Apiru has risen (in arms) against the lands which the god of the king, my lord, gave me; (16) but I have smitten him. Also let the king, my lord, know that all my brethren have abandoned me, and (20) it is I and 'Abdu-Heba (who) fight against the chief of the 'Apiru. And Zurata, prince of Accho, and Indaruta, prince of Achshaph, it was they (who) hastened (25) with fifty chariots—for I had been robbed (by the 'Apiru)—to my help; but behold, they are fighting against me, so let it be agreeable to the king, my lord, and (30) let him send Yanhamu, and let us make war in earnest, and let the lands of the king, my lord, be restored to their (former) limits!

EA, No. 286¹⁷

To the king, my lord, say: Thus 'Abdu-Heba, thy servant. At the two feet of my lord, the king, seven times and seven times I fall. (5) What have I done to the king, my lord? They blame me before the king, my lord (saying): "'Abdu-Heba has rebelled against the king, his lord." Behold, as for me, (it was) not my father (10) and not my mother (who) set me in this place; the arm of the mighty king brought me into the house of my father! Why should I commit (15) transgression against the king, my lord? As long as the king, my lord, lives, I will say to the commissioner of the king, my lord, "Why do ye favor the 'Apiru and oppose the governors?"—And thus (21) I am blamed in the presence of the king, my lord. Because it is said, "Lost are the lands of the king, my lord," thus am I blamed to the king, my lord! (25) But let the king, my lord, know that (when) the king had established a garrison, Yanhamu took [it all] away, [and . . .] [the troops] (30) [of archers(?) . . .] the land of Egypt [. . .] O king, my lord, there are no garrison troops (here)! [So] let the king take care of his land! (35) Let the king take care of his land! [The land]s of the king have all rebelled; Ilmilku is causing the loss of all the king's land. So let the king take care of his land! I keep saying, "Let me enter (40) into the presence of the king, my lord, and let me see the two eyes of the king, my lord." But the hostility against me is strong, so I cannot enter into the presence of the king, my lord. So may it please the king (45) to send me garrison troops in order that I may enter and see the

and Achshaph (for whom see notes 3 and 6) in the Plain of Acre, far to the north. One suspects that Milkilu of Gezer and Lab'ayu of Shechem, who are not mentioned at all, were—either or both—involved with the 'Apiru.

¹⁷ This letter is characteristic of the continuous requests of 'Abdu-Heba, prince of Jerusalem, for Egyptian assistance in his chronic struggle with the 'Apiru. However, it seems certain from other letters that he was inclined to lump his enemies among the "governors" (i.e. the native princes) with the 'Apiru. It is uncertain whether the Ilmilku (Elimelech) of lines 35 ff. was an 'Apiru chieftain, was one of the sons of Lab'ayu, or was even Milkilu of Gezer (whose name might have been transposed accidentally by the scribe).

two eyes of the king, my lord. As truly as the king, my lord, lives, when the commis[sioners] go forth I will say, "Lost are the lands of the king! (50) Do you not hearken unto me? All the governors are lost; the king, my lord, does not have a (single) governor (left)!" Let the king turn his attention to the archers, and let the king, my lord, send out (55) troops of archers, (for) the king has no lands (left)! The 'Apiru plunder all the lands of the king. If there are archers (here) in this year, the lands of the king, my lord, will remain (intact); but if there are no archers (here) (60) the lands of the king, my lord, will be lost!

To the scribe of the king, my lord: Thus 'Abdu-Heba, thy servant. Present eloquent words to the king, my lord.—All the lands of the king, my lord, are lost!

EA, No. 287¹⁸

[To the kin]g, my lord, [say:] [Thus] 'Abdu-Heba, thy servant. [At the feet] of my lord seven t[imes and seven times I fall.] [Let my king] [know (?) this] matter! [Milkili and Tagu (?)] (5) have caused [their troops (?)] to enter [the town of Rubutu (?)] [Behold] the deed which [Milkilu (?)] has done; [bows] (and) copper arrows [. . . he has given (?) . . .] word [. . . (10) . . .] into the town of [Rubutu (?)] they brought in. Let my king know that all the lands are at peace (but that) there is war against me. So let my king take care of his land!

Behold the land of Gezer, the land of Ashkelon, (15) and 'Lachish,¹ they have given them grain, oil, and all their requirements; and let the king (thus) take care of his archers! Let him send archers against the men who transgress against the king, my lord. (20) If there are archers (here) in this year, then the lands and the governor(s) will (still) belong to the king, my lord; [but] if there are no archers, the lands and the governors will (no longer) belong to the king! (25) Behold this land of Jerusalem: (It was) not my father (and) not my mother (who) gave (it) to me, (but) the arm of the mighty king (which) gave (it) to me.

Behold, this deed is the deed of Milkilu (30) and the deed of the sons of Lab'ayu who have given the land of the king to the 'Apiru. Behold, O king, my lord, I am right!

With reference to the Nubians, let my king ask the commissioners whether my house is (not) very strong! (35) Yet they attempted a very great crime; they took their implements and breached . . . of the roof. [If]

¹⁸ In this letter the prince of Jerusalem complains about a number of events which recur in other letters. In the first place he excoriates Milkilu of Gezer and Tagu of the northern Coastal Plain of Palestine for their aggression against Rubutu, which lay somewhere in the region southwest of Megiddo and Taanach. In the second place he urges the king to instruct his officers to supply the Egyptian archers from the towns of the Philistine Plain and Sharon (in order to avert heavy drain on the scanty supplies of Jerusalem). He goes on to complain that the Nubian (biblical Cushite) slave-troops (or mercenaries) of Egypt, stationed as garrison in Jerusalem, had burglarized the residence of 'Abdu-Heba himself, nearly killing the prince in his own house. He finally complains that his last caravan containing tribute and captives for the king was attacked and robbed near Ajalon, presumably by the men of Milkilu of Gezer and the sons of Lab'ayu.

they send into the land [of Jerusalem] 'troops', let them come up with [an (Egyptian) officer (40) for] (regular) service. Let [my king] take heed for them—for [all] the lands are impoverished by them—[and] let my king requisition for them much grain, much oil, (and) much clothing, (45) until Pawure, the royal commissioner, comes up to the land of Jerusalem.

Addaya has left, together with the garrison (and) the (Egyptian) officer which my king had given (me). Let the king know! Addaya spoke to me, (saying,) (50) [Loo]k, let me go, (but) do not thou leave it (the city)! So send me a garrison this [year], and send me a commissioner likewise, O my king. I have sent [gifts (?)] to the king, my lord: [. . .] captives, five thousand [silver (shekels)] (55) and eight porters for the caravans of the king, my lord; (but) they were captured in the plain of Ajalon. Let the king, my lord, know that I cannot send a caravan to the king, my lord. For thy information!

(60) Behold, the king has set his name in the land of Jerusalem for ever; so he cannot abandon the lands of Jerusalem!

To the scribe of the king, my lord, (65) say: Thus 'Abdu-Heba, thy servant. At thy two feet I fall—thy servant am I! Present eloquent words to the king, my lord. I am (only) a petty officer of the king; (70) I am more insignificant (?) than thou!

But the men of the land of Nubia have committed an evil deed against (me); I was almost killed by the men of the land of Nubia (75) in my own house. Let the king [call] them to (account). Seven times and seven times let the [king,] my lord, [avenge (?)] me!

EA, No. 288¹⁹

To the king, my lord, my Sun-god, say: Thus 'Abdu-Heba, thy servant. At the two feet of the king, my lord, seven times and seven times I fall. (5) Behold the king my lord, has set his name at the rising of the sun, and at the setting of the sun! (It is) vile what they have done against me. Behold, I am not a governor (10) (nor even a) petty officer of the king, my lord; behold, I am a shepherd of the king, and a bearer of the royal tribute am I. It was not my father (and) not my mother, (but) the arm of the mighty king (15) (which) placed me in the house of my father. [. . .] came to me [. . .] I delivered ten slaves [into his] hand. Shuta, the royal commissioner, came (20) to me. Twenty-one maidens (and) eighty captives I delivered into the hand of Shuta as a gift for the king, my lord. Let my king take thought for his land! The land of the king is lost; in its entirety (25) it is taken from me; there is war against me, as far as the lands of Seir (and) as far as Gath-carmel! All the governors are at peace, but there is war against me. I have become like an

¹⁹ This letter continues the complaints of the previous letter, and incidentally paints a vivid picture of the anarchic condition of the country early in the reign of Akh-en-Aton. The references to "the very gate of Sile (Zilu)" mean that the outrages against the *pax Aegyptiaca* extend to the frontiers of Egypt itself, near modern Qantarrah.

'Apiru (30) and do not see the two eyes of the king, my lord, for there is war against me. I have become like a ship in the midst of the sea! The arm of the mighty king (35) conquers the land of Naharaim and the land of Cush, but now the 'Apiru capture the cities of the king. There is not a single governor (remaining) (40) to the king, my lord—all have perished! Behold, *Turbazu* has been slain in the (very) gate of Sile, (yet) the king holds his peace. Behold Zimreda, the townsmen of Lachish have smitten him, slaves who had become 'Apiru. (45) Yaptih-Hadad has been slain [in] the (very) gate of Sile, (yet) the king holds his peace. [Wherefore] does not [the king] call them to account? [So] let the king take care of his land; [and] let the king decide, and let the king send (50) archers to his land! [But] if there are no archers (here) this year, all the lands of the king, my lord, will be lost. They shall not say to the king, my lord, (55) that the land of the king, my lord, has been lost, and (that) all of the governors have perished! If there are no archers (here) this year, let the king send a commissioner, and let him take me (60) to himself (!) together with (my) brothers, and we shall die near the king, our lord!

[To] the scribe of the king, my lord: [Thus] 'Abdu-Heba, (thy) servant. At [thy (?)] two feet I fall. Present eloquent words (65) [. . .] to the king, [my lord! Thy] servant [and] thy son am I.

EA, No. 289²⁰

To the king, my lord, [say]: Thus 'Abdu-Heba, thy servant. At the two feet of my lord, the king, seven times and seven times I [fall.] (5) Behold, Milkilu does not break (his alliance) with the sons of Lab'ayu and with the sons of Arzayu in order to covet the land of the king for themselves. As for a governor who does (such a) deed (as) this, (10) why does not my king call him to account? Behold Milkilu and Tagu! The deed which they have done is this, that they(!) have taken it, the town of Rubutu. And now as for Jerusalem—(15) Behold this land belongs to the king, or why like the town of Gaza is it loyal to the king? Behold the land of the town of Gath-carmel, it belongs to Tagu, and the men of Gath (20) have a garrison in Beth-Shan. Or shall we do like Lab'ayu, who gave the land of Shechem to the 'Apiru? (25) Milkilu has written to Tagu and the sons of (Lab'ayu), (saying) "Ye are (members of) my house. Yield all of their demands to the men of Keilah, and let us break our alliance (with) Jerusalem!" (30) The garrison which thou didst send through Haya, son of Miyare, Addaya has taken (and) has put into his residence in Gaza, [and] twenty men to Egypt (35) he has sent. Let my king know (that) there is no royal garrison with me. So now, as my king lives, truly the commissioner, Puwure, has taken leave of me (40) and is in Gaza; and let my king look out for him! And let the king send fifty men as a garrison to guard the land! The

²⁰ Addaya was the Egyptian resident governor of Palestine, with his seat at Gaza.

entire land of the king has revolted. (45) Send me Yanhamu and let him take care of the land of the king!

To the scribe of the king, [my lord]: Thus 'Abdu-Heba, [thy] servant. Present eloquent words (50) to the king. I am much more insignificant than thou; I am thy servant.

EA, No. 290²¹

[To] the king, my lord, say: Thus ['Abdu]-Heba, thy servant. At the two feet of the [king,] my lord, seven times and seven times I fall. (5) Behold the deed which Milkilu and Shuwardata did to the land of the king, my lord! They rushed troops of Gezer, troops of Gath (10) and troops of Keilah; they took the land of Rubutu; the land of the king went over to the 'Apiru people. But now even (15) a town of the land of Jerusalem, Bit-*Lahmi* by name, a town belonging to the king, has gone over to the side of the people of Keilah. Let my king hearken to 'Abdu-Heba, thy servant, (20) and let him send archers to recover the royal land for the king! But if there are no archers, the land of the king will pass over to the 'Apiru people. (25) This was done at the command of Milkilu [and at] the command of Shuwardata (?) . . . So let my king (30) take care of [his] land!

EA, No. 292²²

To the king, my lord, my pantheon, my Sun-god say: Thus Ba'lu-shipti, thy servant, the dirt (under) thy two feet. (5) At the feet of the king, my lord, my pantheon, my Sun-god, seven times, seven times I fall. I have looked this way, and I have looked that way, (10) but it was not bright. I looked toward the king, my lord, and it was bright. A brick may move from beneath its companions, (15) but I will not move from beneath the two feet of the king, my lord. I have heard the words, which the king, my lord, wrote to his servant: (20) "Guard thy commissioner, and guard the cities of the king, thy lord." Behold, I guard, and behold, I hearken day (25) and night to the words of the king, my lord. But let the king, my lord, *learn* concerning his servant, (that) there is hostility against me from the mountains, so I have built (30) a house—Manhatu is its name—in order to make ready before the archers of the king, my lord; but Maya took it from my hands, and installed (35) his commissioner within it. So command Reanap, my commissioner, to restore the city to my hands, that I may make ready for (40) the archers of the king, my lord.

Further, behold the deed of Peya, the son of Gulate, against Gezer, the maidservant of the king, my lord,

²¹ In lines 15 ff. there is an almost certain reference to the town of Bethlehem, which thus appears for the first time in history. Keilah may have been the home of Shuwardata, prince of the Hebron district.

²² Ba'lu-shipti was prince of Gezer in the period following the death of Milkilu, and this letter comes from the middle of the reign of Akh-en-Aton. Maya was a high Egyptian official at the court of the latter, then acting as commander of the Egyptian forces in Palestine. Peya bears an Egyptian name, in spite of the Canaanite name of his mother(?), and he was probably a minor Egyptian officer.

how many days he plundered it, so that it has become an empty cauldron because of him. From the mountains (50) people are ransomed for thirty (shekels) of silver, but from Peya for one hundred (shekels) of silver; so know these words of thy servant!

EA, No. 297²³

To the king, my lord, my pantheon, my Sun-god, say: Thus Yapahu, thy servant, the dirt (under) thy two feet. (5) At the feet of the king, my lord, my pantheon, my Sun-god, seven times, seven times, I fall. Everything which the king, my lord, said to me (10) I have heard most attentively.

Further: I have become like an empty bronze cauldron (because of) the debt (15) at the hands of the Sutu, but now I have heard the sweet breath of the king, and it goes out (20) to me, and my heart is very serene.

EA, No. 298²⁴

To the king, my lord, my pantheon, my Sun-god, the Sun-god of heaven. Thus Yapahu, the prince of (5) Gezer, the dirt (under) thy two feet, the groom of thy horse. At the two feet of the king, my lord (10) the Sun-god of heaven, seven times and seven times I fall, both prone and supine; and everything (15) which the king, my lord, commands me I hear very attentively. A servant of the king am I, and the dirt of thy two feet. (20) Let the king my lord know that my youngest brother is estranged from me, and has entered (25) Muhhazu, and has given his two hands to the chief of the 'Apiru. And now the [land of . . .]anna is hostile to me. (30) Have concern for thy land! Let my lord write to his commissioner concerning this deed.

EA, No. 320²⁵

To the king, my lord, my pantheon, my Sun-god, the Sun-god of heaven: Thus (5) Widia, the prince of Ashkelon, thy servant, the dirt (under) thy feet, the groom of thy horse. (10) At the feet of the king, my lord, seven times and seven times verily I fall, both prone and (15) supine.

Now I am guarding the place of the king which is with me, and whatever the king, my lord, has sent to me (20) I have heard very attentively. Who is the dog that does not hearken to the words of the king, his lord, (25) the son of the Sun-god?

²³ Yapakhu was prince of Gezer after the death of Milkilu. By Sutu is meant the nomadic tribesmen of Semitic origin who were in Egyptian service, as we know from other documents.

²⁴ cf. the preceding note.

²⁵ Note the Indo-Aryan name of the prince of Ashkelon, whose servile words illustrate the impotence to which he was condemned by his nearness to the Egyptian residence at Gaza, as well as by the smallness of his territory.

*Letter from Tell el-Hesi*²⁶

[To] the (Egyptian) officer say: [Thus P]a'pu. At thy feet I fall. Thou shouldst know that (5) Shipti-ba'lu and Zimreda have plotted publicly and Shipti-ba'lu said to Zimreda: ["The pr]ince of Yaramu wrote to me: 'Give me [six] bows, and three daggers, and three swords. (15) Verily I am going out against the land of the king, and thou art my ally!'"] And yet he returns (the charge of) (20) lèse-majesté (saying): "The one who plots against the king is Pa'pu! And send him to (confront) me!" And [now] I have sent Rabi-ilu (25) to bring him (to thee) [because of] this matter.

*Shechem Letter*²⁷

To Birashshena say: Thus Baniti-[. . .]. From three years ago until now (5) thou hast caused me to be paid. Is there no grain nor oil nor wine which thou canst send? What is my offense that thou hast not paid me? (10) The children who are with me continue to learn. I am their father and their mother every day alike [. . . (15) . . .] Now [behold] whatever [there is] beneath the feet [of my lord] let him [send] to me (20) and let him infor[m] me].

*Taanach, No. 1*²⁸

To Rewashsha say: Thus Guli-Adad. Live well! (5) May the gods take note of thy welfare, the welfare of thy house, of thy children! Thou hast written to me concerning silver (10) and behold I will give fifty (shekels) of silver, truly I will do (so)!

Further, and if (20) there is a wizard of Asherah, let him *tell our fortunes* and let me hear *quickly*, and the omen and the interpretation send to me. (25)

As for thy daughter who is in the town of Rubutu, let me know concerning her welfare; and if she grows up thou shalt give her to become *a singer*, (30) or to a husband.

²⁶ For this letter and its interpretation see *BASOR*, No. 87, pp. 32-38. It vividly characterizes the atmosphere of mutual suspicion and treachery which prevailed in Palestine in the early part of Akh-en-Aton's reign. Zimreda was prince of Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) and Shipti-Ba'lu was to succeed him in that capacity. As shown by his name, Pa'pu was an Egyptian official, perhaps the local commissioner at Lachish.

²⁷ For the interpretation of this letter see *BASOR*, No. 86, pp. 28-31. The letter was published by F. M. Th. Böhl, *ZDPV*, XLIX, pp. 321-27. The name *Birashshena* is Indo-Aryan.

²⁸ For a detailed study of this letter and the other letters found by Ernst Sellin at Taanach, five miles southeast of Megiddo in northern Palestine, see W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, No. 94, pp. 12-27. The tablets were first published, with some photographs, by F. Hrozný in *Tell Ta'annek (Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, L, Vienna, 1904, Part IV)*, pp. 113 ff., and in *Eine Nachlese auf dem Tell Ta'annek in Palästina (Denkschriften, LII, 1906, Part III)*, pp. 36 ff. They unquestionably belong to the fifteenth century B.C., and they may be dated roughly about three generations before the bulk of the Amarna Tablets. Rewashsha was prince of Taanach; his Egyptian name illustrates the extent of Egyptian penetration about a century after the initial conquest. The word here rendered "wizard" is Akkadian *ummanu*, which passed into Hebrew as *omman* and into later Phoenician as *ammun*, always with the general sense of "learned, skilled man, expert." The diviners of Asherah appear in the time of Elijah (I Kings 18:19 ff.) as "prophets of Asherah": they also figure in the Baal Epic of Ugarit.

Aramaic Letters

TRANSLATOR: H. L. GINSBERG

Letters of the Jews in Elephantine

"THE PASSOVER PAPYRUS"

A very defective strip of papyrus with writing on both sides. Text: Sachau, 6; Ungnad, 6; Cowley, 21. Date: 419 B.C.

[To] my [brethren Yedo]niah¹ and his colleagues the [J]ewish gar[rison], your brother Hanan[ia]h.² The welfare of my brothers may God³ [seek at all times]. Now, this year, the fifth year of King Darius, word was sent from the king to Arsa[m]es⁴ saying, "Authorize a festival of unleavened bread for the Jew[ish] [garrison]." So do you count fou[rteen] days of the month of Nisan and] obs[erve the passover],⁵ and from the 15th to the 21st day of [Nisan observe the festival of unleavened bread]. Be (ritually) clean and take heed. [Do n]o work [on the 15th or the 21st day, no]r drink [beer,⁶ nor eat] anything [in] which the[re is] leaven [from the 14th at] sundown until the 21st of Nis[an]. Br]ing into your closets [anything leavened that you may have on hand] and seal it up between those date[s]. *By order of King Darius.*

To] my brethren Yedoniah and the Jewish garrison, your brother Hanani[ah].

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CULT OF YAHO

A very broad sheet of papyrus with 7 columns of Aramaic; traces of palimpsest. Text: Sachau, 17-19; Ungnad, 19; Cowley, 22. Date: 419 or 400 B.C.⁷ See the special study of U. Cassuto in *Kedem*, 1, pp. 47-52.

On the 3rd of Phamenoth,⁸ year 5. This is (*sic!*) the names of the Jewish garrison which (*sic!*) gave money to the God Yaho, [2 shekels] each.

(Lines 2-119, 126-135 name 123 contributors of both sexes.)

(120-125) Cash on hand with Yedoniah the son of Gemariah on the said day of the month of Phamenoth: 31 *karash*, 8 shekels. Comprising: for Yaho 12 *k.*, 6 sh.;⁹ for Ishumbethel^{10a} 7 *k.*; for Anathbethel¹⁰ 12 *k.*

¹ A priest and head of the Jewish community (military colony) of Elephantine.

² Apparently a secretary for Jewish affairs to Arsames. See n.4.

³ Literally "the gods," but with Hananiah this is obviously nothing but a fossilized formula.

⁴ Satrap of Egypt from 455/4 to at least 407.

⁵ The word *ps'h* in two ostraca from Elephantine may mean "passover (offering)." See Sukenik and Kutsher, *Kedem*, 1 (1942), 53-56.

⁶ This restoration is only correct if Hananiah's tradition, like rabbinic law, included under "leaven" fermented grain but not fermented fruit (wine). The Samaritans take a more rigorous view.

⁷ Depending on whether the fifth year is that of Darius II or of the native Egyptian king Amyrtacus (cf. Cowley, 35).

⁸ A month in the Egyptian calendar.

⁹ Since 1 *karash*=20 (light) shekels, this is the correct total for 123 contributions of 2 shekels each. The monies for the other two deities were

SETTLEMENT OF CLAIM BY OATH

Text: Sayce-Cowley, F; Cowley, 14. Date: 440 B.C.

The Jewess Mibtahiah (*Mbthyh*) had apparently married the Egyptian Pi' and then the marriage had been dissolved. The marriage had meant Mibtahiah's exit from the Jewish community and adoption into the Egyptian. Even its liquidation necessitated her swearing by an Egyptian deity. The witnesses to this document are neither Jewish nor Egyptian.

On the 14th of Ab, being the 19th day of Pahons, in the year 25 of King Artaxerxes, Pi' the son of Pahi (*Phy*), builder, of the fortress of Syene, said to Mibtahiah, daughter of Mahseiah the son of Yedoniah, an Aramean of Syene of the detachment of Varizata (as follows): In accordance with the action which we took at Syene, *let us make a division* of the silver, grain, raiment, bronze, iron, and all goods and possessions and marriage contract. Then an oath was imposed upon you, and you swore to me concerning them by the goddess Sati. I was satisfied with the oath which you took to me concerning your goods, and I renounce all claim on you from this day for ever.

GREETING FROM A PAGAN TO A JEW

Ostrakon. Published by A. Dupont-Sommer, *RHR*, cxxviii (1944), 28-39. The sender's name, *Yrhw*, resembles the Palmyrene personal name *Yrhy*, which in turn is connected with that of the Palmyrene god *Yrhw*. His Aramean nationality is also betrayed by the gods he invokes, Mesopotamian deities favored by Arameans.

To my brother Haggai, your brother Yarho. The welfare of my brother (may) Bel and Nabu, Shamash and Nergal (seek at all times).

LETTER FROM ONE JEW TO ANOTHER OF SUPERIOR STATION

Ostrakon. Published by A. Dupont-Sommer, *RHR*, cxxx (1945), 17-28.

To my lord Micaiah, your servant Giddel. I send you welfare and life. I bless you by Yaho and Khn[ub].¹¹ Now, send me the garment that is on you and they will mend it. I send the note for your welfare.

PETITION FOR AUTHORIZATION TO REBUILD THE TEMPLE OF YAHO

A well-preserved papyrus with writing on both sides, apparently a copy of one sent to Jerusalem. Text: Sachau, 1-2; doubtless contributed by non-Jews, Yedoniah (see n.1) acting as treasurer or banker for all the Arameans of Elephantine.

¹¹ Male divinity.

¹⁰ Probably female divinity.

¹¹ A famous male deity of Elephantine. If the completion is erroneous, the writer in any case invokes another deity besides Yaho.

Ungnad, 1; Cowley 30. Date: 407 B.C. (Another, defective copy, with some variants: Sachau, 3; Ungnad, 2; Cowley 31.)

To our lord Bagoas, governor of Judah, your servants Yedoniah and his colleagues, the priests who are in the fortress of Elephantine. May the God of Heaven seek after the welfare of our lord exceedingly at all times and give you favor before King Darius and the nobles a thousand times more than now. May you be happy and healthy at all times. Now, your servant Yedoniah and his colleagues depose as follows: In the month of Tammuz in the 14th year of King Darius,¹² when Arsames (5) departed and went to the king, the priests of the god Khnub, who is in the fortress of Elephantine, conspired with Vidaranag, who was commander-in-chief here, to wipe out the temple of the god Yaho from the fortress of Elephantine. So that wretch Vidaranag sent to his son Nefayan, who was in command of the garrison of the fortress of Syene, this order, "The temple of the god Yaho in the fortress of Yeb is to be destroyed." Nefayan thereupon led the Egyptians with the other troops. Coming with their weapons to the fortress of Elephantine, they entered that temple and razed it to the ground. The stone pillars that were there they smashed. Five (10) "great"¹³ gateways built with hewn blocks of stone which were in that temple they demolished, but their doors *are standing*, and the hinges of those doors are of bronze; and *their* roof of cedar-wood, all of it, with the . . . and whatever else was there, everything they burnt with fire. As for the basins of gold and silver and other articles that were in that temple, they carried all of them off and made them their own.—Now, our forefathers built this temple in the fortress of Elephantine back in the days of the kingdom of Egypt, and when Cambyses came to Egypt he found it built. They knocked down all the temples of the gods of Egypt, but no one did any damage to this temple. (15) But when this happened, we and our wives and our children wore sackcloth, and fasted, and prayed to Yaho the Lord of Heaven, who has let us see our desire upon that Vidaranag. The dogs took the fetter out of his feet,¹⁴ and any property he had gained was lost; and any men who have sought to do evil to this temple have all been killed and we have seen our desire upon them.—We have also sent a letter before now, when this evil was done to us, (to) our lord and to the high priest Johanan¹⁵ and his colleagues the priests in Jerusalem and to Ostanes the brother of Anani¹⁶ and the nobles of the Jews. Never a letter have they sent to us. Also, from the month of Tammuz, year 14 of King Darius, (20) to this day, we have been wearing sackcloth and fasting, making our wives as widows, not anointing ourselves with oil or drinking wine. Also, from then to now, in the year 17 of King Darius,¹⁷ no meal-offering, in[cen]se, nor burnt offering

¹² 410 B.C.

¹³ So emend according to Cowley, 31:9.

¹⁴ Perhaps a mistake for "his feet out of the fetter."

¹⁵ No doubt the Johanan of Neh. 12:22, 23.

¹⁶ Perhaps the Anani of I Chron. 3:24; if Ostanes is an alternative name of one of the brothers mentioned there, or if "brother" here means merely "kinsman."

¹⁷ 407 B.C.

have been offered in this temple. Now your servants Yedoniah, and his colleagues, and the Jews, the citizens of Elephantine, all say thus: If it please our lord, take thought of this temple to rebuild it, since they do not let us rebuild it. Look to your well-wishers and friends here in Egypt. Let a letter be sent from you to them concerning the temple of the god Yaho (25) to build it in the fortress of Elephantine as it was built before; and the meal-offering, incense, and burnt offering will be offered in your name, and we shall pray for you at all times, we, and our wives, and our children, and the Jews who are here, all of them, if you do thus, so that that temple is rebuilt. And you shall have a merit before Yaho the God of Heaven more than a man who offers to him burnt offering and sacrifices worth a thousand talents of silver and (because of)¹⁸ gold. Because of this we have written to inform you. We have also set the whole matter forth in a letter in our name to Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of Sanballat the governor of Samaria.¹⁹ (30) Also, Arsames knew nothing of all that was done to us. On the 20th of Marsheshwan, year 17 of King Darius.

ADVICE OF THE GOVERNORS OF JUDAH AND SAMARIA TO THE JEWS OF ELEPHANTINE

Text: Sachau, 4; Ungnad, 3; Cowley, 32.

Memorandum of what Bagoas and Delaiah said to me: Let this be an instruction to you in Egypt to say before Arsames about the house of offering of the God of Heaven which had been in existence in the fortress of Elephantine (5) since ancient times, before Cambyses, and was destroyed by that wretch Vidaranag in the year 14 of King Darius: to rebuild it on its site as it was before, and the meal-offering and incense²⁰ to be made on (10) that altar as it used to be.

PETITION BY ELEPHANTINE JEWS, PERHAPS TO ARSAMES

Text: Sachau, 4; Ungnad, 4; Cowley, 33.

Your servants Yedoniah the son of Ge[mariah] by name 1, Ma'uzi the son of Nathan by name [1], She-maiah the son of Haggai by name 1, Hosea the son of Yatom by name 1, (5) Hosea the son of Nathun by name 1, 5 men in all, Syenians who [ho]ld proper[ty] in the fortress of Elephantine, say as follows: If your lordship is [favo]rable, and the temple of ou[r] God Yaho [is rebuilt] in the fortress of Elephantine as it was for[merly] built, (10) and n[o] *sheep*, ox, or goat are offered there as burnt offering,²¹ but (only) incense, meal-offering, [and drink-offering], and (if) your lordship giv[es] orders [to that effect, then] we shall pay into your lordship's house the s[um of . . . and] a thous[and] *ardabs* of barley.

¹⁸ Erroneous anticipation of the following "because of." cf. also M. Vogelstein, *JQR*, xxxiii (1942), 89-92.

¹⁹ The well-known contemporary of Nehemiah.

²⁰ The Mazdean Arsames was likely to react more favorably if no mention was made of burnt offering, since it involved the profaning of fire by contact with dead bodies.

²¹ See preceding note.

X. Miscellaneous Texts



Egyptian Texts

TRANSLATOR: JOHN A. WILSON

The Authority of Ancient Documents

The Egyptians had a strong sense of past dignity and accomplishment, so that they constantly invoked the authority of previous times in order to give sanction to the present. In literature of various kinds, a frequent statement emphasized the fidelity of the present copy to an older model.¹ A common case lay in the medical papyri, in which the prescriptions were given authority through the claim that there had been discovered an old document which went back to the days of Egypt's first dynasties, and which was also related to the gods or the temples. Thus an anatomical treatise in the Ebers medical papyrus was emphasized as:

BEING WHAT WAS FOUND IN WRITING UNDER THE FEET OF ANUBIS IN LETOPOLIS. IT WAS BROUGHT TO THE MAJESTY OF THE KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT: Usaphais, the triumphant.²

Similarly a section in the Berlin Medical Papyrus:

which was found among old writings in a box containing documents under the feet of Anubis in Letopolis in the time of (King) Usaphais. . . It was brought to the majesty of (King) Senedj, because of its efficacy.³

It was comforting to a man suffering from the itch to know that the prescription for his ailment had been "found during an inventory in the Temple of Wen-nofer," that is, Osiris.⁴ That has a matter-of-fact sound, but sometimes the claim bore a miraculous character, as in a remedy credited to the goddess Isis:

This remedy was found in the night, fallen into the court of the temple in *Koptos*, as a mystery of this goddess, by a lector-priest of this temple, when this land was in darkness, and it was the moon *which shone* upon every side of this scroll. It was brought as a marvel to the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Khufu, the triumphant.⁵

For praise of the sages of the past, see the text of pp. 431-432 above. For advice to copy the ancestors, as shown in their writings, see the passage on p. 415 above.

For the recopying of an older text, see the Memphite Theology on p. 4 above. For pious forgeries, cast back into the past, see the discussions of the two legends on pp. 29 and 31.

¹ For example, pp. 22, 414, 418.

² G. Ebers, *Papyrus Ebers* (Leipzig, 1875), II, ciii 1-2. This papyrus has been rendered into English by B. Ebbell, *The Papyrus Ebers* (Copenhagen and London, 1937). The manuscript dates from the early 18th dynasty (16th century B.C.), while Usaphais was a king of the 1st dynasty (perhaps 31st-29th century B.C.). The phrase "under his feet" puts the original document in the direct charge of an image of a god in his temple.

³ Berlin Pap. 3038, xv 1-4; W. Wreszinski, *Der grosse medizinische Papyrus des Berliner Museums* (Leipzig, 1909), 33. Senedj was of the 2nd dynasty (perhaps 29th-27th century B.C.).

⁴ Papyrus Ebers, lxxv 12-13.

⁵ British Museum Papyrus 10059, viii 11-13; W. Wreszinski, *Der Londoner medizinischer Papyrus . . . und der Papyrus Hearst in Transkription* (Leipzig, 1912), 149. This papyrus is perhaps of the 21st dynasty (11th-10th century B.C.), Khufu of the 4th dynasty (27th-26th century B.C.).

The Interpretation of Dreams

A recently discovered hieratic papyrus gives a reference book for the interpretation of dreams. A few examples—out of more than two hundred—will show the nature of these interpretations. Very commonly the principle of similars is used, either similars of sound, that is, puns, or similars of situation, like the dreams which Joseph interpreted.* (See Addenda).

The physical arrangement of the text is distinctive. The words, "if a man see himself in a dream," are written once for each column of various dreams. Set in a column over against each dream is the word "good" or the word "BAD" (written in red), followed by the meaning of the dream.

The manuscript presumably comes from Thebes, and is dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty (about 1300 B.C.), although the editor cites evidence that its material may derive from the Twelfth Dynasty (2000-1800 B.C.). Papyrus Chester Beatty III, now British Museum 10683, extracts from recto, i-xi. Published in *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series. Chester Beatty Gift*, ed. by A. H. Gardiner (London, 1935), I, 9-23; II, Pls. 5-8.

If a man see himself in a dream:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (iii 4) white bread being given to him— | good: it means things at which his face will light up. ¹ |
| (iv 3) seeing a large cat— | good: it means a large harvest will come [to him]. ² |
| (v 19) plunging into the river— | good: it means cleansing from all evils. |
| (22) [seeing the] moon as it shines— | good: forgiveness to him by his god. |
| (vii 11) seeing his face in a mirror— | BAD: it means another wife. ³ |
| (13) seeing himself with a pain in his side— | BAD: taking something away from him. |
| (28) seeing the catching of birds— | BAD: it means taking away his property. ⁴ |
| (viii 5) looking into a deep well— | BAD: putting him into prison. |

For an indication that the Egyptians divined through an observation of the stars and the winds, see p. 377 above.

¹ Pun: *hedj* "white," and *hedj* "light up."

² Pun: *miu 'aa* "large cat," and *shemu 'aa* "large harvest."

³ Gardiner, the editor of the text, explains: "to see one's face in a mirror is to discover a second self, which second self must naturally have a wife." Why this is "bad" is not clear.

⁴ Pun: *ham* "catching," and *nehem* "taking away."

Sumerian Love-Song

TRANSLATOR: S. N. KRAMER

Love-Song to a King

This little poem seems to be a love-song dedicated to Shu-Sin, the fourth ruler of the Third Dynasty of Ur, who reigned sometime about 2000 B.C. It was probably composed by a woman¹ who belonged to the priestly order known as *lukur* by the Sumerians and *našitu*² by the Akkadians. Only one tablet inscribed with the poem has as yet been found; it was excavated in Nippur and dates from the first half of the second millennium B.C. Its text was copied and published by Edward Chiera as No. 23 of his *Sumerian Religious Texts* (1924). Only recently a scientific edition of the composition, including transliteration, translation, and commentary, was published by A. Falkenstein in *Die Welt Des Orients* (1947), 43-50.

³She gave birth to him who is pure, she gave birth
to him who is pure,
The queen gave birth to him who is pure,
Abisimti⁴ gave birth to him who is pure,
The queen gave birth to him who is pure.
O my (queen) who is favored of limb, my Abisimti,
O my (queen) who is . . . d of head, my queen
Dabbatum,⁵
O my (lord) who is . . . d of hair, my lord Shu-Sin,⁶

¹ The poem is written in the Emesal dialect of Sumerian, which is known to have been reserved for female deities, and no doubt also for priestesses.

² Practically nothing is known of the specific duties of this priestly class, but cf. n.4 below.

³ By and large our poem seems to consist of a number of four-line strophes, thus: lines 1-4, 5-8, 9-12, 15(?) - 18(?), 19-22, and 23-26(?); difficult to fit in are lines 13-14 and line 27. The logical relationship between the various strophes, however, is not too clear. Thus the first strophe sings of the birth of Shu-Sin by Abisimti; the second strophe seems to contain exclamatory lines exalting Shu-Sin, his mother Abisimti, and perhaps his wife Dabbatum; in the third strophe the poet-priestess sings of the gifts presented her by Shu-Sin. The six partially destroyed lines which follow seem to contain a two-line plea to Shu-Sin and four exclamatory lines exalting the king. In the next four-line strophe the poetess probably sings temptingly of strong drink and sexual love. The last lines again seem to be exclamatory in character and leave one with the feeling that the poem is incomplete, unless perhaps we are to understand that the strophe contained in lines 19-22 was intended to be repeated after line 27.

⁴ Since "him who is pure" refers to Shu-Sin, our poem provides us with the name of King Shu-Sin's mother and of King Shulgi's wife (or, rather one of his wives); cf. n.7 below.

⁵ Dabbatum who is addressed in this line by the poetess as "my queen," is probably the name of a *lukur*-priestess who may have become one of Shu-Sin's wives. In the excavations carried on in Erech before the war, there was found a precious necklace one of whose beads was inscribed with the words "Dabbatum, the *lukur*-priestess of Shu-Sin"; cf. Falkenstein's interesting comment, and particularly his suggestion that one of the duties of the *lukur*-priestess was to participate in a hieros-gamos with the divine king, as representative of the goddess whom she served (*loc. cit.*, pp. 46 and 50).

⁶ The king's name is preceded by the god-determinative throughout the poem.

O my (lord) who is . . . of word, my son of Shulgi!⁷
Because I *uttered it*, because I *uttered it*, the lord gave
me a gift,
Because I *uttered a cry of joy*, the lord gave me a
gift, (10)
A *pendant* of gold, a seal of lapis lazuli, the lord gave
me as a gift,
A ring of gold, a ring of silver, the lord gave me as a
gift.
O lord, thy gift is brimful of . . . , [lift] thy face⁸ [unto
me],
O Shu-Sin, thy gift is brimful of . . . , [lift] thy face unto
me.⁹
. . . [l]ord . . . [l]ord . . . ,
. . . like a *weapon* . . . ,
Thy city [lift]s its hand like a cripple, O my lord Shu-
Sin,
It lies at thy feet like a *lion-cub*, O son of Shulgi.¹⁰
O my god, of the wine-maid,¹¹ sweet is her date wine,
Like her date wine sweet is her vulva, sweet is her date
wine, (20)
Like her . . .¹² sweet is her vulva, sweet is her date wine,
Sweet is her *diluted drink*, her date wine.
O my Shu-Sin who hast favored me,
O my (Shu-Sin) who hast favored me, who hast *fondled*
me,
O my Shu-Sin who hast favored me,
O my beloved of Enlil, (my) Shu-Sin,
O my king, the god of his¹³ land!
It is a *balbale* of Bau.¹⁴

⁷ The poem provides us with the significant information that, in spite of the Sumerian King List, Shu-Sin, the fourth king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, is not the son of Bur-Sin, his immediate predecessor, but his brother, and that both Bur-Sin and Shu-Sin are the sons of Shulgi; cf. Falkenstein, *loc. cit.*, p. 45.

⁸ Perhaps "eye" instead of "face" in this and the next line.

⁹ The punctuation assumes that lines 13-14 form a couplet and that lines 15-18 contain another four-line strophe; cf. n.3 above.

¹⁰ The text does not have the expected "my" before "son of Shulgi."

¹¹ Falkenstein may be right in suggesting that the "wine-maid" refers to the priestess herself.

¹² The first two signs are hardly to be read (with Falkenstein) *du₃₁(g)-du₃₁(g)*, since the third sign would then in all likelihood have been *ga*, not *a*; for a similar reason they are hardly to be read *nim-nim* "words." Perhaps they are to be read *su₃₁-su₃₁* "teeth," though the context seems to ask for a word such as "lips."

¹³ "His" instead of the expected "thy."

¹⁴ For *balbale* as a technical term for a specific type of Sumerian composition, cf. p. 42 of this volume. As for the phrase "of Bau," it may imply that the priestess who composed this poem was in the service of the goddess Bau (also pronounced Baba, cf. p. 456 of this volume); for additional details, cf. Falkenstein, *loc. cit.*, pp. 48-50.

Hittite Omen

TRANSLATOR: ALBRECHT GOETZE

Investigating the Anger of the Gods

Text: *KUB*, v, 7.

(2) In the temple of (god) Kismaras. (blank space),¹ unfavorable. [We asked the temple officials and they said: "The] *haršiyalli* vessel has not been poured out [for] 9 days, and the wine portion has been omitted." Bird omina, un[favorable. If it is only this, ditto.²] We asked them again and they said: "They omitted the fresh loaves." Bird omina, unfavorable. If it is only this, [ditto³]. We [asked them again] and they said: "The daily (ration of) sacrificial loaves spoiled." Bird omina, unfavorable. If it is [only this, ditto³]. We [asked them again] and they said: "They continually omit the monthly festival of the third day (and) of the fourth day and [. . .]" Bird omina, unfavorable. If it is only this, ditto.³ So [we have] not yet [found the solution].

(7) In the Ea temple (god) Ea held the good symbol in his hand. It is (no longer) there. [. . .], unfavorable.

If it is only this, bird omina, unfavorable.

We asked the temple officials and they said: "The foot of the Sun⁴ is broken." Bird omina, unfavorable. If it is only this, unfavorable.

Ditto:⁵ "The mountain on which (god) Kallis stands, that mountain was silver plated; the silver on that mountain is chipped off." Bird omina, unfavorable. If it is only this, ditto. The first bird omen was favorable, but afterward it was unfavorable. The monthly festival which they omitted, he will celebrate (it) as it should be. As a penalty they will give 1 sheep, bread (and) beer. The [. . .] festival which they omitted, they will make up for it to the double amount. Favorable.

....
(17) If (god) Huriyanzipas [is angry] in the temple, let [the omina] be favorable. Unfavorable.

We asked the temple officials and they said: "The house [. . . and] it is shaky." Is the god angry for that reason? Let the omina be favorable [. . . . If it is only this, ditto], let the omina be favorable. Unfavorable.

(20) We asked the temple officials again and they said: "The [. . .] festival has been omitted; the cult stand is not adorned with discs." Is the god angry for that reason? Unfavorable. If it is only this, let the omina be favorable. Unfavorable.

With regard to what was unfavorably answered

¹ Apparently the scribe was unable to decipher this passage on the tablet from which he was copying.

² i.e. there was an unfavorable answer for the second time.

³ There was another unfavorable omen.

⁴ i.e. of a statue of the Hittite king.

⁵ Substitute here: We asked the temple officials and they said.

again—because they consecrated a belated (animal), is the god angry for that reason? Let the omina be unfavorable. Unfavorable. If it is only this, let the omina be favorable. Unfavorable.

(24) We asked the temple officials again and they said: "A dog came into the temple, he shook the table and the sacrificial loaves fell down. The daily ration of sacrificial loaves they cut considerably down." Is the god angry for that reason? Unfavorable.

If the god is angry only about the offences that have so far been ascertained by us, ditto, let the omina be favorable. Unfavorable.

We asked the temple officials and they said: "Two deficient people came into the temple. Bird omina, unfavorable.

If it is only this, ditto. Bird omina, unfavorable. We asked them again and they said: "Mutilated people walked about the temple." Bird omina, unfavorable. If it is only this, ditto. The first bird omen was favorable, but afterward it was unfavorable.

(30) The four pairs of monthly festivals which had been omitted—if the god did not feel revengeful because they had made the sacrifices already, (. . .) Bird omina, unfavorable.

They have already celebrated the four pairs of festivals. But as a penalty they will give 1 sheep, bread (and) beer and. . . . Favorable. It has already been given. Because they had omitted the daily (ration of) sacrificial loaves, they will give 30 sacrificial loaves. Bird omina, favorable.

Since a dog reached the table and ate the daily (ration of) sacrificial loaves, they will *discard* the table. For the daily (ration of) sacrificial loaves they will make up twofold and as a penalty they will give 1 sheep, bread (and) beer and. . . . Bird omina, favorable.

Since deficient and mutilated people walked about (the temple), the Hittite Old Woman will perform a rite for the god in the manner to which she is accustomed. Bird omina, favorable.

.... (reverse)

If (god) Ziparwas is not at all [angry in the temple . . .]

We asked the temple officials and they said: "Three rhyta have been stripped of their precious stones, one rhyton is mutilated; 2 pairs of 'fruit' festivals . . . have not been celebrated." We asked the bird omina: Is the god angry for that reason? [. . .]

(10) If it is only this, ditto, let the bird omina be favorable. Unfavorable.

We asked them again and they said: "When the entreaty [was due], from 3 palaces they did not give

it, . . .” Is the god angry for that reason? Bird omina, unfavorable.

We asked them again and they said: “The daily (ration of) sacrificial loaves, [for x days] they did [not] give it. When they brought up the gods from Dattašša [and . . .], individual cult stands became *separated*.” Is the god angry for that reason? Bird omina, unfavorable.

If it is only this, ditto, let the bird omina be favorable. Unfavorable.

If the Hattian Halkis⁶ is not at all angry in the temple, let the omina be favorable. Unfavorable.

(We asked) the temple officials (and they said:): “The implements of the god which . . . they have stripped of the silver, he has stripped of the silver. Two *harišanaš*—one of gold and (one) of silver—they brought to Marassantiya, but did not bring (them) back. The

⁶ The Hattic name is Kait; it is probably to be used here.

festival of the mother-of-god has not been celebrated. For three days the daily (ration of) sacrificial loaves has been omitted. He has stripped the *baldachin* which the god had of its *covering*. The god had a quiver and there were 20 arrows in it; they are gone. The two iron handles of the shield are gone.” If the god ditto, favorable.

If (god) SUMUKAN⁷ is not at all angry in the temple, let the omina be favorable. Unfavorable.

We asked the temple officials and they said: “One eyebrow of the god is fallen off. The bucks which he had harnessed—of one buck the horns have fallen off. The rhyta (set) with pearls are broken. The alabaster cup is broken. They have stripped the rhyta of their (precious) stones.”

(The text stops here, although obviously its end had not yet been reached.)

⁷ A god of fertility and patron of the animal life.

SUPPLEMENT TO
Ancient Near Eastern Texts

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SUPPLEMENT TO
Ancient Near Eastern Texts



—

Akkadian Myths and Epics

TRANSLATOR: A. K. GRAYSON

Since the second edition of this volume was published there has been considerable improvement in our knowledge of Akkadian myths and epics. This improvement is due in part to continuing study of the texts already known and in part to new texts which have come to light. It is unfortunate that, due to his untimely death, Professor E. A. Speiser was unable to undertake the revision of his translations. The present writer, in assuming this task, has tried to follow Speiser's style as much as possible. Thus no changes have been made in the previously published translations unless these were made necessary by recent research or newly discovered texts. The translations of passages which are still not clear have been left unaltered. All publications which have appeared in the intervening years have been taken into consideration with the exception of the abundant material now being made available for the Atrahasis Epic, an omission which will be explained in the section on that composition. One completely new text, A Babylonian Theogony, has been included.

The Creation Epic

ADDITIONS TO TABLETS V-VII

Research and new discoveries have filled some gaps in this composition and corrected some erroneous ideas. It is now widely held that the date of composition of the Creation Epic is later than the Old Babylonian period. Beyond this there is little agreement for while some would place its origin in the Kassite period, others would date it even later.

Among recent publications of overall significance must be included the composite cuneiform text of the epic edited by W. G. Lambert and Simon B. Parker, *Enuma Eliš* (Oxford, 1966). Also worthy of note is an article by W. G. Lambert, "A New Look at the Babylonian Background of Genesis" in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, xvi (1965), 287-300. New texts that have appeared come mainly from Ashur and Sultantepe. In the second edition of this volume Speiser was able to incorporate the Ashur material into the translations. The Sultantepe texts had only just begun to appear, however, and he was able to utilize very little of them. Thus most of the changes made in the translation have been occasioned by the Sultantepe material.¹

Since Tablets I-IV were previously well preserved only small changes were necessary. All of these changes have been incorporated in the body of the text. The new sources are:

Tablet I: E. Ebeling, *LKA*, No. 3. O. R. Gurney and J. J. Finkelstein, *STT*, I, No. 1. For the Sultantepe text also see O. R. Gurney, *AnSt*, II (1952), 32 f. Tablet II: *LKA*, Nos. 4 and 5. *STT*, I, No. 2. Tablet III: No new texts. Tablet IV: *LKA*, No. 6. *STT*, I, Nos. 3-8. *STT*, II, No. 115 (joins *STT*, I, No.

¹ For a summary of the Sultantepe sources for the Creation Epic see O. R. Gurney, *AfO*, xvii (1956), 353-56.

8). On the Sultantepe material also see O. R. Gurney, *AnSt*, II (1952), 27 f.

A few changes have been made in the translation of Tablet IV which require comment. In line 19 the correct translation is "Images," Akkadian *lu-ma-šá* as shown by *STT*, I, No. 3 and see R. Borger, *AfO*, xix (1959-60), 113. This constellation, which is also mentioned in IV, 23-26 and in Tablet V, has been discussed by B. Landsberger and Kinnier Wilson, *JNES*, xx (1961), 170-71. At the beginning of IV, 53 read with *STT*, I, No. 3: *pa-tu-nu šap-ti*. At the beginning of IV, 54 read with *STT*, I, No. 3: *ana-ḫa la i-du-ú*.

Tablet V

The major addition to our knowledge of the epic is in Tablet V. A large portion of the text was published many years ago by L. W. King, *CT*, XIII, 22-25, but its identity as part of Tablet V was disputed. The recent discovery at Sultantepe of a duplicate, *STT*, I, No. 12, has virtually settled the argument. The sources for Tablet V were recently compiled, edited, and commented upon by B. Landsberger and J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *JNES*, xx (1961), 154-179. Some changes have been made in the first twenty-two lines of this tablet translated by Speiser. There follows what can be translated of the remainder of the tablet using the line numbering of the Landsberger and Kinnier Wilson edition.

"I [have appointed] a sign, follow its path, (23)
... [. . . a]pproach and give judgement."

(Lines 25-44 are too broken for translation. It is clear from the traces, however, that after completing his creation of the moon Marduk turned his attention to establishing the sun.)

After he [had appointed] the days [to Shamash], (45)
[And had established] the precincts of night and
d[ay],

[*Taking*] the spittle of Tia[mat]

Marduk created [. . .] . . .

He formed the c[louds] and filled (them) with
[water].

The raising of winds, the bringing of rain (and) (50)
cold,

Making the mist smoke, piling up her² poison:

(These) he appointed to himself, took into his own
charge.

Putting her³ head into position he formed the[reon the
mountai]ns,

Opening the deep (which) was in flood,

He caused to flow from her eyes the Euphr[ates (and)
T]igris,

Stopping her nostrils he left . . . ,

² Tiamat's.

³ Tiamat's. Text: "his."

He formed at her udder the lofty m[ountain]s,
 (Therein) he drilled springs for the wells to carry off
 (the water).
 Twisting her tail he bound it to Durmah,⁴
 [...] . . . Apsu at his foot, (60)
 [...] her crotch, she was fastened to the heavens,
 (Thus) he covered [the heavens] (and) established
 the earth.
 [...] . . . in the midst of Tiamat he made flow,
 [...] his net he completely let out,
 (So) he *created* heaven and earth . . . ,
 [...] their bounds . . . established.
 When he had designed his rules (and) fashioned [his]
 ordinances,
 He founded [the shr]ines (and) handed them over
 to Ea.
 [The Tablet of] Destinies which he had taken from
 Kingu he carried,
 He brought (it) as the first gift of greeting, he (70)
 gave (it) to Anu.
 [The go]ds who had *done battle* (and) been scattered,
 He led [bou]nd into the presence of his fathers.
 Now the eleven creatures which Tiamat had
 made . . . ,
 Whose weapons he had shattered, which he had tied
 to his foot:
 [Of these] he made statues and set (them) up [at the
 Gate of] Apsu (saying):
 "Let it be a token that this may never be forgotten!"
 When [the gods] saw (this) they were exceedingly glad,
 [La]hmu, Lahamu, and all of his fathers
 [Crossed] over to him, and Anshar, the king, made
 manifest his greeting,
 [An]u, Enlil, and Ea presented to him gifts. (80)
 [With a gi]ft Damkina, his mother, made him
 joyous,
 She sent offerings, his face brightened.
 [T]o Usmi who brought her gift to a secret place
 [He entru]sted the chancellorship of Apsu (and) the
 stewardship of the shrines.
 Being [assem]bled, all the Igigi bowed down,
 While everyone of the Anunnaki kissed his feet,
 [...] their assembly to do obeisance,
 They stood [before h]im, bowed (and said): "He is
 the king!"
 [After] the gods, his fathers, were satiated with his
 charms. (89)

(Lines 90-106 are too mutilated for translation. In this
 passage the seating of Marduk on the throne with his
 weapons was described.)

⁴ "Great Band." Cf. Tablet VII, 96.

Ea and Damkina [. . .], (107)
 They opened their mouths to [speak to the great
 gods], the Igigi:
 "Formerly [Mard]uk was (merely) our beloved
 son,
 Now he is your king, proclaim his title!" (110)
 A second (speech) they made, they all spoke:
 "His name shall be Lugaldimmerankia,⁵ trust in him!"
 When they had given the sovereignty to Marduk,
 They declared for him a *formula* of good fortune and
 success:
 "Henceforth thou wilt be the patron of our sanctuaries,
 Whatever thou dost command we will do."
 Marduk opened his mouth to speak,
 To say a word to the gods, his fathers:
 "Above the Apsu where you have resided,
 The counterpart of Esharra which I have built (120)
 over you,
 Below I have hardened the ground for a building site,
 I will build a house, it will be my luxurious abode.
 I will found therein its temple,
 I will appoint cellas, I will establish my sovereignty.
 When you come up from the Apsu for assembly,
 You will spend the night therein, (it is there) to
 receive all of you.
 When you des[ce]nd from heaven [for assem]bly,
 You will spend the night there[in] (it is there) to
 receive all of you.
 I will call [its] name ['Babylon'] (which means)
 'the houses of the great gods,'⁶
 I shall build it [with] the skill of craftsmen." (130)
 [When the gods], his fathers, h[ear]d this [speech]
 of his,
 [They put] the following question [to Marduk, their
 firstborn]:
 "Over all that your hands have created,
 Who will have thy [*authority*]?
 Over the ground which your hands have created,
 Who will have thy [*power*]?
 Babylon, which thou didst give a fine name,
 Ther[ein] establish our [abod]e forever!
 [. . .], let them bring our daily ration,
 [. . .] our [. . .], (140)
 Let no one [*usurp*] our tasks which we [*previously*
performed],
 Therein [. . .] its labor [. . .]."
 Marduk rejoiced [*when he heard this and*]
 He [answered] those gods [who had ques]tioned him,
 He that sle[w Tiamat sho]wed them light,

⁵ "King of the gods of heaven and underworld." Cf. Tablet VI, 140.

⁶ On this etymology cf. Landsberger and Kinnier Wilson, *JNES*, xx (1961), 178.

He opened [his mouth], his [speech] was noble:

"... [. . .] them [. . .],
[. . .] will be entrusted to thee."

The gods bowed down before him, they spoke [to him],

They said to Lugaldimmeran[ki]a: (150)

"Formerly the lord [was (merely) our beloved] son,

Now he is our king, [proclaim his title]!

He whose pure incantation gave us life,

[He is the lord of splendor, mace, and sceptre.

[Ea who knows the skill] of all crafts,

Let him prepare the plans, we [will be the workers]."

Tablet VI

The new texts are: *LKA*, No. 7. *STT*, I, No. 9 (cf. O. R. Gurney, *AnSt*, II (1952), 33 f.).

All of the new material has been incorporated in the body of the former translation with the exception of lines 91-104 which are translated below.

He fixed its⁷ position with the gods its brothers. (91)

After Anu had decreed the fate of the bow,

(And) had placed the lofty royal throne before the gods,

Anu placed it⁸ in the Assembly of the gods.

When the great gods had assembled,

They extolled the destiny of Marduk, they bowed down,

They pronounced among themselves a curse,

Swearing by water and oil to place life in jeopardy.⁹

When they had granted him the exercise of kingship of the gods,

When they had given him dominion over the gods (100) of heaven and underworld,

Anshar pronounced supreme his name, Asarluhi (saying):

"Let us do obeisance at the mention of his name,

To his utterance let the gods give heed,

Let his command be supreme above and below!"

Tablet VII

Our knowledge of this tablet has considerably improved thanks to the new texts: *LKA*, No. 8. *STT*, I, Nos. 10 and 11. All of the additions and changes have been incorporated in the body of the former translation with the exception of the last few lines (158-62) of the epilogue which are now adequately preserved to deserve translation here.

He wrote down and (thereby) preserved (it) for the future.

The [dwell]ing of Marduk which the gods, the Igigi, had made,

. . . let them speak. (160)

. . . the song of Marduk,

[Who] vanquished Ti[amat] and achieved the kingship.

⁷ The bow's.

⁸ The bow.

⁹ *ú-lap-pi-tu' nap-šá-a-ii*. Cf. *Archives Royales de Mari* I, 37 and II, 62, 77 and see W. von Soden, *Orientalia* NS, XXI (1952), 79.

The Epic of Gilgamesh

ADDITIONS TO TABLETS V-VIII AND X

Research and new finds have continued to increase our knowledge of the Epic of Gilgamesh. The recent discovery of a fragment of this epic at Megiddo in Palestine¹⁰ provides yet another indication of the diffusion of this popular composition and the appearance at Boğazköy of further pieces of the Hurrian and Hittite versions¹¹ is also of interest in this respect. In recent years there have been significant additions to the Old Babylonian version as well as to the late recension of the epic. Bibliographical details of the new material will be given at the appropriate place. Here only new and significant studies of the work as a whole will be noted. Of particular importance is a revision of Schott's translation of the epic into German published by W. von Soden, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (1958) as well as von Soden's notes to this new edition in *ZA*, LIII (1959), 209-35. Also noteworthy is the revised edition of A. Heidel's, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (1949). An indication that interest in this literary composition is far from waning is the fact that the VII Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale held in 1958 was devoted to a discussion of the Gilgamesh Epic and the numerous and varied papers presented at that time were subsequently edited and published by P. Garelli, *Gilgamesh et sa Légende* (1960). In particular note the detailed bibliography compiled by L. de Meyer on pp. 1-30.

Tablet I

Sources for Tablet I have been slightly increased by the recent publication of four Neo-Babylonian fragments by W. G. Lambert, *CT*, XLVI, 17-20. *CT*, XLVI, 17 and part of *CT*, XLVI, 19 were utilized by Thompson in *GETh* but were not previously published in full. *CT*, XLVI, 18 and 20 were first published by D. J. Wiseman in Garelli, *Gilgamesh et sa Légende*, 126 and 124 respectively. Most changes and additions necessitated by the new pieces have been incorporated in the revised pages of the translation. In I ii 7 one may now read:

In the rampart of Uruk he [. . .]

To footnote 8 on p. 73 (note to I ii 10) add: The interpretation of this line and its parallel, I ii 22, is still a crux. The suggestion of B. Landsberger, *WZKM*, LVI (1960), 125, n. 49 to read *ina puqqišu tebû ru'ûšu* "His companions stand (ready), waiting for his command" is possible for I ii 10 (note that *ina pu-ug-qi-šu* is preserved in *CT*, XLVI, 19) but not for I ii 22 where the text reads: *ina pu-uk-ki šu-ut-bu-ú* [. . .].

In *Bi.Or.*, XVIII (1961), 62, I. M. Diakonoff has suggested that the designation of the harlot as *šamhatu* is in fact a personal name. This suggestion does not take into account the fact that the plural of *šamhatu* occurs in Tablet VI 164 as a synonymous parallel to *šarimati*. Speiser's translation of *šamhatu* as "the lass" has therefore been maintained.

Tablet II

OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION

Some changes in the translation have been made in accordance with the suggestions of W. von Soden, *ZA*, LIII (1959), 210-12.

Tablet III

OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION

A few changes have been made in the translation and these have been justified in the footnotes. On iii 24 and v 19 see E. A. Speiser, *JCS*, XII (1958), 41 f.

¹⁰ A. Goetze and S. Levy, "Fragment of the Gilgamesh Epic from Megiddo" *Atiqot*, II (1959), 121-28 and for comment see W. von Soden, *AJO*, XX (1963), 82, n. 1.

¹¹ See H. Otten in Garelli, *Gilgamesh et sa Légende*, 139-143, and cf. J. Friedrich *Orientalia* NS, XXX (1961), 90 f.

Tablet IV

The obverse of two Neo-Babylonian fragments published by W. G. Lambert, *CT*, XLVI, 21 and 22, has added slightly to our knowledge of this tablet. *CT*, XLVI, 22 was previously published by D. J. Wiseman in Garelli, *Gilgamesh et sa Légende*, 124. The few minor changes have been incorporated in the body of the translation.

Tablet V

OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION

Our knowledge of Tablet V has been increased by the discovery of three Old Babylonian fragments which will be called A, B, and C. One of these (A), which was unearthed at Tell Harmal, is in such a terrible state of preservation that there would be no point in reproducing here the disconnected words and phrases that can be deciphered. It appears, however, that it describes the arrival of Gilgamesh and Enkidu at the cedar forest which is dealt with at the beginning of Tablet V in the late version. The text was published by J. J. A. van Dijk, *Sumer*, xv (1959), 9-10 and Plates 3-4.

B

The second Old Babylonian fragment also comes from Tell Harmal and contains a fragmentary account of a dream which is similar in some respects to the dream described in V, 7-19. It is also reminiscent of the tale of the Bull of Heaven described in Tablet VI since a fight with a wild bull is narrated in the account of the dream. When the text begins someone, apparently Gilgamesh, is describing a dream to his companion, presumably Enkidu. The tablet was published by J. J. A. van Dijk, *Sumer*, XIII (1957), 66 and 91. Further see van Dijk, *Sumer*, XIV (1958), 114-21 and von Soden, *ZA*, LIII (1959), 215-19.

"Arise and look *towards*¹² the mountain [. . .]!
I am robbed of (my) divine sleep.
My friend, I saw a dream—Oh how¹³ *unfavorable*,¹⁴
how . . . , how disturbing!
I seized a wild bull¹⁵ of the steppe,
Bellowing he *kicked up* the earth, the dust *darkened*
the sky.
I *gave way*¹⁶ before him.
He was seizing [. . .] strength, my flank,
He tore out the . . . [. . .] . . .
He provided food . . . [. . . he] drank, [he] gave me
[to dr]ink from his water-skin."

(The description of the dream ends and someone else, presumably Enkidu, now explains it.)

"The god, my friend, to whom we go, (10)
Is not a wild bull (although) his form is strange.
The wild bull which thou didst see is radiant Shamash,
In distress he will grasp our hands.
The one who gave thee to drink from his water-skin,
He is thy god who brings thee honor.

¹² *a-na šu-ri-im* has been taken as a synonym of *ana libbim* although *surrum* in this meaning is otherwise not attested in Old Babylonian. Cf. *CAD*, xvi (Š), 259 f. Van Dijk's *assurrim* (*ana surrim* "soudainment") gives poor sense. Von Soden translated "Fels."

¹³ Read *ki* with von Soden, *ZA*, LIII (1959), 216.

¹⁴ Perhaps read: *la(-ap)-ta-at* with von Soden, *ibid.*

¹⁵ Here the word is plural but otherwise in this text it is singular.

¹⁶ Perhaps read: [*a*]l-tu-ud with von Soden, *ibid.*

We should (therefore) join (with him), Lugalbanda,¹⁷
That we might do one thing, a deed which will not be
made ignominious through death!"¹⁸

C

The third Old Babylonian fragment was discovered at Tell Iščālī and published by T. Bauer, *JNES*, xvi (1957), 254-262. It contains an account of the killing of Huwawa:

(obverse)

(The first eight lines are too fragmentary for translation.)

[Gilgamesh said t]o Enkidu:
"We will arrive¹⁹ in . . . [. . .], (10)
The radiant beams²⁰ will vanish in the confusion,
The radiant beams will vanish and the brilliance become
clouded."
Enkidu said to Gilgamesh:
"My friend, (first) catch the bird. Then where will the
young birds go?
Let us, (therefore), seek the radiant beams later,
(For) like young birds they will run about in the grass.
Kill him (Huwawa), then kill his servants!"

(reverse)

Gilgamesh heeded what his friend said.
He took the axe in his hand,
He drew the sword from his belt.
Gilgamesh struck him (Huwawa) in the [nec]k,
Enkidu, his friend, [. . .] . . . ,
At the third (blow) [Huwawa] fell.
Confusion [. . . du]mbfounded,
[He struc]k the watchman, Huwawa, to the ground.
For two leagues the cedars [*resounded*].
Enkidu killed with him [. . .] (10)
Forest [. . .] cedars.
E[nkidu] killed [the *watchman*] of the forest,
At whose word Saria²¹ and Lebanon [*trembled*].
[All] the mountains became . . . [. . .],
All the hills became . . . [. . .].
He slew the . . . [. . .] cedars,
Those destroyed . . . [. . .] after he slew the seven,
The net [. . .] the sword (weighing) eight talents,
The . . .²² of eight talents, bearing these [*he pr*]essed
on into the forest.²³
He opened up the secret dwelling of the Anunnaki. (20)
While Gilgamesh cut down the trees, Enkidu dug
up the . . .²⁴

¹⁷ The father and tutelary god of Gilgamesh.

¹⁸ Cf. von Soden, *ibid.* What Enkidu seems to be saying is that this is a cause worth dying for.

¹⁹ [*n*]i-ka-ša-da-ma: See von Soden, *ibid.*, 219.

²⁰ The *melemmū* are attributes of deities which overpower humans. See A. Leo Oppenheim, *JAOS*, LXIII (1943), 31-34. Here they belong to Huwawa.

²¹ Hermon.

²² *NE-tam* is apparently some kind of weapon.

²³ Read [*i-t*]e(!)-er-ri qī-iš-tam with von Soden, *loc. cit.*, 219.

²⁴ The meaning of *ur-ma-zi-li* is unknown.

E[*nkidu*] said to Gilgamesh:

"[. . .] Gilgamesh, felled are the cedars."²⁵

(The remainder of the speech is too fragmentary for translation.)

Tablet VI

Several Neo-Assyrian fragments which belong to this tablet and which are in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul have recently come to light. These pieces were published and commented upon by R. Frankena in Garelli, *Gilgameš et sa Légende*, 113-22. Most of the necessary changes and additions could be incorporated in the body of the translation. Note that in line 38 the translation "cuts" is based on the restoration *mu-[na-ki]-sa-at*. Cf. R. Frankena in Garelli, *Gilgameš et sa Légende*, 120. When carried the water skin rubs and chafes the side. For line 40 see E. A. Speiser, *JCS*, XII (1958), 41 f. In line 89 instead of "Art thou the father?" one text has "Thou art not the father!" On *bi-nam-ma* "Please give" in line 94 cf. line 96 and W. G. Lambert, *BWL*, 324 and *CAD*, II (B), 216 f. There follows a translation of lines 117-131.

When Anu [hear]d Ish[*tar*]'s speech,
 [He gave] to [her the tether]²⁶ of the Bull of Heaven,
 That Ishtar might lead him [to *Uruk*].
 When she reached the [gates] of Uruk, (120)
 . . . [. . .]
 He went down to the river [. . .] seven [. . .]
 . . . the river . . .
 With the snort of the Bull of Heaven pits were
 opened,
 Into them fell one²⁷ hundred young men of Uruk;
 With his second snort pits were opened,²⁸
 Into them fell two hundred young men of Uruk;
 With his third snort pits were opened,
 Into [one of them] fell Enkidu.
 Enkidu escaped and [. . .].
 The Bull of Heaven [*withdrew*] before him, (130)
 With the tip²⁹ of his tail [. . .].

Tablet VII

Our knowledge of this tablet has been increased by the discovery at Sultantepe of a fragment which contains, in a very mutilated state, the remainder of the speech of Enkidu to the door. It was published by O. R. Gurney, *JCS*, VIII (1954), 87-90 and the copy was reproduced as *STT*, I, No. 14. Also see Gurney's corrections in *AnSt*, VIII (1958), 245. The Sultantepe fragment fits into the gap just before the beginning of column iii (p. 86). The latter part of the Sultantepe text is duplicated by the obverse of a Neo-Babylonian fragment recently published by W. G. Lambert, *CT*, XLVI, 23. This piece also contains the beginning of column iii thus providing the one line missing between the end

²⁵ Cf. I. M. Diakonoff, *Bi.Or.*, XVIII (1961), 63.

²⁶ Read [*ser-r*]*et*(!) *a-lim-ma* with Schott, *ZA*, XLII (1934), 122, n. 1.

²⁷ Variant: "two."

²⁸ The Neo-Assyrian texts now provide the end of the next few lines and show that Thompson in *GETh* was wrong in identifying K. 5335 (Pl. 24) as containing the ends of these lines. Furthermore, Thompson was wrong in assuming that two lines were missing between this and the previous line. The remaining line numbers have been corrected accordingly. To find the corresponding line in *GETh* simply add two.

²⁹ *ku-bur zib-ba-ti-šú*, "thickness of his tail." It refers to the tassel at the end of the tail in contrast to the thin middle part (*qutun zibbati*). See von Soden, *ZA*, LIII (1959), 226.

of the Sultantepe fragment and the beginning of column iii. These pieces prove that K. 3588, Sm. 2132, and Rm. 2, 399 which were published in *GETh*, Plates 14-16 belong to Tablet VII. Further fragments of this tablet were published by W. G. Lambert, *CT*, XLVI, 24-26. *CT*, XLVI, 24 shows that 79-7-8, 320 (published in *GETh*, Plate 27) contains part of column iv. See further Landsberger, *WZKM*, LVII (1961), 8, n. 38. Yet another recent addition to the sources for Tablet VII was made by the publication of a tablet from Ur by C. J. Gadd, *UET*, VI, No. 394 and edited by Gadd, *Iraq*, XXVIII (1966), 105-21. This tablet, which is probably from the Middle Babylonian period, is in a very poor state of preservation. It varies somewhat in content from the late recension. It duplicates the end of column ii of the late recension, now known from the Sultantepe fragment, and column iii and the beginning of column iv. But due to its poor state of preservation and the fact that it is not an exact duplicate of the late recension, it can only be used in a few instances to improve our understanding of the text. Changes and additions necessitated by the new sources have been incorporated into the body of the translation with the exception of a few passages. The first, a translation of which follows, fits into the large gap just before the beginning of column iii (p. 86). The lines have been numbered according to the Sultantepe fragment.

(After several mutilated lines Enkidu's speech continues.)
 "Now, O door, it is I who made thee, it is I who
 raised [thee],³⁰ (12a)
 [. . .] . . . thee.
 May either a king who comes after me . . . thee,
 Or may a god [. . .] . . . thee.
 Let him destroy my name and place his own name
 (thereon)."³¹
 He ripped out [. . .] . . . he tore down.
 While he was listening to his speech, with great haste
 his [. . .],
 While Gilgamesh was liste[ning] to the speech of his
 friend, Enkidu, his tears [were flow]ing.
 Gilgamesh opened his mouth to speak, saying to Enkidu:
 [. . .] illustrious,
 One who has wisdom [*may say*] strange things
 [. . .].
 [Wh]y, my friend, did thy heart speak strange things?
 [The dream] was most precious, but great is the
 terror. (20a)
 [. . .] are paralyzed like [. . .].
 [*Yet though g*]reat are [*the fears*], the dream is precious:
 For the healthy they released misery;
 [The dre]am left the healthy with woe.
 [. . .] and I will pray to the [great] gods."

(There is a gap of approximately eleven lines before the duplicate *UET*, VI, No. 394 makes the text legible again.)

When daylight came
 Enkidu lifted his head, weeping before Shamash,
 Before the radiance of Shamash his tears flow:
 "I pray to thee, Shamash, regarding the hunter, the
 rogue,

³⁰ See von Soden, *ibid.*, 227.

³¹ For another interpretation of these lines see I. M. Diakonoff, *Bi.Or.*, XVIII (1961), 64.

To the non-hunter who did not allow me to find as
 much (game) as my friend,
 May he not find as much (game) as his friend,

(Column iii 1-10 of the late recension follows immediately.)

Column iii 9-10 of the late recension is identical with *UET*, vi, No. 394: 13 f. and thus both lines are now fully preserved. After iii 10 of the late recension *UET*, vi, No. 394: 15-27 has a text similar to but not always identical with iii 11-22. The relevant portion of *UET*, vi, No. 394 is therefore translated separately here.

Thou shalt not enter into the tavern of young women,
 Thy lovely bosom . . .

The *place* of thy festivities may the drunkard defile with
vomit,
 . . . *all* the troops

(The next four lines are too fragmentary for translation.)

The dust of the potter's crossroad shall be thy dwelling
 place,

The desert shall be thy bed,

The shadow of the wall shall be thy station,

[Tho]rn and bramble shall skin thy feet,

[The bes]otted and the thirsty shall smite thy cheek!

The next several lines of *UET*, vi, No. 394 (28-39) are too mutilated for translation but are apparently similar to the broken lines of the late recension, iii 23-32. *UET*, vi, No. 394: 40-46 contains the speech of Shamash to Enkidu (cf. iii 33-48) and presumably the introduction of Enkidu's speech to the harlot. *UET*, vi, No. 394: 47-67 is parallel to (but not always identical with) the end of column iii and iv 1-20 of the late recension. Due to the mutilated state of preservation of this portion of *UET*, vi, No. 394 it has not been deemed worthwhile to list here the variants from the late recension. In the translation restorations have been made wherever possible from *UET*, vi, No. 394 and from *CT*, XLVI, 24.

Tablet VIII

The discovery of a fragment at Sultantepe has considerably increased our knowledge of the beginning of this tablet. Unfortunately it is a tablet inscribed by a pupil who was in the process of learning the scribal art and there are numerous errors. The text was published by O. R. Gurney, *JCS*, VIII (1954), 90-95 and the copy was reproduced by Gurney as *STT*, I, No. 15. Concerning the errors in the text also see I. M. Diakonoff, *Bi.Or.*, xviii (1961), 64, n. 18. A tiny Neo-Babylonian fragment which duplicates a little of the Sultantepe text was recently published by W. G. Lambert as *CT*, XLVI, 27. The obverse of the Sultantepe fragment provides part of the missing first column of the Ninevite version and immediately precedes the beginning of the second column. The reverse of the Sultantepe text, allowing for numerous errors and discrepancies, duplicates the second column of the Ninevite version and adds a few more lines. The necessary changes have been made in the translation of column ii. In the translation of the obverse of the Sultantepe text given here, fragments of column i published in *GETh* have been incorporated. Also translated are the four new lines that the Sultantepe text provides for the end of column ii of the Ninevite recension.

When daylight came Gilgamesh said to his friend:
 "Enkidu, thy [moth]er a gazelle, a wild ass thy father,
 [produce]d thee.

They whose *mark* is their tails reared thee, and the cattle
 Of the steppe and of all the pastures.

May the tracks of Enkidu in the Cedar Forest
 Weep for thee, may they not *hush* night and day.
 May the elders of wide, ramparted Uruk weep for thee.

[May weep for thee]
 The finger that is extended behind us in blessing.

May weep for thee
 And echo the countryside as though it were thy mother.
 May weep for thee [. . .]

In whose midst we . . . May weep for thee bear, hyena,
 [panther],

Tiger, hart, *leopard*, lion; oxen, deer, [ibex], (10)
 And the wild creatures of the steppe.

May weep for thee the river Ula [. . .]
 By whose banks we used to walk.

May weep for thee the pure Euphrates, [*where we*
drew]

Water for the skin. May weep for thee

The warriors of wide, [ramparted] Uruk
 [. . .] we slew the Bull . . . May weep for thee [. . .]
 [Who] in Eridu extolled thy name. May weep for thee
 [. . .]

[Who . . .] extolled thy name. May weep for thee
 [. . .]

[Who] provided . . . grain for thy mouth. May weep
 for thee [. . .]

[Who] put salve on thy back. May weep for thee [. . .]
 [Who] put ale in thy mouth. May weep for thee the
 [*harlot*]

[Who] anointed thee with fragrant oil.

May we[ep for thee . . .] (20)

[Of the *h*]arem who [*brought to thee*]

The wife and the ring of thy choice.³²

May brothers weep for thee like sisters [. . . and may
they let grow long]

Their head-hair over thee [. . .]!"

(The following four lines follow line 23 on p. 88)

Then Gilgamesh issued a call to the land: "O smith,
 [. . .],

Coppersmith, goldsmith, engraver!³³ Make my friend
 [. . .]!"

[Then] he fashioned a statue for his friend,

The friend whose stature [. . .]:

"[. . .], of lapis is thy breast, of gold thy body, [. . .]."

³² Lit.: "thy counsel." Or perhaps "a wife, a ring, thy counsel."

³³ *kabarru* is one who inscribes metal. See W. von Soden, *ZA*, LIII (1959), 229.

Tablet X

OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION

Another fragment of an Old Babylonian version of Tablet X was recently published by A. R. Millard, *Iraq*, xxvi (1964), 99-105 and *CT*, xlvi, 16. This piece is probably part of the same tablet as the "Meissner Fragment." Only the reverse is preserved and, if it does belong to the other Old Babylonian tablet, the text provides several more lines of columns iii and iv with a lacuna of undetermined size in between the two pieces.

(iii)

(The first line preserved is illegible.)

Gilgamesh [said] to he[r, to the ale-wife]:
 "What didst thou say, ale-wife [. . .]?
 My heart [*grieves*] for my friend.
 What didst thou say, ale-wife [. . .]?
 My heart [*grieves*] for Enkidu.
 Dwelling on the [sea-s]hore, O ale-wife,
 Thou dost see its depths, all [. . .].
 Show (me) the way [. . .].
 If it be seemly, the sea [I will cross]." (10)
 The ale-wife said to him, [to Gilgamesh]:
 "Gilgamesh, there has never been . . . [. . .]"

(There are traces of two more lines before a complete break.)

(iv)

(The first three lines preserved are unintelligible.)

The two of them discussed [. . .]
 [. . .] spoke a word to him,
 Sursunabu says to him, to Gilgamesh:
 "The Stone Things, O Gilgamesh, bear me along,
 That I might not touch the waters of death.
 In thy anger thou didst smash them,
 The Stone Things (which) I kept to help (me)
 across. (10)
 Gilgamesh, [ta]ke the axe in thy hand,
 Cut three hundred [punting-po]les which are smooth.
 [. . .] . . . the lashes like a spear."

(There are traces of one more line before a complete break.)

THE ASSYRIAN VERSION

The additions to the late sources for Tablet X have all been published by W. G. Lambert, *CT*, xlvi, 30, 32, 33. Some of these pieces were previously published in *GETh* and others by D. J. Wiseman in Garelli, *Gilgamesh et sa Légende*, 128-35. Necessary changes have been made in the translation but there are some additions. A few more lines are preserved at the end of column ii (p. 91).

In the forest . . . [. . .] (36)
 When Urshanabi saw the flash [*of the dirk*],
 And heard the axe . . . [. . .] . . .
 He struck his head [. . .] Gilgamesh,

[*Sei*]zed the wings [. . .] the breast, (40)
 The Stone [Things . . .] and the boat.

(The remaining lines of this column are too fragmentary for translation.)

(A few more lines of Utnapishtim's speech near the beginning of column vi (p. 92) are now preserved:)

"Mankind, which like a reed [. . .] (21)

A fine young man, a fine young woman,
 . . . [. . .]

Should no one see death?
 Should no one [. . .]?" (23)

(Lines 24-25 are still unintelligible.)

Tablet XI

No new material has come to light for this tablet but one of the tablets used in the composite text of *GETh* has been recently republished by W. G. Lambert, *CT*, xlvi, 35.

Tablet XII

The publication of a small Neo-Babylonian piece by W. G. Lambert, *CT*, xlvi, 34 (previously published by D. J. Wiseman in Garelli, *Gilgamesh et sa Légende*, 133 and 135) has confirmed the restorations made at the beginning of this tablet on the basis of the Sumerian version. The necessary changes have been made in the translation. It should be noted that Landsberger has now rejected his earlier translation of *puḫḫu u meḫḫū* as "drum and drumstick" (see p. 97, n. 233) and instead translates "wheel and stick." See B. Landsberger, *WZKM*, lvi (1960), 124-26 and lvii (1961), 23. Since his new proposal is still problematical, no change has been made in the translation.

Nergal and Ereshkigal

ADDITIONS

In recent years a Neo-Assyrian version of this myth was discovered at Sultantepe and this find was announced by O. R. Gurney, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xli (1955), 27-33. A copy of the text was subsequently published as *STT*, I, No. 28 and two tiny fragments as *STT*, II, Nos. 113-14. An edition has been given by Gurney, *AnSt*, x (1960), 105-31. The Sultantepe tablet provides us with a much fuller version of the story but there are lacunae in it, some of which may be filled in from the Amarna tablet translated previously in this volume.

The beginning of the myth is very fragmentary and it is not absolutely certain that this small piece belongs to the tablet (see Gurney, *loc. cit.*, 106). It appears to be a hymn in praise of a deity, presumably Ereshkigal.

(i)

I will praise [. . . queen of mankind],
[. . .] continually.
I will praise [Ereshkigal, queen of mankind],
[. . .] c[ontinua]lly.
[. . .] . . .
[. . .] favor.
[. . .] among all the goddesses.
[. . .] thou art merciful. (8')

(There is a lacuna of about thirteen lines in which the preparations for a banquet of the gods were probably described. See the Amarna version A.)

[Anu opened his mouth to say something to Kaka:]³⁴ (6')
 ["I will send thee, Kaka, to the Land of no Return,] (6')
 [To Ereshkigal . . . thou shalt say:]
 ["Thou art not able to come up,]
 [In thy year thou canst not ascend to our presence,] (10')
 [And we cannot go down,]
 [In our month we cannot descend to thy presence.]
 [(Therefore) let thy messenger come,]
 [Let him remove (the dish) from the table, let him take thy share.]
 [Whatever I give to him he will hand over all of it . . .] to thee.'"
 [Kaka descended the long staircase of] the heavens.
 [When] he reac[hed the gate of Ereshkigal (he said)]:
 ["Porter], o[pen for m]e the gate!"
 ["Enter, Kaka,] and may the gate *ble[ss thee!]*"
 He led [the god K]aka through [the first gat]e, (20')
 He led [the god] Kaka through [the second] gate,
 He led [the god] Kaka through [the third] gate,
 He led the god Kaka through the fourth gate,
 He led the god Kaka through the fifth gate,
 He led the god Kaka [through] the sixth gate,
 He led the god Kaka [through] the seventh gate.
 He entered her wide courtyard,
 He bowed down, he [kissed] the ground in front of her.
 He straightened up and standing there said to her:
 "Anu, [thy] father, has sent me (30')
 With these words: "Thou art not able to come up,
 In thy year thou canst not ascend to our presence,
 And we cannot go down,
 In our month we cannot descend to thy presence.
 (Therefore) let thy messenger come,
 Let him remove (the dish) from the table, let him take thy share.
 Whatever I give to him he will hand over all of it . . . to thee.'"

Ereshkigal opened her mouth to say something to K[aka]:
 "O messenger of Anu, our father, who has come to us,
 Is it well with Anu, Enlil, and Ea, the great gods? (40')
 Is it well with Nammu and Nash,³⁵ the pure god?
 Is it well with the spouse of the mistress of the heavens?
 Is it well with Nin[urta, *mightiest*] in the land?"

³⁴ i 6'-14' have been restored on the basis of i 31'-37'.
³⁵ Nanshe?

Kaka opened [his mouth] to say something to Ereshkigal:
 "It is well with Anu, Enlil, and Ea, the great gods,
 It is well with [Namm]u and Nash,³⁵ the pure (god),
 It is well [with the spouse of the m]istress of the heavens,
 It is we[ll with] Ni[nurta, *migh]tiest in the land."
 [K]aka (again) opened his mouth to say some[thing] to Ereshkigal:
 "[. . .] may it be well with thee!" (50')*

[Ereshkiga]l opened her mouth to say something to Namtar, her vizier:
 "O *Nam[ar]*, my [vizier], I will send thee [to] *the heaven of Anu, our father.*
Ascend, Namtar, the long [staircase of the heavens],
 Remove (the dish) from the table, [take my share],
 Whatever Anu *give[s to thee, bring it all to me].*"

(There is a large lacuna of about twenty-six lines in which Namtar's ascent to heaven and entrance into the presence of the upper deities was narrated. After the lacuna there is a section, part of which is translated below, in which it is narrated that all the gods except Nergal bowed to Namtar. Because of the insult Nergal must descend to the nether world to apologize to Ereshkigal. Ea gives him advice on how to conduct himself on his journey.)

(ii)

[Ea opened his mouth to say something to Nergal]:
 [". . .] (1')
 [When he] arrived a[t . . .]
 [. . .] the path . . . [. . .]
 [The gods] altogether were b[owing before] him,
 [The great god]s, the lords of destinies.
 [He] was holding the authority, he was holding the authority [of the gods],
 [The gods] who dwell in Ir[kalla].³⁶
 Why dost thou not b[ow i]n his presence?
 [. . .] I keep squinting at thee,
 Thou hast turned into an ignoramus. (10')
 [. . .] thine e[yes] stare at the ground."

(Lines 12'-16' are missing.)

[Nergal opened his mouth to say something to Ea]:
 [. . . I w]ill get up,
 [. . .] thou hast spoken.
 [. . .] . . . he/I will twine it double." (20')
 When Ea heard this he said to himself:
 "[I will] do . . . *send/rule.*"

Ea opened his mouth to say something to Nergal:

³⁶ Nether world.

"O traveller, dost thou wish to go on thy errand with
a sword in thy hand?³⁷
 Descend to the forest of *mesu*-trees,
 Cut down a *mesu*-tree, a *hash*[*urru*-tree, and] a *supalu*-
 tree,
 Break off a . . . [. . . and] a staff."
 [He descended to the forest] of *mesu*-trees,
 [He cut down a *mesu*-tree, a *hashurru*-tree, and a
s] *upalu*-tree,
 He bro[ke off a . . . and] a staff. (30')
He will make complete [. . .] and Ningishzida.

Like lapis [lazuli] he painted his [. . .],
 Like go[ld] he painted [his . . .],
 Like lapis lazuli he painted [his staff],
 The works . . . *th[rone . . .]* . . .

He (Ea) called to him to give him instructions:
 "O traveller, dost [thou] wish . . . ?
 Whatever instructions [. . .] . . . [. . .]
 As soon as they bring thee a throne,
 Thou must not go and sit on it; (40')
 When a baker brings [thee] bread, [thou must not g]o
 and *eat* his bread;
 When a butcher brings [thee] meat, [thou must not g]o
 and *eat* his meat;
 When a brewer brings thee beer, thou must not go and
 [dr]ink the beer;
 When water for (thy) feet is brought to thee, thou must
 not go and wash thy [feet];
 (When) she (Ereshkigal) has gone in to bathe,
 To put on her . . . -garment,
She will reveal to thee *her body*.
 Thou must not . . . [what is normal for m]an and
 woman."

Nergal [. . .] (49')

(About twelve lines are missing. The end of the second
 column can be restored from the parallel in the Descent
 of Ishtar 1-10.)

[Nergal turned his face toward the Land of no Return],
 [To the dark house, the abode of Irkalla,]
 [To the house which none leave who have entered it,]

(iii)

[To the road from which] there is no way back,
 [To the house wherein the entrants] are bereft of light,
 [Where dust is their fare and] clay [thei]r food,
 [(Where) they are clothed like bir]ds, with wings for
 garments,
 [(Where) they see no light,] residing [in] darkness,
 [. . .] *moaning*

³⁷ Cf. Gilgamesh, X, iii 41 ff.

[. . . they *moan*] like [d]oves.
 [. . .] . . .
 [The porter opened his mouth to s]ay something to
 Nergal:
 "I will take back a report [*about a traveller stand-*
ing] at the gate." (10)
 [The porter *went in* to Ereshkiga]l to s[ay] some-
 thing:
 ["*O mistress, a certain traveller*] has com[e to us],
 [. . .], wh[o *will identify*] him?" (13)

(A few lines are missing. When the text is again legi-
 ble, Ereshkigal is giving instructions to Namtar, her
 vizier.)

[" . . .] seize him!"³⁸ (16')
 [" . . . *I will*] identify him.³⁹
 [. . . *I will look at h*]im in the outer gate,
 I will bring back [*a report*] to my *mistress*.⁴⁰
 Namtar went to look at Erra⁴¹ [*at the s*]ide⁴² of
 the door. (20')

Namtar's face turned pale⁴³ like a cut-down
 tamarisk,⁴⁴
 His lips turned dark like a bruised *kuninu*-reed.
 Namtar went to say something to his mis[ress]:
 "O mistress, wh[en] thou didst send me [to] thy father,
 [When] I entered the courtyard of [Anu],
 [*The gods altogether*] were bowed down humbly,
 [*The gods of the land . . .*] were bowed down."

(Five lines are missing.)

[*Ereshkigal opened her mouth to speak*],
 [To say something] to [Namtar, her vizier]:
 ["Namtar, . . ."]

(Two lines are missing.)

And I [. . .]
 [Let him eat] the bread of the An[unnaki],
 Let him drink the water of the Anunnaki].
 Go, [bring] this god [*into my presence*]!" (40')
 [He led Nergal through the fir]st gate, that of
 N[edu]⁴⁵,
 [He led Nergal through the second gat]e, that of
 K[ishar],
 [He led Nergal through the third gate, that of
 Endashurimma],

³⁸ For *šabāru* "to seize" see W. von Soden, *Orientalia* NS, xx (1951), 158 and W. G. Lambert, *BWL*, 286, note to line 81. The word is omitted by *CAD*, XVI (S).

³⁹ There is a change of speaker in lines 17' or 18'. It is not certain who will do the identifying but clearly Namtar is speaking in line 18'.

⁴⁰ Text: "lord."

⁴¹ Another name for Nergal.

⁴² Or: "[in the s]hadow."

⁴³ Lit.: "yellow."

⁴⁴ To lines 21'-22' cf. Descent of Ishtar 29-30.

⁴⁵ For the names of the seven porters of the nether world see K. Tallquist, *Studia Orientalia*, VII (1938), 136 sub *nedugallu* and *KAR*, 230:13.

[He led Nergal through the fourth gate, that of]
 En[urulla],
 [He led Nergal through the fifth gate], that of
 Endu[kuga],
 [He led Nergal through the sixth] gate, that of
 Endu[shuba],
 [He led Nergal through the seven]th gate, that of
 Ennug[igi].
 He entered [her] wide [courtyard],
 He bowed down, he kissed the groun[d before her],
 (saying):
 "Anu, thy father, *sent* me [. . .]" (50')
 (Ereshkigal replied): "Sit down on a throne
 [. . .]
 Determine the verdicts . . . [. . . of the great gods],
 The great gods which dw[ell in Irkalla]."
 As soon as [they brought him a throne],
*He*⁴⁶ did not go and [sit on it];
 When a baker brought him bread, [*he*⁴⁷ did not go]
 and eat the bread;
 When [a but]cher brou[ght him] meat, *he*⁴⁸ did [not]
 go and eat his meat;
 [When a brewer brought him beer], *he*⁴⁹ did not go
 and [dr]ink his beer;
 [When water for his feet was broug]ht to him, *he*⁵⁰
 did not go and [wash his feet];
 [(When) she (Ereshkigal)] w[ent in to ba]the, (60')
 To put on her [. . . -garment],
 [. . .] *she revealed [her body]*.
 [He, what is normal for man and wo]man [. . .]
 his heart.

(About ten lines are missing.)

(iv)

(The first three lines are too fragmentary for translation.)

[When] Nergal [heard] thi[s . . .] (4')
 She [went in]to the b[ath]room,
 [To put on her . . . -garment,
 . . .] *she revealed her body*.
 He, what is normal for m[an and woman . . .].
 They [both] embraced [one another],
 Pas[sionately they got into] bed. (10')
 The first day, the second day, they lay, [*queen*
Ereshkigal and Erra];
 [The third] day, the fourth day, [they lay, *queen*
Ereshkigal and Erra];
 [The fifth day], the sixth day, [they lay, *queen*
Ereshkigal and Erra];

⁴⁶⁻⁵⁰ Text: "thou."

[When the seventh] day [came],
 Since Nergal *was not there* [. . .]
 After him carried off . . . [. . .]
 "Release me, [my] sister, [. . .]"⁵¹
 [*Do not*] raise the alarm [. . .]
 I will go and [come back] to the Land of no
 Return."
 With regard to her, [. . .] turned dark. (20')

[*Nergal*] w[ent str]aight [to . . .],
 [To . . .] the porte[r to say something]:
 "[Ereshkigal], thy mistress, [*sent me*]
 With these words:
 [*I will send thee to the heaven*] of An[u, our father]:
Let me go [that I might deliver] the message!"
 Nergal ascended [the long staircase of the heavens].
 [When he reached] the gate of Anu, En[lil, and Ea],
 Anu, Enlil, and [Ea looked at him and (said)]:
 "*The son of Ishtar [has come up to us].*
 [. . .] *will seek [him] and [. . .]* (30')
 [*Let*] Ea, his father, [*sprinkle him with*] s[pring]
 water, [so that he is bald⁵²],
 Twitching, la[me . . .] *let him sit in the assembly of all*
the gods."

Ereshkigal [. . .]
 [*She went in*]to the bathroom
 . . . [. . .]
 Her body [. . .]
 . . . [. . .]
 She called [. . .]:
 A thro[ne . . .]

"[*Sprinkle the house with*] water of [. . .]
 S[prinkle] the house with water of [. . .] (40')
 Sprin[kle] the house with wa[ter of . . .]
 [. . .] two daughters, [. . .] and Enmeshar,⁵³
 S[prin]kle them [*with water of*] . . .
 [*The messenger*] of Anu, our father, who came to us,
 [*Let*] him ea[t our bread,] let him drink our [water]!"

[*Namtar*] opened [his mouth] to speak,
 To say something [to Ereshkigal], his mistress:
 "[*The messenger* of Anu], our father, who came
 to us,
 [. . .] to lie." (49')

(A few lines are missing.)

Tears were running down her cheeks. (52')
 "O Erra, my voluptuous mate!

⁵¹ Nergal is speaking.

⁵² Restore *qu-bu-hu* from v 38' and note *gu-bu-uh* in the Amarna version B, 32. See Gurney, *loc. cit.*, 130.

⁵³ Presumably Enmesharra, an underworld deity.

I was not sated with his charms (and) he has left me.
 O Erra, my voluptuous mate!
 I was not sated with his charms (and) he has left me."
 Namtar opened his mouth to say something to
 Ereshkigal:
 "[. . .] . . . [. . .] I will seize that god,
 [. . . that he might k]iss thee."

(v)

[Ereshkigal opened her mouth to speak],
 [To say something to Namtar, her vizier]:
 ["Go, Namtar, . . .]
 Set your face [toward the gate of] Anu, Enlil,
 and Ea, (1')

[Say]: 'Since I, thy daughter, was young,
 I have not known the play of maidens,
 I have not kn[own] the frolic of young girls.
 [That god whom] thou didst send and who had inter-
 course with me,
 Let him lie with me,
 Send [that god] to me that he might be my husband,
 That he might lodge with me.
 I am sexually defiled, I *am* not *pure*,
 I cannot determine the verdicts of the great gods,
 The great gods who dwell in Irkalla.
 If [thou dost not] send t[hat] god,
 According [to the *ordinances of Irkalla*]^a and the
 great underworld, (10')

I shall send up the dead that they might devour
 the living,⁵⁴
 I shall make the dead more numerous than the living.'"
 Namtar ascended the long staircase of the heave[ns].
 When he reached the gate of Anu, Enlil, and Ea,
 [An]u, Enlil, and Ea looked at him and (said):
 "[Wh]y dost thou come, Namtar?"
 "Your [daughte]r has sent me,
 With these words: 'Since I, thy daughter, was young,
 I have not known the play of maidens,
 I have not known the frolic of young girls. (20')

That god whom thou didst send and who had
 intercourse [with me],
 [Let] him lie [with me],
 Send that god to me that he might be [my] husband,
 That [he might lodge with me].
 I am sexually defiled, I *am* not [*pure*],
 I cannot determine the verdict[s] of the great gods],
 The great gods who d[well] in Irkal[la].
 If thou dost [not] send that god,
 I shall send up [the dead that they might devour] the
 living,
 [I shall make] the dead more numerous than the
 living.'"

⁵⁴ To 11'-12' cf. Descent of Ishtar 19-20.

Ea opened his mouth [to speak], to say something
 [to Namtar]:
 "Na[mtar, come in]to the cour[tyard of Anu]."
 [. . .] (30')

When he entered [the courtyard of An]u,
 All of [the gods were humbly] bowed down [. . .],
 [The god]s of the land were b[owed down . . .].
 [He went straight up to] one, [but did not] recognize
 that god,
 He went straight up to [a second (and) thi]rd, but did
 not recognize that god.
 N[amt]ar went to say something to his mistress:
 "My mistress, [in the heaven of] Anu, thy father, to
 which thou didst send me,
 My mistress [*there was a certain god*] who was bald,
 Twitching, lame . . . , sitting in the assembly of
 all the gods."
 "Go, seize that god, b[ri]ng (him) to [me]!
 Ea, his *father*, has sprin[k]led him with] spring
 water, (40')

So that he is bald, twitching, lame . . . ,
 [As he sits] in the assembly of all the g[ods]."
 Namtar ascended the long staircase of the heave[ns].
 When he reached the gate of Anu, Enlil, and Ea,
 Anu, Enlil, and Ea looked at him [and (said)]:
 "Why dost thou come, Namtar?"
 "Your daughter has sent m[e]
 With these words:
 'Seize that god and bring (him) to me!'"
 "Namtar, come into the courtyard of Anu,
 Seek (redress) from him for (his) *offences* against thee.
 T[ake him]!"
 He went straight up to one, but did not recognize [that
 god],
 He went straight up to [a second (and) thi]rd,
 but [did not recognize that god], (50')

He went straight up to [a fourth (and) fifth], but
 [did not recognize that god].
 [. . .] opened his mouth to speak, [to say something]
 to Ea:
 "[. . . Na]mtar, the messenger who came [to us],
 [Let him] drink [water], let him bathe,
 Let him ano[int his body]."

(About six lines are missing in which it was narrated
 that Namtar found Nergal/Erra. In the following broken
 section, which is translated below, Namtar instructs
 Nergal that he must give up a piece of clothing or some
 other object at each of the seven gates to the nether
 world. Cf. the Descent of Ishtar.)

(vi)

"May he not remove [. . .]"⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Nergal/Erra must be speaking.

"Erra, I shall make thee go [. . .] upon him [. . .],
I shall *kill* thee,⁵⁶ I shall [. . .]"
"Namtar, thy task to [. . .]"
"Erra, . . . [. . .]"
All the ordinances of the great underworld I *will reveal*
to thee.

When [thou] hast departed from this place,
I shall *provide* a throne for [thee to carry],⁵⁷
[I shall *provide* . . .] for [thee to carry],
[I shall *provide* . . .] for [thee to carry], (10)
[I shall *provide* . . .] for thee [to carry],
[I shall *provide* . . .] for thee to [ca]rry,
[I shall *provide* . . .] for thee to [c]arry.
[. . .] *dwellings.*

[. . .] . . . thy breast."
[Erra] *took* to heart [the speech of Namtar],
[. . .] he . . . his . . . and *drew*⁵⁸ his bow.
[Ne]rgal [*descended*] the long *stair*[ase of the
*heaven*s].

When he re[ached] the gate of Eresh[kigal (he
said)]:

"Open [for me], O porter, *the gate!*" (20)

The porter of the gate hung up [*his throne at*]
the gate,

He did not let him take [it] away.

The second (porter) of the g[ate] did the same to his
[. . .].

The third (porter) [of the gate] did the same to his
[. . .].

The fourth (porter) [of the gate] did the same [to
his . . .].

The fifth (porter) [of the gate] did the same to his
[. . .].

[The sixth (porter) of the gate] did the same to his
[. . .].

[The seventh (porter) of the gate] did the same to his
[. . .].

He entered her wide courtyard,
He *went up* to her and laughed. (30)

He seized her by her coiffure,

He [*dragged*] her from [the *throne*].

He seized her [*by*] her *locks*,

. . . *love* of his heart.

They both embraced one another,

Passionately they got into bed.

The first day, the second day, they lay, *queen*
Eresh[kigal and Erra];

The third day they lay, *queen Ereshkigal and Erra;*

⁵⁶ To become a permanent resident of the nether world. See Gurney, *loc. cit.*, 131.

⁵⁷ Nergal is being provided with seven objects to give to each of the seven porters of the nether world so that he will not have to remove his clothing. Cf. the Amarna version B, 46 ff.

⁵⁸ On *qašta talālu* see n. 79.

The fourth day they lay, *queen Ereshkigal and*
Erra;

The fifth day they lay, *queen Ereshkigal and*
Erra;

(40)

[The sixth day] they lay, *queen Ereshkigal and*
Erra;

[When the seventh day] came,

[Anu opened his mouth] to speak,

To say something [*to Kaḳa, his vizier*]:

I will send thee, [*Kaḳa, to the Land of no Return*],

[*To the house* of Ereshkigal], who dwells in Irkalla.

[*With these words*: 'That god] whom I sent to thee,

[*He shall dwell with thee* for] ever.

[. . .] those above,

(50)

[. . .] those below.'"

(The remainder of the text is missing.)

Atrahasis

Our knowledge of this epic has increased tremendously since the publication of the revised edition of this volume. The improvement of our understanding is due in large part to the article by J. Laessøe, "The Atrahasis Epic: A Babylonian History of Mankind," *Bi.Or.*, XIII (1956), 90-102 in which the numerous fragments of the composition are placed in their proper sequence. Of major importance as well has been the discovery and publication of hand copies of the greater part of the Old Babylonian version of the epic by W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard in *CT*, XLVI. In this latter publication the two authors have promised that their edition of the epic is forthcoming. It would be improper for the present author to anticipate this publication by attempting to present here a translation of the new texts. Therefore *CT*, XLVI will not normally be considered in this revision but all other recent publications will be taken into account. One major discovery resulting from recent research is that Speiser's so-called "Creation of Man by the Mother Goddess" which was translated on pp. 99 f. is in fact an integral part of the Atrahasis Epic.

Using Laessøe's analysis as a basis there are, besides the Sumerian,⁵⁹ four recensions of this epic, one Old Babylonian, one Middle Babylonian, and two Neo-Assyrian (which will be referred to as I and II) as well as fragments of other recensions. The Old Babylonian recension was inscribed on three tablets and described the creation of mankind, the flood which was sent to destroy the people who had been making an uproar, and the survival of Atrahasis with family and beasts in the ark. Only a tiny fragment of the Middle Babylonian recension (Speiser's fragment X) has been preserved and the narration concerns the building of the ark. The Neo-Assyrian version I (Laessøe's "Babylonian" recension—see *loc. cit.*, 99 and 101) was inscribed on at least three tablets and differs considerably from the other recensions. The first tablet is apparently the so-called "Syllabic Alphabet"⁶⁰ which begins with the syllables *me-me pa-pa*, and which, according to Gadd,⁶¹ was regarded by the compiler of this series as the first attempts at human

⁵⁹ There is also a fragment of a late copy of a bilingual epic similar to the Atrahasis Epic, K. 11624, published by T. Jacobsen, *AS*, XI (1939), 59, n. 113) and the plate at the end of the book. Cf. J. Laessøe, *Bi.Or.*, XIII (1956), 91 and W. G. Lambert, *JSS*, V (1960), 115 f.

⁶⁰ See B. Landsberger, *AJO*, Beiheft 1 (1933), 170-78; Taha Baqir, *Sumer*, II (1946), 29 f. with last plate between pp. 30 and 31; M. Cig and H. Kizilyay, *Zwei altbabylonische Schulbücher aus Nippur* (Ankara, 1959), and E. Sollberger, *AS*, XVI (1965), 21-28.

⁶¹ *Iraq*, IV (1937), 33-34 and cf. Laessøe, *loc. cit.*, 98-99.

speech and therefore added to the epic in which the creation of mankind was described. The second tablet contained a mythological text in which the creation of mankind was narrated⁶² in a manner similar to but not identical with the other recensions of the Atrahasis Epic. The third tablet has not been identified with certainty but since it began with the words "When god . . . man" (the introductory phrase to the other recensions and the title of the Atrahasis Epic) it, as well as perhaps subsequent tablets, certainly contained a version of the Atrahasis Epic. There are fragments, including Speiser's fragment C, which may belong to the third or subsequent tablets of this version.⁶³ The Neo-Assyrian version II (Laessøe's "Assyrian" recension—see *loc. cit.*, 99 and 101) was inscribed on two tablets, only the first of which has been identified (Speiser's fragment D). Only a small part of the narrative is preserved and it concerns the creation of mankind and the events leading up to the flood.

OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION

A and B

The first of the three tablets of the Old Babylonian version is the text Speiser called "Creation of Man by the Mother Goddess" which has been discussed under that heading in this section. The second and third tablets are Speiser's fragments A and B respectively. No change has been made in Speiser's translation of B but the understanding of A has been improved by Laessøe's study in *Bi.Or.*, XIII (1956), 90-94. Some corrections have been incorporated in the body of the former translation but it should be noted that more is legible at the end of column vii.

Its⁶⁴ task will be [. . .] (394)
 May it [and its . . .] *examine*.⁶⁵
 Shullat and [Hanish],⁶⁶
 May they go [first].
 May Ir[rakal root out] the mooring poles,⁶⁷
 May [Ninurta] go [on],
 Bur[sting the dikes]. (400)

(The remainder of the column is missing.)

MIDDLE BABYLONIAN VERSION

X

Speiser's fragment X is not Old Babylonian, as stated in the last edition of this volume, but Kassite or Middle Babylonian. See W. G. Lambert, *JSS*, v (1960), 114, n. 1.

NEO-ASSYRIAN VERSION I

C

The nature of this recension and the tablets, including perhaps Speiser's fragment C, which belong to it have been discussed above. A minor change has been made in Speiser's translation of C (line 16) in accordance with a suggestion of W. G. Lambert, *JSS*, v (1960), 114, n. 1.

⁶² See J. Laessøe, *loc. cit.*, 98-99 and n. 30.
⁶³ Cf. Laessøe, *loc. cit.*, 99 and 101. Copies of C were published in Rawlinson, IV (2nd ed.), Additions and Corrections p. 9; P. Haupt, *Das babylonische Nimrodepos*, 131; F. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke* (3rd ed., Leipzig, 1885), 101. Another possible piece of this recension is K. 7816 which was published by K. D. MacMillan, *BA*, v (1906), 688. Cf. Laessøe, *loc. cit.*, 101 and n. 39.
⁶⁴ The flood's.
⁶⁵ *li-ib-te-ru*. Cf. Laessøe, *loc. cit.*, 93. Perhaps it is Gtn of the root *bêru*, "to choose."
⁶⁶ Cf. Gilgamesh XI, 99 and Laessøe, *loc. cit.*, 93-94.
⁶⁷ For the restorations in lines 398-400 cf. Gilgamesh XI, 101-02; fragment E (translated below), r. 14-15; and Laessøe, *loc. cit.*, 94.

NEO-ASSYRIAN VERSION II

D

The only part of this two tablet version which has been identified is Speiser's fragment D which comes from the first tablet. As Laessøe, *loc. cit.*, 96-98, has pointed out the obverse and reverse of this fragment have been mistakenly identified and the sequence, as found in Speiser's translation, should be reversed. Thus Speiser's column numbers i, ii, and iii should be vi, v, and iv and arranged in numerical order. Further, the column of this fragment called "iv" by Speiser and translated on p. 100 as a separate myth is, as Laessøe, *loc. cit.*, 98 has argued, an integral part of the Atrahasis Epic and should appear at the beginning of the translation of fragment D on p. 105 as column iii. Columns i and ii of D are missing. A few changes have been made in Speiser's translation in accordance with recent research.

E

A fragment⁶⁸ which is almost certainly from a late recension of the Atrahasis Epic is BM. 98977 + 99231 and it will henceforth be referred to as fragment E. It was recently published by W. G. Lambert, *JSS*, v (1960), 113-22. On the obverse is found a narration of how Ea informed Atrahasis of the coming flood and on the reverse is found a description of the flood itself. In both cases the text is similar to but not identical with parts of the eleventh tablet of Gilgamesh and the content of the reverse is also to be compared with the end of fragment A translated above.

(obverse)
 "[. . . I heard] thee come in [and]
 [. . .] . . . which is like [thy fo]otsteps."
 [Atrahasis] bowed, knelt down, (then) stood up [. . .].
 He opened [his mouth] to speak:
 "[. . .] I heard thee come in and
 [. . .] which is like thy footsteps.
 [. . .] I heard thee come in and
 [. . .] which is like [thy] footsteps.

[. . .] as seven years.
 [. . .] . . . (10)
 [. . .] thy . . .⁶⁹ I have seen thy face.
 [. . .] your [. . .] speak to me."

[Ea] opened his mouth to speak,
 [To sa]y to the reed-hut:
 "[. . .] reed-hut, reed-hut!
 [. . . li]sten to me!"

(The remainder of the obverse is too broken for translation.)

(reverse)
 . . . and he calked the [boat].
 . . .⁷⁰ (3)

⁶⁸ A tiny piece of a late recension is K. 12000c which was published by L. W. King, *CT*, XIII, 31 and correctly identified by R. Borger, *AJO*, XVII (1956), 293. Another small fragment of a late recension is Sm. 292 which was published by J. Laessøe and W. G. Lambert, *JSS*, v (1960), 122-23.
⁶⁹ A scribal note indicates there is a break in the original tablet.
⁷⁰ A scribal note indicates there is a break in the original tablet.

Adad rode on the four winds, [his] mules:
 South wind, north wind, east wind, west wind,
 . . . , the hurricane, the tornado, the thunderstorm,
 The dreadful wind, the . . . united for the onslaught.
 . . .⁷¹ the south wind arose at his side,
 The west wind blew at his side, (10)
 . . . came . . .

. . . the chariot of the gods . . . [. . .]
 Ravages, slaughters, crushes [. . .]
 Ninurta goes on, [bursting] the dikes,
 Erakal roots up the m[oor]ing poles].
 . . . with his claws the heavens [. . .]
 Ishtar like a pot went to pieces.⁷²
 [. . .] the flood goes forth,
 [. . .] destruction approaches mankind.⁷³

[. . .] . . . the flood, (20)
 [. . .] is harassed.
 [. . .] her children are carried off by her
 (own) command. (22)

(The remainder of the text is too broken for translation.)

The Myth of Zu

Our knowledge of the Myth of Zu has increased considerably in the last few years due to discoveries at Sultantepe and the publication of *CT*, XLVI. All of the new material relates to the late recension of which we now have most of Tablets I and II and a few fragments of Tablet III (?). There is a Sumerian tale about Zu which, although still not fully understood, seems to have some affinity with the Akkadian story. The texts are *UET*, VI, No. 2 and *AASOR*, XXIII (1943-44), No. 41. Cf. M. Civil, *RA*, LX (1966), 92.

When Speiser prepared his translation for Tablet II of the late recension he had only the fragmentary text, *LKA*, No. 1. In order to present a meaningful translation, therefore, he made a conflation of the Old Babylonian versions and the *LKA* (Ebeling) version which appeared on pp. 111 f. and in the Addenda of the second edition. Since we now have an almost complete text for Tablet II of the late recension it has been considered advisable to present both versions separately. Therefore all of the material that came from *LKA*, No. 1 has been withdrawn from the translation of the Old Babylonian version on pp. 111 f. and the now almost complete Tablet II of the late recension will be presented here. The points of contact between the two texts will be obvious to the reader. In the Addenda to the second edition of this volume Speiser presented a translation of Tablet III of the Old Babylonian version which was in reality again a conflation of the Old Babylonian version and *LKA*, No. 1. With

⁷¹ A scribal note indicates there is a break in the original tablet.

⁷² Cf. Gilgamesh XI, 107.

⁷³ Lambert, *loc. cit.*, regarded lines 18-19 as a cry of Ishtar and translated: [". . .] take away the flood! [. . .] for the peoples! Summon the mighty one!" The present author has taken *i-ta-sa-a* as a present Gt of *ašú* (and not an imperative of *našú*) and *i-ba-a* as a present G (and not imperative) of *bā'u*. Cf. *MU.III*^{KAM} 81^a *kaḫḫi* ^a*Ēr-ra māia i-ba'(-i)*, "The sword of Irra will overrun the land for three years," *CT*, XXXIX, 33:46 and *CT*, XL, 46:44 and cf. *CAD*, II (B), 180. For *kašūšu*, "divine weapon" (von Soden, *AHW*, 463 f.), in the sense of "destruction" note *ka-šú-šú = na-as-pan-[tu]* *CT*, xxx, 9:11 and cf. E. F. Weidner, *Afo*, Beiheft XII (1959), 30, note to line 9.

the publication here of Tablet II of the late recension which contains almost all of the material found in Tablet III of the Old Babylonian version the need for Speiser's composite text has been obviated and it has not been included. In fact no translation of Tablet III of the Old Babylonian version has been included since it is extremely fragmentary and is duplicated by Tablet II of the late recension. The only exception is the last four lines of Susa III which will be discussed later.

ASSYRIAN VERSION

Tablet I

New sources for Tablet I are: W. G. Lambert, *CT*, XLVI, 36 (K. 7257 given in transliteration by E. Reiner, *RA*, LI [1957], 107-08), 37, 39 (DT. 292—joins K. 3454 + 3935—published in transliteration by E. Reiner, *RA*, XLVIII [1954], 146), 40 (Sm. 1807—only variants from it given by E. Reiner, *RA*, XLVIII [1954], 146).

All of the new material for Tablet I has been incorporated in the translation on pp. 112 f. with a few exceptions. The beginning of column i is now preserved:

The son of the king of inhabited places,
 The illustrious, beloved of Mami,
 The strong one, the god, child of [Enli], I will ever
 praise.
 Ninurta, the illustrious, beloved of Mami,
 [The strong] one, the god, child of Enlil, I will ever
 glorify.
 [(He is): The offsp]ring of Ekur, foremost among the
 Annunaki,
 Strength of Eninnu,
 [He who made] the animal-stalls (and) founded⁷⁴
 houses, streets and cities;
 The hero, [experienc]ed in battle, *the active fighter*,⁷⁵
 [Whose] tireless attack the savage [*demons*] fear;
 [. . .] the strong one, praise of his might,
 [Who] bound his [enemi]es (and) tied up the
 Stone Things; (10)
 [Who vanquished] the f]ugitive Zu with his
 weapon,
 [Who subdued] the K]usarikku⁷⁶ in the midst of the sea;
 [. . .] . . . goes, moves with his weapon,
 [. . .] directs strife (and) battle.
 [. . .] the shrines were made,
 [. . .] Igigi.

(The remainder of the column is missing.)

(In column iii, p. 113, after a gap of about seven lines a few more lines are now legible:)

[. . .] . . . Anu says: (105)
 "[. . .] I will find a god [. . .]
 And will appoint (him) in the Assembly as the
 vanquisher of Zu.

⁷⁴ Read: *ir-mu-u*.

⁷⁵ *mu-um-mil-lu a-gu-uh-hu* lit.: "One who prances in the belt." *mu-um-mil-lu* has been derived from *mēlulu* on which see B. Landsberger, *WZKM*, LVI (1960), 119, n. 30 and cf. W. von Soden, *AHW*, 644 and *CAD*, I/1 (A), 159-60.

⁷⁶ A mythological monster.

Yea, I will find a god
And appoint (him) in the Assembly as the vanquisher
of Zu."

When the Igigi heard this speech of his,
The Igigi trembled and kissed his feet.
Ninigiku⁷⁷ opened his mouth to speak,
To say something to Anu and Dagan.

(Column iii ends at this point and column iv is entirely missing.)

Tablet II

The sources for this tablet are: *LKA*, No. 1 and see E. Ebeling, *RA*, XLVI (1952), 25-41. *STT*, I, Nos. 19, 21, and 22. *CT*, XLVI, No. 38 (K. 3008—previously published in transliteration by E. Reiner, *RA*, XLVIII, 1954, 146-149). *CT*, XLVI, No. 41.

The new material for this tablet has necessitated an entirely new translation. When the narration begins, Mami is speaking.

" . . . to appoint a time;
. . . send forth brilliance.
Launch thy full offensive,
Let thy seven ill winds go against him.
Vanquish the fugitive Zu,
And (thus) bring peace to the earth [which] I created,
While bringing chaos to his abode.
Heap up things to frighten him,
Let thy terrifying offensive rage against him;
Cause the entire whirlwind to attack⁷⁸ him,
Draw⁷⁹ the bow (and) let the arrows carry poison. (10)
Let thy countenance become like a demon's,
Send out a fog so he cannot recognize thy face.
Let thy radiance go against him,
[In . . . and] steppe thou wilt have brilliance.
May the sun not shine over him,
May the bright [day] turn to gloom on him.
Slit his throat, vanquish Zu,
Let the winds carry his wings to a secret place,
Toward Ekur, to thy father Enlil.
Take flood (and) confusion in to the midst of
the [mountain]s, (20)
Cut the throat of evil Zu.
Let the sovereignty (again) enter Ekur,
Let the norms return [t]o the fa[ther who] begot thee.
Let built shrines [appear],
Establish thy cult sites [in the] four [quarters].
[Let] thy [cult sites] enter (again) into Ekur,
(And) may thy mighty name be splendid before the
gods!"

When the hero heard the speech of his mother,

⁷⁷ Ea.

⁷⁸ Read: *šu(?)-ub(?)-bi(?)-x-šu(?)* in *STT*, I, No. 21. Although the root is uncertain the imperative form is preferable to *LKA*, No. 1 which has: *ú(?)¹-šai-bi-iš-šu*.

⁷⁹ *tu(?)-lul*. Cf. *ir-lul* in II, 75 and 91. Also note *tu-lul ina i-rat* ⁸¹*qašti-ka* in II, 111 and 133. The root is presumably to be connected with *alālu*, "to hang," and seems to refer to the placing of the arrow on the bow, ready to fire. Cf. W. von Soden, *Orientalia* NS, xxii (1953), 261.

He was wroth, he raged (and) departed for his (Zu's)
mountain.

My lord hitched the Seven-of-the-Battle, (30)

The hero hitched the seven ill winds,
The seven whirlwinds which stir up the dust,
He launched a terrifying war, a fierce conflict.
While the gale at his side shrieked for strife,
Zu and Ninurta met on the mountainside.

When Zu saw him he raged at him,
He ground (his teeth) like a demon, his brilliance
covered the mountain,

He roared like a lion seized with anger,
In his rage he called [to the h]ero:

"I have carried off everyone of the norms, (40)

And (therefore) the decrees of all the gods I direct;
Who art thou to come to fight with me?

Explain thyself!"

He advanced aggressively⁸⁰ toward him and the word
of his mouth went forth to him,

[The hero] Ninurta [answered] Zu:⁸¹

"I [*am*⁸². . .] and the god of Duranki,
[I⁸³] received wide [*understanding*] (from) Ea, king
of the Destinies.

I have come [*to thee*] to fight with thee . . ." ⁸⁴

When Zu heard the word of his mouth,
In the midst of the mountain range he let loose a
piercing shriek.

There was darkness, the face of the mountain was
covered, (50)

Ninurta, the light of the gods, entered the gloom.

Adad . . . roared, his thunder pursued⁸⁵ Zu,

In the midst of the conflict, (in the midst of) the war,

He launched fourteen storm floods,

Dressed in armor he bathed in blood,
Clouds of death sent rain, the lightning flashes were
arrows.

He stood in their midst while the battle roared,

The strong, the illustrious, the child of Mami,

The hope of Anu and Dagan, the beloved of Ninigiku,

He loaded⁸⁶ [the . . .] of the bow with an arrow,⁸⁷

From the breast of the bow he loosed⁸⁸ the arrow
at him, (60)

⁸⁰ *i-ri-ih*. Cf. *erēhu* in W. von Soden, *AHW*, 237.

⁸¹ The restoration of this line comes from the Old Babylonian version r. 7: *2a-am i-pu-lam qú-ra-du 9Nin-g[ir-su]*.

⁸² Restore: *a-n[a-ku]* in *STT*, I, No. 21.

⁸³ Restore: *mu-hur[-ak-ku]* in *STT*, I, No. 21.

⁸⁴ *at-iš-ka?* The Old Babylonian version r. 9 has: *da-iš-ka* "to crush thee."

⁸⁵ Lit.: "was with."

⁸⁶ Lit.: "filled."

⁸⁷ *qanú*: "reed." That this word is sometimes used of a weapon has long been recognized. See R. Borger, *Einleitung in die Assyrischen Königsinschriften*, I (Leiden, 1961), 129. Here it obviously means "arrow" and no doubt has the same meaning in the other passages cited by Borger.

⁸⁸ Lit.: "brought."

But the arrow could not approach Zu, it turned
back,
(For) Zu called to it:
"O arrow that [has] come, return to thy canebrake,
Stave⁸⁹ [of the bow] (return) to thy wood,
(Return, bow)-gut, to the sheep's rump, return wings⁹⁰
to the birds!"

While he bore the [Tablet of De]stinies of the gods in
his hand,
. . . [. . . the arrows] could not approach his body.
The ba[tt]le [was st]illed, the conflict ceased,
The weapons were stopped, in the midst of the mountain
They vanquished not Zu.

He (Ninurta) called to Adad and gave him
instructions: (70)

"Repeat to him, to Ea Ninigiku, the deeds which
thou hast observed:

'O lord, Ninurta was encircling Zu,
Ninurta was *girding up* the dust of destruction;
He loaded [the . . .] of the bow with an arrow,
He *drew* the bow and loosed the arrow at him,
But the arrow could not approach Zu, it turned back,
(For) Zu called to it:

"O arrow that has come, return to thy canebrake,
Stave of the bow (return) to thy wood,
(Return, bow)-gut, to the sheep's rump, return wings
to the birds!" (80)

While he bore the Tablet of Destinies of the gods
in his hand,
. . . the arrows could not approach his body.
The battle was stilled, the conflict ceased,
The weapons were stopped, in the midst of the mountain
they vanquished not Zu."

Adad, the prince, took the report,
The news of the fight he bore to Ea Ninigiku.

Whatever the lord had spoken to him he repeated to Ea:

"O lord, Ni[nurta] was encircling Zu,
Ninurta was *gir[ding up]* the dust of destruction;
[He loaded the . . . of the bow with an arrow], (90)

He *drew* the bow and loosed the arrow at him,
But the arrow could not approach [Z]u, it turned back,
(For) Zu called to it:

'O arrow that has come, return to [thy] canebrake,
Stave of the bow (return) to thy wood,
[(Return, bow-)gu]t, to the sheep's [rump], [return]
wings to the birds!"

⁸⁹ *mu-um-mu*. Speiser's translation has been retained. In the previous edition of this book his footnote to this word read: "The present translation proceeds from the fact that among the several meanings established for this term (cf. A. Heidel, *JNES*, vii, 1948, 98-105) there is included a reference to a household implement. The context, moreover, shows that the wooden part of the bow is meant in this instance; hence 'back, stave,' or the like."

⁹⁰ Does this refer to feathers on the arrow?

[While he bore the Tablet of Destinies] of the gods
[in his] h[and],

[. . . the arrows could not approach his body].
[The battle was] s[t]illed, the conflict ceased,
[The weapons were] s[t]opped, in the midst of
the mountain they vanquished not Zu." (100)

When [Ea Ninigi]ku heard the word of his son,
He called to [Adad and] gave him instructions:
"Repeat [to him], to thy lord, my instructions,
Wha[te]ver I say outline to him:
'In battle do not tire, prove thy strength,
Subdue him, by the onslaught of the south wind let his
pinions be overcome."⁹¹

Take the . . . -weapon⁹² to the back of thy darts,
Cut off his pinions, *scatter*⁹³ (them) to the right and
left.

When he sees his wings (the sight) will rob him of
speech:⁹⁴

"Wing to wing!"⁹⁵ he will cry, fear him no
(longer). (110)

Draw thy bow (and) from its breast let fly the
arrows like lightning,
Let pinions (and) wings dance like bloody things.⁹⁶

Slit his throat, vanquish Zu,
Let the winds carry his wings to a secret place,
Toward Ekur, to thy father Enlil.

Take flood (and) confusion into the midst of the
mountains,

Cut the throat of evil Zu.

Let the sovereignty (again) enter Ekur,
Let the norms return [to] the fat[her] who
begot thee.

Let built shrines appear, (120)

Establish thy cult sites in the four quarters.
Let thy cult sites enter (again) into Ekur,
(And) may thy mighty name be splendid bef[ore] the
g]ods!"

[Adad], the prince, took the directions,
Instructions for the fight [he b]ore to Ninurta, his lord,
Wha[te]ver Ea said he repeated to him:

"In battle do not tire, prove thy strength,
Subdue him, [by the onslaught] of the south wind let
his pinions be overcome.

⁹¹ *lid-di*: lit.: "Let it overcome." Note the Old Babylonian version which has *limqit*.

⁹² *til-lum*: The nature of this weapon is uncertain.

⁹³ *ru-im*: Obviously this is not from the root meaning "to have mercy."

⁹⁴ Zu will be so concerned about his wings that he will neglect to command Ninurta's arrows to turn back as he did in the previous encounter.

⁹⁵ Cf. Gilgamesh VI, 50.

⁹⁶ *šat da-me*. The reading is clear in *STT*, I, No. 21 and the traces for line 134 in *LKA*, No. 1 (iii 16) certainly support this reading. For line 134, *CT*, XLVI, No. 38 has *šat dame(úš)*.

Take the . . . -weapon to the back of thy darts,
[Cut of]f [his] pinions, *scatter* (them) [to the
right and left]. (130)

When he sees his wings (the sight) will rob him
of speech:

"Wing to wing!" he will cry, [fear] him no (longer).
Draw thy bow (and) from its breast let fly the arrows
[like lightning],

Let pinions (and) wings dance like bloody things.

Slit his throat, vanquish Zu,

Let the winds c[arry] his wings to a secret place,

Toward Ekur, to thy father Enlil.

Take flood (and) [confusion] into the midst of the
mountains,

Cut [the throat] of evil Zu.

Let thy sovereignty (again) enter [Ekur], (140)

[Let] the norms [return] to the father who begot
thee.

Let built [shri]nes appear,

[Establish] thy cult sites [in the four quarters].

[Let thy cult sites enter (again) in]to Ekur,

(And) may thy mighty name [be splendid before the
gods]!"

When the lord [heard the words of] Ea Ninigiku,

[He was w]roth, he raged (and) departed for his (Zu's)
mountain.

[My] lord hitched the Seven-of-the-Battle,

The hero hitched the seven ill winds,

The seven whirlwinds which stir up the dust. (150)

Fragmentary descriptions of the subsequent battle which took place between Ninurta and Zu have been recently published. Presumably these pieces come from Tablet III of the epic. The fullest account is found in the two duplicates, *STT*, I, Nos. 23 and 25. Mention is made of the south, north, east, and west winds and this is followed by a description of Zu becoming frightened and the general confusion that prevailed. Note particularly line 27:

He routed Zu and cut his throat.

Ninurta is mentioned in line 13 and he may be the god responsible for vanquishing Zu. Cf. O. R. Gurney, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xli (1955), 26-27. The two pieces are too fragmentary to warrant translation here.

CT, xlvi, No. 42 also belongs to the Zu Epic and, since it contains references to various weapons, may describe the same events as those narrated in *STT*, I, Nos. 23 and 25. The fragment is too small to deserve translation.

Finally, it should be noted that the beginning of the battle is described in the last four lines of the third tablet of the Old Babylonian Susa version:

[. . .] He (Ningirsu) sent forth the four winds [to
d]o battle.

[. . .] the earth shook, filled [. . .]

[. . .] its [. . .] became dark, the heavens [became]
black,

[. . .] at the onset of the south wind the pinions of
Zu [were overcome].

Etana

ADDITIONS

No new texts have come to light for this myth⁹⁷ but a hand copy of the Middle Assyrian Version (previously utilized in the translation) has been published by E. Ebeling, *LKA*, No. 14. A recent study by W. von Soden, *WZKM*, LV (1959), 59-61 has shed further light on the interpretation of the tale and a few changes have been made in the former translation. The study of von Soden enables us to present here a translation of the first eight lines of the Neo-Assyrian Version. The city referred to in these lines is certainly Kish since it was, according to the Sumerian King List, the city to which the kingship first descended after the flood and Etana was a king of that city.

They planned the city [. . .],

The [. . .] gods [la]id [*the foundation*].

They planned the [*sh*]rine, not [. . .],

The [. . .] gods laid its foundation.

May [*the city*] be the nest, the resting place of
[*mankind*],

May [*the king*] be the shepherd, they [. . .],

May Etana be the builder, they [. . .],

. . . the staf[f . . .]

(8)

A Babylonian Theogony

Recently a document unique in Akkadian literature was published by A. R. Millard, *CT*, xlvi, No. 43 and translated by W. G. Lambert with a discussion of Classical parallels by P. Walcot in *Kadmos*, IV (1965), 64-72. It is a late Babylonian copy of a theogony which came from Dunnu, an obscure Babylonian city. Other theogonies are known in Akkadian literature, such as the famous one which begins the Epic of Creation, but these are usually conflations of various traditions from different cities. The present text apparently contains the tradition of only one city. The gods are paired, male and female, the first two being Hain, an otherwise unknown male deity, and Earth. These two brought into existence the next pair of deities, Amakandu⁹⁸ and Sea, as well as the city, Dunnu. In the subsequent lines of the text is found the stereotyped account of how, by means of incest and murder, one divine pair succeeded another. Only the names of one more pair, Lahar⁹⁹ and River, are completely preserved. The names of the male consorts of Ga'um and Ningeshinna are missing. The dates upon which each new god took control are given and these were obviously related to important festivals of the city, Dunnu.

[. . .] in the beginn[ing . . .]

[. . .] and [. . .]

They [. . .] . . . their plough.

[With the c]ut of their plough they created Sea.

[Second]ly, by themselves they gave birth to

Amaka[ndu].

[Thi]rdly, they built the two Pillars of Dunnu.

[Ha]in bestowed the lordship in Dunnu on himself.

[Earth] turned her attention to Amakandu, her son,

She said to him, "Come, I will make love to you!"

⁹⁷ Note the appearance of "The Series of Etana" in an ancient literary catalogue recently edited by W. G. Lambert, *JCS*, xvi (1962), 66 vi II.

⁹⁸ A name for the god of wild animals.

⁹⁹ God of cattle.

Ama[kandu] married Earth, his mother; (10)
 He killed Hain, his [father, and]
 Laid [him] to rest in Dunnu, the city which he loved.
 Then Amakandu [too]k the lordship of his father [and]
 [Ma]rried Sea, his sister, . . .
 Lahar, son of Amakandu, went [and]
 Killed Amakandu and in Dunnu,
 In the . . . of [hi]s father, he laid [him] to rest.
 He married [Se]a, [hi]s mother.
 Then Sea *laid to rest* Earth, her mother.
 On the sixteenth day of the month Kislim he took the
 lordship and sovereignty. (20)

[. . .] son of Lahar married River, his own sister.
 He killed [Lahar], his father, and Sea, his mother.
 [. . .] laid them to rest . . .
 On the first day [of the month . . . he took] the
 sovereignty and lordship for himself.
 [. . . , son of] . . . , ma[rr]ied Ga'um,¹⁰⁰ his sister.
 He . . . [. . .] earth
 He . . . [. . .] . . .

¹⁰⁰ Text: "Uaum." See Lambert, *loc. cit.*, 67.

[. . .] fathers and [. . .]
 He [. . .] for the . . . of the gods.
 [. . .] killed River, his mother. (30)
 He settled the[m . . .]
 [On the . . . day of the month . . .] he to[ok]
 the lordship and sovereignty for himself.
 [. . . , son of . . .], marr[ied] Ningshtinna,
 his sister.
 He ki[lled . . . , his father, and] Ga'um, [hi]s mother.
 He settled th[em . . .].
 On the sixteenth (variant: twenty-ninth) day [of the
 month . . . he took] the sovereignty (and) lordship.

[. . .] the child/servant of Haharnu [. . .]
 Marr[ied . . .], his own [si]ster.
 [. . .] took the lordship of his father and [. . .]
 . . . (40)
 [. . .] to the city Shupat-[. . .]

(Illegible traces of one more line are preserved before
 the text is completely broken. The reverse is too muti-
 lated to translate.)

Hittite Myths, Epics, and Legends

TRANSLATOR: ALBRECHT GOETZE

El, Ashertu and the Storm-god

Text: *KUB*, xii, 61; *KUB*, xxxi, 118+*KUB*, xxxvi, 37; *KUB*, xxxvi, 34, 35. Literature: H. Otten, *MIO*, 1 (1953), 125-50; H. A. Hoffner, *RHA*, lxxvi (1965), 5-16. This "Canaanite Myth" is only a fragment from a larger context. One may hope that more of it will turn up in the future.

(i) ["... Give thyself to me, then] I shall give myself to thee; I shall *harass* thee with my word, [with my sp]indle I shall prick thee. [. . .] I shall *stir* thee up." The Storm-god heard the words. (5) He went on his way and betook himself to the well-spring of the Mala-River. [He] came to El-kunirsha,¹ the husband of Ashertu,² and entered El-kunirsha's tent.

El-kunirsha beheld the Storm-god and asked him: "[Why] didst thou come?" Thus said the Storm-god: "When I entered thy house, (10) Ashertu sent out (her) maidens to me (saying). 'Come, sleep with me!' [When] I refused, she became *aggressive* and said to me as follows: 'Give thyself to me, [then] I shall give myself to thee; I shall *harass* thee with my word, (15) with my spindle I shall prick thee.' This is why I have come, my father. For, [with a message] I did not come, I have come to thee on my own. Ashertu is impugning thy virility. Although she is thy wife she keeps on sending

¹ This has been explained as Canaanite *qōnē 'ars* "(El), creator of the earth"; but there are still some details connected with this identification that are not yet clear.

² Cf. Ugarit. *'Asirat*, Hebr. *'Alērah*(h).

to me: 'Come, sleep with me.'" El-kunirsha began to reply to the Storm-god: (20) "Go, sleep with her! Lie with my wife and humble her!"

The Storm-god hearkened to the word of El-kunirsha. With Ashertu he slept. The Storm-god said to Ashertu: "Of thy sons I slew 77, I slew 88." Ashertu (25) heard this humiliating word of the Storm-god and her mind got incensed against him. She appointed wailing-women and began to wail for 7 years. They keep eating (and) drinking. . . .

(gap)

(ii?) ["... I shall listen . . . [. . . and] I shall sleep with thee." [When El-kunirsha] heard these words, he said to his wife: "[. . .] the Storm-god, I shall turn him over to thee. (5) As thou pleasest, thus d[cal] with him!"

ISHTAR³ heard those words. In El-kunirsha's hand she became a *cup*; she became a *hapupiš* bird and roosted on his wall. Whatever words husband and wife speak, those ISHTAR (10) overhears. El-kunirsha and his wife went upon her bed and slept with each other. But ISHTAR flew like a bird across the . . . and found the Storm-god in the . . . (The column breaks off. Apparently ISHTAR tells the Storm-god of El and Ashertu's plot.)

(Of the other columns too little is preserved to yield a comprehensible context.)

³ Used here as an ideogram; the pronunciation remains problematic.

II. Legal Texts

Collections of Laws from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor

TRANSLATOR: J. J. FINKELSTEIN

The Laws of Ur-Nammu

Ur-Nammu (2112-2095 B.C.) was the founding ruler of the 3rd Dynasty of Ur, the builder of the best preserved ziggurat in ancient Mesopotamia, whose reign inaugurated the last great period of Sumerian literary creativity. Although some contemporary examples of this creative effort have begun to come to light in recent excavations at Nippur, most of the literary and scholarly production of this period is known only from copies produced in the scribal schools in Nippur and Ur some two to three hundred years later, i.e. between 1800 and 1700 B.C. This is true of the two extant manuscripts of the Ur-Nammu Laws. Text A, Ni 3191, was copied in Nippur, and was edited by S. N. Kramer in *Orientalia*, xxiii (1954), pp. 40 ff., with additional notes by A. Falkenstein, *ibid.* pp. 49 ff. This tablet originally contained eight columns of writing, four on each side, but less than half of the original content is preserved. Almost all of the obverse, the better preserved face, is devoted to the prologue, so that very little legal material is preserved in this text. Text B consists of two fragments, U.7739 and U.7740, of what was once a single tablet, but the two fragments do not join. They were found in Ur, and like text A, were written by a student scribe during the Old Babylonian period. This text was edited by O. R. Gurney and S. N. Kramer in *AS*, xvi (1965, the Landsberger Festschrift), pp. 13-19. The editors thought that the tablet was intended to contain ten columns of writing—five on each face—of which only the obverse, one column on the reverse, plus one line on the next column were completed. The student scribe, for some unknown reason stopped at that point, and failed to complete the tablet. As will be indicated below, the present translator believes that the tablet was originally intended to contain eight columns rather than ten (like the A text), of which the four of the obverse and one on the reverse (col. v) plus one additional line were actually completed. (This opinion has since been confirmed by Dr. E. Sollberger of the British Museum who has kindly provided the present author with photographs of the two fragments, and the information about their relative points of thickness, which precludes the possibility of an additional column.)

The present translation for the first time integrates both manuscripts into a single text as far as the extant material allows. The line count of text A as given by Kramer, while in need of some adjustment in the light of B, is retained here for the convenience of reference. The numeration §§ of text B is also retained here and cited within parentheses. The translation, while the responsibility of the present translator, is built upon that of S. N. Kramer in his original edition, and owes much besides to the enthusiastic cooperation of Professor Kramer while it was being prepared.

(lines 1-23 destroyed or fragmentary) (24-30) . . . (of) the land . . . , . . . monthly, he established for him 90 *k̄ōr* of barley, 30 sheep, and 50 quarts of butter, as a regular offering.¹

(31-35) After An and Enlil had turned over the King-

¹ The section closing with this paragraph seems to recount the pious endowments of the king to the god and temple where the original stela which bore this text was set up.

ship of Ur to Nanna, (36-40) at that time did Ur-Nammu, son born of (the goddess) Ninsun, for his beloved mother who bore him, (41-42) in accordance with his (i.e., of the god Nanna) principles of equity and truth,² . . . (lines 43-72 destroyed or fragmentary).

(col. ii 73-74) He set up the seven . . . (75-78) Nam-mahni, the *ensi* of Lagash he slew. (79-84) By the might of Nanna, lord of the city (of Ur), he returned the Magan-boat of Nanna to the *boundary(-canal)*, (85-86) (and) made it famous in Ur.³

(87-96) At that time, the field(s) had been subject to the *nisqum*-official, the maritime trade was subject to the seafarers' overseer, (col. iii) the herdsman was subject to the "oxen-taker," the "sheep-taker," and the "donkey-taker."⁴

(lines 97-103 destroyed) (104-113) Then did Ur-Nammu, the mighty warrior, king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad, by the might of Nanna, lord of the city (of Ur), and in accordance with the true word of Utu,⁵ establish equity in the land (114-116) (and) he banished malediction, violence and strife. (117-122) *By granting immunity in Akkad to*⁶ the maritime trade from the seafarers' overseer, to the herdsman from the "oxen-taker," the "sheep-taker," and the "donkey-taker," he (123-124) set Sumer and Akkad free.⁷

(125-129) At that time, the . . . of Mar[ad] (and) Kazal[lu]⁸ he . . . (130-134) [By] the might [of Nanna] (his) lord . . . , he . . . (135-142) The copper . . . , the (wooden) . . . (three lines missing), the copper . . . , the wooden . . . , [these] seven . . . , he standardized. (143-144) He fashioned the bronze *silá*-measure, (145-

² *Níg-si-sá = misarum* and *níg-gi-na* (restored) = *kitum*.

³ This section recounted mainly the military achievements of Ur-Nammu.

⁴ While the exact meaning of some phrases in this section remains in doubt, Kramer appears justified in taking it as a series of economic abuses, i.e., in each of the enumerated activities there was present a semiofficial agent who exacted excessive or unwarranted revenues from the persons engaged in each activity.

⁵ Restoring (lines 110-111): [i n i m - g] i - n a [d U t u] - t a , as in the first line of the epilogue of the Lipit-Ishtar Laws (*AJA*, LII [1948], p. 23).

⁶ The line is untranslatable and partially destroyed, but it is assumed that it contained a verb denoting the correction of the abuses enumerated previously.

⁷ Restoring the line possibly as: *š u - b a - a [b - b a r] ; š u - b a r = Akk. (w)uššurum*, "release, remit," is the exact word used in the Edict of Ammisaduqa for the remission of debts and obligations, and is found elsewhere in similar contexts.

⁸ Two cities in Babylonia, north of Sumer; the restoration of these names here is possible on the basis of the traces in lines 127-128.

149) he standardized the one *mina* weight, (and) standardized the stone-weight of a shekel of silver *in relation to* one mina.

(150-152) At that time, the bank of the Tigris, the bank of the Euphrates . . . (153-160 destroyed) . . . (161) the king (or "owner") provided a head gardener.⁹

(162-168) The orphan was not delivered up to the rich man; the widow was not delivered up to the mighty man; the man of one shekel was not delivered up to the man of one mina.

(From line 169 to line 205, the A text is almost completely destroyed. It is likely that the series of law-cases began towards the lower end of col. iv on the obverse of the tablet, or at the very beginning of col. v on the reverse, since traces strongly suggest the beginning of a law-case with line 196, which will be considered here as § 1.)

2: (206-215) he shall plant for him, his . . . the planted . . . apple trees and cedars¹⁰ . . . [*he* . . .] without the owner's knowledge,¹¹ . . . he shall bring in.

3: (216-221, destroyed)

4: (222-231 = B § 1).¹² If the wife of a man, *by employing her charms*, followed after another man and he slept with her, they (i.e., the authorities) shall slay that woman, but that male (i.e., the other man) shall be set free.

5: (232-239 = B § 2). If a man proceeded by force, and deflowered the virgin (lit.: "undeflowered") slave-woman of another man, that man must pay five shekels of silver.

6: (app. 240-244 = B § 3). If a man divorces his primary wife, he must pay (her) one mina of silver.

7: (app. 245-249 = B § 4). If it is a (former) widow (whom) he divorces, he must pay (her) one-half mina of silver.

8: (250-255 = B § 5). If (however) the man had slept with the widow without there having been any marriage contract,¹³ he need not pay (her) any silver.¹⁴

9: (= 256-269 mostly destroyed)

10: (270-280). If a man had accused a(nother) man of . . .¹⁵ and he (i.e., the accuser) had him (i.e., the

⁹ Reading GAL.NI as š a n d a n a = š a n d a n a k k u with Falkenstein.

¹⁰ Reading ḫ a š ḫ u r e r e n - n a x in line 210.

¹¹ Reading line 214 as l u g a l [- d a n u] - m e - a, cf. the Nippur trial text, JAOS, LXXXVI (1967), p. 359, line 22'.

¹² For this section and the next, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 355, 369; and, for the link of the two mss. at this point, p. 360, note 15.

¹³ Where the copy of A line 252 shows TA, the photo rather favors the reading KEŠ (followed by n u - m e - [a], making it almost certain that this line corresponds to lines 32-33 of text B col. i.

¹⁴ i.e., if he then decides to divorce her; the situation of §§ 6'-7' governs this case as well, cf. JAOS, LXXXVI, p. 372, note 52.

¹⁵ In line 271 Kramer read the second sign as u š o : k i š p u, "sorcery, and compared this section with § 2 of the Laws of Hammurabi. But the sign, as copied shows more than KA X BAD (= u š o), which prompted my own suggestion (JAOS, LXXXVI, 370, note 45) to read it as g u r x (KA X GU) = Akk. *dāmu*, "blood, bloodshed, murder," and to compare it with § 1 of the Hammurabi Laws. But this also appears problematic as a result of comparing both mss., cf. the next note.

accused) brought to the river-ordeal, and the river-ordeal proved him innocent, then the man who had brought him (i.e., the accuser) must pay him three shekels of silver.¹⁶

11: (281-290 = B § 10). If a man accused the wife of a man of fornication, and the river(-ordeal) proved her innocent, then the man who had accused her must pay one-third of a mina of silver.

12: (291-301 = B § 11).¹⁷ If a (prospective) son-in-law entered the house of his (prospective) father-in-law, but his father-in-law later gave [his daughter (i.e., the prospective bride) to] another man, he (the father-in-law) shall return to him (i.e., the rejected son-in-law) *two*-fold the amount of bridal presents he had brought.

13: (302-312 = B § 12). (Only traces remain).¹⁸

14: (313-323, omitted in B). If [. . .] a slave-woman [*or a male slave fled from the master's house*] and crossed beyond the territory of the city, and (another) man brought her/him back, the owner of the slave shall pay to the one who brought him back *two* shekels of silver.¹⁹

15: (324-330 = B § 13 + § 21). If a [man . . .] cut off the foot (var.: limb) of [another man *with his* . . .], he shall pay ten shekels of silver.

16: (331-338, omitted in B).²⁰ If a man, in the course of a scuffle, smashed the limb of another man with a club, he shall pay one mina of silver.²¹

17: (339-344 = B § 22). If someone severed the nose of another man with a *copper knife*, he must pay two-thirds of a mina of silver.

18: (A 345-? = B § 23). If a man cut off the [. . .] of [another man] with a [. . .] he shall pay [x shekels(?)] of silv]er.

¹⁶ I read lines 279-280 (top of col. vii of A) as 2 [+ 1 GIN KÙ.] BABBAR [i-lá-e] and thus matching B ii 1-2. Unless there is a scribal error in B, the small penalty would seem to preclude the possibility that the accusation was either sorcery or murder. It is possible, too, that the penalty of three shekels is not against the false accuser—who would normally have been denoted as such, as in the next section (lú-l-da-lá-a)—but against the person who administered the ordeal (lú in-tú m-mu).

¹⁷ Although just a few traces at the beginnings of the lines of this section are preserved, they are sufficient to show that the topic concerned the "rejected bridegroom," and is almost an exact parallel to § 29 of the laws of Lipit-Ishtar. It constitutes yet another Sumerian prototype for § 25 of the Laws of Eshnunna and § 161 of the Laws of Hammurabi. The certain and near-certain restorations on which the translation is based cannot be given here in detail. They will appear in the complete re-edition of the Laws of Ur-Nammu which the present writer expects to publish elsewhere.

¹⁸ The traces would suggest that this rule, like § 14, also dealt with runaway persons and reward for their capture and return.

¹⁹ Cf. Hammurabi § 17 and Hittite Laws § 22.

²⁰ It is certain that either § 15 or § 16 is omitted in the Ur ms., but due to the lacunae in both texts, and to the evidence that their wording differs to some degree, it is difficult to ascertain which of the two has been omitted in B. The solution adopted here is based on the verb used in § 16, *zi-ir*, "to smash, crush," which is not found in B, where the verb used in all cases is *k us*, "to cut off, sever." It is nevertheless certain that the two mss. "join" at around this point since text B ii 36 must be read as *g ir - p a [d - d u]*, "bone, limb," and is consequently to be brought into some relationship to the *g ir - p a d - d u* of line 334 of the A text.

²¹ Cf. Hammurabi § 198 where this sum applies when the victim is a "crown dependent" (*mušḫēnu*).

19: (B § 24 + § 16). If he [*knocked out*] his *to[oth]* with [a . . .] he shall pay two shekels of silver.²²

20: (missing). (There is a gap of close to 30 lines, which contained not more than three sections, including § 20, § 21, and the beginning of § 21'.)

21': (B § 28). . . . he shall surely bring. If he has no slave-woman, he must surely pay ten shekels of silver. If he has no silver, *he shall pay him (with) whatever possessions he (owns)*.²³

22': (B § 29). If a man's slave-woman, comparing herself to her mistress, speaks insolently to her (or: him), her mouth shall be scoured with 1 quart of salt.²⁴

23': (B § 30). If a man's slave-woman, comparing herself to her mistress, struck her . . . (rest missing).

24': (almost completely missing, possibly more than one section in the gap)

25': (B § 34). If a man appeared as a witness (in a lawsuit), and was shown to be a perjurer,²⁵ he must pay fifteen shekels of silver.

26': (B § 35). If a man appeared as a witness (in a lawsuit), but declined to testify on oath, he must make good as much as is involved in that lawsuit.

27': (B § 36). If a man proceeded by force, and plowed the arable field of a(nother) man, and he (i.e., the latter) brought a lawsuit (against him), but he (i.e., the squatter) reacts in contempt,²⁶ that man will forfeit his expenses.

28': (B § 37). If a man flooded the field of a(nother) man with water, he shall measure out (for him) three *kôr* of barley per *ikû* of field.²⁷

29': (B § 38). If a man had leased an arable field to

²² The light penalty excludes other parts of the body from consideration. Although the other codes prescribe much higher fines for such injuries, cf. Eshnunna § 42, Hammurabi § 200 f. (1/3 mina for a *muškēnu*), and Hittite Code §§ 7 f., the later version of the Hittite rule reduces the sum considerably, prescribing 12 shekels for "two or three teeth" of a free man, and 6 shekels for a slave, suggesting that a realistic fine for one tooth could be two shekels at least in some instances.

²³ Cf. Lipit-Ishtar § 13, which concerns the unlawful harboring of someone else's slave for more than a month, and the penalty for that offense. The verb appears to be in the negative, which may be an error.

²⁴ A "mirror" punishment with possible socio-religious connotation; note the Sumerian proverb "A male(-slave) who is rebellious is made to eat salt," E. I. Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs*, p. 123 f. It is possible that in some fashion this section is paralleled by Lipit-Ishtar § 14 (see previous note), which deals with a slave who contested his status with his master after the latter had certified his legal title to the slave on two earlier occasions (this is the correct meaning of the law, as earlier translators had seen, and as understood by Falkenstein, *Orientalia*, xix [1950] 107 f.). The penalty to be suffered by the slave (a1-b ú r - e) must denote some physical mutilation which may also have served as a permanent mark of his slave status.

²⁵ Literally, "thief," in that the false accusation is considered tantamount to an attempt at unlawful taking. For §§ 25' - 26' cf. *JAOS*, lxxxvi, 371, note 47. Lipit-Ishtar § 17 is an exact parallel to § 27', cf. Falkenstein, *Orientalia*, xix, 109; San Nicolò, *ibid.*, 115.

²⁶ Reading in line 53 g ú in - ni - [š] u b, "ignore, scorn, etc.," cf. Goetze, *JAOS*, lxxv (1945) and Jacobsen *apud* Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 456. The sense here is that the squatter, having ignored or rejected the lawful demands of the owner of the field, loses even the right to recover his agricultural expenses (e.g. seed-corn, and the cost of renting farm-equipment and animals). That he is not entitled to the normal tenant's share of the crop is understood *a fortiori*.

²⁷ Cf. Hammurabi § 55.

a(nother) man for cultivation, but he (the lessee) did not plow it, so that it turned into wasteland, he shall measure out (to the lessor) three *kôr* of barley per *ikû* of field.²⁸

(remainder of text largely destroyed)

Sumerian Laws

YBC 2177

Since the publication of this text almost sixty years ago, it was thought to represent a part of the "lawcode" of some unknown ruler of the pre-Hammurabi period. In actual fact, however, the text is a student exercise executed in one of the scribal schools of Southern Mesopotamia (i.e., Sumer) some time during the Old Babylonian period, probably ca. 1800 b.c. The obverse of the tablet has never been published due to its very poor state of preservation, but from those lines of it which are still legible it can be ascertained that it consisted in considerable part of disconnected legal phrases and sentences revolving about a limited number of topics, such as pledges for loans, and loss of animals, and that it contained a number of repetitions. The text may therefore be described as a "forerunner" of the later formularies and vocabularies specializing in legal phraseology which were compiled for the scribal craft, such as *ana itisu* (edited by B. Landsberger in *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexicon*, Vol. 1, Rome, 1937), and the first two tablets of the longer series known as *ĦAR-ra: Ħubullu* (*ibid.*, Vol. v, 1957). The present translation is limited to the reverse of the tablet, which contains a small number of "laws" or sections grouped around a few basic topics. None of these "laws" is completely articulated in the manner of those found in the better-known "codes," but the sense is often clear, so that the additional phraseology required to fill out the sense may be supplied within parentheses with some degree of confidence. In other instances, especially where the student scribe committed errors, or where the text is laconic or damaged, the legal sense can only be guessed at.

Text: A. T. Clay, *Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts*, Vol. 1, no. 28, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 18 ff.; and J. J. Finkelstein, *JAOS*, lxxxvi (1966), pp. 357 ff.

(rev. col. iv) 1: If (a man accidentally) buffeted a woman of the free-citizen class and caused her to have a miscarriage, he must pay 10 shekels of silver.

2: If (a man deliberately) struck a woman of the free-citizen class and caused her to have a miscarriage, he must pay one-third mina of silver.¹

3: If (a boat captain) violated the itinerary to which he was committed, and (thereby) brought about the loss of the boat, he shall measure out to its owner as much as the boat . . . , (and) its hire of²

²⁸ Cf. Hammurabi § 42, also Lipit-Ishtar § 8 (which concerns a date-orchard rather than a field).

¹ i.e., twenty shekels, or twice the compensation prescribed in § 1.

² The offence appears, in general, to parallel § 5 of the Lipit-Ishtar laws as supplemented by Steele from an additional fragment published in *Archiv Orientalní*, xviii (1950), pp. 491 ff., but the penal clause in the present rule contains some obscure phraseology. The interpretation suggested here presumes that the subject of the rule is the boat captain rather than the person who chartered it, since it appears that the compensation was intended to cover the cargo as well as the boat itself, and the loss to its owner of its potential revenue from charter. The recent interpretation of this section by H. Petschow, in *ZA*, NF, xxiv (1967), pp. 1-4, is based on some readings and emendations that are not borne out by the original tablet.

4: If (a son) has said to his father and to his mother: "You are not my father; you are not my mother," he forfeits (his heir's rights to) house, field, orchard, slaves, and (any other) property, and they may sell him (into slavery) for money at full value.

5: (If) his father and his mother (say): "You are not our son," they will forfeit the estate.

6: (If) his father and his mother (say): "You are not our son," (col. v) [. . .] . . . [. . .] shall forfeit.³

7: If (a man) deflowered the daughter of a free citizen in the street, her father and her mother not having known (that she was in the street), and she (then) says to her father and her mother: "*I was raped*," her father and her mother may give her to him (forcibly) as a wife.⁴

8: If (a man) deflowered the daughter of a free citizen in the street, her father and her mother having known (that she was in the street) but the man who deflowered her denied that he knew (her to be of the free-citizen class), and, standing at the temple gate, swore an oath (to this effect, he shall be freed).

9: If a lion has devoured a *straying* ox, he (i.e., the herdsman or the person who hired it) must *deliver* the . . . *in full*, to its owner.⁵

10: If an ox caused the loss of a *straying* ox, ox for ox . . . (remainder lost)⁶

The Edict of Ammisaduqa

It was the custom in Mesopotamia during the Old Babylonian period, but going back possibly to late Early Dynastic times, for the kings to proclaim an act of "justice" or "equity" (Sumerian *níg. si. sá* = Akkadian *mīšarum*) at the beginning of their reigns and at intervals of seven or more years thereafter. Such acts, concerned mainly with the remission of debts and other obligations, as well as the reversion of land holdings to their original owners, were known heretofore from allusions to them in royal year-names, and references to them in certain private legal documents. The Edict of Ammisaduqa, the 10th ruler of the Hammurabi Dynasty in Babylon (1646-1626 B.C.), represents the only extant substantial text proper of such an edict, the only other one known being a fragment of a similar edict issued by Samsuiluna (1749-1712 B.C.), the great-grandfather of Ammisaduqa. There is good reason to believe, however, that the early law-"codes," such as those of Ur-Nammu, Lipit-Ishtar, the kingdom of Eshnunna, and the great "code" of Hammurabi incorporate within their texts at least some of the provisions of the *mīšarum*-acts proclaimed by them during the course of their

³ This section is treated here independently of the preceding one, although it may contain only a variation of circumstance, or even a repetition of the preceding rule.

⁴ For this and the next section, see *JAOS*, LXXXVI, pp. 357 ff.

⁵ The interpretation of this section is extremely problematic due to the obscurity of the descriptive term of the ox (similarly described in § 10) as *nigin-na*, and hence its juridical force. The final verb phrase, rendered here in italics, is to be read *ib-ri-ri* (the last sign is over erasure). It remains unclear whether the subject (equally ambiguous, as the translation implies) is responsible for full compensation, or whether he is quit by turning over to the owner the remains of the dead animal.

⁶ This section would appear to resemble the goring ox rules of the other law collections (e.g., Eshnunna § 53, Exod. 21:35 f.).

reigns, and it is likely that the well-known "reform" inscription of Urukagina, the last king of Lagash of the Early Dynastic period (ca. 2350 B.C.), is a text of a closely related type.

The main edition of the Edict is that of F. R. Kraus, *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammisaduqa von Babylon (Studia et Documenta ad Jura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia, Vol. v, Leiden 1958)* based on mss. A (Ni 632 in Istanbul) and B (B.M. 78259, British Museum). The present translation incorporates ms. C, B.M. 80289, the full edition of which is to appear in *RA*, LXIII (1969). As this manuscript provides the beginning of the text, it necessitated a new numbering of the paragraphs of the edict, Kraus' § 1' becoming here § 3, etc.

Further literature: J. J. Finkelstein, "Ammisaduqa's Edict and the Babylonian 'Law-Codes,'" *JCS*, xv (1961), 91 ff.; Kraus, "Ein Edikt des Königs Samsu-iluna von Babylon," *AS*, xvi (1965), 225 ff.; Finkelstein, "Some New Misharum Material and its Implications," *ibid.*, 223 ff.

1: (Text C). The tablet [of the decree which the land was ordered] to hear at the time that the king invoked a *mīšarum* for the land.

2: (5) The arrears of the farming agents, the shepherds, the *šusikku*-(agents)¹ of the provinces, and (other) crown tributaries—the . . . of their *firm agreements* and the *promissory notes* . . . of their payments are herewith remitted. (10) The collecting officer may not sue the crown tributary for payment.

3: The "market"² of Babylon, the "markets" of the country(side), the *ra'ibānum*³-officer, which in the . . . tablet, are . . . to the collecting officer—(15) their arrears dating from the "Year in which King Ammiditana remitted the debts which the land had contracted (= year 21 of Ammiditana)" until the month of Nisan of the "Year: Ammisaduqa the king, Enlil having (20) magnified his noble lordship, like Shamash (Text A) he rose forth in steadfastness over his country, and instituted justice for the whole of his people (= year 1 of Ammisaduqa)"—because the king has invoked the *mīšarum* for the land, (25) the collecting officer may not sue the [. . .] for payment.

4: Whoever has given barley or silver to an Akkadian or an Amorite as an interest-bearing loan, or on the *melqētum* basis (30) [or . . .], and had a document executed—because the king has invoked the *mīšarum* for the land, his document is voided; (35) (Text C) he may not collect the barley or silver on the basis of his document.

5: But if, commencing with the month of Addar II of the "Year in which King Ammiditana destroyed the wall of Udimim constructed by Damqilishu" (= Year 37 of Ammiditana), (40) he collected by constraint, he shall refund whatever he had received through collection.

¹ Semiofficial persons who received the cadavers of dead cattle and sheep from the herdsmen of the state herds, see § 12.

² Akk. *ḫārum*, lit. "port," "quay," but denoting in those instances (and §§ 10-11) the association of traders of each town, which primarily served palace or "state" rather than private interests.

³ An official whose main function appears to have been that of recruiting or overseeing the lower rank persons for military-feudal service to the crown, see § 22.

He who does not (thus) make a refund (45) in accordance with the royal decree, shall die.

6: Whoever has given barley or silver to an Akkadian or an Amorite as an interest-bearing loan or on the *melqētum* basis, and in the document which he executed (50) perpetrated a deception by having it drawn up as a sale or a bailment and then persisted in taking interest, he (i.e., the debtor) shall produce his witnesses, and they shall indict him (i.e., the creditor) for taking interest; because he had distorted his document, his document shall be voided.

(55) A creditor may not sue against the house of an Akkadian or an Amorite for whatever he had loaned him; should he sue for payment, he shall die.

7: (Text A) If anyone had given barley or silver as an interest-bearing loan and had a document executed, (ii 30) retaining the document in his own possession, and then stated: "I have certainly not given it to you as an interest-bearing loan or on the *melqētum* basis; the barley or silver which I have given you, I have given (as an advance) for purchases, or for the production of profit, or for some other objective," the person who had received the barley or silver from the creditor shall produce his witnesses to the wording of the document which the lender had denied, and they shall speak (their testimony) before god. (ii 40) Because he (i.e., the creditor) had distorted his document and denied the (truth of the) matter, he must pay (to the borrower) six-fold (the amount he had lent him). If he (the creditor) cannot make good his liability, he must die.

8: (iii) An Akkadian or an Amorite who has received barley, silver, or (other) goods either as merchandise for a commercial journey, or as a joint enterprise for the production of profit, (5) his document is not voided (by the *misharum* act); he must repay in accordance with the stipulations of his agreements.

9: Whoever has given barley, silver, or (other) goods to an Akkadian or an Amorite either (as an advance) for purchases, for a commercial journey, or as a joint enterprise for the production of profit, (10) and had a document executed, (but) in the document he had executed, the creditor stipulated in writing that at the expiration of the term (of the contract) the money would accrue interest (15) or if he made any (other) additional stipulations, he (i.e., the obligee) shall not repay on the terms of the (added) stipulations, but shall repay (only) the barley or silver [on the terms of the (basic) document]. The (obligations of the supplementary) stipulations upon the Akkadian (20) or the Amorite are remitted.

10: [. . .] . . . to Babylon, [the market of . . .], the market of Borsippa, [the market of . . .], the market of Isin, [the market of . . .], the market of Larsa, (25) [the market of . . .]aš, the market of Malgium, [the

market of Manki]sum, the market of Shitullum, [. . .] half (their) investment capital was given [*them*] (in the form of) merchandise out of the palace—the (other) half to be made up by them (i.e., the market associations of the named cities)—(30) *any* such merchandise shall be disbursed to them from the palace at the going price of the respective city.

11: If a (state) trading merchant, who customarily disposes of merchandise of the palace, made out a document in favor of the palace against the (collectable) arrears of crown tributaries as if he actually received (such) merchandise from the palace, and received (in turn) the (payable) document of the palace-tributary—thus no merchandise was actually given him from the palace in accordance with his document, nor did he receive (any funds) from the palace tributary—(40) because the king has remitted the arrears of the palace-tributary, (iv) that merchant shall declare on divine oath: "(I swear that) I have not received anything in payment from the palace-tributaries as stated in this document." After having (thus) declared, (5) he shall produce the document of the palace-tributary, they (i.e., the authorities and the principals) shall settle the accounts jointly, and out of the merchandise stipulated in the document made out by the merchant in favor of the palace they shall remit in behalf of the merchant as much as was stipulated by the document made out by the palace-tributary (10) in favor of the merchant.

12: The *šusikkū*-agent of the land who (15) customarily receives [*the carcasses*] from the palace cattle-herdsmen, shepherds, and goatherds under divine oath, (and) who (21) customarily renders to the palace: For every cow carcass: one (quantity) of sin[ews] together with the skin; for every ewe-carcass: one-sixth . . . *barley*, together with the skin, plus $1\frac{3}{4}$ minas of wool; for every goat-carcass: one-sixth of [*a shekel*] of *silver* plus $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mina of goat-wool,—because the king has instituted the *misharum* for the land, their arrears will not be collected. The . . . (of) the *šusikkū*-agent of the land (25) (*the quotas*) . . . will not be filled.

13: The arrears of the porter(s) which had been assigned to the collecting-agent for collection are remitted; they will not be collected.

14: (30) The arrears of the Suhu country⁴ consisting of *kibšum*-rents⁵ and/(or) half-share rents⁶—because the king has instituted the *misharum* for the land, it is remitted; it will not be collected. (35) He (i.e., the collecting-agent) shall not sue for collection against the houses of Suhu (var.: the Suhian population).

15: The crop impost officer who customarily receives

⁴ A territory on the Middle Euphrates, below Mari.

⁵ A kind of rent due on tenanted fields, and payable in produce.

⁶ A rent in which the crop is divided equally between tenant and landlord, and operative usually where the landlord supplied the seed corn and the farming equipment and animals.

the impost proportions of fields (planted to) [barley,] sesame, or minor crops belonging to the palace-tributaries, the . . . , the crown dependents, the infantrymen, the sergeants, or other special feudatories—(v) because the king has instituted the *misharum* for the land, it is remitted; it will not be proportioned (i.e., the impost shares of each crop will not be collected). (However,) the barley destined for sale or profit will be proportioned according to the customary ratio(s).

16: (5) The taverness(es) of the provinces who customarily pay silver (and/or) barley to the palace—because the king has instituted the *misharum* in the land, the collecting agent (10) will not sue for payment of their arrears.

17: A taverness who has given beer or barley as a loan may not collect any of what she had given as a loan.

18: A taverness or a merchant who [. . .] (15) dishonest *weight* shall die.

19: The infantryman or the sergeant who has leased [a . . . field] for three years does not perform the [. . .] service. (20) In the present [*year*], because the king has instituted the *misharum* in the land, the infantryman or the sergeant pays according to the (prevailing) ratio of his city . . . , a third or half (of the crop).

20: (25) If an obligation has resulted in foreclosure against a citizen of Numhia, a citizen of Emutbalum, a citizen of Idamaras, a citizen of Uruk, a citizen of Isin,

a citizen of Kisurra, or a citizen of Malgium, (in consequence of which) he [placed] his own person, his wife (30) or his [children] in debt servitude for silver,⁷ or as a pledge⁸—because the king has instituted the *misharum* in the land, he is released; his freedom (35) is in effect.

21: If a house-born slavewoman or male slave of a citizen of Numhia, a citizen of Emutbalum, a citizen of Idamaras, a citizen of Uruk, a citizen of Isin, a citizen of Kisurra, (vi) or a citizen of Malgium . . . whose price . . . , has been sold for money, or was (5) given over for debt servitude, or was left as a pledge, his freedom will not be effected.

22: (10) The *ra'ibānum* or regional governor who gives barley, silver, or wool to the “house” of an infantryman or a sergeant for harvest labor, or for the performance of (other) labor, (15) as the result of force,⁹ shall die. (That) infantryman or sergeant may (at the same time) keep (lit.: “carry off”) whatever had been given him.

⁷ Forcible seizure of a debtor or a member of his family (also of his chattels) by the creditor upon default on the debt.

⁸ Voluntary placement of a dependent or a slave by the debtor with the creditor on an antichretic basis covering only the interest on a debt.

⁹ i.e., the forcible hiring out of subordinates by their superior officers for harvest or other labor to third parties (on a profitable basis), even though their wages were being paid, cf. Code of Hammurabi § 34. This section is not limited in force to the period of the *misharum*'s effectiveness, but is a statement against such an abuse of authority for permanent effect.

Egyptian and Hittite Treaties

Hittite Treaty

(Translator: Albrecht Goetze)

TREATY OF SUPPILULIUMAS AND AZIRAS OF AMURRU

Texts: Akkadian version: *KUB*, III, 7 + 122; *KUB*, IV, 94. Hittite version: *KBo*, x, 12, 12a, 13. Literature: E. F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien (Boghazköi-Studien*, VIII, 1923), 70-75; H. Freydank, *MIO*, VII (1960), 356-81; H. Klengel, *OLZ*, 1964, 437-45. The Hittite text which is followed here can be largely reconstructed by the Akkadian text; help is also afforded by parallel texts from Amurru and other Syrian countries.

Preamble

These are the words of the Sun Suppiluliumas, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, the valiant, the favorite of the Storm-god.

(gap)

Historical Introduction

I, the Sun, [made you my vassal.] And if you, [Aziras, 'protect' the king of the Hatti land, your master,] the king of the Hatti land, your ma[ster, will 'protect' you in the same way.] (5) The way [you 'protect' your own [soul, your own person, your own body] and your own land, ['protect' the soul of the king, the person of the king,] the body of the king and the [Hatti] land [in the same way!] In the days to come 'protect' [you, Aziras, the king of the Hatti land] and the Hatti land, [my sons and my grandsons.] 300 she[kels of refined gold,] (10) first class (and) pure, shall be the tribute to the king of the Hatti land per year. Let them weigh [it out with the weighing stones of the merchants o]f the Hatti land. [And, you, Az]iras, should come to the Hatti land to the Sun once a year.

Formerly, *in fact*, the king of the land of Egypt, (15) the king of the Hurri land, the king [of . . . , the king of the country Kinza, the ki]ng of the country Nuhassa, the king of the country Niya, the king of the country [. . . , the king of the country Mukis], the king of the country Halba, the king of the country Kargamis—all these kings were hostile [to the Sun]. But Aziras, the king of [Amurru] land, parted from the gate of Egypt and became subservient to the Sun, the k[ing of H]atti land. (20) And the Sun, the great king, was ve[ry happy] about . . . that Aziras fell down at the feet of the Sun. Aziras parted from the gate of Egypt and (25) fell d[own at the feet of the Sun.] I, the Sun, the great king, [ac-

cepted] Aziras [in vassalage] and added him to his brethren.

[Th]en Azi[ras] To [the Sun, the great king], his lord, he spoke as follows: [". . .] together with my house [. . .] (30) I have surrendered and . . . [. . .].
(gap)

Military Clauses

(ii) He who [lives in peace] with the Sun (10) shall live in peace also with you. But he who is an enemy of the Sun, shall also be an enemy [with you]. When the king of [the Hatti] land (is on a campaign) in the [Hurri] land, or in the land of Egypt, or [in the land Ka]raduniy[as,] o[r in the country Astata,] or in the country Alsi—(15) countries bordering on your territory [but] enemies [of the Su]n, countries that are at peace (with you), [but] bordering [on your territory]— [(when) the country Kinza and the country] Nuhassa turn about [and go to wa]r [with the Hatti land,] (20) [when the king of the Hatti land gives battle] against such a country—if (then) you, Aziras, on your own decision [do not] march out with troops (and) chariot-eers and on your own [decision] will not give battle—

(25) [or i]f I, the Sun, send out to you, Aziras, either a prince or a notable [with] his troops (and) charioteers as aid, or (if) I send (them) out to another country to make an attack, [and if] (then) Aziras on his own decision (30) does not march out [with] troops (and) charioteers and you do not attack [such] an enemy—if you commit some [treachery and speak as follows]: "True, I am under a treaty [properly sworn to], but whether he is to vanquish his enemy or his enemy is to vanquish him, (35) this [I cannot] know in any way" [and if] you write to [such] an enemy: "[See! Troops (and) charioteer]s of the Hatti land [are coming to attack (you)]; so be on your guard!" [thereby] you will transgress the oath.

(40) [*Out of*] the troops (and) charioteers of the Hatti land [. . .] Hatti land they must not seize a single man. [If you] on your own decision [will not let him go] and to the king of the Hatti land (45) [will not hand him over, thereby] you will transgress the oath.

[If] against the king of the Hatti land [. . .] another enemy rises and [ravages the Hatti] land, [if against the king of the] Hatti [land somebody revolts] (50) [and you,] Aziras, hear about [it, if then] you on your own decision [with troops (and) charioteers] do not rush to the aid—[if] for you, Aziras, it is impossible to come yourself, send [either a son of yours] or a brother of

yours with troops (55) [(and) charioteers to the aid of the king of the Hatti land. [. . .]

(iii) [And if somebody presses Aziras hard . . . or (if) somebody starts a revolt, (if) you (then) write to the king of the Hatti land: "send troops (and) charioteers to my aid!" (5) I shall h[it] that enemy for [you].

[. . .] because Aziras . . . [. . .] and *returned* [to] the Sun in vassalage, I, the Sun, dispatched notables of the Hatti land, troops (and) charioteers of mine [from the] Hatti land down to Amurru land. (10) [If] they march up to towns of yours, treat them well and furnish them with the necessities of life. Before [the people of Amurru land] let them walk like brethren! Treat [the Hittites] well! But if any Hittite (15) [*misbehaves* and] shows evil intentions towards Aziras and tries to get hold of either a town of his or a (piece of) land of his, thereby he will transgress the oath.

Dealings with Foreigners etc.

The deportees of these countries whom (20) the Sun moved—deportees of the Hurri lands, deportees of the country Kinza, deportees of the country Niya and deportees of the country Nuhassi—[if] from Hattusa somebody, man or woman, escapes and comes to your country, (25) you will not say as follows: "True! [I] am under a treaty properly sworn to, but I can [not] know in any way where amidst my country these (people)

[*hide.*]" You, Aziras, will seize [them] (30) and hand [them] over to the king of the Hatti land.

[If . . .] before you, Aziras, somebody speaks [evil words concerning] the Sun, be it a [notable] or be it an (ordinary) subject of yours, (if) you, [Azir]as, will not seize [him] (35) and will not hand him over to the king of the Hatti land, thereby you will transgress the oath.

Also people of Amurru land who reside in the Hatti land, be it a notable or be it an (ordinary) subject of the country of Aziras, (40) or be it (that) you consider him a [subject] of the king of the Hatti land—if the king of the Hatti land re[turns] him to you, keep him. But if the king of the Hatti land does not return it, he escapes [and he] comes to you, (45) [if . . .] you, Azi[r]as, do not] seize [him and do not hand him over to the king of the Hatti land, thereby you will transgress the oath].

(small gap)

(iv) And if a Hittite [. . .] as a fugitive comes [into your country . . .] comes back [to . . . , you will seize him and will hand] him over to the king of the [Hatti land. . .].

(gap)

(The rest of col. iv is too mutilated for translation. It is however recognizable that it closes with a list of gods called to serve as witnesses at the conclusion of the treaty.)

Akkadian Treaties from Syria and Assyria

TRANSLATOR: ERICA REINER

Before the discovery of the treaty of Esarhaddon with the vassal princes only a few treaties imposed by Mesopotamian sovereigns were known, and those were in a fragmentary state of preservation. The newly found Esarhaddon treaty not only increases the actually available textual material but also serves to restore and to increase the understanding of the previously known treaty fragments. Understandably, the parallelism with Biblical material has given rise to a vast literature which is listed in the bibliographies in the monographs of Hillers and McCarthy cited below. See also the recent Borger *HKL* 1 under the respective texts. Except for two treaties from Alalakh, only the treaties imposed by Assyrian kings are translated here. Mesopotamian treaties not translated here: Treaty between Shamshi-Adad V and Mardukzakirshumi I (published by Weidner, *AJO*, VIII, 27 ff.); Treaty between Sinshumlishir and Sinsharishkun and Nabuapaliddina (*BRM*, IV, 50, see Borger, *JCS*, XIX, 76); fragment of a treaty (?) between Ilum-gāmil of Uruk and an unknown king(?) (published by Falkenstein, *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, II (1963), 54 f.), identified by F. R. Kraus, *Bi.Or.*, XXII (1965), 389 f.; Treaty between Sennacherib and an unknown king (published by Ebeling, *Stiftungen und Vorschriften für assyrische Tempel* [= *VIOF*, XXIII], 9), identified by Borger, *HKL*, I, p. 109. Literature: I. J. Gelb, The Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon, *Bi.Or.*, XIX (1962), 159-62. D. J. McCarthy, S.J., *Treaty and Covenant (Analecta Biblica* XXI [1963]), Rome. D. R. Hillers, *Treaty Curses and the Old Testament Prophets (Biblica et Orientalia*, 16), Rome 1964. R. Frankena, "The Vassal-treaties of Esarhaddon and the Dating of Deuteronomy," *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, XIV (1965), 122-54.

Treaty Between Niqmepa of Alalakh and Ir-^dIM of Tunip

Text: D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, No. 2. Transliteration and translation: *ibid.*, pp. 26-31. Literature: Speiser, *JAOS*, LXXIV (1954), 23.

Heading

Seal of Ir-^dIM, king of Tunip.

Preamble

Text (of the agreement) sanctioned by an oath to the gods, between Niqmepa, king of Mukishhe [and Alalakh], and Ir-^dIM, king of Tunip; Niqmepa and Ir-^dIM have now established [this agreement] between them as follows:

1. [If *anyone*], whether [*mer*]chants, whether Suteans, . . . [wants to *sell*], be it barley, (be it) emmer, (be it) oil, [. . .] . . . [he must not] sell [it without *authorization*].

2. [If in your land] there is [a plot against me, and] they plot¹ [to . . . , and you hear of it], you will search

for them, [*if*] they say, [" . . .] we [are *citizens* of] Mukishhe," you must not kill those² men [but you have to extradite them].

3. If someone from my land [*plots against me*], if you hear of it, you must³ [. . .] and you must not conceal it from me, and if he lives in your land, you must extradite him.

4. If any booty coming from my land is sold in your land,⁴ you must seize it, together with the one who sells it, and hand it over to me.

5. If a fugitive slave, male or female, of my land flees to your land, you must seize and return him to me, (or), if someone else seizes him and takes him to you, [you must keep him] in your prison, and whenever his owner comes forward, you must hand him over to [him]. If (the slave) is not to be found, you must give him (the owner) an escort, and he may seize him in whatever town he (the slave) is found; (in any town where) he is not found, the mayor and five elders will declare under oath: "Your slave does not live among us and we do not conceal him"—if they are unwilling to take the oath, but (eventually) return his slave, [they go free], but if they take the oath and later he discovers his slave [among them], they are considered thieves and their hands are cut off, (moreover) they will pay 6,000 (shekels of) copper to the palace.

6. If a man, woman, ox, donkey, or horse [is *found*] in the house of somebody (and the *owner*) *identifies* it, but (the man in whose possession it was found) declares: "I have bought it," if he can produce the merchant, he goes free, but if he cannot produce the merchant, he who has *identified* it, . . . he will declare under oath: ["It is my . . ."], but if he is unwilling to take the oath, [he is considered a thief and his hands are cut off].

7. If you hold a man in custody, he *may* do (forced) labor with/for a [. . .]-man, (but) if he (the latter) [*takes off*] his fetters, shaves off his slavemark, [. . .] and they catch him, he is considered a thief. If he declares: ["The man is mine"] he will declare under oath as follows: ["(I swear) that the man is mine"]; if he is unwilling to take the oath, [he is a th]ief [. . .]. If the *criminal*, man, woman, or boy, does (forced) labor in his house, and (the owner?) seizes him, he is considered a thief, and his (*the criminal's*) master will have him

² Read *a-na-mu-ú*, variant of *anummá*.

³ The *summa la* clauses are here translated as "you must."

⁴ I restore the end of line 20: *ša [i-pa-aš]-ša-ru ib-bá-aš-[ki]*.

¹ I restore [*i-dab*]-*bu-bá-a* in line 11.

declare under oath: "I have captured him in the open country *personally*" [. . .].

8. If a brigand from your land commits a robbery or breaks into a house or town in my land, and they seize him and [put him] in prison, whenever his (the robber's) owner [*claims him*], the owner of the house (broken into) will declare under oath: "I(!) have caught him as he was breaking and entering (lit.: at the breach or the . . . of the moat)," and he has to bring witnesses, and they can convict him and . . . him.⁵ But a slave cannot be made to take the oath, and he (the accused robber) goes free.

9. [If *families* from my land] enter your land to find subsistence, you must take them into custody in your land, and *feed* them, (but) whenever they want to [return] to my land, you must gather them and return them to [my land], and you must not detain one single family in your land.

10. If a man from your land enters my land to find subsistence, and says: "In my city [there is nothing] to [eat]" [. . .] if he is a criminal, [. . .]

11. If there is a city or a [. . .], they live with the people [in] my city, [. . .] . . . you must seize them, . . . you must [not] seize them.

12. [If] (any) Hurrian (*subject of*) our lord becomes an enemy of the king of the Hurrians, I will not break the oath made with the king of the Hurrians, my lord, (*unless*) he releases me from these stipulations of the oath.

76. Seal of Niqmepa, king of Alalakh.

77. Whosoever transgresses these agreements, Adad, [. . .] and Shamash, the lord of judgment, Sin, and the great gods will make him perish, [will make disappear] his name and (his) descendants from the lands, [. . .], they will make him forsake his throne and *scepter* [. . .].

Treaty Between Idrimi and Pilliya

Text: D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, No. 3. Transliteration and summary: *ibid.* p. 31 f.

1. Tablet of agreement.

2. When Pilliya and Idrimi took an oath by the gods and made this binding agreement between themselves: they will always return their respective fugitives, (i.e.) if Idrimi seizes a fugitive of Pilliya, he will return him to Pilliya, and if Pilliya seizes a fugitive of Idrimi, he will return him to Idrimi. Anyone who seizes a fugitive, and returns him to his master, (the owner) will pay as prize of capture 500 (shekels of) copper if it is a man, one thousand as prize of capture if it is a woman. However,

⁵ I read: *ù i-[qa?]1-bi-tu-šu.*

if a fugitive from Pilliya enters the land of Idrimi and nobody seizes him, but his own master seizes him, he need not pay a prize of capture to anyone. In whatever city (it is suspected that) they conceal a fugitive, the mayor and five elders will make a declaration under oath. From the very day on which Barattarna has sworn (this) oath by the gods together with Idrimi, from that day on it is decreed that fugitives have to be returned.

Whoever transgresses this agreement, ⁴IM, Shamash and Ishhara, and all the (other) gods will destroy him.

Treaty Between Ashurnirari V of Assyria and Mati'ilu of Arpad

Text and translation: E. Weidner, *AfO*, VIII, 17 ff. The British Museum text 79-7-8,195, according to Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1716, belongs to the same tablet as Rm 120 + published by Weidner. The fragment, copied by Geers, is the bottom of the middle (possibly the right-hand) column of one side; it most likely represents the bottom of column v (possibly column iv) of the reverse, and contains four beginnings of lines of the end of one paragraph and the beginning of the first four lines of the next, beginning with: *šum-mu* ^mKILMIN *ina a-de-e* [. . .].

(i)

(break)

(may) Mati'ilu [. . .] his sons and daughters, his officials, [. . .] altogether [turn into . . .], his land altogether into wasteland, may his soil be [as narrow] as a brick of one cubit, not enough for his sons, [his daughters, his officials, the people of his land] to stand upon. May Mati'ilu [together with his sons,] daughters, officials, the people of his land [be . . .] like . . . , and he himself, together with the people of his land, be crushed like gypsum.

(10) This spring lamb has been brought from its fold not for sacrifice, not for a banquet, not for a purchase,¹ not for (divination concerning) a sick man, not to be slaughtered for [. . .]: it has been brought to sanction the treaty between Ashurnirari and Mati'ilu. If Mati'ilu sins against (this) treaty made under oath by the gods, then, just as this spring lamb, brought from its fold, will not return to its fold, will not behold its fold again, alas, Mati'ilu, together with his sons, daughters, officials, and the people of his land [will be ousted] from his country, will not return to his country, and not behold his country again. This head is not the head of a lamb, it is the head of Mati'ilu, it is the head of his sons, his officials, and the people of his land. If Mati'ilu sins against this treaty, so may, just as the head of this spring lamb is torn off, and its knuckle placed in its mouth, [. . .], the head of Mati'ilu be torn off, and his sons [. . .]. This

¹ Reading in i 11 *ana qi-ni-ti.*

shoulder is not the shoulder of a spring lamb, it is the shoulder of Mati'ilu, it is the shoulder of his sons, his officials, and the people of his land. If Mati'ilu sins against this treaty, so may, just as the shoulder of this spring lamb is torn out, and [. . .], the shoulder of Mati'ilu, of his sons, his officials, and the people of his land be torn out and [. . .] in [. . .].

(iii)

(1'-9' fragmentary) [. . .] if you conceal (or) protect (him/it), if you send it to another country, if you are not loyal to Ashurnirari, if your heart is not devoted to Ashurnirari, king of Assyria, then you, your sons, the people of your land [. . .]. (break)

(iv)

(If the Assyrian army) goes to war at the orders of Ashurnirari, king of Assyria, and Mati'ilu, together with his officials, his army, his chariotry, does not leave (on the campaign) in full loyalty, may the great lord Sin who dwells in Harran, clothe Mati'ilu, his sons, his officials, and the people of his land in leprosy as in a cloak so that they have to roam the open country, and may he have no mercy on them. Let there be no milk² to suck for the oxen, asses, sheep, and horses in his land. May Adad, the canal inspector of heaven and earth, put an end to Mati'ilu, his land and the people of his land through hunger, want, and famine, so that they eat the flesh of their sons and daughters and it taste as good to them as the flesh of spring lambs. May they be deprived of Adad's thunder³ so that rain be denied them. Let dust be their food, pitch their ointment, donkey's urine their drink, rushes their clothing, let their sleeping place be in the corners (of walls). If Mati'ilu, his sons, or his nobles, who sin against this treaty—let the farmers of his land not sing the harvest song in the fields, no vegetation should spring forth in the open country and see the sunlight,⁴ [the . . .] not draw water from the springs, may [. . .] be their food, [. . .] their drink,⁵ [. . .]. (break)

(v)

If our death is not your death, if our life is not your life,⁶ if you do not seek⁷ the life of Ashurnirari, his sons and his officials as your own life, and the life of your sons and officials, then may Ashur, father of the gods, who grants kingship, turn your land into *wasteland*,

² The two signs at the beginning of iv 7 are to be read *enēq šizbi* (KA X GA.GA), see Landsberger, *MSL*, 8/1, 34. Since these two signs have been cited as undeciphered in *CAD*, B, 151b, Deller, *Orientalia* NS, xxxv, 110, now proposes to read them as *kissutu*, "fodder," an unlikely interpretation for either the logogram or the context.

³ Read *ik-kil Adad*, see *CAD*, I/J, 59a s.v. *ikkillu*.

⁴ Read *šamaš lu la immar*(IGI), see *CAD*, S, 143.

⁵ Read [. . . a]-ka-al-šu-nu [. . . m]aš-ti-su-nu (iv 22-23).

⁶ Read *šummu mu-a-tin-ni la mu-at-ka šummu ba-l[a-ti]n-ni la ba-laš-ka-ni*, see *CAD*, A/1, 101b.

⁷ Read *la tá[l-t]e'-u-ni*.

your people into . . . ,⁸ your cities into ruin mounds, your house into ruins.

(8) If Mati'ilu sins against this treaty with Ashurnirari, king of Assyria, may Mati'ilu become a prostitute, his soldiers women, may they receive [*a gift*] in the square of their cities (i.e. publicly) like any prostitute, may one country . . . them to the next; may Mati'ilu's (seed) be that of a mule, his wives *barren*, may Ishtar, the goddess of men, the lady of women, take away their "bow," cause their [steri]lity, . . . may they say, "Woe, we have sinned against the treaty with Ashurnirari, king of Assyria." (break)

(vi)

May [*locusts*] appear and devour his land, may [. . .] blind their eyes; let one thousand houses decrease to one house, let one thousand tents decrease to one tent, let only one man be spared in the city to tell about my feats.

(6) Be adjured by Ashur, king of heaven and earth; be adjured by Anu and Antu; be adjured by Enlil and Ninlil; be adjured by Ea and Damkina; be adjured by Sin and Ningal; be adjured by Shamash and Aja; be adjured by Adad and Shala; be adjured by Marduk and Zarpanitu; be adjured by Nabu and Tashmetu; be adjured by Ninurta and Gula; be adjured by Urash and Ninegal; be adjured by Zababa and Bau; be adjured by Nergal and Laz; be adjured by Madanu and Ningirsu; be adjured by Humhummu and Ishum; be adjured by Girra and Nusku; be adjured by Ishtar, Lady of Nineveh; be adjured by Ishtar, Lady of Arbela; be adjured by Adad of Kurba-il; be adjured by Adad of Alep; be adjured by Palil, who marches in front; be adjured by the Seven warrior gods; . . .

(break)

Treaty of Esarhaddon with Baal of Tyre

Text and translation: R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien* (AfO, Beiheft 9), Graz 1956, § 69. For corrections and restorations see Borger, *HKL*, 1, p. 29 f. For restorations of the curses in column iv on the basis of parallels from the Vassal Treaties, see Borger, *ZA*, LIV, 183 ff.

(i)

[Treat]y of [*Esarhaddon*], king of Assyria, eldest son of [. . .], with Baal, king of Tyre, . . . (break)

(ii broken)

(iii)

. . . Esarhaddon . . . Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, . . . these cities which . . .

(6) [The royal deputy whom] I have appointed over

⁸ The text has GIR.BAL.

you, . . . the elders of your country, . . . the royal deputy [. . .] with them . . . the ships . . . do not listen to him, [do not . . .] without the royal *deputy*; nor must you open a letter which I send you without (the presence) of the royal deputy. If the royal deputy is absent, wait for him and then open it, [do] not

(15) If a ship of Baal or of the people of Tyre is shipwrecked off (the coast of) the land of the Philistines or anywhere on the borders of Assyrian territory, everything that is on the ship belongs to Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, but one must not do any harm to any person on board ship, they should *li[st]* their names [and inform the king of Assyria].

(18) These are the ports of trade and the trade roads which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, [granted] to his servant Baal: (to wit): toward Akko, Dor, in the entire district of the Philistines, and in all the cities within Assyrian territory, on the seacoast, and *in* Byblos, (across) the Lebanon, all the cities in the mountains, all the cities of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, gave [to] Baal [. . .], [to] the people of Tyre, . . . [. . .], in their ships or all those who cross over, in the towns of [*Baal*], his towns, his manors, his wharves, which [. . .], to [. . .], as many as lie in the outlying regions,¹ as in the past [. . .] they . . .² nobody should harm their ships. Inland, in his district, in his manors (break)

(iv)

[May Ninlil, who resides in Nineveh, "tie to you" a swift dagger]. [May] Ishtar, [who resides in Arbela, not grant] you [mercy and forgiveness]. May Gula, the great physician, [put illness and weariness in] your [hearts], an unhealing sore in your body, bathe [in your own blood as if in water]. May the Seven gods, the warrior gods, cause your [downfall] with their [fierce] weapons. May Bethel and Anath-Bethel deliver you to a man-eating lion. May the great gods of heaven and earth, the gods of Assyria, the gods of Akkad, and the gods of Eber-nari curse you with an indissoluble curse. May Baal-sameme, Baal-malage and Baal-saphon raise an evil wind against your ships, to undo their moorings, tear out their mooring pole, may a strong wave sink them in the sea, a violent tide [. . .] against you. May Melqart and Eshmun deliver your land to destruction, your people to be deported; from your land [. . .]. May they make disappear food for your mouth, clothes for your body, oil for your ointment. May Astarte break your bow in the thick of battle, and have you crouch at the feet of your enemy, may a foreign enemy divide your belongings.

Tablet of the treaty established with Baal of Tyre.

¹ iii 26: reading *ahitāte* with CAD, A/I, p. 189b.

² Line 27: *in-na-ga-ru-u-ni*, translated in *AHW*, 16a, as "hire themselves out."

The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon

Text and translation: D. J. Wiseman, "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon," *Iraq*, xx (1958), Part I; critical apparatus and comments by R. Borger, *ZA*, LIV (1961), 173-96.

Heading

Seal of the god Ashur, king of the gods, lord of all lands, which is not to be altered;
seal of the great ruler, the father of the gods,
which is not to be contested.

1. (1) (This is) the treaty of Esarhaddon, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, likewise king of the world, king of Assyria, with Ramataya, city-ruler of Urakazabanu,¹

with his sons, grandsons, with all the people of Urakazabanu,

(all the men under his command) young and old,
from sunrise (east) to sunset (west),

all those over whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, acts as king and lord; with you,² your sons, your grandsons, all those who will live in the future after this treaty; (—the treaty that he has made with you on behalf of the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, the son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria—)

2. (13) (the treaty) which he has made binding with you³

before Jupiter, Venus,

Saturn, Mercury,

Mars, and Sirius;

before Ashur, Anu, Enlil, and Ea,

Sin, Shamash, Adad, and Marduk,

Nabu, Nusku, Urash, and Nergal,

(the goddesses) Ninlil, Sherua, and Belet-ili,

Ishtar of Nineveh and Ishtar of Arbela;

all the gods dwelling in heaven and earth,

the gods of Assyria, the gods of Sumer and Akkad,

the gods of every (foreign) country.

3. (25) You are adjured⁴ by Ashur, the father of the gods, lord of all lands;

you are adjured by Anu, Enlil, and Ea,

you are adjured by Sin, Shamash, Adad, and Marduk,

you are adjured by Nabu, Nusku, Urash, and Nergal,

you are adjured by Ninlil, Sherua, and Belet-ili,

you are adjured by Ishtar of Nineveh and Ishtar of Arbela,

¹ At least nine copies of the treaty are extant among the fragments; apart from Ramataya, or Urakazabanu, names of six other rulers or lands are preserved, see Wiseman, *Iraq*, xx, p. 2.

² All "you," "your," etc. in the translation are to be taken as plural.

³ The emendation *issikunu* in line 24 is suggested by Frankena, *loc. cit.*, p. 126, n. 2.

⁴ The last word of line 25 is restored as *tam-[mu]*, see Frankena, *loc. cit.*, p. 127.

you are adjured by all the gods of the city Assur,
 you are adjured by all the gods of Nineveh,
 you are adjured by all the gods of Calah,
 you are adjured by all the gods of Arbela,
 you are adjured by all the gods of Kalzi,
 you are adjured by all the gods of Harran,
 you are adjured by all the gods of Assyria,
 you are adjured by all the gods of Babylon, Borsippa,
 and Nippur,
 you are adjured by all the gods of Sumer and Akkad,
 you are adjured by all the gods of every land, you are
 adjured by the gods of heaven and earth.

4. (41) (This is) the treaty which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, has established with you before the great gods of heaven and earth, on behalf of the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, the son of your lord Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, who has designated and appointed him for succession. When Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, departs from the living, you will seat the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal upon the royal throne, he will exercise the kingship and overlordship of Assyria over you. (If) you do not serve him in the open country and in the city, do not fight and even die on his behalf, do not always speak the full truth to him, do not always advise him well in full loyalty, do not smooth his way in every respect; if you remove him, and seat in his stead one of his brothers, younger or older, on the throne of Assyria, if you change or let anyone change the decree of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, if you will not be subject to this crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, your lord, so that he cannot exercise kingship and lordship over you—⁵

5. (62) If you do not serve the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, has presented to you and ordered you (to serve), on behalf of whom he has made this binding treaty with you, if you sin against him, lift your hands with evil intent against him, set afoot a rebellion, or wrong or evil plans against him, if you remove him from the kingship of Assyria, and help one of his brothers, younger or older, to take the throne of Assyria in his stead, and install another king, another lord over yourselves and swear the oath of loyalty to another king or lord—

6. (73) If you hear any wrong, unseemly, improper plans, which are improper or detrimental to the exercise of kingship by the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, whether they be spoken by his brothers, his father's brothers, his cousins, or any other member of his father's lineage, or by officials or governors, or by the court personnel, eunuchs or not,⁶ or by the army, or any human

being whatsoever, and conceal it and do not come and report it to the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal—

7. (83) If Esarhaddon departs from the living while his sons are minors, you will help Ashurbanipal, the crown prince designate, take the throne of Assyria, and seat Shamashshumukin, his dear brother, the crown prince designate of Babylonia, upon the royal throne of Babylonia, and entrust to him the rule over all of Sumer, Akkad, and Karduniash, and you will not hold back any gift that his father Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, gave him, but let him take it with him.

8. (92) If you do not always offer complete truth to the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, has presented to you, as well as to the brothers by the mother of the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, concerning whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, has established this treaty with you; if you do not treat them⁷ with proper loyalty, speak to them with a true heart, and serve them in the open country and in the city—

9. (101) If you sin against the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, has ordered you (to serve), against the brothers by the mother of the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, concerning whom he has established this treaty with you, if you lift your hands with evil intent against them, set afoot rebellion, or evil plans against them—

10. (108) If any (of you) hears some wrong, evil, unseemly plan which is improper or detrimental to the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, son of your lord Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, whether they be spoken by his enemy or his ally, by his brothers, by his sons, by his daughters, by his brothers, his father's brothers, his cousins, or any other member of his father's lineage, or by your own brothers, sons, or daughters, or by a prophet, an ecstatic, a dream-interpreter, or by any human being whatsoever, and conceals it, does not come and report it to the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria—

11. (123) If you do something wrong and evil against the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, has ordered you (to serve), if you seize him and kill him or hand him over to his enemy, if you remove him from the kingship of Assyria, and swear the oath of loyalty to another king or lord—

12. (130) If anyone instigates you to a revolt or rebellion against the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, son of your lord Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, concerning whom he has established (this) treaty with you, in order to kill, harm and destroy him, and you, upon hear-

⁵ The provisions of the treaty are translated, rather literally, as conditional clauses introduced by "if," depending on the apodosis beginning with § 37 (line 414), see Frankena, *loc. cit.*, p. 125.

⁶ Literally: "the bearded and the eunuchs," see *CAD*, Z, s.v. *ziqnu* in *ša ziqni*.

⁷ I cannot accept Borger's suggestion (*ZA*, LIV, 177) to take the verbal form here (line 98) and in line 236 as derived from *apālu*. For *itabbulu* (from *wabālu*) in the meanings "to direct," "to support," etc., see *CAD*, A/1, p. 23, sub mng. 7.

ing such a thing from anybody, do not seize the instigators of the revolt, do not bring them before the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, (and) if you, being able to seize and kill them, do not seize and kill them, do not eradicate their name and descendants from the country, or, being unable to seize and kill them, you do not inform the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, do not stand by him and seize and kill the instigators of the revolt—

13. (147) If you side with the instigators of a revolt, be they few or many, and hear something, whether good or detrimental, and do not report it, do not come to the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, and do not give him your full loyalty, (if) you establish this treaty before the gods who are placed (as witnesses), and swear by the laden table, by drinking from the cup, by the glow of fire, by water and oil,⁸ by touching one another's breast, and (still) do not come and report to the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, son of your lord Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, do not seize and kill the instigators of the revolt and the criminal persons, do not eradicate their name and descendants from the country—

14. (162) If either an Assyrian, subject of Assyria, a member of the court personnel, eunuch or not, or a citizen of Assyria, or a citizen of another country, or any living human being, holds prisoner the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal in the open country or inside the city and sets afoot revolt and rebellion, and you do not side with the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, and do not serve him, do not kill the persons who set afoot revolt in full loyalty, do not save the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal and his brothers by the same mother—

15. (173) If someone rebels against the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, son of your lord Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, concerning whom he has established this treaty with you, and you side with him, if, should they seize you by force, you do not escape and come to the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal—

16. (180) If you reside in (this) country as *hurādu-soldiers*, or as . . . , or enter it in a *pirru*-troupe and nurture evil thoughts in your hearts against the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, rebel against him, or set afoot against him rebellion and evil plans—

17. (188) If the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, son of your lord Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, is not your king and lord on the day when your lord Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, departs from the living, if he cannot abase the mighty, lift up the lowly, kill him who is fit to be put to death, keep alive him who deserves to be kept alive, and you do not listen to whatever he orders,

⁸ On the oath by water and oil as a test for sincerity, see Deller, *Biblica*, XLVI (1965), 349 ff.

do not act according to his command, seek to place another king, another lord over him—

18. (198) If someone in the palace starts a revolt, whether by day or by night, whether on the road or in the hinterland, against Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, you must not listen to him; (or), whether by day or by night, at an improper time, a messenger from the palace comes to the crown prince and says, "Your father has elevated you (to the throne), let Your Majesty come," you must not let him go, he must not leave, you will keep him under severe guard⁹ until one of you who is devoted to his lord, and who is concerned about the house of his lord can go and find out (himself) about the king your lord in the palace, only after that may you follow the crown prince your lord to the palace.

19. (212) If you convene an assembly and take an oath with each other to give the kingship to one among you—

20. (214) If you help onto the throne one of his brothers, his uncles, his cousins, or any other member of his father's lineage, whether they live in Assyria or have fled to another country, or someone from nearby palace . . . , or from outlying palace . . . , or from large or small . . . -s, or (anyone) young or old, from the wellborn citizens or from the clients (of noblemen), or from the court officials, eunuchs or not, from the slaves, from the bought servants, from among the Assyrians or among citizens of another country, or anyone from among living human beings, and give him the kingship and lordship over Assyria, if you do not help unto the throne of Assyria the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, so that he cannot exercise over you the kingship and lordship over Assyria—

21. (229) If you do not fight for the crown prince Ashurbanipal, son of your lord Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, if you do not die for him, if you do not seek to do what is good for him, if you act wrongly toward him, do not give him sound advice, lead him on an unsafe course, do not treat him with proper loyalty—

22. (237) If Esarhaddon departs from the living while his sons are minor, and one of the palace personnel, eunuch or not, kills the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, and usurps the kingship over Assyria, if you side with him, agree to be subject to him, do not rebel, do not start hostilities and do not make all other countries hostile to him, do not foment revolt against him, do not seize and kill him, and do not place the son of the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal upon the throne of Assyria—

23. (249) Or, if the child is yet unborn, if you do not subject yourselves to the widow of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, or the wife of the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, do not raise (the child) when he is born, do not

⁹ Read *maššartušu tuda'ana* in line 206 (55F: *m[a-*; 45G: [*ma-šar-t*]u-šú; 49L: [*ma-š*]ar-tú-šú).

place him upon the throne of Assyria, do not seize and kill the instigators of the revolt, do not eradicate their name and descendants from the country, do not shed blood for blood, do not avenge the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal; if you give the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, son of your lord Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, a deadly herb to eat, to drink, or to anoint himself, if you practice witchcraft against him, and bring the anger of his personal god and goddess upon him—

24. (266) If you do not love the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, son of your lord Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, as you do your own lives, if you slander his brothers by the same mother in front of the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, speak evil things about them, lift your hands against their households, commit a sin against them, take away something from the gifts that their father, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, has given them or the property they have acquired, if the gifts in fields, houses, orchards, persons, equipment, horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, sheep, which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, has given to his sons do not remain theirs, if you do not speak in their favor before the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, so that they cannot live at his court and associate with you—

25. (283) This treaty which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, has established with you in a binding fashion, under oath, on behalf of the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal and his brothers, sons by the mother of the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, —(if) you do not say and do not give orders to your sons, grandsons, to your offspring, to your descendants, who will live in the future after this treaty, saying: “Keep this treaty, do not sin against this treaty with you, lest you lose your lives, deliver your land to destruction, and your people to be deported. Let this order, which is acceptable to god and man, be acceptable to you too, let it be pleasing to you. Let Ashurbanipal, the crown prince designate, be preserved to be lord over the land and the people, and later be called to kingship. Do not set over yourselves another king, another lord.”—

26. (302) If anyone sets afoot a revolt or rebellion against Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, and seats himself upon the royal throne, if you rejoice at his (having taken over the) kingship, and do not seize and kill him, if, not being able to seize and kill him, you accept his kingship, swear an oath of vassalage to him, do not rebel against him, do not fight against him with full loyalty, do not make all other countries hostile to him, do not make razzias against him, do not defeat him, do not eradicate his name and descendants from the country, do not help the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal onto the throne of his father—

27. (318) If one of his brothers, his father's brothers, his cousins, his kin, or any member of his father's lineage,

or a descendant of former kings, or any prince, governor, Assyrian or foreigner, involves you in a plot and tells you, “Denounce the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal to his father, speak wrong and evil things about him,” (if) you (thus) cause strife between him and his father, and incite them to hate each other—

28. (328) A . . . who gives you orders (or) *instigates*¹⁰ you, saying, “I am able (to . . .) his brothers or the retinue who *agitate* before his father, and denounce him to his father,”—*what* Ashur, (Shamash, and . . .) have spoken was established, without¹¹ Ashur and Shamash . . . your father, honor your brother and (thus) save your lives.

29. (336) If one of his brothers, his father's brothers, his cousins, his kin, or any member of his father's lineage, of the court personnel, eunuchs or not, whether an Assyrian or a foreigner, or any living human being, involves you in a plot and tells you, “Denounce his brothers by the same mother to him, create strife between them, alienate his brothers by the same mother from him,” (and) you listen to him and speak evil of his brothers to him, alienate him from his brothers, if you let go free the person who has spoken such things to you, if you do not go and tell it to the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, saying, “Your father has established a treaty under oath with us about (such things)”—

30. (353) If you are *subjects* . . . the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, his brothers . . . the throne . . . and you, of [your] *own accord* do not turn hostile to them, do not [. . .] among them, saying, “Your father has established a treaty under oath about (this)”—

31. (360) If you, after your lord Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, has departed from the living, and the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal has seated himself upon the royal throne, speak evil of his brothers or his [dear¹²] brother to their brother, and *instigate* him, saying, “Lift your hand against them,” if you estrange them from the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, speak evil rumors of them before Ashurbanipal, say to the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal that the rank that Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, has assigned them [is *unfit* so that] he removes them [from it]—

32. (373) If you smear your face, your hands, or your throats with red paste¹³ which (*is like*) *šapuhru* in the eyes of the gods, or tie it to the hem of your garments in order to avert the consequences of the oath—

¹⁰ The verb *nazāru* in lines 329, 331, and 364 in the Š-stem seems to mean “to instigate.”

¹¹ I read the beginning of line 334 as: *ma-a (ina) ba-lat Aššur ū dUTU*.

¹² Restore perhaps *lu šEš [talime]šu*.

¹³ I read in line 373, instead of *šar-bu, šar-še-rū*; the end of the line is to be interpreted as *ša-pu-uh-ri; šapuhru* or *šupuhru* is a kind of cedar balsam (*giš.erin.úš = su-pu-uh-ru*, var. *šá-pu-uh-ru* Hh., III, 221); the translation suggested is, however, tentative, since a verb used as “is displeasing (to the gods)” is missing.

33. (377) If you try to reverse the curse, to avert the consequences of the oath, think up and carry out *stratagem*s in order to reverse the *curse*, to avert the consequences of the oath, you and your sons who will live in the future will be *adjured*¹⁴ by this¹⁵ oath on behalf of the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, son of your lord Esarhaddon, which will stay (in vigor) from today until after this treaty.

34. (385) If you, as you stand on the soil where this oath (is sworn), swear the oath with words and lips (only), do not swear with your entire heart, do not transmit it to your sons who will live after this treaty, if you take this *curse*¹⁶ upon yourselves but do not plan to keep the treaty of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, on behalf of the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, may your sons and grandsons because of this¹⁷ fear in the future, forever, your god Ashur and your lord, the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal.

35. (397) He who changes, neglects, transgresses, erases the words¹⁸ of this tablet, falsifies [. . .], the . . . oath [. . .], [. . .] of this treaty tablet [. . .]. (If) you do not respect as your own god Ashur, king of the gods, and the great gods, my lords, [. . .] or the image of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, or the image of Ashurbanipal, crown prince designate, or the image of . . . -s, the seal [. . .] the crown prince designate [Ashurbanipal]— [. . .] [the tablet] sealed¹⁹ with the seal of Ashur, king of the gods, and placed before you—

36. (410) If you remove it, consign it to fire, throw it into water, bury it in dust, or by some trick destroy, annihilate, or turn it face down—

37. (414) May Ashur, king of the gods, who determines the fates, decree for you an evil, unpropitious fate, and not grant you fatherhood, old age, . . . ripe old age.²⁰

38. (417) May Ninlil, his beloved wife, induce him to pronounce evil for you and may she not intercede for you.

38A. (418 ff.) May Anu, king of the gods, rain upon all your houses disease, exhaustion, *d'u*-disease, sleeplessness, worries, ill health.

39. (419) May Sin, the luminary of heaven and earth, clothe you in leprosy and (thus) not permit you to enter the presence of god and king; roam the open country as a wild ass or gazelle!

¹⁴ The last word of line 384 is (*tamētu annitu . . .*) *ta'ākunu* (Assyrian for *tamātunu*).

¹⁵ Borger's restoration *ta-me-tu an-[ni-tú š]i(?)-pir mAššur-DÙ-A* in line 380 is unnecessary; the signs read as [š]i(?)-pir are in fact the last two signs of *an-ni-tú*.

¹⁶ [NIG] . GIG? (i.e., *ikḫibu*).

¹⁷ For *a-na DUMU.MEŠ-šú* (Borger: *a-na [x]-x-šú*) I would suggest to read *a-na [ša]-šú* in line 396.

¹⁸ The writing *ma-mit* is most likely an error for *a(!)-bat*.

¹⁹ Translation after the slight emendation of the first two signs of line 408 as *ka-naḫ(!)-u-ni*.

²⁰ In 415 f. read *a-bu-tú še-bu-ti [x] KU šID [lit]-tu-[ti]*. *šibūtu* explains "80 (years)," *litūtu* "90 (years)" in *STT*, 400:47.

40. (422) May Shamash, the light of heaven and earth, not give you a fair and equitable judgment, may he take away your eyesight; walk about in darkness!

41. (425) May Ninurta, leader of the gods, fell you with his fierce arrow, and fill the plain with your corpses, give your flesh to eagles and vultures to feed upon.

42. (428) May Venus, the brightest among the stars, let your wives lie in the embrace of your enemy before your very eyes, may your sons not have authority over your house, may a foreign enemy divide your possessions.

43. (431) May Jupiter, the exalted lord of the gods, not let you see the entrance of Bel into Esagila, may he put an end to your lives.

44. (433) May Marduk, the eldest son, determine a grievous sin and an indissoluble curse as your fate.

45. (435) May Zarpanitu, who grants offspring and descendants, eradicate your offspring and descendants from the land.

46. (437) May Belet-ili, the Lady of all creatures, put an end to birth giving in your land, so that the nurses among you shall miss the cry of babies in the streets.

47. (440) May Adad, the canal inspector of heaven and earth, put an end [to vegetation] in your land, may he *avoid*²¹ your meadows and hit your land with a severe destructive downpour, may locusts, which diminish the (produce) of the land, [devour] your crops, let there be no sound of the grinding stone or the oven in your houses, let barley rations to be ground disappear for you, so that they grind your bones, (the bones of) your sons and daughters instead of barley rations, and not even the (first) joint of your finger should be able to dip into the dough, may the [. . .] eat the dough from your troughs. Mother shall [bar the door to] her daughter, may you eat in your hunger the flesh of your children, may, through want and famine, one man eat the other's flesh, clothe himself in the other's skin; let dogs and pigs eat your flesh, and may your spirit have no one to take care of and pour libations to him.

48. (453) May Ishtar, lady of battle, break your bow in a heavy battle, tie your arms, and have you crouch at the feet of your enemy.

49. (455) May Nergal, the warrior among the gods, extinguish your life with his merciless dagger, may he plant carnage and pestilence among you.

50. (457) May Ninlil, who resides in Nineveh, (lit.: may *they* tie with you) a swift dagger.

51. (459) May Ishtar, who resides in Arbela, not grant you mercy and forgiveness.

52. (461) May Gula, the great physician, put illness and weariness [into your *hearts*], an unhealing sore in

²¹ I would prefer to restore in line 441 *Adad . . . li-za-[i-ir]*, see *CAD*, Z, p. 99a s.v. *xēru*. Borger's restoration *li-za-am(?)* [*me šam-ma(?)*] has since been corrected by him in *HKL*, 1, p. 610.

your body, so that you bathe in [your own blood] as if in water.

53. (464) May the Seven gods, the warrior gods, cause your downfall with their fierce weapons.

54. (466) May [. . .] hand you over to a man-eating lion.

55. (469) May Ishtar [of . . .], Ishtar [. . . of] Carchemish put a severe . . . into your heart, so that your blood dribbles down to the ground like rain.

56. (472) May the great gods of heaven and earth, who inhabit the world, all those that are named in this tablet, strike you down, look with disfavor upon you, curse you angrily with a baleful curse, on earth, may they uproot^{21a} you from the living, below, may they deprive your spirit of water (libations), may they chase you away from both shade and sunlight so that you cannot take refuge in a hidden corner, may food and drink *forsake* you, and hunger, want, famine, and pestilence never leave you, may dogs and pigs drag around in the squares of Ashur the . . . of your young women, the . . . of your young men before your very eyes, may the earth not receive your body for burial, may the bellies of dogs and pigs be your burial place,²² your days should be somber, your years dark, may they decree for you an unrelieved darkness, your lives should end in sighs and sleeplessness, may a flood, an irresistible deluge, rise from the bowels of the earth and devastate you, may all that is good be abhorrent to you, all that is evil be bestowed upon you, let tar and pitch be your food, donkey urine your drink, naphtha your ointment, river rushes your covers, and evil spirits, demons, and lurkers select your houses (as their abode).

57. (494) "May these gods look on if we rebel or revolt against Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, or the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, or his brothers by the mother of the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, or against the rest of the sons begotten by our lord Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, if we plot with his enemies, if we hear agitators, plotters, whispers of evil, wrong, unseemly acts, rebellious and disloyal speech against the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, or his brothers by the mother of the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, and conceal it and do not report it to our lord, the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, if, as long as we, our sons and our grandsons live, the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal will not be our king and lord, if we place another king, another prince over ourselves, our sons, our grandsons—may all the gods mentioned (here) call us, our offspring, and our descendants, to account."

58. (513) If you sin against this treaty which [your]²³

^{21a} From *nasāhu*, "to uproot," see Frankena, *loc. cit.*, p. 132, also Deller, *Orientalia*, NS, xxxv, 308.

²² Read in line 484 *ina karši UR.KU ŠAH.MEŠ «ku-nu»* (or: *lu!*) *naq-bar-«x»-ku-nu*.

²³ Restore, at the end of line 513: EN-[*ku-nu*].

lord Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, has established with you on behalf of the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, his brothers by the mother of the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, and the rest of the sons begotten by Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, may Ashur, father of the gods, strike you down with his fierce weapons.

59. (519) May Palil, lord of first rank, let eagles and vultures eat your flesh.

60. (521) May Ea, king of the *apsu*, lord of the springs, give you deadly water to drink, and fill you with dropsy.

61. (523) May the great gods of heaven and earth make water and oil an abhorrence to you.

62. (524) May Girra, who provides food for young and old, burn your offspring and descendants.

63. (526) (Ditto, ditto).²⁴ May all the gods who are named in this treaty tablet reduce your soil in size to be as narrow as a brick, turn your soil into iron, so that no one may cut a *furrow* in it.

64. (530) Just as rain does not fall from a copper sky, so may there come neither rain nor dew upon your fields and meadows, but let it rain burning coals in your land instead of dew.

65. (534) Just as lead does not resist fire, so may you not resist your enemies, but take your sons and daughters by the hand (and flee).

66. (537) Just as a mule has no offspring, may your name, offspring and descendants disappear from the land.

67. (540) Just as the "horn" of [the *plow*] is within it (the soil) and does not cut a *furrow* in the *soil*, [. . .] does not return to its [. . .], so may your offspring, and the offspring of your sons and daughters disappear from the face of the earth (variant?: from the land).

68. (545) May Shamash plow up your cities and districts with an iron plow.

69. (547) Just as this ewe is cut open and the flesh of its young placed in its mouth, so may he (Shamash?) make you eat in your hunger the flesh of your brothers, your sons, and your daughters.

70. (551) Just as (these) yearlings and spring lambs, male and female, are cut open and their entrails are rolled around their feet, so may the entrails of your sons and daughters be rolled around your feet.

71. (555) Just as a snake and a mongoose do not enter the same hole and do not live there, but plot of cutting each other's throat, so may you and your women not enter the same house, (not lie down in the same bed) but plot of cutting each other's throat.

72. (560) Just as bread and wine enter the intestines, so may they (the gods) let this oath enter your intestines and the intestines of your sons and daughters.

²⁴ Some copies add *KI.MIN*, or *KI.MIN KI.MIN*, i.e. "If you sin against this treaty of Esarhaddon, (all the gods named in this treaty)" at the beginning of many of the §§ 63-101.

73. (563) Just as you can blow water out of a *tube*,²⁵ so may they blow away you, your women, your sons, your daughters, may they make your rivers, your springs, and their wells flow backward.

74. (567) May they let go gold . . . from your land (uncertain).

75. (568) Just as honey is sweet, so may the blood of your women, your sons and daughters taste sweet in your mouths.

76. (570) Just as the . . . is . . . alive, so may, while you are alive, your flesh, the flesh of your women, your sons and daughters . . . be . . .

77. (573) May they break your bow and make you crouch at the feet of your enemies, may they make the bow refuse to bend^{25a} in your hands, may they turn backward your chariots.

78. (576) Just as a stag is chased and killed, so may your avengers chase and kill you, your brothers, your sons.

79. (579) Just as a butterfly does not fit into (lit.: own) and does not return to its cocoon, so may you not return to your women in your houses.

80. (582) Just as a bird is caught by means of a decoy, so may they deliver you, your brothers, your sons, into the hand of your avengers.

81. (585) May they blacken your flesh/skin, the flesh/skin of your women, your brothers, your sons and daughters [with . . .], pitch and naphtha.

82. (588) Ditto. Just as a *haruṣḥu*-beast is caught in a snare, so may you, your brothers, your sons and daughters be caught by the hand of your enemy.

83. (591) May your flesh, the flesh of your women, your brothers, your sons and daughters be used up like the flesh of a chameleon.

84. (594) Just as a honeycomb is pierced through and through with holes, so may holes be pierced through and through in your flesh, the flesh of your women, your brothers, your sons and daughters while you are alive.

85. (599) May they (the gods) let lice, caterpillars, and other field pests eat up your land and your district as if locusts.

86. (601) May they *squash* you as a fly in the hand of your enemies, may your enemies mash you.

²⁵ Restore probably *nap*(!)-[*pa-ḥi*], or the like, from *napāḥu*.

^{25a} The verb *nabalkutu* is used in speaking of the bow in Gössmann, *Era*, 1, 89 (p. 97 and p. 11): *qaṣaṭni yābtu ibbalkitma [idnina eli] emūqini*; for the reading see Frankena, *JEOL*, xvi, 42. I would translate this: "Our fine bow refuses (text: refused) to bend, and has become too hard (to string) for our strength (or: arms)." The compound bow used by the Assyrians had to be snapped back for stringing, and long disuse would have destroyed the resilience of the bow, so that it would have been impossible to bend it for stringing in preparation for shooting. The curse here refers to the same situation.

87. (603) Just as this bedbug stinks, so may your breath stink before god, king, and men.

88. (606) May they strangle you, your women, your sons and daughters, with a cord.

89. (608) Just as one burns a wax figurine in fire, dissolves a clay one in water, so may they burn your figure in fire, submerge it in water.

90. (612) Just as this chariot is spattered with blood up to its running board, so may they spatter your chariots in the midst of your enemy with your own blood.

91. (616) May they spin you like a spindle whorl, may they use you like women in the sight of your enemy.

92. (618) May they cause you, your brothers, your sons and daughters to go backward like a crab.

93. (621) May they surround you like an evil fire.

94. (622) Just as (this) oil enters your flesh, so may they make this oath enter your flesh, the flesh of your brothers, your sons and daughters.

95. (626) Just as one cuts off the hands and feet and blinds²⁶ the eyes of those who blaspheme²⁷ against the god or the lord, so may they bring about your end, may they make you sway like a marsh reed, may they tear you *out* like blood from the bandage of the enemy.

96. (632) If you abandon Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, or the crown prince designate Ashurbanipal, and disperse right and left, may swords consume the one who goes to the right, may swords consume the one too who goes to the left.

96A. May they [*slaughter*] you, your women, your brothers, your sons and daughters like kids.

97. (637) Just as the squeak produced by this door pivot,²⁸ so may you, your women, your sons and daughters never rest nor sleep, not even your bones should stay together.

98. (641) Just as the inside of (this) hole is empty, so may they make your insides be empty.

99. (643) When your enemy pierces you, may there be no wax, oil, *zinzaru'* or cedar balsam available to put on your wounds.

100. (646) Just as (this) gall is bitter, so may you, your women, your sons and daughters be bitter to each other.

101. (649) May Shamash clamp his bronze trap over you, throw you into a trap from which there is no escape, and not save you (from it).

²⁶ The verb *gullulu* in line 628 (certainly neither *gullulu*, "to sin," nor *qullulu*, "to treat lightly") must simply mean "to blind."

²⁷ I take the expression *arāru ḥaṭū* in line 626 to be synonymous with *ḥiṭa ḥaṭū*.

²⁸ von Soden, *AfO*, xx, 82, proposed to read *su-'e*, for *summe*, "dove." I prefer to read either *su-'e*, "millstone," or, although the adjective *annūte* in 55R presents a difficulty, *kuṣ a'-i*, "door-pivot" (see *CAD*, E, s.v. *eau*).

AKKADIAN TREATIES FROM SYRIA AND ASSYRIA

102. (652) Just as this waterskin is slit and its water runs out, so may your waterskins be *slit*²⁹ in a region of thirst and famine, and you die of lack of water.

103. (656) Just as (this) shoe is slit, [. . . so may your shoe be slit] in a terrain of thorns [. . .].

104. (662) May Enlil, lord of the throne, [. . .]

105. (663) May Nabu, who holds the tablets of fate of

the gods, erase your name, and make your descendants disappear from the land.

106. (665) May the door [. . .] in your face, may your doors [. . .]

Date (669) (Dated) the 16th day of the month Ajaru, in the eponymy of Nabu-bel-usur, governor of Khorsabad. Treaty established (by Esarhaddon) concerning Ashurbanipal, crown prince designate of Assyria, and Shamashshumukin, crown prince designate of Babylonia.

²⁹ Read *ta-ḫe-pi* with Deller, *Orientalia*, NS, xxxiii, 95.

Documents from the Practice of Law

Additional Mesopotamian Legal Documents

(Translator: J. J. Finkelstein)

(1) *A Trial for Murder*

Edited by T. Jacobsen, *Analecta Biblica*, xii (1959), pp. 133 ff. Text based on *PBS*, viii, 173, and numerous unpublished duplicates and fragments recovered from recent excavations at Nippur.

Nanna-sig son of Lu-Suen, Ku-Enlilla son of Ku-Nanna the barber, and Enlil-ennam son of Adda-kalla, the orchard-keeper, murdered Lu-Inanna son of Lugal-uru, the *nishakku*-priest.

(6) After Lu-Inanna son of Lugal-uru was dead, they (i.e., the murderers) told Nin-dada daughter of Lu-Ninurta, wife of Lu-Inanna, that her (husband) Lu-Inanna had been murdered. (13) Nin-dada daughter of Lu-Ninurta did not open her mouth; she kept it secret. Their case was brought to Isin before the king. Ur-Ninurta the king¹ ordered that the case be tried by the Assembly of Nippur.

(20) Ur-gula son of Lugal-ibila, Dudu the bird-catcher, Ali-ellati the *muškēnu*,² Puzu son of Lu-Suen, Eluti son of Tizqar-Ea, Sheshkalla the potter, Lugal-kam the orchard keeper, Lugal-azida son of Suen-andul, Sheshkalla son of Shara-HAR (var.: HAR-*abi*) addressed (the Assembly): (30) "As men who have killed a man, they are not (fit to be) alive; those three males and that woman should be killed in front of the (official) chair of Lu-Inanna son of Lugal-uru the *nishakku*-priest," they said. (35) Shuqalilum the ERIN-GAL-GAL of the infantry of Ninurta (and) Ubar-Suen the orchard-keeper then addressed (the Assembly): "Nin-dada daughter of Lu-Ninurta—granted that she killed her husband—(40) what can a woman do that she should be killed?,"³ they said. In the Assembly of Nippur they⁴ [respond⁵ and] addressed it thus: "A woman who does not treasure her husband—(45) she may surely have had intercourse with a stranger,⁶ (and) he would then murder her husband. Should he then let her know that her husband had been killed—why should she then not keep silent

¹ King of Isin, 1923-1896 B.C.

² The social class consisting of crown dependents.

³ i.e., she was an accessory to, but not a direct participant in the act.

⁴ Presumably, the nine persons who first proposed the verdict, who were most likely the "elders" of the Assembly.

⁵ Based on the variant from a duplicate text.

⁶ Understanding LÚ.KÚR as *janū* and ZU as *lamādu* in this context, cf. Code of Hammurabi §§ 153-154. As in CH 153, it is presumed that a wife would not be implicated in the murder of her husband unless she was in league with a paramour.

about him?"⁷ (50) It is certainly she, who murdered her husband; her guilt exceeds that of the ones who (actually) killed a man," they said.

The Assembly of Nippur having (thus) resolved the issue, Nanna-sig son of Lu-Suen, Ku-Enlilla son of Ku-Nanna, the barber, Enlil-ennam son of Adda-kalla, the orchard-keeper, and Nin-dada daughter of Lu-Ninurta, the wife of Lu-Inanna, were condemned to execution.

(Subscription:) A case before the Assembly of Nippur.

(2) *Dissolution of Partnership*

Old Assyrian, Cappadocia, 19th century B.C. Text: B. Kienast, *Die altassyrischen Texte des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Heidelberg und der Sammlung Erlenmeyer—Basel* (Berlin 1960), No. 24, transliteration and translation and commentary, *ibid.*, pp. 27 ff.

Ashurpilah, trustee for the estate of Amur-Ishtar, Su'in-re'um, Ilibani, Ashurnishu, and Shulaban—the sons of (5) Amur-Ishtar (appearing) in their own right—and representing Abshalim, daughter of Amur-Ishtar and Iddin-Adad their brother, (vs.) Ashurmuttabbil, Buzazu, and Ikupasha, sons of (10) Pushuken (appearing) in their own right, and representing Ahaha their sister, the abbess, and their brother Shue'a, empaneled us (as judges) respecting their mutual obligations. (15) They swore the oath by the "City" (i.e., Ashur) and we terminated their litigations, (namely): (Regardless) whether (in the past) Amur-Ishtar had acted as (lawful) agent for Pushuken, or whether Pushuken acted as agent (20) for Amur-Ishtar; whether either one had sent the other (goods for) deposit; whether either one had (25) received money of the other on outstanding deliveries; whatever (business involved in) an encased tablet bearing the seal of (either of) them; whatever was in transit, whatever either had stored in the other's warehouse—whether it was in the (30) "City" (i.e., Ashur), or in the "Country" (i.e., central Anatolia)—the sons of Amur-Ishtar, the daughter of Amur-Ishtar, the abbess, and the sons of Pushuken, the daughter of Pushuken, (35) the abbess,—none will return (in litigation) against the other for any cause whatever. Usanum son of Amur-Ashur, Kuluma'a son of Ashur-imitti, (40) Huni'a son of Ashur-imitti, Tabsil-Ashur son of Ashur-idi, Puzur-enna son of Enna-Ashur, Ashurtaklaku son of Alahum, Belanum son of Shu-Ashur, Idi-Ashur son of Dan-Ashur—these persons were those who terminated the litigation.

⁷ Probably referring to her murdered husband, as in line 14, rather than the murderers, who were three men.

(3) *Acknowledgement of Liability for a Parental Obligation*

Old Assyrian, 19th century B.C. Text: J. Lewy, *Die Keilschrifttexte aus Kleinasien (Texte u. Materialien der Frau Prof. Hilprecht Collection . . . Jena, Vol. 1)*. Transliteration and translation, G. Eisser and J. Lewy, *MVAG*, xxxv/3 (1935), pp. 4 f.

Ashurtab empaneled us (as judges) against Ashurlamassi, and thus (spoke) Ashurtab to Ashurlamassi: (5) This tablet—(does it bear) the seal of your father, or (does it) not (bear) the seal of your father?" Thus (spoke) Ashurlamassi: "(It does bear) the seal of my father; I shall bring you evidence of satisfaction (of the obligation) (10) within six months. If I do not produce for you (this evidence within six months), I assume the debt. Month of Sha-sarate, (15) eponymate of a subordinate of Enna-Su'in. Witness (i.e., the judges): Abuziya son of Shu-Su'in, [. . .] son of Ashur-Shamshi, Anina son of Shu-Erra.

(4) *Marriage Contract*

Old Assyrian, 19th century B.C. Text: B. Hrozný, *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kiltépé 1* (Praha, 1952). Transliteration and translation, Hrozný, in *Symbolae . . . Koschaker (Studia et Documenta 11, 1939)*, 108 ff. For bibliography of discussions cf. H. Hirsch, *Orientalia*, xxxv (1966), 259 f.

Laqipum has married Hatala, daughter of Enishru. In the country (i.e., Central Anatolia) Laqipum (5) may not marry another (woman)—(but) in the City (i.e., Ashur) he may marry a hierodule.¹ If within two years she (i.e., Hatala) does not provide him with offspring, (10) she herself will purchase a slavewoman, and later on, after she² will have produced a child by him, (15) he³ may then dispose of her by sale wheresoever he pleases.³ Should Laqipum choose to divorce her (text: "him"), he must pay (her) five minas of silver; (20) and should Hatala choose to divorce him, she must pay (him) five minas of silver. Witnesses: Masa, Ashurishtikal, (25) Talia, Shupianika.

(5) *Inheritance of Priestly Office*

Old Babylonian period, Nippur. Text: A. Poebel, *BE*, vi/2, No. 42. Transliteration and translation, *ibid.*, p. 45, M. Schorr, *VAB*, v, pp. 320 ff., *HG*, 844.

Sinabushu son of Nanna-lu-ti having (formerly) con-

¹ Akk. *qadištum*, who, according to Middle Assyrian Laws § 40, may be married to a free citizen, but her status would probably have been inferior to that of a "first" wife under the circumstances envisaged in this contract.

² The translation assumes that the subject is the slavewoman, but it is equally possible that Hatala is the subject, if the verb is rendered "provided" rather than "produced," but the sense is not materially affected either way.

³ The rendering is based on the fact that the pronoun and the verb are masculine, but considering that the masculine is also used throughout in the following two clauses, even when Hatala is clearly the object of the first and the second, it might be presumed that she is the subject here also, which would configure better with the fact that it is she who was to provide the slavewoman to begin with, and presumably would also retain the right to sell her.

veyed the sealed titles of (his) office of incantatory-priest and his inheritance into the possession of Nannatum the *nishakku* priest—(7) two years having passed since the death of Sinabushu—Aba-Enlil-dim took possession of (these) sealed titles from the hand of Nannatum.

In the future, any claims with reference to (these) sealed titles will be answerable by Aba-Enlil-dim.

Names of Witnesses: Month of Addar, 13th year of Samsuiluna.

(6) *Sale of Temple Prerogatives*

Old Babylonian period. Larsa. Text: AO 11152, C. F. Jean, *RA*, xxvi (1929), p. 103, transliteration and translation, *ibid.*, 101 f.

The term office(s) of anointer, brewer, and "chef" of the temple of Damu¹—fourteen days a year during the month of Marcheshwan—(5) the prebend of Damiqilishu son of Ana-Damu-taklaku, Puzur-Gula son of Ibku-Nisaba has (10) purchased from Damiqilishu. He has paid out its full sale price of 15 shekels of silver. That in the future (15) Damiqilishu and his heirs—as many as they may be—will not institute any claim with reference to (these) prebends, (20) he swore the oath by the king.

List of witnesses. Date: 45th year of Rim-Sin.

(7) *Litigation over Inheritance*

Old Babylonian period. Text A: *CT*, 11, 47, transliteration and translation, Schorr, *VAB*, v, No. 261; translation, *HG*, 111, No. 708. Text B, *CT*, XLV, No. 18.

Text A

Concerning a house-plot of $\frac{1}{3}$ -sar in area¹ within the cloister,² adjoining the house of Lamassi the *hierodule*, the full share of a jointly held prior estate³ which Amat-Shamash daughter of Supapum (5) had bequeathed to her (adopted) daughter, the (natural) daughter of Sin-eribam, Nidnusha and Shamash-apili, sons of Iddinunim (10) brought suit against the daughter of Sin-eribam, stating thus: "Amat-Shamash did not bequeath to you any house whatever, and executed no document in your favor; upon her death, you yourself drew up (such a document)," (15) that is what they stated. They (i.e., the litigants) pleaded before Sumu-Akshak.⁴ For (the purpose of hearing the testimony of) her (i.e., the defendant's) male and female witnesses, the Standard of Shamash, the Saw of Shamash, and (20) the Serpent of

¹ A healing god, whose temple was located in Isin.

² About 133 square feet.

³ The compound for the votaries of the gods Shamash and his consort Aya in the city of Sippar.

⁴ The reading of the third line of the text is in some doubt, but the context, and parallel phraseology from later periods leave no doubt about the general sense; see the list of four defendants in text B.

⁵ The burgomaster of Sippar (see text B), and the chief judicial authority in the city.

Ishhara⁵ entered the cloister. Her male and female witnesses having (25) testified that she⁶ had, while still alive, bequeathed (to the defendant) the house and drawn up the document, the judges proceeded with the case; the judge(s) pronounced the penalty to be imposed upon them (i.e., the plaintiffs); the judge(s) cast . . .⁷ upon them⁸ (30) Nidnusha, Shamash-apili, and the brothers of Amat-Shamash—as many as there may be *who held joint shares in the earlier (estate)*—may not re-institute suit against the daughter of Sin-eribam. If any among the brothers of Amat-Shamash—as many as may be so counted—should (again) (35) institute suit, since their case has been terminated, it is they (i.e., the plaintiffs) who will be held responsible.

A legal case before Shamash. Names of three or four judges.

Text B¹

(Beginning lost) . . . (After) [Nidnusha and Shamash-apil]i, his brother, [the sons of] Iddinunim had instituted suit, (and) the judges tried the case in the temple of Shamash, (and) (5) drew up a non-contestable document in favor of Lamašsi, Beltani, Iltani, and the daughter of Sin-eribam, Nidnusha son of Iddinunim once again filed suit. Sumu-Akshak the burgomaster of Sippar (10') and the judges of Sippar implemented judicial process: Because he had again filed suit in face of a duly executed non-contestable document, they (i.e., the authorities) shaved half his head hair, (15') pierced his nose, extended his arm(s) (and) marched him around the city. His contest and suit are terminated. Never again shall (20') Nidnusha son of Iddinunim bring suit against Lamašsi, the votary² of Shamash, daughter of Puzur-Akshak, Beltani, the votary of Shamash, daughter of Manium, Iltani, the votary of Shamash, daughter of Irra-gamil, and the daughter of Sin-eribam, with respect to anything which Amat-Shamash, the votary of Shamash, daughter of Supapum had (25') bequeathed to them, from chaff to gold. He may not plead: "I have forgotten this." Nor shall the brothers of Amat-Shamash, as many as there may be, bring suit against them. Because Nidnusha (30') has terminated *their case*, Nidnusha will be held responsible for their (future) contest and suit.

They swore the oath by Shamash, Marduk, Sinmullit, and the city of Sippar.

Names of witnesses (mostly destroyed).

⁵ Three emblems which were brought to the cloister from their temples or chapels to solemnize the witness' testimony.

⁶ Amat-Shamash.

⁷ Two signs here cannot be interpreted.

⁸ Text: "him."

¹ The internal structure of this text suggests that it is a fuller and possibly the final form of the litigation record of the same proceeding involved in Text A, which is more in the nature of notes on part of the judicial proceeding. The lesser possibility is that Text B, in view of the pillory-like punishment of the plaintiff, represents a later suit.

² *Naditu*—"priestess."

(8) Marriage Contract

Old Babylonian period. Text: BM 78296, CT, XLVIII, no. 50.

Sabitum daughter of Ibbatum—Ibbatum, her father, delivered her into the house of Ilushu-ibni, her¹ father-in-law, (5) as wife to Warad-kubi, his son. 2 beds, 2 chairs, 1 table, 2 baskets, 1 millstone, 1 mortar, 1 *sutu*-measure, (10) 1 grinding-bowl—all these items which Ibbatum has given to Sabitum, his daughter, she brought into the house of Ilushu-ibni, her¹ father-in-law. (15) Her bride-price of ten shekels of silver, (which) Ibbatum has received, having kissed her, he bound (the money) up in the *sisiktu*² of his daughter, Sabitum; it was (thus) (20) returned to Warad-kubi.

Should Sabitum ever say to her husband Warad-kubi: "(You) are not my husband," They shall bind her and cast her into the water. (25) And should Warad-kubi ever say to his wife Sabitum: "(You) are not my wife," he shall weigh out her divorce money of one-third mina of silver. Emuq-Adad, her brother(!),³ (30) shall be responsible for her word.

Five witnesses, including the scribe. Date: 15 Tishre, unknown year of Ammiditana.

(9) Judicial Disherison

Old Babylon period. Text: Ni. 3138, M. Ciğ, H. Kizilyay, F. R. Kraus, *Eski Babil Zamanına Ait Nippur Hukukî Verikleri (Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus Nippur, Istanbul 1952)* No. 174.¹

(Beginning lost) . . . (2') spoke thus, declaring: (3') "Shamash-nasir is not my brother; Awil-Nabium, my father, did not (4') adopt him," thus he declared. (5') Shamash-nasir thus responded to him, saying: (7') "Awil-Nabium, my father, while I was a small child, (8') took me in adoption and reared me, (9') I can produce my witness (to that effect)," thus he spoke. (10') In the presence of the judges they (thus) charged and replied to each other. (11') The judges examined their case and (12') requested of him² his witness. Witness (13') was ushered into the presence of the judges, who then (14') listened carefully to their testimony and (15'-16') dispatched them to the temple of Shamash in order to declare their testimony (under oath). (rev.) (1-2) In the temple of Shamash, the witnesses took the stand (before) the Golden Standard,³ his heralds,⁴ and (3)

¹ Text: "his."

² The hem of her garment, having legal and symbolic significance in the event of divorce. The bride-price money was in this instance transferred by the bride's father to the bride, for her husband's use but the principal remaining ultimately the property of the wife.

³ Text: "father."

⁴ The text is from Sippar, despite the indication of its catalogue number.

⁵ i.e., the one claiming to be the adopted son.

⁶ The emblem of Shamash in his temple Ebabbar in Sippar, before which the oath procedure is performed.

⁷ Reading *a-lik mah-ra-ti-[š]u(!)*. The emblems are here construed as plural.

thus declared their testimony, saying: (4-5) "Awil-Nabium took Shamash-nasir in adoption as a small child, (6) and reared him; we certify his being reared," thus they stated. (7) [Word] having been brought back to the judges,⁵ (8) [the judges] thereupon reinstated Shamash-nasir as the son of Awil-Nabium, and (9) his brother . . . -nasir, they disinherited⁶ (10) [. . .] waived the imposition of (any additional) penalty against him.⁷ (Names of witnesses follow; date lost.)

(10) *Litigation over a House in Susa*

Old Babylonian period. Text, transliteration, and translation: V. Scheil, *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, Vol. xxiv, No. 393, pp. 91 f.

Concerning the house which Abi-ili sold at full price to Kuk-adar in (the time of the viceroy) Temti-raptash and Kuduzulush the burgomaster, (5) Puzur-Teppuna, son of Abi-ili, and his heirs, rose up in litigation against Iqishuni (son of Kuk-Adar), (declaring) thus: "Our father's house was not sold to your father; (10) your tablet is forged." Many men were present and, acting as a court, imposed upon Iqishuni the oath by the god. In the temple of Innanna Iqishuni (15) pronounced the oath, saying: "Thou, O Innanna, knowest that I did not fabricate a forged document and that my father bequeathed this tablet to me." Iqishuni having thus sworn, (20) they cleared for him (his title to) the house. (21-47) Names of witnesses. (48 ff.) In the presence of these 34 witnesses Iqishuni took the oath in the temple of Innanna; Puzur-Teppuna [and his heirs] caused him to take the oath [. . .] (and) they (the judges) cleared (for him title to) the house.

(11) *Trial for Assault*

Old Babylonian period, Diyala region. Text: H. F. Lutz, *The Verdict of a Trial Judge in a Case of Assault and Battery* (UCPSP, ix/6 1930), 381. Transliteration and translation by San Nicolò, *ArOr* iv (1932), 189 ff. Cf. Koschaker, *ZA*, XLIII (1936), 221, fn. 1, and Finkelstein, *JAOs*, LXXVI (1966), 358.

Bir-ilishu the Amorite infantryman struck the cheek of Apil-ilishu son of Ahushina, then denied it, saying: "I did not strike (him)." (6) The viceroy and the judges then remanded him to the Gate of Ishtar (where he was) to stand and swear (his denial). (11) (But) he turned away. As he would not pay (voluntary compensation), did not take the stand, and did not swear, he must pay 3½ shekels of silver.¹

4 witnesses.

⁵ Reading [tēm]am at the beginning of the line. The judges were not usually present at the oath procedure, which took place in the temple, and had to be duly informed afterwards of its proper execution.

⁶ Lit.: "caused him to leave his father's house."

⁷ Reading the line: [. . . še-e] r-tam e-me-da-am i-ti-qu-šum; the causative of the verb might have been expected. An alternative rendering would be: [The court, in this manner,] (caused) him to suffer the penalty.

¹ Compare Laws of Eshnunna § 42, CH §§ 202-205.

(12) *A Trial for Theft*

Old Babylonian period, Diyala region. Text: H. F. Lutz, *Legal and Economic Documents from Ashjaly* (UCPSP, x/1) p. 177. Transliteration and translation, M. Seif, *Über die altbabylonischen Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Išāli* (Berlin Dissertation, 1938), p. 36, see also Koschaker, *ZA*, XLIII (1936), p. 221.

Ilushunasir and Belshunu—because Taribum had (5) trespassed¹ . . . in the house of Ilushunasir—arrested him. Taribum son of . . . , before the elders of the city² confessed: "I am a thief." (10) Since he [confessed]: "I have committed theft,"³ the stolen goods having been found in his possession, the city elders, in the (presence of) the Axe of Sin⁴ and the Mace of Isharkidissu,⁴ delivered him up to Ilushunasir for penal servitude.

17 witnesses, including the viceroy (šakanakku).

(13) *Adoption*

Old Babylonian period. Mari. Text: *TCL*, xxix, No. 1. Transliteration and translation by G. Boyer, *ARMT*, viii, No. 1.

Yahatti-el is the son of Hillalum and Alitum. He shall rejoice in their joys (5) and commiserate in their miseries. Should Hillalum, his father, and Alitum, his mother (ever) say to their son Yahatti-el: "You are not our son," (10) they shall forfeit house and belongings. Should Yahatti-el say to Hillalum, his father, and to Alitum, his mother (15): "You are not my father; you are not my mother," they shall have him shaved, and shall sell him for money. (As for) Hillalum and (20) Alitum—regardless of how many sons they shall have acquired—Yahatti-el is primary heir, and he shall take a double share of the estate of Hillalum, his father. (25) His younger brothers shall divide (the remainder) in equal shares. Whichever (among the brothers) shall contest (this) against him, will (be deemed to) have eaten the taboo of Shamash, Itur-Mer, Shamshi-Adad, and Yasmah-Adad, (30) and shall pay three and one-third minas of silver, the penalty in a capital case.

Eighteen witnesses. Month of Hibirtum, 28th day; eponymy of Asqudum.

(14) *Litigation Concerning Inheritance.*

Alalakh, Old Babylonian period. Text: D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, Pl. V, No. 7; transliteration and translation, *ibid.*, pp. 34 ff.¹

Concerning the estate of the wife of Ammurapi, Abba'el brought legal suit against his sister Bittatti, declaring thus: "The entire house belongs to me only; you,

¹ Read *ib-ba-a*[*l-ki-tu-ma*] (by collation).

² A hendiadys expression, lit.: "the city and the elders."

³ The line reads (by collation) *aš-šum aš-ri-iq i[qa?-bu?-u?]*.

⁴ Symbols of the respective gods, before which serious cases are tried.

¹ The translation offered here incorporates suggestions made by my students in the fall of 1967.

Bittatti, are not reckoned² (as an heir) in (this) house." Thus (replied) Bittatti: "[. . .] in the city of Suharuwa, [. . .] I am (indeed) reckoned (as an heir) in [the estate of] my mother; *why*³ have *you*⁴ then taken the extra share (of the estate)? You and I must (rather) divide our father's house equally."

They entered upon legal proceedings before King Niqmepa. Abiadu declared in testimony before King Niqmepa the king that Bittatti held (rights to) a share in the estate. The king thereupon declared: "Let Abba'el take as his preferential share that (portion of) the house which he pleases; Bittatti shall then take that (portion of the) house which he declines." That is what the king declared.

Gimil-Addu and Niwariadu, [officials] of the Throne were detailed to arrange the division of the house. Abba'el took as his preferred share the upper house with loft; the lower house he left (text: gave) for his sister, Bittatti. From this day henceforward Abba'el may not re-institute proceedings against Bittatti—nor Bittatti against Abba'el—with respect to the house which is the portion of Bittatti. Whichever (of them) does open such proceedings will pay into the palace five hundred shekels of gold and will forfeit his portion of the estate.

Nine witnesses. Date: 13th day of the month of Izalli, year in which King Niqmepa took the city of Arazik.

(15) Abrogation of a Marriage Agreement

Alalakh, fifteenth century, b.c. Text: D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, No. 17, Pl. ix; transliteration and translation, *ibid.*, p. 40.

Seal of Niqmepa (seal impression of Idrimi)¹

Shatuwa son of Zuwa, citizen of Luba, asked Apra for (the hand of) his daughter to be his daughter-in-law, (5) and, in accordance with the rules of Aleppo, brought

² Taking the verb as *palālu*, in the sense elucidated by Speiser, *Assyriological Studies* xvi (1965) p. 300 f., cf. also *JBL* LXXXII (1963) for the Heb. cognate. The writing of the verb in this text as *balālu* is due to the peculiarities of Alalakh orthography even in the Old Babylonian period, cf. J. Aro, *AJO* xvii (1956) 361, thus also M. Tsevat, *HUCA* xxix (1958) p. 112, whose understanding of the verb as relating to legal rights was disproved by Speiser in the references just cited.

³ Restoring perhaps [*a-na*] *mi-n(im)!* at the beginning of line 9.

⁴ Reading [*z*] *e-el-qū-ū* in line 10; the use of the subjunctive is unjustified, but is a peculiarity of the local scribes, cf. Aro, *op. cit.* p. 364. If the restoration in line 9 is accepted, it suggests that Abba'el had taken possession of the entire "house," was thereupon challenged by his sister who wanted to recover her share, and that the suit was brought against her by the former on a "cease and desist" basis. Alternatively, the sense may be that B. claims that A. had already taken his "extra share" (presumably as the primary heir) of the estate in the property located in Suharuwa, and had no right to complete possession of the "villa" under dispute. Note that throughout this text the word "house" (Akkadian *bitu*) might also have been rendered "(real-)estate," but the conclusion of the text makes it clear that it was a specific property which was at issue, consisting of a dwelling complex containing more than one "house," in other words, a "villa."

¹ Niqmepa was the son of Idrimi, kings of Alalakh in the first half of the 15th century b.c.

him the marriage gift. Apra (subsequently) committed treason,² was executed for his crime, (10) and his estate was confiscated by³ the palace. Shatuwa came, in the light of his (rights to his) possessions—six *ingots* of copper and two bronze daggers—and took them (back). (15) And as of this day, Niqmepa (is considered to have) satisfied Shatuwa. For (all) future time, Shatuwa [will have no further] legal claim with reference to his pos[sessions]. Seven witnesses, including the scribe.

(16) Manumission and Marriage

Ugarit. Text. RS 8.208. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Syria*, xviii (1937), 248, transliteration and translation, *ibid.*, 253 f.

As of this day, before witnesses, Gilben, chamberlain of the queen's palace, set free (5) Eliyawe his maid-servant, from among the women of the harem, and by pouring oil on her head, made her free, (saying:) (10) "Just as I am quit towards her, so is she quit towards me, forever."

Further, Buriyanu, the *namū*,¹ has taken her as his wife, (15), and Buriyanu, her husband has rendered 20 (shekels) of silver into the hands of Gilben. Four witnesses.

(Inscribed on seal:) Should Buriyanu, tomorrow or the following day, refuse to consummate² (his marriage) with Eliyawe—³

(17) Will and Testament

Ugarit. Text: RS 8.145, F. Thureau-Dangin, *Syria*, xviii (1937), 246; transliteration and translation, *ibid.*, p. 249 f.

As of this day, before witnesses, Yarimanu spoke as follows: "Now therefore, (5) whatever I possess (and) that which Bidawe acquired together with me (to wit): my large cattle, my small cattle, my asses, my male slaves, my female slaves, my bronze bowls, bronze kettles, (10) bronze jugs, baskets, the field of Bin-Harasina (bordering) upon the Ra'abani stream—I have bequeathed to Bidawe, my wife.

And now therefore, my two sons (15)—Yatlinu, the elder, and Yanhamu, the younger—whichever of them shall bring a lawsuit against Bidawe, or shall abuse Bidawe, (20) their mother, shall pay 500 shekels of silver to the king; he shall set his cloak upon the doorbolt,¹ and shall depart into the street. But whichever of them (25) shall have paid respect to Bidawe, his mother—to that one will she bequeath (the possessions).

Five witnesses and the name of the scribe.

² Lit.: "became an evildoer (*bēl masikū*)."

³ Lit.: "entered (the palace)."

¹ Lit.: "man of the steppe," possibly a migrant agricultural laborer.

² Lit.: "approach."

³ The penalty is left unstated, and was to be understood.

¹ i.e., in addition to the severe fine, he is disinherited, and must give up even the clothing on his back as he leaves the house.

(18) Trial for Homicide

Ugarit, 13th century B.C. Text: RS 17.158, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit*, iv, Pl. XXI, transliteration and translation, J. Nougayrol, *ibid.*, iv, 169 ff.

Before Ini-Teshup, king of Carkemish, Arishimiga, a merchant in the service of the king of Tarhudashshi, and the citizens of Ugarit met in trial. Arishimiga deposed thus: (5) "The citizens of Ugarit killed a merchant of the king of Tarhudashsha." And Arishimiga had not retrieved any of the goods belonging to the merchant who was slain in Ugarit. The king then (10) decided their case thus: "Let Arishimiga take the oath (in support of his testimony) and the citizens of Ugarit shall then pay the full compensation for that merchant." (15) Arishimiga then took the oath, and the citizens of Ugarit paid the full compensation of 180 shekels of silver to Arishimiga, servant of the king of Tarhudashshi. In future time, Arishimiga (20) shall enter no (further) claim against the citizens of Ugarit in respect of the merchant who was slain, and the citizens of Ugarit shall enter no claim against Arishimiga in respect of the 180 shekels of silver of their compensation payment. Whichever (of them) does so enter a claim—(25) this document will prevail against him.

(19) Adoption of the Son of a Prostitute

Neo-Babylonian. Text: A. Pohl, *Neubabylonischen Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Museen I (Analecta Orientalia 8)*, No. 14. Transliteration and translation by M. San Nicolò, *ArOr* vii (1935), 1 ff.

Innin-shum-ibni son of Nabu-ahhe-shullim came to Balta daughter of Nabu-ahhe-shullim, his sister, stating as follows: (5) "Give me your seventeen-day-old son Dannu-ahhe-ibni, that I will rear him, and he will be my son." Balta acceded to him, and gave him her seventeen-day-old son Dannu-ahhe-ibni for adoption. He then inscribed him as next-(heir-)in-line to his own son Labashi. For as long as Balta continues (10) to practice prostitution, Dannu-ahhe-ibni will grow up in her care. As soon as Balta goes to the house of a respectable citizen,¹ he (i.e., Innin-shum-ibni) will pay Balta one-third shekel of silver for the feeding and rearing of Dannu-ahhe-shullim (and with) bread, beer, salt, cress, and *mušibtum*-clothes.

(16) Innin-shum-ibni swore by Anu and Ishtar: "Verily, in good faith and as (your) brother, I will never give away Dannu-ahhe-ibni to Nabu-zer-lishir my brother, or to Eshirtu my sister. Dannu-ahhe-ibni and Labashi together will serve the king and the "Mistress-of-Uruk."²

¹ i.e., she will be legally married.

² i.e., the goddess Inanna/Ishtar.

Witnesses: six names including that of the scribe.

Date: Ninth of Tammuz, 32nd year of Nebuchadnezzar (= 573/2 B.C.). (30) May Anu and Ishtar and the solemn oath of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, decree the destruction of whomsoever alters this agreement.

(20) Sale of Temple Benefice

Seleucid era. Text: *TCL*, xiii, No. 245; transliteration and translation: M. Rutten, *Contrats de l'Époque Séleucide conservés au Musée de Louvre* (Paris 1935), pp. 239 ff.

Nana-iddin son of Parak-Anu son of Anu-ahhe-iddin, descendant of Kuzu, by his own will, has sold to Parak-Anu son of Nur son of Anu-ah-ushabshi, descendant of Ekur-zakir, the twelfth-part of the day for each day from the first day (of the month) to the thirtieth day, his prebend of the post of brewer before the gods Anu, Antum, Ishtar, Nana, Belit-sha-bit-resh, Sharriyahitum, and all the deities of their chapels, monthly throughout the year, the *guqqanu*-offerings on the days of the monthly festivals and all else that accrues to those prebends (which the seller owns) together with his brothers and all other shareholders, in perpetuity and at the full price of $\frac{5}{6}$ mina of pure silver by the true stater-weights of Antiochus. Nana-iddin has received from the hands of Parak-Anu, the money of $\frac{5}{6}$ th mina, the price of the total of those prebends; it is paid. Should any (future) claim arise with respect to those prebends, Nana-iddin son of Parak-Anu,¹ vendor of those prebends, will clear it by paying twelve-fold to Parak-Anu son of Nur. (reverse 15) Joint responsibility for clearing those prebends (of other claims) in favor of Parak-Anu son of Nur, rests in perpetuity upon Nana-iddin, vendor of those prebends, and (upon) Parak-Anu, his son.² The twelfth-part of the day, which is the prebend of the brewer'ship, is³ the possession of Parak-Anu son of Nur son of Anu-ah-ushabshi descendant of Ekur-zakir, forever. (19-27) List of witnesses.⁴

(28) Uruk, 12th day of the month of Tammuz, year 144—Antiochus (IV), king—July 21, 168 B.C.

On side of tablet: seal legend of five witnesses, followed by:

Seal of Nana-iddin, vendor of those prebends;

Seal of Parak-Anu, his son, guarantor.

¹ The original has the names in reverse sequence.

² The son of the vendor, Nana-iddin has the same name as his grandfather, which may explain the error noted in footnote 1. That the buyer is also named Parak-Anu is a coincidence.

³ Text: "are," the scribe wavers throughout in considering the prebend (GĪŠ.SUB.BA = *išqu*) as singular or plural.

⁴ It should be noted that all the witnesses and the principals in the transaction are priests and descendants of priestly families.

Aramaic Papyri from Elephantine

TRANSLATOR: H. L. GINSBERG

MANUMISSION OF A FEMALE SLAVE AND HER DAUGHTER, JUNE 12, 427 B.C.

Emil G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri: New Documents of the Jewish Colony at Elephantine* (New Haven, 1953), Papyrus 5, pp. 178 ff. Pls. V and XIX. H. L. Ginsberg, *JAOS*, LXXIV (1954), 158.

(1) On the 20th of Siwan,¹ that is the 7th day of Phamenoth,² the year 38 of King Artaxerxes³—at that time, (2) Meshullam son of Zakkur, a Jew of the fortress Elephantine, of the detachment of Arpakhū said to the woman Tapmut (as she is called), (3) his slave,⁴ who has on her right hand the marking "Of Meshullam," as follows: I have taken kindly thought of you (4) in my lifetime. I hereby declare you released at my death and likewise declare released the daughter Yehoyishma' (as she is called) whom (5) you have borne to me.⁵ No son or daughter, close or distant relative, kinsman, or clansman of mine (6) has any right to you or to the daughter Yehoyishma' whom you have borne to me;⁵ none has any right (7) to mark you or to *deliver you as a payment of money*. Whoever attempts such action against you or the daughter Yehoyishma' (8) whom you have borne to me⁵ must pay you a fine of 50 karsh of silver by the king's weights. You (9) are released, with your daughter Yehoyishma', from the shade for the sun,⁶ and no other man is master (10) of you or your daughter Yehoyishma'. You are released for God.

(11) And Tapmut and her daughter Yehoyishma' declared: We shall serve you [a]s⁷ a son or daughter supports his or her father (12) as long as you live; and when you die, we shall support your son Zakkur like a son who supports his father, just as we shall have been doing (13) for you while you were alive. (. . .)⁸ If we ever say, "We will not support you as a son supports (14) his father, and your son Zakkur after your death," we

¹ By the Babylonian calendar, adopted by the Persians.

² By the Egyptian calendar.

³ Artaxerxes II (464-424).

⁴ Though she was acquired in marriage 22 years earlier by a contract (Brooklyn, 2) between her master and her husband, and though her daughter has issued from that marriage, she has remained in law the slave of her master, and her daughter has been born into that status.

⁵ In a proprietary, not biological, sense; see *JAOS*, LXXIV (1954), 157 f.

⁶ Cf. Isa. 42:7; 49:9; 61:1; Ps. 107:10, 14.

⁷ The *k* of the word *kzy* (cf. the identical phrase in l. 13) was omitted by haplography.

⁸ Similar arrangements, by which the manumitted slave is bound to render certain services to his master for the duration of the latter's life, were common in the Hellenistic world, in which they were known as *paramonē*.

shall be liable to you and your son Zakkur for a fine (15) in the amount of 50 karsh of refined silver by the king's weights without suit or process.

Written by Haggai (16) the scribe, at Elephantine, at the dictation of Meshullam son of Zakkur, the witnesses herein being:⁹ Atarparan son of Nisai (17) the Mede; witness Micaiah son of Ahio; witness Berechiah son of Miptah; witness Dalah son of Gaddul.

(Endorsement) Quit-claim written by Meshullam son of Zakkur to Tapmut and Yehoyishma' ['].]

MARRIAGE CONTRACT OF A FORMER SLAVE GIRL WHO IS SUBJECT TO PARAMONĒ, 420 B.C.

Kraeling, *op. cit.*, Papyrus 7, pp. 201 ff., Pls. viia, viib; Ginsberg, *op. cit.*, 58-59.

(1) On (the first day of)¹ the month of Tishri,² that is Epiphi,³ the year 4 of King Darius,⁴ in the fortress Elephantine, said Ananiah son of Haggai, (2) an Aramean⁵ of the fortress Elephantine, [of] the detachment of [Iddin]-Nabu, to Zakkur son of Me[shullam, *an Arame*]an of Syene, of the same detachment, as follows: (3) I have come to your [hou]se and asked you for your sister⁶ the woman Yehoyishma' (as she is called) in marriage, and you have given her (4) to me. She is my wife and I am [her] husband from this day to eternity. I have paid to you as the bride price of your sister⁶ Yehoyishma' (5) 1 karsh of silver; you have received it [and have been satisfied therewi]th. Your sister Yehoyishma' has brought into my house a cash sum (6a) of two karsh, (two) 2 shekels, and 5 hallurs of silver, . . . (Lines 6b-13a, defective, a list of probably 12 articles of wool and linen with their respective values; 13b-15a, 5 articles of copper with their respective values; 15b missing.) (15c) [Garments and articles of co]pper

⁹ The witnesses' names are not signed by them but simply recorded by the scribe; cf. Jer. 32:12, "the witnesses who were recorded (*hakktūbim* the better reading) in the deed." On other fifth century Aramaic deeds from Elephantine, the witnesses, or some of them, sign in their own hands. The transition to the latter practice was in progress.

¹ Omitted in the original, apparently idiomatically.

² Of the Babylonian calendar, adopted by the Persians.

³ Of the Egyptian calendar.

⁴ Darius II (423-405).

⁵ Jews are sometimes thus described in these documents, no doubt by reason of their language.

⁶ Legally speaking, not biologically; see p. 548b, note 5.

with the cash and the bride price:⁷ seven (that is, 7) karsh, eight (that is, 8) shekels, and 5 hallurs of silver by the king's (17a) weights, silver of 2 R⁸ to the ten. (17b-21aa, containers of palm leaves, reeds, wood, and stone and quantities of various sorts of oil—no values specified.⁹)

(21 cont.) If at some future date Ananiah should arise in an/the assembly and declare, "I divorce my wife Yehoyishma'; (22) she shall not be a wife to me," he shall become liable for divorce money. (He shall forfeit her bride price:)¹⁰ he must surrender to her all that she brought into his house. Her dowry of cash (23) and clothing, worth karsh seven, sh[ekels eight, and hallurs 5] of silver, and the rest of the goods listed (above)¹¹ (24a-b) he must hand over to her on one day and in a single act, and she may [leave him for where]ver [she will]. . . .

(24c) If, on the other hand, Yehoyishma' should divorce her husband (25) Ananiah and say to him, "I divorce you, I will not be wife to you," she shall become liable for divorce money. [.]¹⁰ (26) She shall sit by the scales and weigh out to her husband Ananiah 7 shekels and 2 R and shall leave him with the balance of her (27) cash, goods, and pos[sessions, worth karsh 7, shekels 5+] 3, and hallurs 5; and the rest of her goods, (28) which are listed (above), he shall hand over to her on one day and in a single act, and she shall depart for her father's house.

If Ananiah should die having no male or (29) female child from his wife [Yehoyi]shma', Yehoyishma' shall be [mistress] of his [pr]operty: of his house, his goods, (30) his possession, [and all that he owns. Anyone who] attempts to banish Yehoyishma' from his house, [goods,

⁷ The bride price, though formally paid to the bride's legal guardian, becomes part of her dowry; cf. p. 223, n. 6.

⁸ See p. 222d, n. 3.

⁹ So also in the contract abridged on pp. 222-23. Perhaps the value of such items, being relatively slight, was not expected to become a matter of serious dispute.

¹⁰ Moved up from l. 25 to l. 22. Cf. p. 223c top. For a full justification, see *JAOs*, LXXIV (1954), 159a-b.

¹¹ ll. 5 ff.

possessions], and all that [he] owns, [shall p]ay to [her a fi]ne of silver, (32) twenty karsh by [the king's] weights, silver of 2 R to the 10,⁸ and shall accord [her] her due under this deed without lawsuit. (33) However, Yeh[oyishma'] is not permitted [to] *acquire* a husband other [than] Anani. Should she do so, (34) that shall constitute a divorce, and [*the provisions for divorce-ment*]¹² shall be applied to [her]. (So, too,) if [Yehoyishma'] should die having no (35) [male] or female child by [her] hus[band] Anani, [Anani] shall inherit from her her [cash], goods, possessions, and all (36) that she own[s]. And [Anani] likewise [may] no[t] ta]ke any woman [other than his wife Yehoyishma'] (37) in marriage. Should he do [so, that shall constitute a divorce, and the provisions for di]vorcement¹² [shall be applied to him].

Further, Ananiah (38) may not omit to accord to his wife Yehoyishma' the right of any of the wives of his fellows.¹³ Should (39) he fail to do so, that shall constitute a divorce, and he shall implement for her the provisions for divorcement.¹² Neither may Yehoyishma' (40) omit to accord to her husband Ananiah the right of any (husband).¹³ Should she fail to accord it to him, that shall constitute a divorce.

Further, (41) Zakkur may not say with reference to [his] sis[ter], "I gave those [goo]ds to Yehoyishma' gratis; now I wish (42) to take them back." If he speaks [thus], no attention shall be paid to him; he is in the wrong.

This deed was written by Ma'uziah son of Nathan (43) at the dictation of Ananiah son of Haggai [and] Zakkur son of Meshullam, and the witnesses thereto are: (There followed the names of six witnesses and those of their fathers, making twelve names in all, of which nine are preserved, all of them Jewish, and all of them *in the handwriting of the scribe*.¹⁴)

¹² ll. 21-28.

¹³ i.e., conjugal rights.

¹⁴ cf. p. 548d, n. 9.



III. Historical Texts



Egyptian Historical Texts

TRANSLATOR: JOHN A. WILSON

Asiatics in Egyptian Household Service

In the Thirteenth Dynasty (mid-eighteenth century B.C.) there is evidence for the presence of numerous Asiatics serving in Egyptian households. Whether they should specifically be called "slaves" is not certain, even if probable. Since there is no contemporaneous evidence for military capture of Asiatics, the Joseph story (Gen. 37:28, 36) may supply the solution, in a trade in Asiatics carried on by Asiatics themselves.

The present text deals with more than eighty servants of a single Theban household, of whom more than forty are stated to be Asiatic. There are many more women than men. Among the males are "house-men," cooks, a brewer, and a tutor (?). The majority of the women worked in the weaving rooms. The adults are usually listed with an Asiatic name, followed by an Egyptian name. Again the analogy of Joseph's two names seems apt. One Asiatic has only an Egyptian name, followed by the entry: "It is his name." The children usually have only an Egyptian name. Were they born in bondage?

The basic publication is William C. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum* [Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446] (Brooklyn Museum, 1955). Among the chief commentaries are those by W. F. Albright, *JAOS*, LXXIV (1955), 222-33, and G. Posener, *Syria*, xxxiv (1957), 145-63.

(viii 1) The king's servant, Renes-seneb's son, Ankhu—he is called Hedjri—house-man.¹

The maidservant, Iy's daughter, Sat-Gemeni—it is her name—hairdresser.

Her daughter, Renes-seneb—it is her name—child.

The king's servant, Iusni's son, Ashau—it is his name—fieldhand.

(5) (The king's servant), Iy's son, Ibu—it is his name—fieldhand.

The Asiatic, Seneb-Res-seneb—it is his name—cook.

The Asiatic woman, Rehui—she is called Kai-pu-nebi—warper of cloth.²

Her son and Nefu's son, Res-seneb—he is called Renef-res—child.

[The Asia]tic, [A]pra-Reshpu³—[he is called . . .]—brewer.

(10) The Asiatic woman, Haiimmi—she is called . . .—weaver of linen.

The Asiatic woman, Menahem—she [is called . . .]—weaver of linen.

The Asiatic, Su . . . —he is called Ankhu-seneb—cook.

¹ An Egyptian, as always below in the absence of the word "Asiatic." The nickname Hedjri or Hedjru probably meant "Hyena."

² Commentators believe that both names are Egyptian.

³ (The god) "Reshpu Nourishes."

The Asiatic woman, Sekratu⁴—she is called Wer-dit-ni-Nub—weaver of linen.

(The Asiatic woman), Immi-Sukru⁵—(she is called) Seneb-[Sen]-User—[weaver of] linen.

(15) (The Asiatic woman), Aduttu⁶—(she is called) Nub . . . —[weaver of li]nen.

(The Asiatic woman), [Se]kratu—(she is called) Sen[eb . . .]—weaver of cloth.

(ix 17) The Asiatic woman, Akhati-mer⁷—she is called Henuti-pu-Wadjet—warper of linen.

The Asiatic, Tuti-uit⁸—he is called Ankh-em-hesut—house-man.

The Asiatic, Qui . . . —he is called Res-seneb—house-man.

(20) The king's servant, Ii . . . —it is his name—house-man.

The Asiatic woman, Shepra⁹—she is called Seneb-henutes¹⁰—weaver of linen.

The Asiatic woman, Sukra-ipyty—she is called Merit-Nub—warper of cloth.

The Asiatic woman, Asher—[she is] called Wer-Intef . . . —weaver . . .

Her daughter, Senebtisy—it [is her name]—child.

(25) The Asiatic woman, An[ath . . .]—she [is called] Nub-em-mer-Kis—weaver of linen.

The Asiatic woman, Shamashtu—she is called Seneb-henut . . . —warper of linen.

The Asiatic Isibtu—he is called Amen-em . . . —tutor.

The maidservant, Wewi's daughter, Irit—it is her name— . . .

The Asiatic [woman, . . .]i-huti—she is called Men-hesut— . . .

(30) Her daughter, *Dedet-Mut* . . . —[it is her name]—child.

Her son, Ankhu-seneb— . . . —child.

The Asiatic [woman], Akh . . . — . . . — . . . linen.

(x 33) The Asiatic [woman], Aduna—she is called Seneb-he[nut . . .]— . . .

Her son Ankhu—he is called Hedjru¹¹—child.

(35) The Asiatic woman, Baaltuya—she is called Wah-Res-seneb—work-staff.

⁴ A name related to Issachar.

⁵ (The goddess) "Sukru is my Mother."

⁶ "Lady."

⁷ Perhaps abbreviated from Akhati-milkatu, "My Sister is Queen."

⁸ "My Beloved is He."

⁹ Related to the name Sapphira.

¹⁰ "Her Mistress is in Good Health."

¹¹ See n. 1 above.

Her daughter Senebtisy—it is her name—child.

The Asiatic woman, Aqaba¹²—she is called Res-seneb-wah—*warper* of linen.

[The maidservant], Senaa-ib's daughter, Ren-seneb—it is her name—gardener.

Her [daughter], Henuti-pu—it is her name—child.¹³

(xi 58) Her son, Ankhu—he is called Pa-Amu—*child*.¹⁴

The Asiatic woman, Anath . . . —she is called Iun-ertan¹⁵—*warper* of linen.

(60) The maidservant, Iiti—she is called Bebi-sherit's daughter, Iit—*weaver* . . .

The Asiatic woman, Ro-inet—she is called Seneb-h[enut]es—*weaver* of linen.

The Asiatic woman, Hiabi-ilu¹⁶—she is called Neh-ni-em-khasut¹⁷—*workhouse* (worker).

Her son, Abi . . . m—he is called Seneb-nebef.¹⁸

(xii 64) [The Asiatic woman, . . .]i-Baal—she is called Netjeri-em-sai—*warper* of linen.

. . . hau—it is her name—*warper* of cloth.

Her son, Res-seneb—it is his name.

The Asiatic woman, Sakar—she is called Nub-erdis—

. . . The king's servant, Res-seneb—it is his name—*houseman*.

The Asiatic woman, Tjenatisi—she is called Peti-menti—*workhouse* (worker). . . .¹⁹

The War against the Hyksos

(Continued)

It is a fortunate chance that provides a new discovery which continues a known inscription. Ka-mose's attack on the Hyksos was first known through a schoolboy's tablet and then brought into monumental compass in the fragments of a stela (pp. 232-33). It now appears that that stela was the first of a pair erected at Karnak. In 1954, among the foundation slabs used under statues at Karnak, Labib Habachi discovered an essentially complete stela, which gives the continuation and conclusion of the Ka-mose story.

The stela is of the conventional shape, with a rounded top and the winged sun disk above. However, the first line simply continues a context from the lost final lines of the stela previously known. In a corner of the base is carved the figure of a man, with the label, "the Chief Treasurer Neshi" (also mentioned in l. 37 of the text).

Published by L. Habachi, *ASAE*, LIII (1956), 195-202; and M. Hammad, *Chronique d'Égypte*, xxx (1955), 198-208. Partial

¹² A name related to Jacob.

¹³ The translation omits several lines, both broken and chiefly of Egyptian servants. L. 51 has: "The Asiatic, (named) Asiatic—he is called Wer-ni— . . ."

¹⁴ "Her" refers to an Asiatic woman. The boy bears an Egyptian name, but his nickname is "The Asiatic."

¹⁵ "May we Return to our Land!"

¹⁶ "Where is my Father, O God?"

¹⁷ "There is Prayer for me in a Foreign Country."

¹⁸ Here, exceptionally, a child has two names: "My(?) Father . . ." in Semitic, and "His Lord is in Good Health" in Egyptian.

¹⁹ The remaining names are not translated here.

treatment also by T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Kush*, iv (1956), 54-61; Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), 165-68; T.H.G. James, *Egypt: from the Expulsion of the Hyksos to Amenophis I* (Cambridge Ancient History, rev. ed.; Cambridge, 1965), 4-6.¹

(1) ²"a miserable answer out of your town. (Yet) you have been forced away in the company of your army. Your speech is mean when you make me a (mere) 'prince,' whereas you are a 'ruler,' as if to beg for yourself the execution-block to which you will fall. Your back has been seen, O wretch! My army is after you. The women of Avaris will not conceive; their hearts will not *open* within their bodies when my army's battle-cry is heard."

I moored at Per-djedgen,³ my heart glad, for I had made Apophis see a miserable time, the Prince of Retenu,⁴ weak of arms, who planned many things in his heart, (but) they have not come to pass for him. I reached *the depot* (5) *of going south*.⁵ I crossed over to them to address them.⁶ I formed the fleet, *arrayed* one after another. I put the prow (of one) at the rudder (of another), with my bodyguard, flying upon the river as if a falcon. My own ship of gold⁷ was at the head thereof; (it) was like a *divine* falcon in front of them. I set the valiant *mek*-ship *probing* toward the desert-edge, the *djat*-ship following it, as if (it) were a *kite ravaging the djat*-lands of Avaris. I saw his women upon his roof peering from their *loopholes* toward the shore, without their bodies *stirring* when they heard me. They peered out with their noses on their walls like the young of *inhet*-animals from inside their holes, while (I was) saying: "This is the attack! (10) Here am I. I shall succeed. What is left over is in my hand. My lot is fortunate. As the valiant Amon endures, I will not leave you, I will not let you set foot in the fields unless I am upon you! So your wish has failed, miserable Asiatic! See, I shall drink of the wine of your vineyard, which the Asiatics of my own capturing will press out for me. I shall destroy your dwelling-place and cut down your trees, after I have *confined* your women to the holds of ships. I shall take over the chariotry." I have not left a plank *under* the hundreds of ships of new cedar, filled with gold, lapis lazuli, silver, turquoise, and countless battle-axes of

¹ The translation benefited by collations by L. Habachi and G. R. Hughes and notes by K. Baer. Dr. Habachi generously gave his permission for this translation, using his collation.

² The text opens in the middle of a sentence, continuing the other stela. Apparently Ka-mose wrote the Hyksos ruler Apophis and received an abusive reply. Supply some such prior words as: "[You sent me]."

³ Unknown.

⁴ Syria-Palestine generally, but here used derivatively for the Hyksos ruler in Egypt.

⁵ Or a place name, Inet-net-khent. The dubious translation above assumes for *inet* the idea of a river station, often used for a turn-around in travel.

⁶ Since Ka-mose crossed to the other bank, "them" probably refers to the enemy. Alternatively, "them" might be the people of the "depot," in which case the translation might run: "to question them."

⁷ The royal *dahabiyeh*.

metal, apart from moringa-oil, incense, fat, honey, *itren*-wood, *sesedjem*-wood, wooden *planks*, (15) all their valuable timber, and all the good produce of Retenu.⁸ I seized them all. I did not leave a thing of Avaris, because it is empty, with the Asiatic vanished.

So your wishes have failed, miserable Asiatic, who had been saying: "I am a lord without peer. As far as Hermopolis and to the House of Hat-Hor⁹ are bringing tribute to Avaris in the two rivers."¹⁰ I shall leave it in desolation, without people therein, after I have destroyed their towns. I shall burn up their places, made into red mounds forever, because of the damage which they did in this (part of) Egypt, they who gave themselves over to serving the Asiatics, after they had abandoned Egypt, their mistress.¹¹

I captured a message of his *above*¹² the oasis, going south to Cush, upon a letter of papyrus. I found on it, in written words from the ruler of Avaris:—

(20) "Aa-user-Re, the Son of Re: Apophis,¹³ sending greetings to my son, the ruler of Cush.¹⁴ Why do you arise as a ruler without letting me know? Do you see what Egypt has done to me: the ruler who is in it, Ka-mose the Strong, given life, attacking me on my own soil, (although) I had not assailed him—just like everything that he has done to you? He picks out these two lands to persecute them, my land and yours. He has destroyed them. Come north. *Do not falter*. See, he is here in my hand, and there is no one who is waiting for you in this (part of) Egypt. See, I will not give him leave until you have arrived. Then we shall divide the towns of this Egypt, and *our [two lands]* will be happy in joy."

Wadj-kheper-Re the Strong, given life, who controls situations—(25) foreign lands have been given to me, *the Two Lands* are under me, and the rivers as well. No way can be found *for trespass against* me, and I have not been neglectful of my army. *The face of the northerner was not averted*;¹⁵ he became afraid of me while I was sailing south, before we had fought, before I had reached him. He saw my fiery blaze, and he sent (a despatch) as far as Cush to seek protection for himself. I captured it on the way and did not let it arrive. Then

⁸ The "hundreds" of ships and the range of merchandise testify to the commercial activities of the Hyksos.

⁹ Perhaps Pathyris, modern Gebelein in Upper Egypt.

¹⁰ Two branches of the Nile in the Delta?

¹¹ This tirade is against the Egyptians in Middle and Upper Egypt who had gone over to service for the Hyksos.

¹² On higher ground than the oasis (of Khargeh?)?

¹³ W. C. Hayes, *Egypt: from the Death of Ammenemes III to Seqenenre II* (Cambridge Ancient History, rev. ed., Cambridge, 1962), 22-24, makes him Apophis I of the Fifteenth Dynasty and credits him with more than forty years of reign.

¹⁴ Or "the son of the ruler of Cush," one who had just succeeded his father as king.

¹⁵ Apophis was unable to leave Ka-mose out of sight?

I had it taken back again to him, left on the east side near Atfih.¹⁶ My strength entered into his heart, and his body was ravaged when his messenger told him what I had done to the Nome of Cynopolis,¹⁷ which had been his property. I despatched a strong brigade, which went overland to lay waste the Oasis of Bahariyah, while I was in Sako,¹⁸ in order to permit no rebel to be (30) to the rear of me.

I sailed south in strength of heart, joyful, destroying every rebel who was on the way. Oh what a happy journey south for the Ruler—life, prosperity, health!—having his army before him! There was no loss of them; no man missed his companion. Their hearts did not weep, as I bestirred myself to the District of Thebes¹⁹ at the season of Inundation. Every face was bright; the land was in affluence; the river-bank ran wild; Thebes was in festival. Women and men came to see me. Every woman embraced her companion. There was no face with tears. *I burned incense to Amon* at the inner sanctuary and at the place where it is said: "Receive good things," just as he²⁰ gives the sword to the Son of Amon—life, prosperity, health!—the enduring king, Wadj-kheper-Re, the Son of Re: Ka-mose the Strong, given life, (35) who has subdued the south and overthrown the north, who has taken over the land in strength, given life, stability and satisfaction, while his heart is glad with his *ka*, like Re forever and ever.²¹

[His] majesty issued a command to the Hereditary Prince and Count, the Privy Councillor of the Palace, the Headman of the Entire Land, the Sealbearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the *Helmsman* of the Two Lands, the Leader, the Overseer of Courtiers, and [*Chief*] Treasurer, *the strong of arm*, Neshi: "Have everything which my majesty has done by strength put upon a stela which occupies its place in Karnak in the Theban Nome forever and ever." Then he said to his majesty: "I will act [*in conformance with*] *that which [my] lord [has commanded me]*." Favours of the king's presence *were decreed*.²²

¹⁶ Aphroditopolis on the east bank was a northern point of Upper Egypt, about 55 miles south of Cairo. It must have been within Ka-mose's control.

¹⁷ The seventeenth Upper Egyptian nome, near modern Maghagha, about 110 miles south of Cairo.

¹⁸ Modern el-Qais of the Cynopolite Nome, about 125 miles south of Cairo. Bahariyah lies about 100 miles west of this. Ka-mose had pushed the Egyptian control about 80 miles north from Cusae (p. 232, 1.5) to Sako.

¹⁹ "The soil of the City," an early instance of No, "City," for Thebes. Cf. Harari, *ASAE*, LVI (1959), Pl. II, l. 2, following p. 201.

²⁰ Amon.

²¹ End of the historical text. There follows the commissioning of the stela.

²² G. Posener, *Revue d'Égyptologie*, XVI (1964), 213-14, suggests that the accompanying figure of Neshi, carved on a royal stela, might be such an exceptional favor.

Babylonian and Assyrian Historical Texts

TRANSLATOR: A. LEO OPPENHEIM

The Dedication of the Shamash Temple by Yahdun-Lim

On nine bricks found by A. Parrot in 1953 in Mari, we have the longest brick inscription ever to come out of Mesopotamian soil, 147 to 157 lines in five columns. It contains the dedication of the temple of Shamash by Yahdun-Lim, the father of Zimri-Lim, after his campaign to the Mediterranean Sea and the defeat of an alliance of nomadic enemies. Publication: G. Dossin, "L'inscription de fondation de Iahdun-Lim, roi de Mari" in *Syria*, xxxii (1935), pp. 1-28, Plates 1 and 2. Literature: A. Malamat, "Campaigns to the Mediterranean by Iahdunlim and other early Mesopotamian rulers" in *AS*, xvi (1965), pp. 365-372, especially pp. 367 ff.

(i) (Dedicated) to Shamash, the king of the heaven and the nether world, who pronounces orders and decisions for god and man, whose office is (the dispensation of) justice and to whom it has been given (to protect) what is right, the shepherd of all the black-headed, the famous god, judge of everything endowed with life, agreeable to supplication, ready to listen to vows, to accept prayers, who gives to those who worship him a long-lasting life of happiness, the overlord of Mari, (by) Yahdun-Lim, the son of Yag(g)id-Lim, king of (the city of) Mari and of the Hana country, who digs canals, builds city walls, erects stelae mentioning (his) name, provides his people with superabundance, furnishes his country with everything (needed), the *mighty* king, the famous hero, on the occasion when Shamash was agreeable to his supplication and listened to his prayer.

Indeed, Shamash did *promptly* come to the aid of Yahdun-Lim and while no other king residing in Mari had ever—since, in ancient days, the god built the city of Mari—reached the (Mediterranean) Sea, (ii) nor reached and felled timber in the great mountains, the Cedar Mountain and the Boxwood Mountain, he, Yahdun-Lim, son of Ya(g)gid-Lim, the powerful king, the wild bull among the kings, did march to the shore of the sea, an unrivaled feat, and offered sacrifices to the Ocean as (befitting) his high royal rank¹ while his troops washed themselves in the Ocean. He (also) entered the great mountains, the Cedar Mountain and the Boxwood Mountain, and felled such trees as boxwood, cedar, cypress, and *elammaḫḫu*-trees. He made (this) *razzia*, established (thus) his fame and proclaimed his power. He subjected

¹ In ii 10 the text is in disorder: *niqī šarrūtišu rabiam iqqi*.

that (entire) region on the shore of the Ocean, united it under (his) command, made it furnish him troops. (iii) He imposed a permanent tribute upon it and they are still bringing him their tribute.

In that same year the following kings rebelled against him: La'um, king of Samanum and the country of the Ubrabians, Bahlu-kulim, king of Tuttul and of the country Amnanum, Ajalum, the king of Abattum and the country of the Rabbeans; an army of Sumu-epuh from the country of Jamhad came to their help, in the town of Samanum, they all gathered against him, the center of *nomads*,² (but) he (Yahdun-Lim) defeated these three kings of the *nomads* in a big battle. He routed their army and the army who had come to their help, made a massacre (among them). (Then) he erected piles of their corpses. He razed the walls of their (cities), turning them into mounds of rubble. The city of Haman (belonging to) the center of the Haneans, which all the sheikhs of Hana had built, he razed and (iv) made into mounds of rubble. He also defeated its king, Kasuri-hala, annexed their (the Haneans') country.

Then he built up the embankment of the Euphrates³ (in Mari) and erected (there) the temple of his lord Shamash for his (own) well-being; he made for him (Shamash) a temple of perfect construction in every aspect of craftsmanship, befitting his godhead, and installed him in this magnificent abode. He named this temple: Egirzalanki (which means): "The-temple-which-is-the-pride-of-Heaven-and-Nether-World."

May Shamash who resides in this temple grant for ever to Yahdun-Lim, who built his temple, his beloved king, a mighty weapon (able) to defeat the enemies, a long and happy rule and everlasting years of abundance and happiness.

Whoever desecrates this temple, *assigns*⁴ it to evil and untoward purposes, does not reinforce its foundation, does not replace what has fallen down or (v) stops the food offerings (destined) for it, erases my name (in this inscription)—or gives orders for erasing it—, inscribes his own name not previously inscribed—or gives orders

² The invective implied in the expression *ummat TUR-mi-im* is difficult to understand, and the connection with the ethnic designations *TUR.MEŠ-mi-i*, *Ma-ar-mi-i*, *TUR.MEŠ-ia-mi-(na/nim/im)* (see, recently, M. Birot in *ARMT*, xii, p. 34, n. 1) uncertain.

³ The proposed translation of *kišād Purattim igmurma gāmīr kišād Purattim* is based on the passage in another inscription of the same king (*RA*, xxxiii, p. 50, i 7 f.) which speaks of the repair work done on the embankment of the Euphrates.

⁴ The signs *i-ku-pu-sum* cannot refer to a verb "abandonner," nor to *qāpu*. The translation given is a guess proposed to fit the context.

for writing it—, or prompts somebody else (to do these things) on account of the curses (inscribed here), be this man a king, or a general, or a mayor, or whoever else, Enlil who pronounces decisions for (all) the gods, should make the kingdom of this man smaller than that of all the other kings; Sin, the elder brother among the gods, his brothers, should curse him with the "Great Curse";⁵ Nergal, the armed god, should break his weapon and not accept him (in the nether world when he appears there) slain (in battle). Ea, the master (lit.: king) of fates, should make his fate a bad one; the great lady, Aja the Bride, should forever represent his case in a bad light before Shamash; Bunene, the great plenipotentiary of Shamash, should end his life, eliminate every offspring of his, so that neither descendant nor progeny of his should ever live under the sun (text: Sun god).

The Story of Idrimi, King of Alalakh

Found in 1939 at Atchana in Syria, the statue showing King Idrimi of Alalakh seated on his throne was not published until 1949 because of war conditions. An inscription of 101 lines indiscriminately covers the front of the figure, with a postscript of three lines incised on one side of the beard and whiskers. Publication: Sidney Smith, *The Statue of Idrimi* (London, 1949), pp. 14-23, with extensive commentary and a study of the historic background. Literature: W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 118 (1950), pp. 14-20; A. Goetze, *JCS*, xiv (1950), pp. 226-231; J. Nougayrol, *RA*, xlv (1951), pp. 151-154; B. Landsberger, *JCS*, viii (1954), pp. 54-55. The present translation is to a considerable extent provisional since obviously a new edition of the text based on collations is needed to ascertain the correctness or probability of the numerous emendations and corrections proposed in the literature on the inscription. I have often accepted suggestions made by other scholars but these as well as my own attempts to extract meaning and continuity from the awkward formulation of the text are in need of confirmation. Words for which I did not dare offer even tentative translations are replaced by three dots. I have refrained from adding footnotes in support of my own translations because they would have been too numerous and too technical and, in the long run, would not have made the translations any more convincing. My purpose has been solely to add new guesses to the old ones and to aim at a readable translation capable of carrying what I consider the basic intent and mood of the original.

I am Idrimi, the son of Ilmilimma, the servant of Adad,¹ of Hepat and of Ishtar, the Lady of Alalakh, my lady.

An evil deed happened in Halab, the seat of my family, and we fled to the people of Emar, brothers of my mother, and we lived (then) in Emar. My brothers, who were older than I, stayed with me but none of them had the plans I had. I (said to) myself: "Whoever owns the

⁵ I take *erretum rabitum* as a euphemism meant to refer to leprosy, which in curses is often mentioned in connection with Sin.

¹ The intended reading of the sign ⁴IM cannot be definitely established. For the convenience of the reader I replace it with the conventional Adad.

seat of his family is a . . . (while) who does not is but a slave in the eyes of the people of Emar!" (So) I took with me my horse, my chariot, and my groom, went away and crossed over the desert country and even entered into the region of the Sutilian warriors. I stayed with them (once) overnight in my . . . chariot, but the next day I moved on and went to the land of Canaan. I stayed in Ammia in the land of Caanan; in Ammia lived (also) natives of Halab, of the country Mukishkhi, of the country Ni' and also warriors from the country Ama'e. They discovered that I was the son of their overlord and gathered around me. There I grew up and stayed for a long time. For seven years I lived among the Hapiru-people. (Then) I released birds² (to observe their flight) and looked into (the entrails of) lambs (and found) that after seven years Adad had become favorable to me. So I built boats, made . . . soldiers board them, approached the country Mukishkhi via the sea and reached shore below Mt. Casius.³ I went ashore and when my country heard of me they brought me cattle and sheep. And in one day, and as one man, the countries Ni', Ama'e, Mukishkhi and my city Alalakh turned to me. My brothers heard (about this) and they came into my presence. As soon as they had become reconciled with me, I established my brothers as such.

However, for seven years, Barattarna, the mighty king, the king of the Hurrian warriors, treated me as an enemy. In the seventh year, I sent Anuanda (as messenger) to King Barattarna, the king of the (Hurrian) warriors, and told (him) about the services of my forefathers when my forefathers had been in their (the kings') service and (when) what we had said was pleasing to the kings of the Hurrian warriors, and (that) they had made an alliance based on a solemn oath among themselves. The mighty king *heard* of our former services and of the oath they had sworn to each other—they had *read* the wording of the oath to him, word by word as well as (the list of) our services. He accepted my messenger (lit.: my greeting). I increased the *gifts indicating* my loyalty, which were *heavy*, and returned to him (his) lost household. I swore him a mighty *oath* as to my status as a loyal vassal.

And (so) I became king in charge of Alalakh. Kings from right and left came up to me and just as they used to *bring presents* upon *presents* for my forefather in . . . , I had them *bring* (them to me) in And I . . . ed them.⁴

I took . . . soldiers and went up against the country of the Hittites and I destroyed seven of their fortified

² The use of birds for divination is characteristic of "Western" practices, see my *Ancient Mesopotamia*, p. 209 f.

³ Reading and identification have been established by A. Goetze, *BASOR*, 79, p. 32.

⁴ This entire passage is obscure; my rendering of its basic structure is quite uncertain.

places; these are the . . . fortified places: Pashshakhe, Damarut-re'i, Hulahhan, Zise, Ie, Uluzina and Zaruna. The country of the Hittites did not mobilize (its troops), did not march against me, I could do what I wanted. I took prisoners from them, plundered their riches, possessions, and property, and distributed it to my soldiers, my auxiliary troops, my brothers, and friends. I myself took a share like theirs. Then I returned to the country of Mukishkhi and entered (in triumph) into my city Alalakh.

I had a house built by means of the prisoners, the provisions, riches, possessions and property which I had brought down from the country of the Hittites; I made my throne like the throne of kings, my brothers like brothers of kings, my children like their children, and my guardsmen like their guardsmen. I made the Suttians within my country settle in secure settlements and those who did not want to live in settlements I made do so. And I placed my country on a firm footing and made my towns as they were before like . . . As to the cultic regulations which the gods of Alalakh had established, and the sacrifices and offerings which our forefathers had performed for them, I have constantly performed them exactly as they had performed them and now I have entrusted (the responsibility for) them to my son Adad-nirari.

May the god of heaven extirpate every offspring of whosoever steals this statue of mine, and curse him, extirpate his sons and offspring also of his . . . servants, may the gods of heaven and nether world destroy his kingship and his country. May Adad, the lord of heaven and nether world and (all) the great gods make the son and progeny of whosoever changes or erases it(s inscription), disappear from his country. Sharruwa, is the scribe, . . .

May the gods of heaven and nether world keep the scribe Sharruwa who has written (the text of) this statue in good health and protect him; they should be his . . . , Shamash the lord of those above the earth and below, the lord of the spirits of the dead should be his caretaker.

(Postscript on the right cheek of the statue): I was king for 30 years. I wrote my achievements on my statue. Let people [read it] and ble[ss me].

The Banquet of Ashurnasirpal II

On a sandstone block placed near the doorway to the throne-room of the palace of Ashurnasirpal in Calah was found in 1951 a figural representation with an inscription (total: 154 lines) in an unusual arrangement. The upper part of the stone shows the king in a square recess, flanked by inscribed columns, under an awkwardly arranged row of divine symbols. The text, apart from its stereotyped titulary and historical summary, is mainly concerned with the building of the new capital Calah, the royal

garden and the festival in celebration of the opening of the royal palace. While such ceremonies are repeatedly mentioned in Assyrian royal inscriptions (cf. *Altorientalische Bibliothek*, I, p. 124, iv 26 [Shalm. I]; H. Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons* . . . , Pl. 38, iii 37 ff.; R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Assarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien*, p. 63, Episode 23:49 ff.; D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, p. 116, viii 74 ff.), our text is unique in giving us not only an enumeration of the foodstuffs used (inclusive of quantities) but also the number and provenience of the guests. Publication: D. J. Wiseman, "A New Stela of Aššur-našir-pal II" in *Iraq*, xiv (1952), pp. 24-44, Plates 2-6.

(i)

(This is) the palace of Ashurnasirpal, the high priest of Ashur, chosen by Enlil and Ninurta, the favorite of Anu and of Dagan (who is) destruction (personified) among all the great gods—the legitimate king, the king of the world, the king of Assyria, son of Tukulti-Ninurta, great king, legitimate king, king of the world, king of Assyria (who was) the son of Adad-nirari, likewise great king, legitimate king, king of the world and king of Assyria—the heroic warrior who always acts upon trust-inspiring signs given by his lord Ashur and (therefore) has no rival among the rulers of the four quarters (of the world); the shepherd of all mortals, not afraid of battle (but) an onrushing flood which brooks no resistance; the king who subdues the unsubmissive (and) rules over all mankind; the king who always acts upon trust-inspiring signs given by his lords, the great gods, and therefore has personally conquered all countries; who has acquired dominion over the mountain regions and received their tribute; he takes hostages, triumphs over all the countries from beyond the Tigris to the Lebanon and the Great Sea, he has brought into submission the entire country of Laqe and the region of Suhu as far as the town of Rapiqu; personally he conquered (the region) from the source of the Subnat River to Urartu.

I returned to the territory of my own country (the regions) from the pass (which leads to) the country Kurrure as far as Gilzani, from beyond the Lower Zab River to the town of Til-bari which is upstream of the land of Zamua—from Til-sha-abtani to Til-sha-sabtani—(also) Hirimu and Harrutu (in) the fortified border region of Babylonia (Karduniash). I listed as inhabitants of my own country (the people living) from the pass of Mt. Babite to the land of Hashmar.

Ashur, the Great Lord, has chosen me and made a pronouncement concerning my world rule with his own holy mouth (as follows): Ashurnasirpal is the king whose fame is power!¹

I took over again the city of Calah in that wisdom of mine, the knowledge which Ea, the king of the subterranean waters, has bestowed upon me, I removed the old hill of rubble; I dug down to the water level; I

¹ Such a verbatim quotation of a divine utterance is extremely rare before the period of the Sargonids in Assyria.

heaped up a (new) terrace (measuring) from the water level to the upper edge 120 layers of bricks; upon that I erected as my royal seat and for my personal enjoyment 7 (text: 8) beautiful halls (roofed with) boxwood, *Magan-ash*, cedar, cypress, terebinth, *tarpī'u* and *mehru* (beams); I sheathed doors made of cedar, cypress, juniper, boxwood and *Magan-ash* with bands of bronze; I hung them in their doorways; I surrounded them (the doors) with decorative bronze bolts; to proclaim my heroic deeds I painted on their (the palaces') walls with vivid blue paint how I have marched across the mountain ranges, the foreign countries and the seas, my conquests in all countries;² I had lapis lazuli colored glazed bricks made and set (them in the wall) above their gates. I brought in people from the countries over which I rule, those who were conquered by me personally, (that is) from the country Suhi (those of) the town Great [. . .], from the entire land of Zamua, the countries Bit-Zamani and [Kir]rure, the town of Sirqu which is across the Euphrates, and many inhabitants of Laqe, of Syria and (who are subjects) of Lubarna, the ruler of Hattina; I settled them therein (the city of Calah).

I dug a canal from the Upper Zab River; I cut (for this purpose) straight through the mountain(s); I called it Patti-hegalli ("Channel-of-Abundance"); I provided the lowlands along the Tigris with irrigation; I planted orchards at its (the city's) outskirts, with all sorts of fruit trees.

I pressed the grapes and offered (them) as first fruits in a libation to my lord Ashur and to all the sanctuaries of my country. I (then) dedicated that city to my lord Ashur.

[I collected and planted in my garden] from the countries through which I marched and the mountains which I crossed, the trees (and plants raised from) seeds from wherever I discovered (them, such as): cedars, cypress, *šimmešallu*-perfume trees, *burāšu*-junipers, myrrh-producing trees, *dapranu*-junipers, nut-bearing trees, date palms, ebony, *Magan-ash*, olive trees, *tamarind*, oaks, *tarpī'u*-terebinth trees, *luddu*-nut-bearing trees, pistachio and *cornel*-trees, *mehru*-trees, šE.MUR-trees, *tijatu*-trees, Kanish oaks, willows, *šadānu*-trees, pomegranates, plum trees, fir trees, *ingirašu*-trees, *ḳameššeru*-pear trees, *supurgillu*-bearing trees, fig trees, grape vines, *angašu*-pear trees, aromatic *šumlalu*-trees, *tiip*-trees, *hip/būtu*-trees, *zanzaliqqu*-trees, "swamp-apple" trees, *hambuqūqu*-trees, *nuhurtu*-trees, *urzinu*-trees, resinous *ḳanaḳtu*-trees [. . .]. In the gardens in [Calah] they vied with each other in fragrance; the paths i[n] the gardens were well *ḳepi*, the irrigation weirs [distributed the water *evenly*]; its pomegranates glow in the pleasure garden like the stars in the sky, they are interwoven like grapes on the vine;

² This refers to murals executed in blue paint.

. . . in the pleasure garden [. . .] in the garden of happiness flourished like ce[*dar trees*] (break).

(ii)

I erected in Calah, the center of my overlordship, temples such as those of Enlil and Ninurta which did not exist there before; I rebuilt in it the (following) temples of the great gods: the temples of Ea-sharru (and) Damkina, of Adad (and) Shala, of Gula, Sin, Nabu, Beletnathi, Sibittu (and of) Ishtar-kidmuri. In them I established the (sacred) pedestals of the(se), my divine lords. I decorated them splendidly; I roofed them with cedar beams, made large cedar doors, sheathed them with bands of bronze, placed them in their doorways. I placed figural representations made of shining bronze in their doorways. I made (the images of) their great godheads sumptuous with red gold and shining stones. I presented them with golden jewelry and many other precious objects which I had won as booty.

I lined the inner shrine of my lord Ninurta with gold and lapis lazuli, I placed right and left of it *im*³ objects made of bronze, I placed at his pedestal fierce *ušumgallu*-dragons of gold. I performed his festival in the months Shabatu and Ululu. I arranged for them (the materials needed for) scatter and incense offerings so that his festival in Shabatu should be one of great display. I fashioned a statue of myself as king in the likeness of my own features out of red gold and polished stones and placed it before my lord Ninurta.

I organized the abandoned towns which during the rule of my fathers had become hills of rubble, and had many people settle therein; I rebuilt the old palaces across my entire country in due splendor; I stored in them barley and straw.

Ninurta and Palil, who love me as (their) high priest, handed over to me all the wild animals and ordered me to hunt (them). I killed 450 big lions; I killed 390 wild bulls from my open chariots in direct assault as befits a ruler; I cut off the heads of 200 ostriches as if they were caged birds; I caught 30 elephants in pitfalls. I caught alive 50 wild bulls, 140 ostriches (and) 20 big lions with my own [. . .] and *stave*.

(iii)

I received five live elephants as tribute from the governor of Suhu (the Middle Euphrates region) and the governor of Lubda (S.E. Assyria toward Babylonia); they used to travel with me on my campaigns.⁴

I organized herds of wild bulls, lions, ostriches and

³ One expects here a word for divine standards, like the *urigallu* likewise connected with the cult of heroic deities, cf. *TCL*, III, 14 (Sar.).

⁴ This reference to elephants accompanying the Assyrian king should be pointed out because it is not mentioned in the last study dealing with this animal, B. Brentjes, "Der Elefant im Alten Orient," *Klio*, xxxix (1961), pp. 8 ff.

male and female monkeys and had them breed like flocks (of domestic animals).

I added land to the land of Assyria, *many* people to its people.

When Ashurnasirpal, king of Assyria, inaugurated the palace in Calah, a palace of joy and (erected with) great ingenuity, he invited into it Ashur, the great lord and the gods of his entire country, (he prepared a banquet⁵ of) 1,000 fattened head of cattle, 1,000 calves, 10,000 stable sheep, 15,000 lambs—for my lady Ishtar (alone) 200 head of cattle (and) 1,000 *sihhu*-sheep—1,000 spring lambs, 500 stags, 500 gazelles, 1,000 *ducks*, 500 *geese*, 500 *kurku*-geese, 1,000 *mesuku*-birds, 1,000 *qaribu*-birds, 10,000 doves, 10,000 *sukanunu*-doves, 10,000 other (assorted) small birds, 10,000 (assorted) fish, 10,000 jerboa, 10,000 (assorted) eggs; 10,000 loaves of bread, 10,000 (jars of) beer, 10,000 skins with wine, 10,000 pointed bottom vessels with *su'u*-seeds in sesame oil, 10,000 small pots with *sarhu*-condiment, 1,000 wooden crates with vegetables, 300 (containers with) oil, 300 (containers with) salted seeds, 300 (containers with) mixed *raqqute*-plants, 100 with *kudimmu*-spice, 100 (containers with) . . . , 100 (containers with) parched barley, 100 (containers with) green *abahšinnu*-stalks, 100 (containers with) fine mixed beer, 100 pomegranates, 100 bunches of grapes, 100 mixed *zamru*-fruits, 100 pistachio cones, 100 with the fruits of the *šūši*-tree, 100 with garlic, 100 with onions, 100 with *kuniphu* (seeds), 100 with the . . . of turnips, 100 with *hinhinnu*-spice, 100 with *budū*-spice, 100 with honey, 100 with rendered butter, 100 with roasted . . . barley, 100 with roasted *su'u*-seeds, 100 with *karkartu*-plants, 100 with fruits of the *ti'atu*-tree, 100 with *kasū*-plants, 100 with milk, 100 with cheese, 100 jars with "mixture," 100 with pickled *arsuppu*-grain, ten homer of shelled *luddu*-nuts, ten homer of shelled pistachio nuts, ten homer of fruits of the *šūšu*-tree, ten homer of fruits of the *habba-qūqu*-tree, ten homer of dates, ten homer of the fruits of the *titip*-tree, ten homer of *cumin*, ten homer of *sahhunu*, ten homer of *uriānu*, ten homer of *andahšu*-bulbs, ten homer of *šišanibbe*-plants, (iv) ten homer of the fruits of the *simbūru*-tree, ten homer of thyme, ten homer of perfumed oil, ten homer of sweet smelling matters, ten homer of . . . , ten homer of the fruits of the *našubu*-tree, ten homer of *zimzimmu*-onions, ten homer of olives.

When I inaugurated the palace at Calah I treated for ten days with food and drink 47,074 persons, men and

⁵ The Gargantuan bill of fare given here provides us in spite of all its lexical difficulties with the basic features of a banquet menu. The list is structured as follows: (1) meat dishes (sheep, cattle, with some game; fowl consisting mostly of small birds with aquatic birds in the second place) and equal amounts of fish and jerboa with assorted eggs in large number; (2) bread; (3) beer and wine in equal amounts; (4) side dishes consisting mainly of pickled and spiced fruit, and seeds of a wide variety, also onion; (5) dessert (sweet fruits, nuts, honey, cheese) and savories, most of which cannot be identified yet. At the end, the list mentions perfumed oil and sweet smelling substances.

women, who were bid to come from across my entire country, (also) 5,000 important persons, delegates from the country Suhu, from Hindana, Hattina, Hatti, Tyre, Sidon, Gurguma, Malida, Hubushka, Gilzana, Kuma (and) Musasir, (also) 16,000 inhabitants of Calah from all ways of life, 1,500 officials of all my palaces, altogether 69,574 invited guests from all the (mentioned) countries including the people of Calah; I (furthermore) provided them with the means to clean and anoint themselves. I did them due honors and sent them back, healthy and happy, to their own countries.

The Mother of Nabonidus

On two stelae found in Harran, one in 1906 and one as recently as 1956, we have what appears, stylistically, as a tomb inscription of the mother of Nabonidus. The fact that two such objects are found in proximity seems, however, to suggest that they represent some atypical form of memorial tablets, since these stelae were placed, together with two likewise identical stelae of Nabonidus himself (see p. 562), in an architecturally oriented arrangement in or near the temple in Harran, the reconstruction of which is clearly the main concern of both texts. The present translation is based on the stela called H₁ B by Gadd (see below) because it is better preserved and more complete than the stela found and first published by H. Pognon (H₁ A according to Gadd). Publication: C. J. Gadd, "The Harran Inscription of Nabonidus" in *AnSt*, VIII (1958), pp. 35-92, especially pp. 56-65. The older stela has been treated most recently by B. Landsberger, "Die Basaltstela Nabonids von Eski-Harran" in *Halil Edhem Hatıra Kitabi* (Ankara, 1947), pp. 115-151, Plates 1-3 (with literature on earlier discussion *ibid.*, p. 120 f.). Literature: For studies dealing with the historical background of this stela, see the literature cited sub p. 311.

(i)

I am Adad-guppi',¹ the mother of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, a devotee of Sin, Ningal, Nusku and Sadarnunna, my gods, with whom (lit.: with whose godhead) I always, even since my childhood, took refuge, I who—(even) in the 16th year of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, when Sin, the king of all gods, became angry with his city (i.e., Harran) and his temple, and went up to heaven and the city and the people in it became desolate—visited the sacred places of Sin, Ningal, Nusku and Sadarnunna in (the city and) remained devoted to them (lit.: to their godhead); I who have laid hold of the hem of the garment of Sin, the king of all gods, and have taken refuge with his great godhead every day and night; I who have been piously devoted all my lifetime to Sin, Shamash, Ishtar and Adad, who are in the heaven and in the nether world. For whatever precious possessions they have given me, I *thanked* them with gifts day and night for months and years.

I laid hold of the hem of the garment of Sin, the king of all gods, my eyes were directed toward him day and night; I bowed down before him(!) in prayers and

¹ For the still unintelligible name of the mother of Nabonidus, see now W. Röllig, *ZA*, LVI (1964), p. 235, n. 39.

prostrations, saying: "If you would return to your city, all the black-headed people would worship your great godhead!" In order to appease (the anger of) my personal god and goddess, I did not permit apparel made of fine wool, gold and silver jewelry, any new garment, perfumes, and scented oil to touch my body, I was clad in a torn garment and when I left (my house) it was in silence, I constantly pronounced benedictions for them, the praise of my personal god and goddess was in my thoughts and I performed the services for them. I did not spare whatever precious possession I had but brought it to them (as votive offering).

From the 20th year of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, when I was born, until the 42nd year of Ashurbanipal, the 3rd year of his son Ashur-etil-ili, the 21st year of Nabopolassar, the 43rd year of Nebuchadnezzar, the 2nd year of Awel-Merodach, the 4th year of Neriglissar, during (all) these 95 years in which I visited the temple of the great godhead of Sin, the king of all the gods in heaven and in the nether world, he looked with favor upon my pious good works and listened to my prayers, accepted my vows.

(Eventually) his wrathful heart quieted down and he became reconciled with the temple Ehulhul, the temple of Sin in Harran, the divine residence in which his heart rejoices, and he had a change of heart. Sin, the king of all the gods, looked with favor upon me and called Nabonidus, my only son, whom I bore, to kingship and entrusted him with the kingship of Sumer and Akkad, (also of) all the countries from the border of Egypt, on the Upper Sea, to the Lower Sea. Then I lifted my hands to Sin, the king of all the gods, [I asked] reverently and in a pious mood: (ii) "Since you have called to kingship [Nabonidus, my son, whom I bore, the beloved of his mother,] and have elevated his status, let all the other gods—upon your great divine command—help him (and) make him defeat his enemies, do (also) bring to completion the (re)building of the temple Ehulhul and the performance of its ritual!" In a dream Sin, the king of all the gods, put his hands on me saying: "The gods will return on account of you! I will entrust your son, Nabonidus, with the divine residence of Harran; he will (re)build the temple Ehulhul and complete this task. He will restore and make Harran more (beautiful) than it was before! He will lead Sin, Ningal, Nusku and Sadarnunna in solemn procession into the temple Ehulhul!"

I heeded the words which Sin, the king of all the gods, had spoken to me and I saw (them come true). Nabonidus, the only son whom I bore, performed indeed all the forgotten rites of Sin, Ningal, Nusku and Sadarnunna, he completed the rebuilding of the temple Ehulhul, led Sin, Ningal, Nusku and Sadarnunna in procession from Babylon (Shuanna), his royal city, installed (them again)

in gladness and happiness into Harran, the seat which pleases them.

Out of his love for me who worships him and have laid hold to the hem of his garment, Sin, the king of all gods, did what he had not done before, had not granted to anybody else, he gave me (a woman) an exalted position and a famous name in the country. He added (to my life) many days (and) years of happiness and kept me alive from the time of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, to the 9th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, the son whom I bore, (i.e.) one hundred and four happy years (spent) in that piety which Sin, the king of all gods, has planted in my heart. My eyesight was good (to the end of my life), my hearing excellent, my hands and feet were sound, my words well chosen, food and drink agreed with me, my health was fine and my mind happy. I saw my great-great-grandchildren, up to the fourth generation, in good health and (thus) had my fill of old age.

Let me entrust to you, Sin, my lord, my son Nabonidus, king of Babylon (NUN^{kl}) (since) you have looked upon me with favor and have given me (such) a long life; he should not sin against you as long as he lives. Assign to him the favorable *šēdu* and *lamassu* protective spirits whom you have assigned to me and who have made me reach ripe old age. Do not forgive him (easily) his trespassing and sins against your great godhead, may he (always) be in awe of your great godhead.

I have obeyed with all my heart and have done my duty (as a subject) during the 21 years in which Nabopolassar, the king of Babylon, the 43 years in which Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabopolassar, and the four years in which Neriglissar, the king of Babylon, exercised their kingship, (altogether) 68 years; I have made Nabonidus, the son whom I bore, serve Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopolassar, and Neriglissar, king of Babylon, and he performed his duty for them day and night by doing always what was their pleasure. He also made me a good name before them and they gave me an elevated position as if I were their real daughter. (break) And (for this reason) I have been making funerary offerings for them, performing and instituting for them permanent incense offerings, abundant (and) of sweet smell.

(Postscript:) She died a natural death in the 9th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon. Nabonidus, king of Babylon, the son whom she bore, laid her body to rest [wrapped in] fine [wool garments and] shining white linen. He deposited her body in a hidden tomb with splendid [ornaments] of gold [set with] beautiful stones, [...] stones, expensive stone beads, [containers with] scented oil, and [...]. He slaughtered fat rams and assembled into his presence [the inhabitants] of Babylon and Borsippa together with [people] from far off provinces, he [summoned even kings, princes] and

governors from the [borders] of Egypt on the Upper Sea, to the Lower Sea, for the mourning and [. . .] and they made a great lament, scattered [dust] on their heads. For seven days and seven nights they walked about, heads hung low,² [dust strewn], stripped of their attire. On the seventh day [. . .] all the people of the country shaved and cleaned themselves, [threw away] their (mourning) attire [. . .] [I had] chests with (new) attire [brought] for them to their living quarters, [treated them] with food [and drink], provided them richly with fine oil, poured scented oil over their heads, made them glad (again) and looking presentable. I provided them well for their [long] journey and they returned to their homes.

[Whoever] you are, king, prince [or . . .] [take refuge] with the great godhead of Sin, the king [of all gods], the lord of the gods of heaven and nether world, worship Shamash, Adad and Ishtar, the lords [of heaven] and the nether world who [. . .], [the gods] who reside in Esagila and E[zida] and pray to them lest they [. . .]; the command of Sin and of Ishtar which can save [you . . .]. Keep [yourself] and your offspring safe forever and ever.

Nabonidus and His God

In 1956 D. S. Rice discovered in the ruins of the Great Mosque in Harran two stelae of Nabonidus used there secondarily as paving stones. Both are in typical stela form ending in a semi-circle which contains in bas-relief the figure of the king in adoration before the symbols of the Sun, Ishtar, and the Moon. The lower part of each monolith contains the inscription in three columns of about 50 lines. Publication: C. J. Gadd, "The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus" in *AnSt*, VIII (1958), pp. 35-92, Plates I-xvi, with photographs, transliteration and translation, provided with elaborate notes. Literature: W. L. Moran, "Notes on the new Nabonidus Inscriptions," *Orientalia* NS, XXVIII (1959), pp. 130-40; W. Röllig, "Erwägungen zu neuen Stelen König Nabonids," *ZA*, LVI (NF, XXXI, 1964), pp. 218-60; H. Tadmor, "The Inscriptions of Nabonid, Historical Arrangement" in *AS*, XVI (1965), pp. 351-64.

(i)

(This is) the great miracle of Sin that none of the (other) gods and goddesses knew (how to achieve), that has not happened to the country from the days of old, that the people of the country have (not) observed nor written down on clay tablets to be preserved for eternity, that (you), Sin, the lord of all the gods and goddesses residing in heaven, have come down from heaven to (me) Nabonidus, king of Babylon! For me, Nabonidus, the lonely¹ one who has nobody, in whose (text: my)

² Read *ih-tal-li-lu* and add to *CAD*, *halālu* A as new nuance denoting the slow gait of the mourner.

¹ The reading [*w*]e(l)-e-du instead of [DUM]U(l) e-du (see *ZA*, LVI, 219, n. 7), "only son," seems to be required by the context. The latter expression occurs only when the mother of Nabonidus speaks of him, while the king stresses here the fact that he was alone and without friends.

heart was no thought of kingship, the gods and goddesses prayed (to Sin) and Sin called me to kingship. At midnight he (Sin) made me have a dream and said (in the dream) as follows: "Rebuild speedily Ehulhul, the temple of Sin in Harran, and I will hand over to you all the countries."

But the citizens of Babylon, Borsippa, Nippur, Ur, Uruk (and) Larsa, the administrators (and) the inhabitants of the urban centers of Babylonia acted evil, careless and even sinned against his great divine power, having not (yet) experienced the awfulness of the wrath of the Divine Crescent, the king of all gods; they disregarded his (text: their) rites and there was much irreligious and disloyal talk. They devoured one another like dogs, caused disease and hunger to appear among them. He (Sin) decimated the inhabitants of the country, but he made me leave my city Babylon on the road to Tema, Dadanu, Padakku, Hibra, Jadihu even as far as Jatribu.² For ten years I was moving around among these (cities) and did not enter my own city Babylon.

Upon the order of Sin, the king of all gods, the lord of lords, which the gods and goddesses living in heaven (then) executed, upon the order of the Divine Crescent, Sin, they appointed Shamash, Ishtar, Adad and Nergal to watch over my well-being. (Thereupon) in one and the same year³ (twice), to wit in the month of Nisannu as well as Tashritu, the people of Babylonia and Upper Syria could collect the products of the (open) country and the sea, and throughout all these years, without exception, Adad, the dike warden of heaven and nether world provided them upon the command of Sin with rain even in the height of the summer, in the following months: Simanu, Du'uzi, Abu (and) Ululu, and so they could bring me (in order to support me) their abundance without hardship.⁴ Upon the command of Sin «and» Ishtar, the Lady-of-Battle, without whom neither hostilities nor reconciliation can occur in the country and no battle can be fought, extended her protection (lit.: hand) over them, and the king of Egypt, the Medes and the land of the Arabs, all the hostile kings, were sending me messages of reconciliation and friendship. As to the land of the Arabs which [is the eternal enemy] of Babylonia [and which] was (always) ready to rob and carry off its possession, (ii) Nergal broke their weapons upon the order of Sin, and they all bowed down at my feet. Shamash, the lord of oracular decisions, without whom no prediction can be uttered (lit.: no mouth can be

² For these Arabian cities, cf. Gadd, *AnSt*, VIII, p. 80 ff.

³ Thus I propose to translate *ina šatti šāšu* because the reference is not to one miraculous event but to a series of such incidents (see *ina kal šanāti annāti* in line 35) in which abnormal rainfall occurred.

⁴ The phrase *ina šulum* seems to indicate that Nabonidus intended to stress here the fact that he was living off the country during his exile, but that through the intervention of Adad which produced abundant rain, the inhabitants could support him without undue hardship to themselves.

opened or shut), made, in execution of a command of his own father, the Divine Crescent, the words and the hearts of the people of Babylonia and Upper Syria, who are in my charge, turn (again) to me so that they began to serve me and to execute my command throughout all the distant mountain regions and inaccessible paths I was moving about.

Then the (predicted) term of ten years arrived, it happened on the very day which the king of the gods, the Divine Crescent, had (in the dream) predicted, i.e., the 17th day of Tashritu, of which it is said (in the hemerologies): a day on which Sin is gracious.

O Sin, lord of the gods, whose name on the first day (of his appearance) is "Weapon-of-Anu," (you) who are able to illuminate (lit.: touch with light all) the heaven and to crush the nether world,⁵ who hold in your (text: the) hands the power of the Anu-office, who wield all the power of the Enlil-office, who have taken over the power of the Ea-office, holding thus in your (text: his) own hand all the heavenly powers; Enlil among the gods, king of kings, lord of lords, whose command they do not contradict, you who do not have to repeat your (text: his) order, of whose great awe the heaven and the nether world are full, with whose sheen heaven and nether world are covered—who can do anything without you? You place religious awe of your great godhead in the heart of any country in which you desire to dwell and its foundation remains steadfast forever; you remove awe toward you from any country which you choose to destroy and you overthrow it forever. (You) are the one whose utterance all the gods and goddesses living in heaven observe; they execute the command of the Divine Crescent, their own father, who wields the powers of heaven and nether world, without whose exalted command, which is given in heaven every day, no country can rest in security and no light can be in the world; the gods shake like reeds and the Anunnaki quiver; those who [bow down] before his divine command which cannot be changed . . . [. . .].

(iii)

[Before that moment] my visits to the diviner (or) the dream expert [for the interpretation of signs] did not cease, (but) whenever I lay down to sleep, (my) dreams at night were confused, until the word [came true, the time] was full, the right moment had arrived which [Sin had *foretold*]. [Then I dispatched a messenger] from Tema [and he went to] Babylon, my lordly city. When they saw [him . . .] they took gifts and presents be[fore him], the kings of the nearby regions came up (to Babylon) to kiss his (text: my) feet and those far off heard (about it) and were filled with awe of his (Sin's) great divine power. The gods and goddesses who had fled and

withdrawn returned to give blessings. Then, my good fortune was found (again) in the victims used for the decisions of the diviner.

I arranged for my followers in the distant mountain regions (to live) in great plenty and abundance and I myself took the road home undisturbed.

(Thereupon) I carefully executed the command of his (Sin's) great godhead, I was not careless nor negligent but set in motion people from Babylon and Upper Syria, from the border of Egypt on the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, all those whom Sin, the king of the gods, had entrusted to me, (thus) I built anew the Ehulhul, the temple of Sin, and completed this work. I (then) led in procession Sin, Ningal, Nusku and Sadarnunna, from Shuanna (in Babylon), my royal city, and brought (them) in joy and happiness (into the temple), installing them on a permanent dais. I made abundant offerings before them and lavished gifts (on them).

I filled Ehulhul with happiness and made its personnel rejoice.

(Thus) I fulfilled the command of Sin, the king of the gods, the lord of lords who dwells in heaven, whose name surpasses that of (all) the (other) gods in heaven, (i.e.) of Shamash, who is *installed* by him, Nusku, Ishtar, Adad (and) Nergal who have (only) executed the command of the Divine Crescent, who surpasses them (all).

Whenever I armed myself with weapons and set my mind to do battle, it was (solely) to execute the command of the Divine Crescent (hence) whoever you be whom Sin will (later on) name to kingship and whom he will call "My son," [do visit] the sacred places of Sin, who dwells in heaven [whose command cannot be changed] and whose order needs no [repetition] and [he will assist you] with his weapon in [battle . . .].

The Conquest of Jerusalem

From the tablet which deals with the period from the last (21st) year of Nabopolassar to the eleventh year of his son and successor Nebuchadnezzar II, the section reporting on the events before and after the conquest of Jerusalem has been translated here. The preceding years saw the conquest of Hatti land by Nabopolassar and his son's annual campaigns through the West (conquest of Askalon, first year), the subsequent campaign against Elam (Year 9), a short rebellion (Year 10) and more campaigns in Hatti land. Publication: D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626-556 B.C.) in the British Museum* (London, 1956), BM 21946, pp. 66-75 and Plates 14-16, also Introduction, pp. 32-37. Literature: W. F. Albright, "The Nebuchadnezzar and Neriglissar Chronicles," *BASOR*, 143 (1956), pp. 423-435; J. Finegan, "Nebuchadnezzar and Jerusalem," *JBR*, xxv (1957), pp. 203-205; D. N. Freedman, "The Babylonian Chronicle," *Biblical Archaeologist*, xix (1956), pp. 50-60; J. P. Hyatt, "New Light on Nebuchadnezzar and Judean History," *JBL*, lxxv (1956), pp. 277-284; A. Malamat, "A New Record of Nebuchadnezzar's Palestinian Campaigns," *IEJ*, vi (1956), pp. 246-256; F. Nötscher, "Neue babylonische Chroniken und AT," *Biblische Zeitschrift NF*, 1 (1957), pp. 110-114; E. Vogt, "Die neubabylonische Chronik über die Schlacht bei Karkemish und die

⁵ An obscure but obviously mythological allusion.

Einnahme von Jerusalem," *VT*, Supplement iv (1957), pp. 67-95; E. Auerbach, "Wann eroberte Nebukadnezar Jerusalem?" *VT*, xi (1961), pp. 128-136; A. F. Johns, "The Military Strategy of Sabbath Attacks on the Jews," *VT*, xii (1963), pp. 482-486.

BM 21946: r. 5-15 (Years 4 to 8 of Nebuchadnezzar II, 601-597 B.C.)

Year 4: The king of Akkad sent out his army and marched into Hatti land. [They marched] unopposed through Hatti land. In the month of Kislimu he took the lead of his army and marched toward Egypt. The king of Egypt heard (of it) and sent out his army; they clashed in an open battle and inflicted heavy losses on each other. The king of Akkad and his army turned back and [returned] to Babylon.

Year 5: The king of Akkad (stayed) in his country. He organized his chariots and many horses.

Year 6, month Kislimu: The king of Akkad moved his army into Hatti land. He dispatched his army from Hatti land, they raided the desert, took much booty from the land of the Arabs, (also) their herds and divine images in great number. In the month Addaru, the king returned to his country.

Year 7, month Kislimu: The king of Akkad moved his army into Hatti land, laid siege to the city of Judah (*Ia-a-hu-du*) and the king took the city on the second day of the month Addaru. He appointed in it a (new) king of his liking, took heavy booty from it and brought it into Babylon.

Year 8, month Tebetu: The king of Akkad (went) into Hatti land as far as Carchemish [...] from [...] and in the month Shabatu he returned to his country.

The Assyrian King List

There are three copies extant (apart from the small fragment *KAV*, 15) of the composition known today as "The Assyrian King List"; one was published by E. Nassouhi, "Grande Liste des rois d'Assyrie" in *AfO*, iv (1927), pp. 1-11, the two others by I. J. Gelb, "Two Assyrian King Lists" in *JNES*, xiii (1954), pp. 209-30. The first comes from the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (no reference to provenience known), the second from Khorsabad (*Dür-Šarru-kin*) and the third is deposited in the Seventh-Day Adventist Theological Seminary in Washington, D.C., and is likewise of unknown origin. While the shape of the Istanbul tablet cannot be ascertained because of its bad state of preservation, the other two tablets are clearly in the form of amulet texts (see Erica Reiner, *JNES*, xix, [1960], pp. 148 ff.). The contents are practically the same in all these instances but for the fact that the tablets were written at different periods and hence the sequences of the Assyrian kings are brought to different points in time. Thus, the tablet from Istanbul ends with the year 935 B.C., the Khorsabad copy with 745 B.C., and the tablet from Washington with 722 B.C.

The tablets have been repeatedly studied with regard to their value as documents bearing on the history of Assyria, cf. A. Poebel, "The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad" in *JNES*, i (1942), pp. 247-306, 460-92; ii (1943), pp. 59-60; I. J. Gelb in the aforementioned article; E. F. Weidner, "Bemerkungen zur Königsliste aus Chorsābād" in *AfO*, xv (1945-51), pp. 85-102; B. Landsberger, *JCS*, viii (1954), pp. 33-43, 47-73 and 106-14; F. R. Kraus, "Könige, die in Zelten wohnten," *Mededeelingen*

der koninglijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde Nieuwe Reeks—Deel 28, No. 2 (Amsterdam, 1965).

(i)

Tudiya, Adamu, Yangi, Kitlamu, Harharu, Mandaru, Imsu, Harsu, Didanu, Hanu, Zuabu, Nuabu, Abazu, Belu, Azarah, Ushpiya, Apiashal—

Total: 17 kings living in tents.

Aminu (was) the son of Ilu-kabkabi, Ilu-kabkabi the son of Yazkur-ilu, Yazkur-ilu the son of Yakmeni, Yakmeni the son of Yakmesi, Yakmesi the son of Ilu-Mer, Ilu-Mer the son of Hayani, Hayani the son of Samanu, Samanu the son of Hale, Hale the son of Apiashal, (and) Apiashal the son of Ushpiya—

Total: 10 kings who are ancestors.¹

Sulilu son of Amini, Kikkiya, Akiya, Puzur-Ashur, (I), Shallim-ahhe, Ilu-shuma—

Total: 6 kings [mentioned on] brick (inscriptions); their (lists of) eponyms are missing.²

Erishu (I) son of Ilu-shuma whose [...]; he ruled as king for 40 years.

Ikunu son of Erishu; he ruled as king for [x years].

Sharru-kin (I) son of Ikunu; he ruled as king for [x years].

Puzur-Ashur (II) son of Sharru-kin; he ruled as king for [x] years.

Naram-Sin son of Puzur-Ashur; he ruled as king for [x] years.

Erishu (II) son of Naram-Sin; he ruled as king for [x] years.

Shamshi-Adad (I), the son of Ilu-kabkabi, went away to Babylonia in the time of Naram-Sin; in the eponymy of Ibni-Adad, Shamshi-Adad came back from Babylonia; he seized Ekallate; he stayed in Ekallate for three years; in the eponymy of Atamar-Ishtar, Shamshi-Adad came up from Ekallate and removed Erishu, son of Naram-Sin, from the throne,

(ii)

seized the throne, (and) ruled as king for 33 years.

Ishme-Dagan (I) son of Shamshi-Adad; he ruled as king for 40 (var.: 50) years.

Ashur-dugul, the son of a nobody, without right to the throne; he ruled as king for six years.

¹ i.e. their names are given in genealogical, not in chronological, sequence.

² Everything is uncertain in this sentence. Apparently the scribe gives here the reason why the lengths of the individual rules are not indicated.

During the lifetime of that same Ashur-dugul, son of a nobody, (the following) six kings, (likewise) sons of nobodies, ruled as kings in periods of less than one year:³ Ashur-apla-idi, Nasir-Sin, Sin-namir, Ibqi-Ishtar, Adad-salulu (and) Adasi.

Bel-bani son of Adasi; he ruled as king for ten years.

Libaya son of Bel-bani; he ruled as king for 17 years.

Sharma-^aIM (I) son of Libaya; he ruled for 12 years.

Ib-tar-Sin son of Sharma-^aIM; he ruled for 12 years.

Bazaya son of Ib-tar-Sin; he ruled for 28 years.

Lullaya son of a nobody; he ruled as king for six years.

Kidin-Ninua son of Bazaya; he ruled as king for 14 years.

Sharma-^aIM (II) son of Kidin-Ninua; he ruled as king for three years.

Erishu (III) son of Kidin-Ninua; he ruled as king for 13 years.

Shamshi-Adad (II) son of Erishu; he ruled as king for six years.

Ishme-Dagan (II) son of Shamshi-Adad; he ruled as king for 16 years.

Shamshi-Adad (III), son of Ishme-Dagan, brother of Sharma-^aIM (II), son of Kidin-Ninua; he ruled as king for 16 (var.: 15) years.

Ashur-nirari (I) son of Ishme-Dagan; he ruled as king for 26 years.

Puzur-Ashur (III) son of Ashur-nirari; he ruled as king for [x] (variants: 14 and 24) years.

Enlil-nasir (I) son of Puzur-Ashur; he ruled as king for 13 years.

Nur-ili son of Enlil-nasir; he ruled as king for 12 years.

Ashur-shaduni son of [Nur-ili]; he ruled as king for one full month.

Ashur-rabi (I), the son of Enlil-nasir, removed [Ashur-shaduni,] seized the throne (and) [ruled as king for x years].

Ashur-nadin-ahhe (I) son of Ashur-rabi; [he ruled as king for x years].

(iii)

His brother Enlil-nasir (II) remo[ved him] from the throne (and) ruled as king for six years.

Ashur-nirari (II) son of Enlil-nasir (I or II); he ruled as king for seven years.

Ashur-bel-nisheshu son of Ashur-nirari (II); he ruled as king for nine years.

Ashur-rim-nisheshu son of Ashur-bel-nisheshu; he ruled as king for eight years.

Ashur-nadin-ahhe (II) son of Ashur-rim-nisheshu; he ruled as king for 10 years.

Eriba-Adad (I) son of Ashur-bel-nisheshu; he ruled as king for 27 years.

Ashur-uballit (I) son of Eriba-Adad; he ruled as king for 36 years.

Enlil-nirari son of Ashur-uballit; ditto ten years.

Arik-den-ili son of Enlil-nirari; ditto 12 years.

Adad-nirari (I) brother of Arik-den-ili; he ruled as king for 32 years.

Shulmanu-ashared (I) son of Adad-nirari; ditto 30 years.

Tukulti-Ninurta (I) son of Shulmanu-ashared; ditto 37 years.

While Tukulti-Ninurta was . . . , his son Ashur-nadin-apli seized his throne (and) ruled for three (var.: four) years.

Ashur-nirari (III) son of Ashur-nasir-apli; he ruled as king for six years.

Enlil-kudur-usur son of Tukulti-Ninurta; he ruled as king for five years.

Ninurta-apli-Ekur, the son of Ili-ihadda, a descendant of Eriba-Adad, went to Babylonia; he came back from Babylonia, seized the throne (and) ruled as king for three (var.: 13) years.

Ashur-dan (I) son of Ninurta-apil-Ekur; ditto 46 (var.: 36) years.

Ninurta-Tukulti-Ashur son of Ashur-dan ruled as king for less than a year.³

His brother Mutakkil-Nusku fought with him and defeated him; he sent him away to Babylonia. Mutakkil-Nusku held the throne for less than a year;⁸ he (then) disappeared forever.

Ashur-resh-ishi (I) son of Mutakkil-Nusku; he ruled as king for 18 years.

Tukulti-apil-Esharra (I) son of Ashur-resh-ishi; he ruled as king for 39 years.

Ashared-apil-Ekur son of Tukulti-apil-Esharra; he ruled as king for two years.

³ The meaning of the word *tuppu* is still enigmatic; for the more recent pronouncements see Landsberger, *JCS*, viii (1954), 37 f. and 109 ff.; *JNES*, viii (1949), 265 f.; M. B. Rowton, *JNES*, x (1951), 186 ff.

Ashur-bel-kala son of Tukulti-apil-Esharra; he ruled as king for 18 years.

Eriba-Adad (II) son of Ashur-bel-kala; ditto⁴ two years.

(iv)

Shamshi-Adad (IV), the son of Tukulti-apil-Esharra, came from Babylonia; he removed Eriba-Adad, the son of Ashur-bel-kala, from the throne; he seized the throne (and) ruled as king for four years.

[Ashur-nasir-apli (I) son of] Shamshi-Adad (IV); ditto for 19 years.

Shulmanu-ashared (II), son of Ashur-nasir-apli; he ruled as king for 12 years.

Ashur-nirari (IV) son of Shulmanu-ashared (II); ditto six years.

Ashur-rabi (II) son of Ashur-nasir-apli; ditto 41 years.

Ashur-resh-ishi (II) son of Ashur-rabi; he ruled as king for five years.

Tukulti-apil-Esharra (II) son of Ashur-resh-ishi; he ruled as king for 32 years.

Ashur-dan (II) son of Tukulti-apil-Esharra; he ruled as king for 23 years.

Adad-nirari (II) son of Ashur-dan; he ruled as king for 21 years.

Tukulti-Ninurta (II) son of Adad-nirari; ditto seven years.

Ashur-nasir-apli (II) son of Tukulti-Ninurta; he ruled as king for 25 years.

Shulmanu-ashared (III) son of Ashur-nasir-apli; he ruled as king for 35 years.

Shamshi-Adad (V) son of Shulmanu-ashared; he ruled as king for 13 years.

Adad-nirari (III) son of Shamshi-Adad; he ruled as king for 28 years.

Shulmanu-ashared (IV) son of Adad-nirari; he ruled as king for ten years.

Ashur-dan (III) brother of Shulmanu-ashared; he ruled as king for 18 years.

Ashur-nirari (V) son of Adad-nirari (III); he ruled as king for 10 years.

(The earlier copy ends here with the subscript:)

Copy from Ashur; written by (lit.: hand of) Kandalanu, the scribe of the temple inside of Arbela. Month

⁴ The abbreviated form of the sentence is given in this translation only when it appears in the Khorsabad text.

Lulubu, the 20th day; eponym: Adad-bel-ukin, governor of the inner city of Ashur, in his second eponymy.

(The later copy continues:)

Tukulti-apil-Esharra (III) son of Ashur-nirari (V); he ruled as king for 18 years.

Shulmanu-ashared (V) son of Tukulti-apil-Esharra; he ruled as king for 5 years.

Written and checked against its original. A tablet of the *mašmašu*-priest, Bel-shum-iddin, a native of Ashur. May Shamash take away him who takes (this tablet) away.

The Uruk King List from Kandalanu to Seleucus II

Publication: J. van Dijk, W 20030,105 in *UVB*, xviii (1962), pp. 53-60 and Pl. 28, with extensive discussion of the historical background and pertinent Assyriological literature. Literature: Joan Oates, "Assyrian Chronology 631-612 B.C.," *Iraq*, xxvii (1965), pp. 136-59; R. Borger, "Der Aufstieg des Neubabylonischen Reiches," *JCS*, xix (1965), pp. 59-78.

[x] years [. . .]

Other name: [. . .]

21 years: K[anda]lan

1 year: Sin-shum-lishir

and Sin-shar-ishkun

21 years: Nabopolassar

43 [ye]ars: Nebuchadnezzar (II)

2 [ye]ars: Amel-Marduk

[x] + 2 years, 8 months: Neriglissar

[. . .] 3 months: Labashi-Marduk

[x] + 15 years: Nabonidus

[9 years: Cy]rus

[8 years: Cambys]es

[36 years: Dari]us

(break)

(rev.)

[whose] second name (is) Nidin-^dB[el]

5 [y]ears: Darius (III)

7 years: Alexander

6 years: Philip

6 years: Antigonus

31 years: Seleucus (I)

22 years: Antiochus (I)

15 years: Antiochus (II)

20 [years]: Seleucus (II)

(break)

A Seleucid King List

Publication: A. J. Sachs and D. J. Wiseman, "A Babylonian King List of the Hellenistic Period" in *Iraq*, xvi (1954), pp. 202-211. Literature: J. Schaumberger, "Die neue Seleukidenliste

BM 35603 und die makkabäische Chronologie" in *Biblica*, xxxvi (1955), pp. 423-35. J. van Dijk, *UVB*, xviii, p. 58 f.

[. . .] Alexander (the Great) [. . .]

Philip, the brother of Alexander [did . . .].

For [x] years there was no king in the country. Antigonus, the commander of the army was [. . .].

Alexander, the son of Alexander¹ (was reckoned as king) for six years.

Year 7 is the first year (of Seleucus). Seleucus (I, Nicator) became king; he ruled for 25 years.

Year 31, month Elulu: king Seleucus (I) was killed in the West.²

Year 32: Antiochus (I, Soter), son of Seleucus (I) became king. He ruled for 20 years.

Year 51, month Ajaru, 16th (day): Antiochus (I), the great king, died.³

Year 52: Antiochus (II, Theos), son of Antiochus (I), became king. He ruled for 15 years.⁴

Year 66, month Abu: The following (rumor) was he[ard] in Babylon:⁵ Antiochus (II), the great king [has died].

(rev.)

[Year] 67: Seleucus (II, Gallinicus) [. . .]

[. . .]

[Year] 87: Seleucus (III, Soter) [. . .]

¹ The scribe uses, with the exception of the writings A-lik-sa-an-dar and Pi-lip-su, abbreviations to refer to the kings. Thus Seleucus is consistently written Si and Antiochus An, Demetrius Di and Arsaces, probably, Ar; in line 5 Alexander is rendered by A-lik. The translation uses the full names with the ordinals and the identifying Greek by-names for the convenience of the reader.

² The text uses the geographical name Hanî in this context which in earlier Akkadian documents refers to Assyria. Since the king was killed on the European side of the Bosphorus, the name Hanî seems to have been used also to refer to the regions to the west of Assyria. See, however, Sachs, *Iraq*, xvi, 206.

³ The use of NAM.MEŠ for "to die" is characteristic of the chronicle style (see the "Synchronistic Chronicle") and underlines the continuity pointed out by Sachs (*Iraq*, xvi, 202 f.) with respect to the Sumerian formula mu x in.ag, "he ruled for x years."

⁴ The formulation here deviates from that in lines 7, 9, r. 8 and 10 so that it is very likely that the scribe intended to convey a special nuance (possibly: he did not rule for full 15 years).

⁵ The repeated references to events which happened outside Babylon by *ittešme umma* are quite unique; I know of no parallel.

[Year] 90: King Antiochus (III, the Great) asc[ended] the throne.

He ruled for 35 [years].

[From] the Year 102 to the Year 119, Antiochus [. . .] [. . .] and Antiochus, (his) sons ruled as kings.

Year 125, month Simanu: the following (rumor) was heard in Babylon: Antiochus (III), the king, was killed in Elam.

In the same year, his son Seleucus (IV, Philipator) ascended the throne. He ruled for 12 years.

Year 137, month Elulu, 10th day: Seleucus (IV), the king, died. . . .⁶ In the same month, his son Antiochus (IV, Epiphames) ascended the throne. He ruled for 11 years.

In the same year, month Arahsamnu, Antiochus (IV) and his son Antiochus were kings.

[Year 1]42, month Abu: Antiochus, the king was put to death upon the command of his father, King Antiochus (IV).⁷

[Year 14]3: Antiochus became king.

[Year 148], month Kislimu: It was heard that K[ing] Antiochus (V, Eupator) [died . . .]

[. . .]

[. . .]

on left edge: Demetrius son of Demetrius [. . .] Arsaces, king [. . .].

⁶ Two clear but unintelligible signs (D1Š IG1).

⁷ Attention should be drawn to the discussion and parallel passages offered by Sachs on p. 208. The latter show that the king was killed in the midst of his nobles called, respectively, LÚ.GAL.MEŠ and A.SIG. The latter designation should be taken as variant writing for LÚ.A.SIG (clearly indicated as such in K.4395 v 10 in *Babyloniaca*, vii, p. 1.6) as seen already in W. J. Martin, *Tribut und Tributleistungen . . .*, *Studia Orientalia*, viii (1936), p. 32 f., and read *mār damqi*. The syllabic writings have been given in *damqu* (BI), *AHW*, 157b, from NA and NB texts but without the passages written LÚ.A.SIG in *ABL*, 154:12 and 20, 304:11, Klauber, *PRT*, 44:5, *ADD*, 862:1. The related designation LÚ.SIG occurs in Mari, Alalakh (MB) (see *CAD*, *damqu* mng. 3), Boğazköy (see now G. Meyer, *MIO*, 1, 114 f.: 9, 24, 28) and NA (see *AHW*, *loc. cit.*). All these words refer either to a type of soldier or to a social class, according to time and region.

Palestinian Inscriptions

TRANSLATOR: W. F. ALBRIGHT

A Letter from the Time of Josiah

In 1960 J. Naveh excavated a fortress on the Mediterranean seven km. northwest of Jamnia and three km. south of the mouth of the Wadi Rubin (Nahal Soreq). The name then given the site turned out to be based on an erroneous reading of the ostrakon in question. The life of the fortress could be dated within narrow limits by the typical late pre-exilic and early Ionian (Southwest-Anatolian Greek) pottery found on the site, as well as by historical considerations, which suggest a date about 630 B.C. This would be just after the death of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal and before the occupation of the Philistine Plain by Psammetichus of Egypt. The script of the ostrakon is unfortunately quite slovenly, and it might be dated almost anywhere in the seventh century. The language is also uneven, and there are orthographic inconsistencies, but it is, in general, a fluent late pre-exilic Hebrew.

For the original publication see J. Naveh in *IEJ*, x (1960), pp. 129-139, and *IEJ*, xii (1962), pp. 89-113, and among more recent treatments especially F. M. Cross, Jr., *BASOR*, 165 (1962), pp. 34-46, and S. Talmon, *BASOR*, 176 (1964), pp. 29-38. My own independent treatment was worked out with a class at the Hebrew Union College in April, 1961, but never published, since Cross had meanwhile been able to study the original, as well as a number of different photographs. The results of his careful collation were also placed at my disposal subsequently. The present translation diverges from that of Cross at a number of points, which are explained in the notes.

Let my lord commander¹ hear the case of his servant! As for thy servant, thy servant was harvesting² at Hazarusim (?).³ And thy servant was (still) harvesting as they finished⁴ the storage of grain,⁵ as usual⁶ before the Sabbath. While thy servant was finishing the storage of

¹ Either the high military official who was at the time in charge of the annexed territory in southwestern Palestine or the official in charge of the royal harvests in the Coastal Plain; for both posts see I Chron. 37.

² The context below indicates that the complainant was foreman of a small gang of men from a single town who were serving their tour of duty in the royal *corvée*.

³ In one of the photos I have, there are three clear horizontal parallel lines indicated in the supposed *aleph*, so I propose reading this name of a fortified town in the territory claimed by Simeon (e.g., I Chron. 4:31), which lay probably in the vicinity of Tell el-Far'ah (Sharuhén); see Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, II, p. 344. This rich grain-producing area lay some forty miles south of Jamnia; both had been at that time in Philistine territory.

⁴ I prefer Naveh's original interpretation for many reasons: harvesting grain was a relatively long process which varied in time according to latitude and elevation; measuring grain (for which *mdd* is regularly used, not *kwl*) took no time at all and was evidently included under *'sm*. Cf. also Ruth 2:21, "until they have finished (*killá*) all my harvest." Since the text is damaged in the middle of line 6 we cannot be sure that it did not read *k[lh] '(b)dk*.

⁵ This cannot well be *'āsām*, "granary" (probably "grain pit"), but may have been vocalized *'āsm* (like *qāstr* and *'āsif*, etc., referring to harvesting operations).

⁶ I propose vocalizing *kē-yómām*, literally "like daily."

grain with his harvesters,⁷ Hoshaiah⁸ son of Shobai came and took thy servant's mantle. (It was) while I was finishing with my harvesters (that) this one⁹ for no reason took thy servant's mantle. And all my companions will testify on my behalf—those who were harvesting with me in the heat (?) [. . .] all my companions will testify on my behalf! If¹⁰ I am innocent of gui[lt, let him¹¹ return] my mantle, and if not,¹² it is (still) the commander's right¹³ to take [my case under advisement (?)¹⁴ and to send word] to him [(asking) that he return the] mantle of thy servant. And let not [the plea of his servant] be displeasing to him!¹⁵ . . .

Three Ostraca from Arad

During the excavation of the citadel mound of biblical Arad, in the extreme south of the hill country of Judah, south of Hebron and northeast of Beersheba, since 1962 hundreds of Hebrew and Aramaic ostraca have been found. The most important single find (1964) consisted of a group of seventeen ostraca, mostly in a good state of preservation, and probably all dating from shortly before the conquest of Judah by the Chaldeans and their allies in the late winter of 598/97. This date has subsequently been confirmed by the discovery of an ostrakon mentioning steps which were to be taken against an expected Edomite raid. The value of the new material for political, administrative and especially religious history is considerable; it is exceeded only by the excavation of a local, but Yahwist sanctuary of the ninth-sixth centuries B.C.

For publication of the three ostraca reinterpreted here see especially Aharoni, *IEJ*, xvi (1966), pp. 1-7, and *BASOR*, 184 (1966), pp. 13 ff. For over-all accounts of the work at Arad see especially Aharoni, *The Biblical Archaeologist*, xxxi (1968), 2-

⁷ See above, n. 2.

⁸ Hoshaiah was presumably an inspector of forced labor.

⁹ *Zeh* can scarcely (in classical Hebrew) belong with the preceding word but it is quite common in the suggested usage, referring rather contemptuously to Hoshaiah.

¹⁰ The traces suggest that the scribe started to repeat the letter *nun* in *nāqētī* and corrected it to *qof*. Certainly *'āmēn* in both this sense and context has no parallel in Biblical Hebrew, while *'im* is to be expected before *we-'im-lō*.

¹¹ i.e., Hoshaiah.

¹² If this were really the word *'āmallē*, as thought by Naveh and Talmon, following I Sam. 18:27, we should have to render it here, after the conjunction *waw*, "and I delivered (it) in full to the commander." See n. 13.

¹³ The probable meaning of this passage may be inferred from Micah 3:1 (as recognized also by Cross).

¹⁴ Reading probably *lhš[pt]*, i.e., *lē-hiššāfēt*, "to discuss a (court) case with advisers"; cf. I Sam. 12:7.

¹⁵ For the construction of *we-lō* with following imperfect in jussive sense cf. I Kings 14:2, etc. (Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*, §109 g. I agree with Naveh's original recognition of the verb *dhm*, "be dark," in Hebrew and cognate languages; cf. the meanings of Arabic *dahama* and *adhama*, to make (someone) unhappy, to grieve, to displease." The reading *we-lō tiddāhennū*, "but do not drive him away," does not reckon with the polite form of address to the commander, whose "servant" the suppliant is (especially at the beginning and end of the letter).

32, with bibliographic data. My interpretation differs substantially from Aharoni's, but if correct supports his main theses and makes the ostraca directly relevant to the historical situation.

A¹⁶

To my lord Eliashib:¹⁷ May Yahweh grant thy welfare!¹⁸ And (as) of now, give Shemariah half an aroura (of ground)¹⁹ and to Kerosi²⁰ give a quarter aroura and to the sanctuary²¹ (give) what thou didst recommend to me. As for Shallum,²² he shall stay²³ at the temple of Yahweh.²⁴

¹⁶ Perhaps written by the secretary of a high official in Jerusalem to the military commander of the southern mountain district.

¹⁷ Three seals of Eliashib son of Osh(i)yahu have also been excavated by Aharoni at Arad, and the same patronymic appears below in Ostrakon C. In my opinion there can be no reasonable doubt that the proposed vocalization "Eshyahu" is wrong and that the name is shortened from *Ye'osyáhu* just as *Konyahu* (Coniah) was a short form of *Ye'konyáhu* (Jeconiah), personal name of king Jehoiachin. If this is correct, Osh(i)yahu was king Josiah, and the southern commander was brother of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, and uncle of the young king Jeconiah, then probably on the throne. Josiah may have had many more sons than are recorded. Another shortened form of the same name was borne by Yaosh, military commander at Lachish a decade later, but we do not know what relationship, if any, may have existed between them.

¹⁸ This formula goes back at least to the Bronze Age (Amarna, Taanach), but it already meant "grant welfare" not "ask for peace."

¹⁹ The Hebrews of the Monarchy used Egyptian hieratic numerals, signs for weights and measures, etc.; see now Aharoni, *BASOR*, 184 (1966), pp. 13-19, and I. T. Kaufman, *BASOR*, 188 (1967), pp. 39-41. The hieratic symbol for half an aroura (an aroura was 100 cubits square, so half an aroura would be about a quarter of an acre) is identical with the Hebrew sign here (which has not yet been explained, so far as I know); cf. the other new symbol in the following line, which is blurred in the photo but may reflect the Egyptian hieratic symbol for a quarter aroura (an eighth of an acre). The ground in question could scarcely be inside the citadel; it may have been intended for a house and garden. (Suggested by Hans Goedicke and George Hughes.)

²⁰ As pointed out by B. Mazar, Kerozi was the name of a family of temple servants, so *Kerozi* probably means "the Kerozite." In this case Shemariah and Kerozi were presumably sent from Jerusalem to care for the sanctuary service at Arad; cf. notes 21-24.

²¹ In view of the syntax and the difficulty of the first translation, which presupposes a Hebrew that is both obscure and unidiomatic, I have no hesitation in vocalizing *we-lad-debir*, referring to the sanctuary excavated at Arad, which could indeed be a *debir*.

²² A number of men bearing this name are known to have lived about this time, and the name was long popular in Israel. It had evidently been decided that Shallum should stay on in Jerusalem, where he was a priest or a temple servant, possibly identical with Jeremiah's uncle or a contemporary "keeper of the threshold."

²³ Certainly *yēšēb*, "he shall dwell," probably used in the sense of "he shall/will stay, as in Gen. 20:1, where the verb is used of Abraham's continued travel back and forth between Kadesh and the Wall of the Prince along the frontier of Egypt. He could not "live" in the

B²⁵

To Eliashib—and (as) of now: Give the *Kittiyim*²⁶ three baths²⁷ of wine and write the exact date.²⁸ And from what is left of the old wheat²⁹ grind up³⁰ one (*kor*)³¹ of wheat to make bread for them. Serve the wine in punch bowls.³²

C³³

To Nahum, and (as) of now: Go to the house³⁴ of Eliashib, son of Oshiyahu,³⁵ and get from him one (bath) of oil, and send it to m[e] in haste, sealing it with thy seal.

On the 24th³⁶ of the month Nahum delivered the oil into the hand of the *Kittī*.³⁷

desert of north-central Sinai, and he is expressly said to have had his home at Gerar in southern Palestine.

²⁴ Undoubtedly the temple in Jerusalem, from which the letter must have been sent to Arad.

²⁵ This letter is an official memorandum, so the salutation is missing. The apparent occasion for it is that the local mercenaries had been complaining about the food and drink supplied them.

²⁶ The term probably refers to mercenaries from the Aegean, like the Cretans (*Krētīm*) and Carians (*Kārim*) mentioned in the Bible. The term "islands (or coastlands) of the Kittim" which occurs several times in the Bible, shows that they were not limited to Cyprus. In fact, I have been deriving the name provisionally from Eg. *Kftyw*, with roughly the same geographical extension.

²⁷ This would be about 70 litres.

²⁸ Literally "write the name of the day."

²⁹ Almost certainly used of a good quality of wheat (such as the durum used in making macaroni) as well as of the flour ground from it. We have the same usage in modern Arabic *qamḥ*, "wheat," and the word was already borrowed in Old Egyptian from Canaanite in a similar sense. The reference to "what is left of the old wheat" suggests the late winter just before Jerusalem fell to the Chaldeans (15/16 March, 597 B.C.).

³⁰ Surely this word is merely denominative from *reḥeb*, "upper millstone."

³¹ The suggested "ephah" would amount to only half a bushel or so, which is incredibly low. A *kor* or *homer* (originally a donkey load) would amount to about three or four bushels. Since a bushel of wheat weighs about 60 lbs. it could scarcely have been a full measure, unless the caravan donkeys of antiquity were much stronger than their modern equivalents—the Damascus donkeys.

³² The *aggān* was a big mixing bowl (crater in Greek), in which wine was mixed with water or different wines were mixed. Evidently the Aegean mercenaries were used to drinking together from a crater and objected to Israelite practice.

³³ Here we have another memorandum. The second paragraph was obviously added by Nahum's scribe (it is in a different hand) in order to keep the record straight.

³⁴ Eliashib's house was also his office and storeroom.

³⁵ See n. 17.

³⁶ So read with Aharoni.

³⁷ See n. 26.



V. Hymns and Prayers



Sumerian Hymns

TRANSLATOR: S. N. KRAMER

Hymn to Enlil, the All-Beneficent

This pious, devotional document was composed by a Sumerian temple poet¹ in glorification of Enlil, his city Nippur, his temple the Ekur, and his wife Ninlil. Beginning on a narrative note relating how the all-commanding, all-searching, deeply revered Enlil set up his dwelling in the Duranki² of Nippur (lines 1-13), the hymn continues with a portrayal of the city as the guardian of man's loftiest moral and spiritual values, and therefore as a fitting home for Enlil's dwelling, the Ekur (lines 14-40), and concludes with an exulting affirmation of the mystery and holiness of the rites and rituals of that noble shrine, as conducted by a highly qualified priesthood (lines 41-64). The poet next turns to Enlil and glorifies him directly and reverently as the founder and builder of the awe-inspiring, festival-celebrating Ekur to which all "lords and princes" bring sacrifices and prayers, and all foreign lands bring their heavy tribute (lines 65-90).

The poet now delivers himself of a resounding magnificent of Enlil as the glorious shepherd of all mankind whom not even the gods—except for his trusty vizier Nusku—dare look upon (lines 91-109), and without whom civilized life would be inconceivable: there would be no cities and byres, no kings and high priests, no priestly and temporal officials, no irrigation and overflow, no fish and birds, no rain and vegetation, no procreation of man and beast (lines 110-130). Once again the poet then turns to Enlil directly and concludes his panegyric with a paean of glorification to the profound mystery of his deeds and actions (lines 131-138) and particularly to his unalterable, beneficent word that brings overflow from heaven and vegetation to the earth—the very "life of all the lands" (lines 139-154)³ and to his gracious, eloquent, and fate-decreeing Ninlil.⁴

By 1961 more than a score of tablets and fragments inscribed with this hymn had become available, including five pieces in the Hilprecht Sammlung of the Friedrich-Schiller University that were copied by Dr. Inez Bernhardt under my guidance (cf. *TuMNF*, III, pp. 11-12), and Adam Falkenstein was able to publish a fine trustworthy edition of the composition in *SGL*, I, pp. 5-79. Nevertheless there were still a number of gaps and misreadings, and most of these have been filled in and corrected by Daniel Reisman in the course of preparing a dissertation on Sumerian divine hymns, with the help of collations of some of the originals, a recently published Ur piece (cf. *UET*, VI, Part 1, comment to No. 65), and a number of still unpublished pieces in the University Museum and the Istanbul Museum of the Ancient

¹ The author was no doubt a graduate of the famous Nippur *edubba* (academy), who joined the personnel of the Ekur in one capacity or another, perhaps even as a kind of "poet in residence." The major stylistic device which he utilized for poetic effect in this composition is cumulative parallelism.

² Duranki "Bond of Heaven (and) Earth" is an epithet applied to the Ekur temple-complex.

³ As is clear from this hymn, the "word" of Enlil could be most beneficent; it was by no means the all-destructive force generally assumed by earlier scholars (cf. *JCS*, II, pp. 54-55).

⁴ It is not improbable that this hymn was actually composed on the occasion of an Enlil-Ninlil *hieros-gamos* ritual celebrated in the Ekur; Sumerian documents usually leave to the very end the purpose and occasion for which they were composed.

Orient. The present translation utilizes the results of Reisman's study.

Enlil whose command is far-reaching, lofty his word
(and) holy,

Whose pronouncement is unchangeable, who decrees
destinies unto the distant future,

Whose lifted eye scans the land,

Whose lifted beam searches the heart of all the land—

When Father Enlil seats himself broadly on the holy
dais, on the lofty dais,

When Nunamnir carries out to supreme perfection lord-
ship and kingship,

The earth-gods bow down willingly before him,

The Anunna humble themselves before him,

Stand by faithfully in accordance with (their) instruc-
tions.

The great (and) mighty lord, supreme in heaven (and)
earth, the all-knowing one who understands
the judgement, (10)

Has set up (his) seat in Duranki—the wise one,
Made preeminent in princship the *kiur*, the "great
place,"

In Nippur the lofty bellwether of the universe he erected
(his) dwelling.

The city—its "face" is awesome fear (and) dread,

Its outside no mighty god can approach,

Its inside is (full of) cries of mutilation, cries of *blood-
shed*,

It is a trap that serves as a *pit* and *net* against the rebel-
lious land,

It grants not long days to the braggart,

Allows no evil word to be uttered against (the divine)
judgment.

Hypocrisy, distortion,⁵ (20)

Abuse, malice, unseemliness,

Insolence,⁶ enmity, oppression,

Envy,⁷ (brute) force, libelous speech,

Arrogance, violation of agreement, breach of contract,
*abuse*⁸ of (a court) *verdict*,

(All these) evils the city does not tolerate.

⁵ A more literal translation of lines 20-21 reads:

That (whose) inside (is not like its) outside, the word that is not
straight,

Inimical words, that which is inimical and that which is not (well)
established.

⁶ This rendering is a guess based on the context.

⁷ Literally "turning of the eyes."

Nippur, whose "arm" is a vast net,
 Whose "heart" is the fast-stepping *hurin*-bird,⁸
 Whose "hand" the wicked and evil cannot escape;
 The city endowed with truth,
 Where righteousness (and) justice are perpetu-
 ated, (30)

Where clean garments are *worn* (even) at the quay,⁹
 Where the older brother honors the younger brother, acts
 humanely (towards him),
 Where the word of the elders is heeded, where it is
 repeated *in fear*,
 Where the son humbly fears his mother, where eldership
 endures—

In the city, the holy seat of Enlil,
 In Nippur, the beloved shrine of the father, the Great
 Mountain,

The shrine of plenty, the Ekur, the "lapis lazuli" house,
 he raised up out of the dust,
 Planted it in a pure place like a (high) rising mountain,
 Its prince, the Great Mountain, Father Enlil,
 Set up (his) dwelling on the dais of the Ekur,
 the lofty shrine. (40)

The house—its *me* (like) heaven cannot be overturned,
 Its pure rites like the earth cannot be shattered,
 Its *me*, (like) the *me* of the Abzu, none may gaze upon,
 In its midst that is (as) mysterious (as) the distant sea,
 the heavenly zenith,

Among its . . .-emblems, its starry emblems,
 The *dirga*,¹⁰ the hoary *me* are carried out to perfection,
 Its words are for utterance,
 Its incantations are words of prayer,
 Its words are gracious oracles that . . .

Of the rituals, so precious, (50)
 Of the festivals overflowing with rich fat (and)
 milk,

Their plans (and) their heart-rejoicing bliss are superb,
 Every day a festival, at the break of dawn a grand har-
 vest (feast),

The house of Enlil is a mountain of overflow,
 Where *beggar*,¹¹ *scavenger* and *idler* are tabu.

The house—its *en* grows with it,
 Its *si* is fit for the "peaceful hand,"¹²
 Its Abzu-lustration priests are well suited for the rites,¹³
 Their *nuesh*-priests are fit for the holy prayers,¹⁴

⁸ This is an eagle-like mythological bird.

⁹ This is what the literal meaning of the line seems to be.

¹⁰ This obscure word seems to be a parallel to *me*.

¹¹ Perhaps literally "who reaches out the hand."

¹² The *si(k)* is an official of some kind; the word *si* is the second part of the word *ensi* that is a composite of the *en* and *si(k)* offices, (cf. e.g., *nam-en* and *nam-si* in PBS, v, Pl. xv, col. v, lines 1 ff.); the second part of the line is obscure.

¹³ The Abzu here refers no doubt to a water-shrine in the Ekur complex of Nippur, not to the Abzu of Eridu (cf. also line 75).

¹⁴ Little is known about the *nuesh*-priests.

Its noble farmer, the faithful shepherd of the
 land,¹⁵ (60)

Favorably born on a good day,
 The farmer fit for the wide field,
 Brings with him the offerings supreme,
 To the "lapis-lazuli" Ekur—he *brings* not its . . . ,

Enlil, when you *marked off* holy settlements on earth,
 You built Nippur as your very own city,
 The *kiur*, the mountain, your pure place, whose water
 is sweet,¹⁶

You founded in the Duranki, in the center of the four
 corners (of the universe),

Its ground, the life of the land, the life of all the lands,
 Its brickwork of red metal, its foundations of
 lapis-lazuli, (70)

You have reared it up in Sumer like a wild ox,
 All lands bow the head to it,
 During its great festivals, the people spend (all) their
 time in bountifulness.

Enlil, the holy Earth that fills you with desire,
 The Abzu, the holy shrine, so befitting for you,
 The deep mountain, the holy cella, the place where you
 refresh yourself,

The Ekur, the "lapis-lazuli" house, your noble dwelling,
 awe-inspiring—

Its fear (and) dread reach heaven,
 Its shade is spread over all the lands,
 Its *front* stretches away to the center of heaven, (80)

All the lords, all the princes,
 Conduct thither (their) holy offerings,
 Offer (their) prayers and orisons to you.

Enlil, the shepherd upon whom you gaze (favorably),¹⁷
 The legitimate one, whom you have raised over the
 land—

The foreign land at his hand, the foreign land at his foot,
 (As well as) the most distant of foreign lands you make
 subservient to him,

Like refreshing water, *overflowing* goods from all over,
 Their offerings and heavy tribute,

They brought into the storehouse, (90)
 Into the main courtyard they conducted (their)
 gifts,

Into the Ekur, the "lapis-lazuli" house they brought
 them in *homage*.

Enlil, the shepherd of the teeming multitudes,
 The herdsman, the leader of (all) living creatures,
 Made preeminent his great princship,
 Placed the crown upon (his) holy *locks*,

¹⁵ This and the following lines refer of course to the king of Sumer.

¹⁶ The *kiur* is part of the Ekur complex.

¹⁷ These lines refer again to the king of Sumer.

As he sets up (his) dais in the mountain *mist*,¹⁸
 He rotates it in heaven like a rainbow,
 He makes it roam about like floating cloud.

Heaven—he alone is its prince, earth—he alone
 is its great one, (100)
 The Anunna—he is their exalted god,
 When in his awesomeness he decrees the fates,
 No god dares look at him,
 (Only) to his exalted vizier, the chamberlain Nusku,
 His command, the word that is in his heart,
 Did he make known, did he consult,
 Did he commission to execute (his) orders far and wide,
 Did he entrust the holy prayers in accordance with the
 holy *me*.

Without Enlil, the Great Mountain,
 No cities would be built, no settlements founded, (110)
 No stalls would be built, no sheepfold erected,
 No king would be raised high, no *en* born,
 No *lumah*, no *nindingir* would be chosen by the sheep
 omen.¹⁹

Workers would have no controller, no supervisor,
 The rivers—their high flood-waters would not bring
overflow,
 Their “backs” coming forth from the sea would not take
 a straight course, their “tails” would not be long,²⁰
 The sea would not readily produce its bountiful treasure,
 The fish of the sea would lay no eggs in the canebrake,
 The birds of heaven would not spread (their) nests over
 the wide earth.

In heaven the rain-laden clouds would not open
 their mouths, (120)
 The fields (and) meadows are not filled with rich
 grain,

In the steppe grass (and) herbs, its delight would not
 grow,
 In the garden, the wide mountain-trees would bear no
 fruit.

Without Enlil, the Great Mountain,
 Nintu would not put to death, would not kill,²¹
 The cow would not “throw” its calf in the stall,
 The ewe would not bring forth the . . . -lamb in its
 sheepfold,
 Mankind, the teeming multitude,

¹⁸ This line and the following two seem to refer to Enlil's cosmic seat in heaven rather than in the Ekur of Nippur.

¹⁹ The *lu-mah*, “lofty man,” and *nin-dingir*, “divine lady,” are two high priestly classes about whose functions and duties, however, little is known.

²⁰ That is, the main rivers and canals, because of their crooked course, would not provide enough water to supply the smaller canals and irrigation ditches.

²¹ Just why death is important to civilization is not clear, unless we assume that like modern man, they feared overcrowding and famine; nor is it clear why the mother goddess Nintu is thought by the Sumerian theologians to do the killing, unless it has something to do with sickly-born infants.

Would not lie down in their . . . ,
 The beasts, the four-legged would bring forth
 no offspring, would not mount to copulate. (130)

Enlil, your immensely clever deeds are dismaying,
 Their meaning is a twisted thread that cannot be
 straightened,
 Entwined threads that cannot be separated,
 (Yet) your godship inspires confidence.
 You are a mentor (and) adviser, a *skillful* lord,
 Who can understand your actions!
 Your *me* are cryptic *me*,
 Not (even) a god can behold your countenance.

You, lord Enlil, who are lord, god, (and) king,
 Who are the judge (and) decision-maker of the
 universe (140)

Your noble word is as weighty as heaven, you
 know no opposition,
 At your word, all the Anunna-gods are *hushed*,²²
 Your word—heavenwards it is a *pillar*, earthwards it is
 a (foundation) platform,

Heavenwards it is a tall *pillar* reaching to the sky,
 Earthwards it is a platform that cannot be overturned.
 It approaches heaven—there is overflow,
 From heaven overflow rains down (on earth),
 It approaches the earth—there is luxuriance,
 From the earth luxuriance burgeons forth. (150)
 Your word—it is plants, your word—it is grain,
 Your word it is the flood-water, the life of all the
 lands,

The living creatures riding the . . . ,
 Breathe sweet breath by the grass (and) herbs.
 Enlil, you who are a faithful shepherd, you made known
 their *ways*.

She who has sweet graciousness, the *star-covered*,
 Mother Ninlil, the holy wife, whose word is gracious,
 [*Garbed*] in the holy *ma*-garment²². . . ,
 The faithful woman—having lifted (your) eyes (upon
 her) you took her in marriage,
 The attraction of the Ekur, the queen who knows what
 is seemly,

The eloquent one who is elegant of speech, (160)
 Whose words are sweet to the flesh,
 Has seated herself by your side on the holy dais, on
 the pure dais,
 Speaks eloquently with you, whispers (tender words)
 by your side,
 Decrees the fates in the “place where the sun rises.”
 Ninlil, the queen of the universe,
 Cherished in the (songs of) praise of the Great Moun-
 tain,

²² This is a garment that has something to do with the *me*.

The lofty one, whose words are firmly grounded,
 Whose command and favor are unalterable,
 Whose pronouncements is all enduring,
 Whose plans "confirm the word"—
 Oh Great Mountain Enlil, exalted is your praise. (170)

Hymn to Enlil as the Ruling Deity of the Universe

This short hymn, designated by the scribe as an *irshemma*,¹ begins with a passage consisting primarily of a stereotype list of Enlil's powers, virtues, and attributes,² that make him and his wife Ninlil the sole rulers of the universe (lines 1-17). Following the portrayal of Enlil as a god of fertility (lines 18-22), the hymn concludes with a three-line passage whose contents may turn out to be of considerable significance, but whose meaning is unfortunately obscure and enigmatic (lines 23-25). Structurally there is little that is remarkable about the composition: except for lines 1 and 2 that show the typical repetition pattern, and the antithetically parallel lines 19 and 20, the hymn consists of descriptive lines that add up to a pious, impressive, though far from ecstatic portrait of the god.

The text was published in *CT*, xv, Plate 10, and was edited by H. Zimmern in *AO*, vii, 38; a translation was published in *SAHG*, pp. 76-77 (cf. comment in *Bi. Or.*, xi, p. 173, note 21).

Lord who knows the destiny of the land, trustworthy
 in his [calling],³
 Enlil who knows the destiny of the land, trustworthy
 in his calling,
 Father Enlil, lord of all the lands,
 Father Enlil, lord of the rightful command,
 Father Enlil, shepherd of the blackheads,⁴
 Father Enlil, insightful in his calling,
 Father Enlil, the wild ox who walks to and fro among
 men,
 Father Enlil who sleeps lightly,
 Recumbent wild ox, unruffled bull,
 Lord Enlil, the "merchant"⁵ of the wide earth, (10)
 Lord, whose wife is the "trader"⁵ of the Earth,
 Lord, who makes abundant the *erin*-fat, the *nunuz*-milk,
 Lord, whose dwelling place *guides* the cities,
 Whose sleeping place is "great" in accordance with
 instructions,
 From the mountain of sunrise to the mountain of sunset,
 There is no (other) lord in the land, you *alone*⁶ are
 king,
 Enlil, in all the lands there is no queen, your wife *alone*⁶
 is queen.

¹ For a good, brief description of the *irshemma* genre of composition, cf. *SAHG*, pp. 22-23.

² These are found virtually in identical form in bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian texts right down to the Seleucid era.

³ This rendering assumes that *im-te-na* is a variant form of *me-te-na*.

⁴ "Blackheads" is an epithet of the Sumerians from (at least) the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

⁵ The implications of the epithets "merchant" and "trader" (following line) as epithets of Enlil and his wife are obscure.

⁶ This rendering of *ab-da* is a guess based on the context.

Mighty one, the rain of heaven, the water of the earth
 is under your care,
 Enlil, the "shepherd-crook" of the gods is under your
 care.
 Father Enlil you who make grow the plants, who
 make grow the grain, (20)
 Father Enlil, your rays scorch the fish in the sea,
 You make the birds multiply in heaven, fill the sea with
 fish,
 Father Enlil you brought the noble . . . , poured the
*gigur*⁷ upon the head;
 Lord of the land; you brought the weapon of *destruction*,
 where is the *gigur*⁷ for the *reign*,
 Father Enlil, the faithful "slaves" were changed into
 treacherous "slaves."

It is an *irshemma*-song.

Hymn to Ninurta as God of Vegetation

This is a rather rare type of lyrical hymn addressed to Ninurta as the deity in charge of fertility and vegetation.¹ The poem begins with a four-line strophe typical of Sumerian hymnal compositions, in which the first two lines and second two lines are identical except that the epithet of the first half of the strophe is replaced by the proper name to which it belongs. Then follows at least three strophes of three lines each characterized by a simple, though not ineffective repetition pattern.

The text was published in *SLTN*, No. 62; a translation was published in *SAHG*, pp. 59-60 (cf. the comment in *Bi. Or.*, xi, p. 171).

(obv.)

Life-giving semen, life-giving seed, (1)
 King whose name was pronounced by Enlil,
 Life-giving semen, life-giving seed,
 Ninurta whose name was pronounced by Enlil.
 My king, I will pronounce your name again and again,
 Ninurta, I your man, your man,
 I will pronounce your name again and again.
 My king, the ewe has given birth to the lamb,
 The ewe has given birth to the lamb, the ewe has given
 birth to the good sheep,
 I will pronounce your name again and again. (10)
 My king, the mother-goat [has given birth] to
 the kid,

⁷ The word *gigur* usually denotes a kind of basket, a meaning that does not seem to fit the context here.

¹ Ninurta was conceived and worshipped in a rather contradictory twofold aspect. As the deity in charge of the South Wind, he is the god of battle who destroys the rebellious land, and in accordance with some as yet unknown Sumerian myth, avenges his father Enlil. On the other hand Ninurta is "the farmer of Enlil," and as such is of course the god of fertility, prosperity, and long life. It is this latter aspect of Ninurta that the poet of this hymn exalts in lyric song.

[The mother-goat] has given birth [to the kid, the
mother-goat] has given birth [to the goat]
[I will pronounce your name again and again]²

(remainder of obv. destroyed)

(rev.)

....

The king

As long as he was king³. . . .

In the river [there flowed fresh water].

In the field grew the rich grain.

The sea was filled with carp and . . . -fish.

In the canebrake grew "old" reeds and young reeds,

The forests were filled with deer and wild goats,

In the steppe grew the *mashgur*-tree,

The watered gardens were filled with honey

(and) wine,

In the palace "grew" long life.

It is a *balbale*-song.⁴

(1)

(10)

[My king] who like Irra has perfected heroship,
Dragon with the "hands" of a lion, the *claws*
of an eagle,

Lord Ninurta who like Irra has perfected heroship,

Dragon with the "hands" of a lion, the *claws*
of an eagle,

My king who vanquishes the houses of the rebellious
lands, great lord of Enlil,

You, with power you are endowed.

Lord Ninurta who vanquishes the houses of the rebel-
lious lands, great lord of Enlil,

You, with power you are endowed.

My king, when your heart was seized (by anger),

You spat venom like a snake,

Lord Ninurta, when your heart was seized (by anger),

You spat venom like a snake,

My king, toothed (*pickaxe*) that uproots the evil land,

Arrow that breaks up the rebellious land,

Lord Ninurta, toothed (*pickaxe*) that uproots the
evil land,

(10)

Arrow that breaks up the rebellious land,

My king, your verdict is a great verdict, ineffable,

Your word no *god* can gaze upon,

Lord Ninurta, your verdict is a great verdict, ineffable,

Your word no *god* can gaze upon.

My king, when you approached the enemy, you scattered
him like rushes,

You meted out to him . . . ,

Lord Ninurta, when you approached the enemy, you
scattered him like rushes,

You meted out to him . . . ,

[My king],⁴ of the house of the foe you are its adversary,
Of his city, you are its enemy,

Lord Ninurta, of the house of the foe, you are its adver-
sary,

Of his city, you are its enemy.

[My king],⁴ of the house of the contentious (and) diso-
bedient, you are its adversary,

Of their city, you are its enemy.

Lord Ninurta, of the house of the contentious (and)
disobedient, you are its adversary,

Of their city, you are its enemy.

Hymn to Ninurta as a God of Wrath

This composition¹ exalts Ninurta as a god of wrath who roams about in the night, and is dedicated to battle, like the pest-god Irra; he is a monstrous dragon and venomous snake who crushes the evil and rebellious lands; he is a judge whose verdict is awesome; he brings about the destruction of the enemy and of the contentious and disobedient. Structurally, the entire poem consists of two-line strophes, with each line divided into two hemistichs; the two lines are identical except that the first begins with "My king," and the second with "Lord Ninurta."²

The text was published in *BE*, xxx, No. 4 (Plates 7-8) together with a transliteration and translation; a translation only was published in *SAHG*, pp. 60-61 (cf. comment in *Bi. Or.*, xi, p. 171).³

[My king . . .

Who like Irra roams about in the night,]

[Lord Ninurta] . . .

Who like Irra roams about in the night.

² The restorations in this strophe are self-evident and reasonably certain.

³ Literally "with the king."

⁴ For the *balbale* rubric, cf. *JNES*, viii, 25, and *Bi. Or.*, xi, p. 171, note 6.

¹ Only the reverse of the tablet on which the composition is inscribed is preserved in large part (top and bottom of the tablet are missing); the obverse has only the ends of lines and is therefore left untranslated.

² This is true of the untranslated text of the obverse also, to judge from the fact that the ends of each set of two lines are identical.

³ The reasons for the differences between this translation and that in *SAHG*, pp. 60-61, will be readily apparent to the cuneiformist. Note, however, that *en-na* of line 17 (it is missing for some reason in line 18) is here rendered "the contentious," that is, it is assumed to have a meaning parallel to *nu-še*, "the disobedient" (cf. also line 131 of the "Hymnal Prayer of Enheduanna").

Ishkur and the Destruction of the Rebellious Land

This *irshemma*, that seems to have been composed by a temple poet eager to reassure the people of Sumer that Ishkur is on their side and will come to their aid against their enemies, may

⁴ These two words were omitted by the scribe for some reason.

be divided into three parts. The first consists of an hymnal address to Ishkur, in which he is exalted as a noble radiant bull whose name reaches the zenith of the sky, so that even his father, the great Enlil, fears his roar (lines 1-14). The poet then introduces a speech to Ishkur by Enlil in which he commissions his son to fill up and harness the winds, and with his herald "Lightning" at the head to proceed to "the rebellious land" which he is to destroy by raining a torrent of hailstones on it (lines 15-24). In the third and very brief concluding section the poet proclaims reassuringly that the howling, roaring, Ishkur gave heed to Enlil's word, but unfortunately gives no details (lines 25-29). Stylistically the poet makes use of quite a variety of rather simple poetic devices: a combination of epithet and short half-line refrain (lines 1-9); cumulative parallelism (lines 10-14 and 26-28); repetition of lines with minor changes (lines 15-18); the half-line exclamatory refrain (lines 20-23); antithetically worded phrases (lines 22-25).

The text of this composition was published in *CT*, xv, Plates 15-16; the most recent translation was published *SAHG*, pp. 81-83 (cf. *Bi. Or.*, xi, p. 173, note 24).

[Noble bull,] radiant your name [reaches heaven's zenith],
 [Father] Ishkur, noble bull, radiant your name [reaches] heaven's [zenith],
 Ishkur, son of An,¹ noble bull, radiant your name [reaches] heaven's zenith,
 Lord of Ennigi,² noble bull, radiant your name [reaches] heaven's zenith,
 Ishkur, lord of overflow, noble bull, radiant your name [reaches] heaven's zenith,
 Twin brother of the lord Enki,³ noble bull, radiant (your name reaches heaven's zenith),⁴
 Father Ishkur, lord who rides the storm, your name reaches heaven's zenith,
 Father Ishkur, who rides the great lion, your name reaches heaven's zenith,
 Ishkur, lion of heaven, noble bull, glorious, your name reaches heaven's zenith.
 Your name⁵ has attacked the land again and again, (10)
 Your radiance has covered the land like a garment,
 At your roar, the great mountain Enlil lowers his head (in fear),
 At your bellow, Ninlil trembles.

Enlil commissioned his son, Ishkur:
 "My young one, fill up the winds before you, harness the winds before you,
 Ishkur, fill the winds before you, harness the winds before you,
 Let the seven winds be harnessed for you like a team, harness the winds before you,

¹ In this line it is An who is said to be the father of Ishkur, while according to line 26, it is Enlil who is "his father who begot him"; this provides another example of the An-Enlil identification, cf., e.g., p. 580.

² For the location of Ennigi, cf. Edzard, *ZZB*, p. 74, and note 360.

³ Enki's father is also An-Enlil.

⁴ The parentheses in this line indicate intentional omission by the scribe of the last part of the refrain because of lack of space.

⁵ "Name" seems to be used here in the same sense as "word."

Let the howling wind howl for you, harness the winds before you,
 Let your vizier "Lightning" go before you, (harness)⁶ the winds (before you),
 My young one, go, go joyfully, who is like you when approaching it! (20)
 To the rebellious land, hated by the father who begot you, who is like you when approaching it!
 Take small stones, who is like you when approaching it!
 Take large stones, who is like you when approaching it!
 Rain down on it your small stones, your large stones,
 Destroy the rebellious land to your right, subdue it to your left."

Ishkur gave heed to the words spoken by his father who begot him,
 Father Ishkur coming forth from the house is a howling wind,
 Coming forth from the house, from the city, is a young lion,
 Setting forth from the city he is a roaring storm.
 It is an *irshemma* of Ishkur.

Self-Laudatory Hymn of Inanna and Her Omnipotence

The hymn begins with a triumphant pronouncement by the goddess of the vast powers and important prerogatives that Enlil, as head of the pantheon, turned over to her (lines 1-13). As the "wild cow" of Enlil, she continues exaltingly, she is privileged to enter at will Enlil's holy temple, the Ekur of Nippur—a privilege which was presumably denied to other gods (lines 14-20). She closes her paean of self-glorification with a list of her temples in all the more important cities of Sumer and Akkad (lines 21-33). Structurally, the composition may be divided into (1) an initial five-line strophe in which the first and second lines are virtually identical with the fourth and fifth lines,¹ while the middle third line is a summary exclamatory statement of her unique power, which is repeated as the very last line of the composition; (2) an eight-line strophe characterized by cumulative parallelism; (3) a seven-line passage essentially narrative in character; a twelve-line strophe that, like the second strophe, obtains its effect by cumulative parallelism.

The text was published in *VS*, x, No. 199, col. iii, lines 8-41, and treated by H. Zimmern in his *König Lipit-Ischtars Vergöttlichung*, pp. 18-21; a translation of the text was published in *SAHG*, pp. 67-68 (cf. comment in *Bi. Or.*, xi, p. 172 and note 16).²

My father gave me heaven, gave me earth. (1)
 I, the queen of heaven am I!
 Is there one god who can vie with me!

⁶ For the parentheses in this line, cf. note 4.

¹ Except of course for the typical epithet-proper name substitution.

² The composition is inscribed on a four-column tablet containing several other compositions, and the line numeration of our translation does not correspond to that of the published text.

Enlil gave me heaven, gave me earth,
I, the (queen of heaven am I)!³

He has given me lordship,
He has given me queenship,
He has given me battle, (he has given me) combat,
He has given me the Flood, (he has given me) the
tempest.

He has placed heaven on my head as a crown, (10)
He has tied the earth on my foot as a sandal,
He has fastened the holy *me*-garment about my body,
He has placed the holy scepter in my hand.

The gods are . . . , I, a *queen* am I,
The Anunna *scurry* about, I, a life-giving wild cow am I,
The life-giving wild cow of Father Enlil am I
His life-giving wild cow that is foremost.⁴
When I enter the Ekur, the house of Enlil,
The gatekeeper does not stop me,⁵
The vizier says not to me, "*Wait*." (20)

Heaven is mine, earth is mine—I, a warrior am I,
In Erech, the Eanna is mine,
In Zabalom, the *giguna*⁶ is mine,
In Nippur, the Duranki⁷ (is mine),
In Ur, the Edilmun⁸ (is mine),
In Girsu, the Eshdam⁹ (is mine),
In Adab, the Eshara¹⁰ (is mine),
In Kish, the Hursagkamma¹¹ (is mine),
In Der, the Amashkugga¹² (is mine),
In Akshak, the Anzakar¹³ (is mine), (30)
In Umma, the Ibgal¹³ (is mine),
In Agade, the Ulmash¹³ is mine
Is there one god who can vie with me!

[It is a *balbale*-song] of Inanna.¹⁴

Hymnal Prayer of Enheduanna: The Adoration of Inanna in Ur

This remarkable composition, whose text is virtually complete, consists of two unequal parts. The first, and the longer by far

³ The parentheses in this line and lines 8, 9, 24-31 include words omitted by the scribe as self-evident repetitions.

⁴ Literally: "that walks at the head."

⁵ Literally: "puts not his hand against my breast."

⁶ For the meaning of the Sumerian word *giguna*, cf. now CAD, s.v.; here it is used as the actual name of the temple.

⁷ "Bond of Heaven and Earth."

⁸ "The Dilmun House"; an indication that Inanna was connected with Dilmun in one way or another.

⁹ The word means "nuptial chamber"; here it is used as an actual name of a temple.

¹⁰ "House of Shara"; Shara is the tutelary deity of Umma.

¹¹ "The Mountain of the Land."

¹² "The Holy Stall."

¹³ Meaning uncertain.

¹⁴ Restoration reasonably assured; for the *balbale* rubric, cf. p. 577.

(lines 1-142), is a hymnal prayer to Inanna, purportedly uttered by Enheduanna, the daughter of Sargon the Great, founder of the Dynasty of Akkad, who appointed her as *en*, or high-priestess of Nanna (also known as Sin) the tutelary deity of Ur.¹ The second, and very brief, section (lines 143-150) contains the author's pronouncement that Enheduanna's prayer had been accepted by the goddess, who was now made welcome in Ur by Nanna and his wife Ningal. The document is of significance for the religious and political history of Sumer, though unfortunately not a little of its content is ambiguous and obscure.

Enheduanna begins her orison to Inanna as the deity in charge of all the *me*,² the divine norms, duties, and powers, assigned to all cosmic and cultural entities at the time of creation, in order to keep them operating harmoniously and perpetually (lines 1-8). She then proceeds to depict the more cruel, destructive, and intractable aspects of the goddess: she is a venomous, thundering, flood-and-fire raining deity whose rites are unfathomable (lines 9-16); she is an awesome storm deity before whom all mankind trembles and quakes (lines 17-28); she is an irate, relentless, and intractable goddess of war before whom even the great gods flee in terror (lines 26-42); she is the cruel conqueror of Mt. Ebih and its rebellious people (lines 43-50)³; as the goddess of love, as well as war, she deprives the unsubmitive city of all procreation and vegetation (lines 51-57).

Following a brief chant of adoration of Inanna as a great, wise, merciful and life-giving goddess (lines 58-65), comes a long passage in which Enheduanna pictures the misery and suffering that have overtaken her (lines 66-108); it is this passage that is interspersed with what seem to be several references to political events. This is followed in turn by a brief prayer of the high-priestess to Inanna as her dear and powerful queen to keep her out of her bitter straits (109-121). Enheduanna then proceeds to invoke Inanna with a resounding magnificent that recounts her immense powers, and closes with a plea to the goddess to turn a friendly heart to her adoring, devout, and pious votary (lines 122-142). The composition concludes with Inanna's acceptance of Enheduanna's supplication (lines 143-150), and a summary three-line invocation of the goddess by the author-poet (lines 151-153).

The first major publication of the text of the composition was by Stephen Langdon in *PBS*, x/4, Nos. 3 and 4. Since then some fifty tablets and fragments inscribed with the text have been identified, one of the best preserved has been published recently in *UET*, vi, Part 2, No. 107 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 11, note 39). Translations and translations of part of the text were published by Langdon, *PBS*, x/4, pp. 260-4, and by M. Witzel, *Keilschriftliche Studien*, vi, pp. 73-89. A definitive edition of the text including all variants, together with a study of its poetic structure and literary significance, as well as a complete glossary, has been prepared by William W. Hallo and A. J. A. van Dijk, and will appear in the near future as a monograph published by Yale University Press.

Queen of all the *me*, radiant light, (1)
Life-giving woman, beloved of An (and) Urash,⁴
Hierodule of An, much bejewelled,
Who loves the life-giving tiara, fit for *en*-ship,
Who grasps in (her) hand, the seven *me*,⁵

¹ cf. for the present *UET*, vi, part 2, pp. 10-11, comment to Nos. 107-110. Note that Enheduanna's prayer is not, as might perhaps have been expected, in the Emesal dialect.

² For the myth concerned with Inanna's acquisition of the *me* from Enki, the god of wisdom, who had them under his care in the Abzu of Eridu, cf. *SM*, pp. 64-8.

³ For the myth of "Inanna and Mt. Ebih," cf. *SM*, pp. 82-3, and *UET*, vi, part 2, p. 4, note 7. The name of the mountain is not actually stated in our text but there is little doubt that this is the mountain to which the passage refers.

⁴ That is, "Heaven (and) Earth."

⁵ The seven *me* may refer to the *me* assigned to the seven leading

My queen, you who are the guardian of all the great *me*,
 You have lifted the *me*, have tied the *me* to your hands,
 Have gathered the *me*, pressed the *me* to your breast.

You have filled the land with venom, like a dragon.
 Vegetation ceases, when you thunder like Ishkur,⁶ (10)
 You who bring down the Flood from the mountain,
 Supreme one, who are the Inanna of heaven (and)
 earth,⁷

Who rain flaming fire over the land,
 Who have been given the *me* by An,⁸ queen who rides
 the beasts,
 Who at the holy command of An, utters the (divine)
 words,
 Who can fathom your great rites!

Destroyer of the foreign lands, you have given wings
 to the storm,
 Beloved of Enlil you made it (the storm) blow over the
 land,

You carried out the instructions of An.
 My queen, the foreign lands cower at your cry, (20)
 In dread (and) fear of the South Wind,⁹ mankind
 Brought you their anguished clamor,
 Took before you their anguished *outcry*
 Opened before you wailing and weeping,
 Brought before you the "great" lamentations in the city
 streets.

In the van of battle, everything was struck down before
 you,

My queen, you are all devouring in your power,
 You kept on attacking like an attacking storm,
 Kept on blowing (louder) than the howling storm,
 Kept on thundering (louder) than Ishkur, (30)
 Kept on moaning (louder) than the evil winds,
 Your feet grew not weary,
 You caused wailing to be uttered on the "lyre of lament."

My queen, the Anunna, the great gods,
 Fled before you like fluttering bats,
 Could not stand before your awesome face,
 Could not approach your awesome forehead.
 Who can soothe your angry heart!

deities of the Sumerian pantheon: An, Enlil, Enki, Ninursag, Nanna-Sin, Utu, and (perhaps) Inanna herself.

⁶ The Sumerian storm-god.

⁷ "The Inanna of heaven (and) earth" is a rather strange expression, but that is what the text seems to say.

⁸ This statement seems to contradict the myth mentioned in note 2, according to which it was Enki who presented the *me* to Inanna; there may therefore have been other versions of the tale. The "instructions of An," in line 19, on the other hand refer no doubt to the "word" of An (and) Enlil—the two gods are often identified and treated as one and the same deity in the post Ur-III literary documents—that was often destructive in character, since the leading deity of the pantheon had the unpleasant duty of carrying out the not infrequently unfavorable decisions of the gods.

⁹ This usually refers to Ninurta, the god of the South Wind, but here it seems to allude to storms in general.

Your baleful heart is beyond soothing!
 Queen, happy of "liver," joyful of heart, (40)
 (But) whose anger cannot be soothed, daughter of
 Sin,

Queen, paramount in the land, who has (ever) paid you
 (enough) homage!

The mountain who kept from paying homage to you—
 vegetation became "tabu" for it,

You burnt down its great gates,
 Its rivers ran with blood because of you, its people had
 nothing to drink,

Its troops were led off willingly (into captivity) before
 you,

Its forces disbanded themselves willingly before you,
 Its strong men paraded willingly before you,

The amusement places of its cities were filled with
 turbulence,

Its adult males were driven off as captives before
 you. (50)

Against the city that said not "yours is the land,"
 That said not "It belongs to the father who begot you,"
 You promised your holy word, turned away from it,
 Kept your distance from its womb,
 Its woman spoke not of love with her husband,
 In the deep night she whispered not (tenderly) with him,
 Revealed not to him the "holiness" of her heart.

Rampant wild cow, elder daughter of Sin,
 Queen, greater than An, who has (ever) paid you
 (enough) homage!

You who in accordance with the life giving *me*,
 great queen of queens, (60)

Have become greater than your¹⁰ mother who gave
 birth to you, (as soon as) you came forth from
 the holy womb,

Knowing, wise, queen of all the lands,
 Who multiplies (all) living creatures (and) peoples—
 I have uttered your holy song.

Life-giving goddess, fit for the *me*, whose acclamation¹¹
 is exalted,

Merciful, life-giving woman, radiant of heart, I have
 uttered it before you in accordance with the *me*.

I have entered before you in my holy *gipar*,¹²

I the *en*, Enheduanna,

Carrying the *masab*-basket,¹³ I uttered a joyous chant,
 (But now) I no longer dwell in the goodly place
 you¹⁴ established.

Came the day, the sun scorched me (70)
 Came the shade (of night), the South Wind
 overwhelmed me,

¹⁰ The text actually has "her" instead of "your."

¹¹ Literally: "greatly uttered (words)."

¹² For the *gipar*, cf. now *CAD*, *s.v.*

¹³ For this ritual basket, cf. *Iraq*, x, p. 97.

¹⁴ Perhaps better "I established."

My honey-sweet voice has become *strident*,
Whatever gave me pleasure has turned into dust.

Oh Sin, king of heaven, my (bitter) fate,¹⁵
To An declare, An will deliver me,
Pray declare it to An, he will deliver me.

The kingship of heaven has been seized by the woman
(Inanna),

At whose feet lies the flood-land.
That woman (Inanna) so exalted, who has made me
tremble together the city (Ur),
Stay *her*, let her heart be soothed by me. (80)

I, Enheduanna will offer supplications to her,
My tears, like sweet drinks.
Will I proffer to the holy Inanna, I will greet her in
peace,
Let not Ashimbabbar (Sin) be troubled.¹⁶

She (Inanna) has changed altogether the rites of holy An,
Has seized the Eanna¹⁷ from An,
Feared not the great An,
That house (the Eanna) whose charm was irresistible,
whose allure was unending,
That house she has turned over to destruction,
Her . . . that she brought there has . . . (90)
My wild cow (Inanna) assaults there its men,
makes them captive.

I, what am I among the living creatures!
May An give over (to punishment) the rebellious lands
that hate your (Inanna's) Nanna,
May An split its cities asunder,
May Enlil curse it,
May not its tear-destined child be soothed by her mother,
Oh queen who established lamentations,
Your "boat of lamentations," has *landed* in an inimical
land,
There will I die, while singing the holy song.

¹⁵ Here begin several passages that may reflect political struggles between the cities of Kish (or Agade), Erech, and Ur during the reign of the Dynasty of Akkad. In lines 74-76, Enheduanna, as the high-priestess of Nanna-Sin in Ur, prays to that deity to intercede for her with An so that he might deliver her of her cruel fate. Superficially, this fits in well with the Sumerian theological view: Nanna-Sin, as the tutelary deity of Ur would intercede with An (or An-Enlil, cf. note 8), as the leading deity of the Sumerian pantheon whose word was final, as it were. According to lines 77-91, however, An was no longer the head of the pantheon, and Inanna had taken over his sway over Erech (this may reflect a victory of Kish-Agade, where Inanna played an important role, over Erech). Nevertheless, to judge from lines 92-96, Enheduanna continues to treat An as all powerful. Finally, lines 99-108 seem to point to a disastrous event that overtook Ur; this may have been an attack by Erech, now Inanna's city, that led to her acceptance as an important deity in Ur (cf. lines 148-150). Needless to say, however, all these surmises are highly tentative, since the relevant text is cryptic, elusive, and ambiguous.

¹⁶ The meaning of the line in the context is obscure.

¹⁷ This is the famous temple of An and Inanna in Erech. Note however that there were Eanna-shrines in other cities of Sumer, such as Lagash and Ur.

As for me, my Nanna watched not over me, (100)
I have been attacked most cruelly.

Ashimbabbar has not spoken my verdict.
But what matter, whether he spoke it or not!
I, accustomed to triumph, have been driven forth from
(my) house,
Was forced to flee the cote like a swallow, my life is
devoured,

Was made to walk among the mountain thorns,
The life-giving tiara of *en*-ship was taken from me,
Eunuchs were assigned to me—"These are becoming to
you," it was told me.

Dearest queen, beloved of An,
Let your holy heart, the noble, return to me, (110)
Beloved wife of Ushumgalanna (Dumuzi),
Great queen of the horizon and the zenith,
The Anunna have prostrated themselves before you.
Although at birth you were the younger *sister*,¹⁸
How much greater you have become than the Anunna,
the great gods!

The Anunna kiss the ground before you.

It is not my verdict that has been completed, it is a
strange verdict that has been *turned* into my verdict,
The fruitful bed has been abolished,¹⁹
(So that) I have not interpreted to man the
commands of Ningal.

For me, the radiant *en* of Nanna, (120)
May your heart be soothed, you who are the queen
beloved of An.²⁰

"You are known, you are known"—it is not of Nanna
that I have recited it,²¹ it is of you that I have recited
it.

You are known by your heaven-like height,
You are known by your earth-like breadth,
You are known by your destruction of rebel-lands,
You are known by your massacring (their people),
You are known by your devouring (their) dead like a
dog,

You are known by your fierce countenance.
You are known by the raising of your fierce
countenance,

You are known by your flashing eyes. (130)
You are known by your *contentiousness*²² (and)
disobedience,

You are known by your many triumphs"—
It is not of Nanna that I have recited it, it is of you that
I have recited it.

¹⁸ It is assumed that the sign NIN, "queen," is an error for NIN₂, "sister."

¹⁹ This and the following line probably allude to the sacred marriage ceremony between Nanna-Sin and the goddess Ningal, in which the latter was presumably represented by the high priestess.

²⁰ Note the seeming contradiction between this line and lines 77 ff.

²¹ That is, the "you are known" magnificent.

²² This is assumed to be the meaning of *en-na*, cf. also BE, xxx, No. 4, rev. 17.

My queen, I have extolled you, who alone are exalted,
 Queen beloved of An, I have *erected* your daises,
 Have heaped up the coals, have conducted the rites,
 Have set up the nuptial chamber for you, may your
 heart be soothed for me,
 Enough, more than enough innovations, great queen,
 have I made for you.
 What I have recited to you in the deep night,
 The *gala*-singer will repeat for you in midday. (140)
 It is because of your captive spouse, your captive
 son,²³
 That your wrath is so great, your heart so unappeased.
 The foremost queen, the prop of the *assembly*,²⁴
 Accepted her prayer.
 The heart of Inanna was restored,
 The day was favorable for her, she was clothed with
 beauty, was filled with joyous allure,
 How she carried (her) beauty—like the rising moon-
 light!
 Nanna who came forth in wonder true,
 (and) her mother Ningal, proffered prayers to her,
 Greeted her at the doorsill (of the temple). (150)
 To the hierodule whose command is noble,
 The destroyer of foreign lands, presented by An with
 the *me*,
 My queen garbed in allure, O Inanna, praise!

Hymn to the Ekur

This rather tersely worded, enigmatic hymn to the Ekur ("Mountain House"), Enlil's renowned temple in Nippur,¹ is inscribed on an excellently preserved tablet excavated some seventy years ago at Nippur, and now in the University Museum.² It consists of four songs, each characterized by a special refrain. The first, second, and third songs are designated by the poet as *sagidda*, *kiuruguda*, and *sagarra*;³ the fourth is left undesignated, probably accidentally. The first, third, and fourth songs, but not the second, are followed by antiphons.

The poem was edited by the writer in *RSO*, xxxii (1957), 95-102. The translation does not offer too many difficulties; by and large there are but few lexical and grammatical problems. Nevertheless much of its contents remains obscure—the names of the buildings and structures that constitute the larger part of the first song are still unidentifiable in the main, and the laconically worded religious implications of the remaining songs are puzzling and elusive.⁴

²³ This probably refers to some disaster in Erech.

²⁴ This rendering of *gú-en-na* (note that this may be a variant form of *ukkin*) is based on the context.

¹ For an ancient map of Nippur, with the Ekur and perhaps some of the gates mentioned in the hymn, cf. *HBS*, pp. 232-36; cf. also the description of the Ekur in the Ur-Nammu hymn (pages 583-84) and in the Enlil hymn (pages 573-76).

² The tablet, like the vast majority of Sumerian literary tablets, dates from the first half of the second millennium B.C., but may have been composed as early as about 2000 B.C.

³ The *sa* of *sagidda* and *sagarra* means "string," and points to the accompaniment of the song by musical instruments. The rubric *kiuruguda*, on the other hand, probably refers to some liturgical participation by the worshippers.

⁴ For some of the structures listed in lines 6 ff., cf. Falkenstein,

The great house, it is a mountain great,
 The house of Enlil, it is a mountain great,
 The house of Ninlil, it is a mountain great,
 The house of darkness, it is a mountain great,
 The house which knows no light, it is a mountain great,
 The house of the Lofty Gate, it is a mountain great,
 The house of the Gate of Peace, it is a mountain great,
 The court of Enlil, it is a mountain great,
 The Hursaggalamma ("High-rising Mountain"), it is a
 mountain great,
 The great gate "Holy Judgement," it is a mountain
 great, (10)
 The gate "Uncut Barley," it is a mountain great,
 The (divine) Assembly Hall, it is a mountain great,
 The Gagishshua, it is a mountain great,
 The house of Ninlil, it is a mountain great,
 The gate Innamra, it is a mountain great,
 The house "Monthly Harvest," it is a mountain great,
 The court "Lofty, Great House," it is a mountain great,
 The house "Lofty, Monthly Harvest," it is a mountain
 great,
 The (*gate*) "The Lord is Worthy, Wise," it is a moun-
 tain great, (20)
 The (*gate*) Innamgiddazu, it is a mountain great, (20)
 The gate "(The God) Sin," it is a mountain great
 The *Duku*, the holy place, it is a mountain great,
 The field Edimma, it is a mountain great,
 The (*field*) established by An, it is a mountain great,
 The pure Ashte, it is a mountain great,
 The house "The Lofty Park," it is a mountain great,
 The kiosk of the Plow, it is a mountain great—
 It (i.e., the preceding stanza) is a *sagidda*-song.
 He (=Enlil) commanded: "Towards heaven—"
 Is its antiphon. (30)

For him who had commanded, for him who had
 commanded,
 The house rose like the sun;
 For him who in the mountain had commanded,
 The house rose like the sun;
 For him who in the house of Enlil had commanded,
 The house rose like the sun;
 For him who in the house of Ninlil had commanded,
 The house rose like the sun;

Topographie von Uruk, and *ZA*, XLVIII, p. 86 ff. In line 7 "Gate of Peace" (so rather than "Welfare Gate") points to the existence of a place in Nippur where the warring Sumerian city-states came to conclude or solemnize their peace treaties. For the Gagishshua, cf. especially the Ur-Nammu hymn (pages 583-84). In line 25, the Ashte is probably a granary; cf., e.g., the Ashte mentioned in the Urukagina "Reform" document (S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians*, p. 317). The "mountain of aromatic cedar" (lines 44 ff.) is a description used of the cosmological "mountain where the sun rises," that is, the Sumerian "Olympus" (cf. *BASOR*, 96, 20 ff.), and it is not impossible, therefore, that the Ekur was conceived as its replica. In line 51 "Enlil" is no doubt a scribal error for Ninlil. Ninurta and Ashimbabbar (another name for the moon-god Nanna-Sin) are both sons of Enlil. Between lines 68 and 69, a line containing a rubric has no doubt been accidentally omitted; the "its" of line 70 refers to this omitted rubric.

For him who in the (house) of Ninurta had com-
manded,
The house rose like the sun; (40)
For him who in the (house) of the son, the prince,
had commanded—
It is a *kiuruguda*-song.
The house, in accordance with the great *me*, raised high
its head,
In its midst is the mountain of the aromatic cedar;
The house of Enlil, in accordance with the great *me*,
raised high its head,
In its midst is the mountain of the aromatic cedar;
The house of Ninlil, in accordance with the great *me*,
raised high its head,
In its midst is the mountain of the aromatic cedar;
The court of Enlil, in accordance with the great *me*,
raised high its head,
In its midst is the mountain of the aromatic cedar; (50)
The court of Enlil (*sic*), in accordance with the
great *me*, raised high its head,
[In its] mid[st] is the [mountain] of the [aromatic]
cedar—
It is a [*sagar*]*ra*-song.
The [house . . .] in which he rejoiced with them—
Is its antiphon.
Its king, in the house "Faithful Sonship," is worthy of
Enlil, the king;
The hero Ninurta, in the house "Faithful Sonship,"
Is worthy of Enlil, the king;
The offspring of Ninlil, in the house "Faithful
Sonship,"
Is worthy of Enlil, the king; (60)
The lord, the champion of the Ekur, in the house
["Faithful] Sonship,"
Is wo[rthy of] Enlil, the king;
The offspring of Enlil, in the house "Faithful Sonship,"
Is worthy of Enlil, the king;
The son, the prince of the Ekur, in the house "Faithful
Sonship,"
Is worthy of Enlil, the king.
Of Enlil, his favorite—
Is its (*sic*) antiphon.

Ur-Nammu Hymn: Building of the Ekur and Blessing by Enlil

This composition, designated by the scribe as a "*tigi* of Enlil"¹ is divided into two songs: a *sagidda* and a *sagarra*. The first

¹ For the *tigi*-genre of composition, cf. *SAHG*, pp. 20-21, but note that the rendering "Pauken-lied" is probably unjustified; more likely it is a lyre-accompanied song.

begins with a poetic statement² of the selection by Enlil of Ur-Nammu as king of Sumer (lines 1-6), and of his commission to restore the Ekur (lines 7-14). There follows a description of the rebuilding of the Ekur, the decoration of its gates with mythological scenes, and the building of the *giguna*³ (lines 15-30). Ur-Nammu then turned his attention to the Gagishshua, the shrine of Enlil's wife, Ninlil, and provided the divine couple with their needs, so that they live there in happy bliss (lines 31-35). All of which moves Enlil to pronounce a blessing on the faithful king (lines 36-38).

The second song begins with Enlil's blessing given in direct speech by the god to the king—Ur-Nammu will reach the summit of power, temporal and religious, and his fame and name will fill the universe (lines 40-51). The poet then continues with a eulogy of Ur-Nammu as the mighty victor over his enemies with the help of Enlil's divine weapons (lines 52-57); as the destroyer of evil cities and oppressors (lines 58-61); as the one who carries on raging attacks against injustice. The poet concludes by depicting Ur-Nammu on his "dais of kingship" in his capital Ur.

The text was published in *SRT*, No. 11; a translation was published by Falkenstein in *SAHG*, pp. 87-90 (cf. *Bi. Or.*, xvii, pp. 173-74, note 27, and *ZA*, LII, 81-82), and a detailed edition of the text was published in *ZA*, LIII, 106-118.⁴

Lofty Enlil, [whose decision is unalterable] . . . ,
The lord of great princship . . . ,
Nunamnir,⁵ the god who . . . ,
Lifted (his) eyes over the people [looked with favor
upon Ur-Nammu], the shepherd;
Enlil, the Great Mountain, [*chose*] him from among all
his people,
[*Filled*] with fearsome awe the *confirmed* shepherd of
Nunamnir.
[To restore] the brickwork of the Ekur in accordance
with the *me*,
Enlil, the Great Mountain, who [makes *glorious*] his
[lofty] shrine, the Ekur, like the light of day,
Set his . . . heart,
Commissioned Ur-Nammu, the shepherd, to lift the
head of the Ekur heaven-high, (10)
Exalted the king [in] the land, lifted (his) head
heaven-high.
For the faithful shepherd Ur-[Nammu] who with (the
support of) Enlil is heroic unto distant days,
He who knows decisions, the lord of [great understand-
ing], directed the brickmold,
Enlil kept under control for Ur-Nammu, the shepherd,
his foes (and) enemies.

² The first stanza, designated as *sagidda*, is written in "high" narrative prose, with relatively few epithets, and virtually no significant repetition and parallelism of lines. The second stanza, the *sagarra*, on the other hand uses characteristic Sumerian poetic devices; it begins with two six-line verses that are identical except for a minor change in the first line; and a similar repetition pattern is utilized in the remainder of the stanza, except for the last six lines that revert to the narrative "high" prose style.

³ For this structure, cf. *CAD*, s.v.

⁴ The translation here presented differs considerably from that in *ZA*, LIII (the reasons for these differences will be readily apparent to the cuneiformist).

⁵ This is another name for Enlil found frequently in the literary texts; its meaning is not quite certain.

The Sumerians, enjoying days of prosperity,
Rejoiced greatly with him,
Laid firm (its) foundations, filled in (its) holy terrace.
The *enqum*- and *ninqum*-priests duly exalt it.⁶

The house that Enki had adorned beautifully,⁷
Ur-Nammu, the shepherd, raised the head of the
lofty Ekur in Duranki (Nippur) heaven-high, (20)
(So that) the people, all of them, stood before it
in awe.

(Of the) Lofty Gate, Great Gate, Gate of Peace, High-
rising Mountain, (and) Gate of Uncut Grain,⁸
He (Ur-Nammu) decorated their front with *electrum*
(and) *chaste* silver:
The Imdugud killed a lion,
The *hurin*-bird seized the evil man.⁹

The doors, the lofty, he filled them with seemly beauty,
The lofty house he made awe-inspiring—
It was wide in *extent*, it was most awesome,
The storied mountain, the *giguna*, as a dwelling place
for the Great Mountain (Enlil),
He established in its (the Ekur's) midst, like a
lofty *tower*, (30)

The Gagishshua, the lofty palace where he decrees
the great decisions,
He beautified fittingly for Ninlil, the great queen,
Enlil and Ninlil were happy there,
In its dining halls, the faithful man, the chosen of
Nunamnir,
He multiplies all things noble, the Ekur was in joy.

They (Enlil and Ninlil) looked favorably upon Ur-
Nammu, the shepherd,
The Great Mountain (Enlil) decreed a great fate for
Ur-Nammu, into distant days,
Exalted (his) might over his "blackheaded ones" (the
Sumerians):

It is a *sagidda*.

"I, Nunamnir, whose life-giving commands (and)
decisions are unalterable— (40)

You have made my lofty Ekur resplendent,
With brilliant facades you raised it heaven-high,
Faithful man of valor, you made it resplendent in the
Land (Sumer),
Ur-Nammu—of *en*-ship(?) and kingship may you be
their acme,
May your name extend to the zenith of heaven, to the
depths of Hades.

⁶ Very little is known as yet about these priests.

⁷ Enki is here introduced as the god of craftsmanship.

⁸ For these gates, cf. "Hymn to the Ekur," on p. 582.

⁹ The *hurin*-bird is a mythological eagle-like bird.

I, the Great Mountain, Father Enlil, whose life-giving
command (and) decisions are unalterable—
You have made the lofty Ekur resplendent,
With brilliant facades you have raised it heaven-high,
Faithful man of valor, you made it resplendent in the
Land (Sumer),
Ur-Nammu—of *en*-ship and kingship, may you be
their acme, (50)
May your name extend to the zenith of heaven, the
depths of Hades."

My king—the lofty mace that in the enemy-land heaps
up the rebels in piles, that overwhelmed the rebellious
land,

Ur-Nammu, the shepherd—the lofty mace that in the
enemy-land heaps up the rebels in piles that over-
whelmed the rebellious land,

He, the lord Nunamnir has given it to him,
That he might crush the foreign land, become a (man)
of *might*.

He the lord Nunamnir has given it to Ur-Nammu, the
shepherd,
That he might crush the foreign land, become a (man)
of *might*.

He destroyed the cities, the evil,
He cleared them of the oppression of the "lofty,"
Ur-Nammu, the shepherd, destroyed the cities,
the evil, (60)

Cleared them of the oppression of the "lofty."
His approach is fierce against those who pervert justice,
His storming rage overwhelmed the evil ones,
Ur-Nammu, the shepherd—his approach is fierce against
those who pervert justice,
His storming rage overwhelmed the evil ones.

He planted firmly the dais of kingship,
Made it resplendent in Ur,
Ur-Nammu, the shepherd, clothed it with awe, he
lifted high his head—the king of the Land,
In the place of Enlil, his king, it was [presented to him]
as a gift,

A (good) fate has he decreed, he is *ble[ssed]* (70)
In his [city] Ur-Nammu [is *exalted*]

It is a *sagarra*. A *tigi* of Enlil.

The King of the Road: A Self- Laudatory Shulgi Hymn

This rather unusual hymn, that is partly narrative in character,
is of considerable significance not only for the nature and role of
the institution of kingship in Sumer, but also for such little
known aspects of its cultural life as communications and athletic
prowess. It begins with a hyperbolic itemizing of Shulgi's virtues
and endowments including those granted him as a favorite of

the great gods, that is typical of Sumerian royal hymnography, except that, rather surprisingly they include love of the road and a passion for speed (lines 1-19).¹ Moreover, following another brief, typical eulogistic passage (lines 20-26), Shulgi elaborates on his great interest in travel, claiming that he saw to it that the roads of the land were always in good repair, and that he constructed on them resthouses for the weary traveller (lines 27-35).² He then asserts that, eager to establish his name and fame as a champion runner, he made a journey from Nippur to Ur, a distance of fifteen "double hours"—roughly about 100 miles—as if it were only a distance of one "double hour" (lines 36-45). Arriving at Ur amidst the plaudits of the multitudes, he offered immense sacrifices in the Ekishnugal, the far-famed temple of Sin, to the accompaniment of music and song (lines 46-54). After resting, bathing, and eating in his palace, he returned to Nippur in spite of a raging hailstorm, and thus could celebrate the *ešēš*-feasts³ in both Ur and Nippur on one and the same day (lines 55-78). There in Nippur, moreover he banqueted with the sun-god Utu, and his (Shulgi's) divine spouse, the fertility goddess Inanna (lines 79-85). There, too, An⁴ invested him with the royal insignia, so that he became a mighty king whose power and glory were exalted in the four corners of the universe (lines 86-101).

Well-nigh the entire text of the hymn was available as early as 1944, cf. *SLTN*, p. 27, comment to Nos. 81-83, where the pertinent bibliographical references will be found, as well as a brief sketch of its contents. In 1952, Falkenstein published an edition of the hymn in *ZA*, I, 61-81, based on fourteen tablets and fragments, three more than were identified in *SLTN*.⁵ There were still a number of gaps and misreadings in the text, however, and these have been filled in and corrected by Jacob Klein, in the course of preparing his dissertation on Shulgi hymnography, with the help of several recently published Ur pieces,⁶ and a number of still unpublished duplicates in the University Museum. The present translation utilizes the results of Klein's study.

I, the king, a hero from the (mother's) womb am I, (1)
 I, Shulgi, a mighty man from (the day) I was born
 am I,
 A fierce-eyed lion, born of the *ushumgal*⁷ am I,
 King of the four corners (of the universe) am I,
 Herdsman, shepherd of the blackheads⁸ am I,
 The trustworthy, the god of all the lands am I,
 The son born of Ninsun⁹ am I,
 Called to the heart of holy An am I,
 He who was blessed by Enlil am I,
 Shulgi, the beloved of Ninlil am I, (10)
 Faithfully nurtured by Nintu am I,
 Endowed with wisdom by Enki am I,

¹ Cf. especially lines 16-18, and note the animal imagery which, together with cumulative parallelism, are the primary poetic features of this hymn.

² These Shulgi resthouses are the earliest known prototypes of the Near Eastern caravansaries and the modern motels.

³ Little is known about these feasts; cf. *CAD*, sub *ešēšu*.

⁴ Actually it is the composite deity An-Enlil that is meant here, as can be seen from the following line where he is presented with the scepter in Enlil's temple, the Ekur, and from line 101 where Sin, who is well known as the son of Enlil, is said to be the son of An.

⁵ A translation of the hymn based on this study was published *SAHG*, No. 24 (of the comment in *Bi. Or.*, XI, p. 175).

⁶ Cf. *UET*, VI, Part 1, Nos. 78-79.

⁷ A dragon-like mythological creature.

⁸ "Blackheads" is an epithet of the Sumerians from at least the time of the Ur III Dynasty.

⁹ Ninsun was Shulgi's divine mother; cf. also Edzard, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, p. 114.

The mighty king of Nanna am I,
 The open-jawed lion of Utu am I,
 Shulgi chosen for the vulva of Inanna am I,
 A princely donkey all set for the road am I,
 A horse that swings (his) tail on the highway am I,
 A noble donkey of Sumugan¹⁰ eager for the course am I,
 The wise scribe of Nidaba am I.

Like my heroship, like my might, (20)
 I am accomplished in wisdom (as well),
 I *vie* with its (wisdom's) true word,
 I love justice,
 I do not love evil,
 I hate the evil word,
 I, Shulgi, a mighty king, supreme, am I.
 Because I am a powerful man rejoicing in his "loins,"
 I *enlarged* the footpaths, straightened the highways of
 the land,

I made secure travel, built there "big houses,"
 Planted gardens alongside of them, established (30)
 resting-places,
 Settled there friendly folk,
 (So that) who comes from below, who come from above,
 Might refresh themselves in its cool (shade),
 The wayfarer who travels the highway at night,
 Might find refuge there like in a well-built city.

That my name be established unto distant days that it
 leave not the mouth (of men),
 That my praise be spread wide in the land,
 That I be *eulogized* in all the lands,
 I, the runner, rose in my strength, *all set* for the
 course,
 (And) from Nippur to Ur, (40)
 I resolved to traverse as if it were (but a distance)
 of one *danna*.

Like a lion that wearies not of its virility, I arose,
 Put a *girdle* about my loins,
 I swing (my) arms like a dove feverishly fleeing a snake,
 I spread wide the knees like the Indugud-bird¹¹ that has
 lifted (its) eye toward the mountain.
 (The inhabitants of) the cities that I had established in
 the land, swarmed all about me,
 My blackheaded people, as numerous as ewes, marvelled
 at me,
 Like a mountain-kid hurrying to its shelter,
 (As) Utu who sheds (his) broad light on (man's)
 habitations,
 I entered the Ekishnugal, (50)
 Filled with abundance the great stall, the house of
 Sin,

¹⁰ *Šakan*, god of the steppe-dwelling animals, cf. now Edzard, *loc. cit.*, p. 118 (under *Sakan*).

¹¹ For this mythological bird which may perhaps better be read Anzu, cf. now Edzard, *loc. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

Slaughtered there oxen, multiplied (the slaughtering of)
sheep,

Made resound there the drum and the timbrel,
Took charge there of the *tigi*-music, the sweet.

I, Shulgi, the all bountiful,¹² brought there bread-
offerings,

Have inspired dread from (my) royal seat like a lion,

In the lofty palace of Ninegal,¹³

I *rested* (my) knees, bathed in fresh water,

Bent (my) knees, ate bread,

Like an owl (and) a falcon I arose, (60)

Returned to Nippur in my . . .

On that day, the storm howled, the tempest swirled,

Northwind (and) Southwind roared eagerly,

Lightning devoured in heaven alongside the seven winds,

The deafening storm made the earth tremble,

Ishkur¹⁴ thundered throughout the heavenly expanse,¹⁵

The winds on high embraced the waters below,

Its (the storm's) little stones, its big stones,¹⁶

Lashed at my back.

(But) I, the king was unafraid, uncowed, (70)

Like a young lion (prepared to) *spring* I shook
myself *loose*,

Like a donkey of the steppe, I *covered up* my . . . ,

My heart full of happiness *took delight* in the course,

Coursing like a noble donkey travelling all alone,

Like Utu eager (to come) home,

I traversed the journey of 15 *danna* (in distance),

My *sagursag*¹⁷ gazed at me (in wonder),

¹² Literally: "he who multiplies (all) things."

¹³ It is uncertain to whom Ninegal, "Queen of the Palace" refers to; it is often an epithet of Inanna.

¹⁴ Ishkur is the storm-god.

¹⁵ Literally: "the heaven the wide."

¹⁶ This is a stereotype description of hail.

¹⁷ This is a class of temple personnel, probably castrates.

As in one (and the same) day I celebrated the *ešēš*-feasts
in (both) Ur (and) Nippur.

With valiant Utu my brother and friend,

I drank strong drink in the palace founded by An, (80)

My minstrels sang for me the seven *tigi*-songs.

By the side of my spouse, the maid Inanna, the queen,
the "vulva" of heaven (and) earth,

I sat at its (the palace's) banquet.

She spoke not my *judgment* as a (final) judgment,¹⁸

Wheresoever I lift my eyes, thither I go,

Wheresoever my heart moves me, thither I proceed.

An set the holy crown upon my head,

Made me take the scepter in the "lapis-lazuli" Ekur,

On the radiant dais, he raised heaven high the firmly
founded throne,

He exalted there the power of (my) kingship. (90)

I bent low all the lands, made secure the people,

The four-corners of the universe, the people in *unison*,
call my name,

Chant holy songs,

Pronounce my exaltation (saying):

"He that is nurtured by the exalted power of kingship,

Presented by Sin, out of the Ekishnugal,

With heroship, might, and a good life,

Endowed with lofty power by Nunamnir,¹⁹

Shulgi, the destroyer of all the foreign lands, who makes
all the people secure,

Who in accordance with the *me* of the universe, (100)

Shulgi, cherished by the trusted son of An (Sin)!"

Oh, Nidaba, praise!²⁰

¹⁸ The meaning of this line in the context is obscure.

¹⁹ This is another name for Enlil.

²⁰ This is a typical hymnal last line; Nidaba is the goddess of writing and literature.

VI. Didactic and Wisdom Literature

Sumerian Wisdom Text

TRANSLATOR: S. N. KRAMER

Man and his God

A SUMERIAN VARIATION OF THE "JOB" MOTIF

This "lamentation to a man's god," as the ancient author himself describes it, is an edifying poetic essay composed, no doubt, for the purpose of prescribing the proper attitude and conduct for a victim of cruel and seemingly undeserved misfortune. The Sumerians, like all peoples throughout the ages, were troubled by the problem of human suffering, particularly relative to its rather enigmatic causes and potential remedies. Their teachers and sages believed and taught the doctrine that man's misfortunes were the result of his sins and misdeeds. They were convinced, moreover, that no man is without guilt; as our Sumerian poet-theologian puts it: "Never was a sinless child born to its mother."¹ In spite of surface appearances to the contrary, therefore, there are no cases of unjust and undeserved human suffering; it is always man who is to blame, not the gods. But the truth of such theological premises and conclusions is by no means readily apparent, and in moments of adversity, more than one sufferer must have been tempted to challenge the fairness and justice of the gods, and to blaspheme against them. It may well be that it was in an effort to forestall such resentment against the gods and to ward off potential disillusionment with the divine order, that one of the sages of the Sumerian academy, the *edubba*,² composed this instructive essay.

The main thesis of our poet is that in cases of suffering and adversity, no matter how seemingly unjustified, the victim has but one valid and effective recourse, and that is to continually glorify his god and keep wailing and lamenting before him until he turns a favourable ear to his prayers. The god concerned is the sufferer's "personal" god, that is the deity who, in accordance with the accepted Sumerian credo, acted as the man's representative and intercessor in the assembly of the gods.³ To prove his point our author does not resort to philosophical speculation and theological argumentation. Instead, with characteristic Sumerian pragmatism, he cites a case: Here is a man, unnamed to be sure, who had been wealthy, wise and righteous, or at least seemingly so, and blest with both friends and kin. One day sickness and suffering overwhelmed him. Did he defy the divine order and blaspheme? Not at all! He came humbly before his god with tears and lamentation, and poured out his heart in prayer and supplication. As a result his god was highly pleased and moved to compassion; he gave heed to his prayer, delivered him from his misfortunes and turned his suffering to joy.

¹ This dogma was in line with the accepted world-view of the Sumerian theologian, according to which the gods in control of the cosmos planned and instituted evil, falsehood and violence as part and parcel of civilization; cf. S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians*, pp. 125 ff.

² For a discussion of the Sumerian *edubba*, its faculty, student body and curriculum, cf. S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians*, pp. 229 ff.

³ The notion of a personal god was evolved by the Sumerian theologians in response to the feeling that the leading deities of the pantheon were too distant and aloof from the individual man, and that the latter should therefore have an intermediary, a kind of "good angel," to intercede on his behalf when the gods assembled (probably every New Year's Day) to judge all men and decide their fates; cf. especially H. and H. A. Frankfort, *et al.*, *Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, pp. 203-04. Just how these personal gods were selected by the individual or head of a family is uncertain, but we actually have the names of the "personal" deities of a number of Sumerian rulers from the second half of the third millennium B.C.

Structurally speaking, our poetic tract⁴ may be tentatively divided into five sections. First comes a brief introductory exhortation that man should praise and exalt his god and soothe him with lamentations (lines 1-9). The poet then introduces the unnamed individual who, upon being smitten with sickness and misfortune, addresses his god with tears and prayers (lines 10-20 plus). There follows the sufferer's petition which constitutes the major part of the poem (lines 26 minus-116). It begins with a description of the ill treatment accorded him by his fellow men—friend and foe alike (lines 26-55); continues with a lament against his bitter fate, including a rhetorical request to his kin and to the professional singers to do likewise (lines 56-95); and concludes with a confession of guilt and a direct plea for relief and deliverance (lines 96-116). Finally comes the "happy ending," in which the poet informs us that the man's prayer did not go unheeded, and that his god accepted the entreaties and delivered him from his afflictions (lines 117-129). All this leads, of course, to a further glorification of his god (lines 130-end).

Two pieces belonging to this composition were first published in *STVC*, Nos. 1 and 2, but the text was there assumed to be a collection of proverbs rather than a connected essay. Later I identified three other pieces, one in the University Museum, and two in the Istanbul Museum of the Ancient Orient, and these were published in *Supplement to VT*, III (1960), pp. 172-82, together with a transliteration and translation of the text, which could now be recognized as an essay concerned with the problem of human suffering and what to do about it. Still later, E. I. Gordon identified another small piece in the University Museum; this was published in *Bi. Or.*, XVII, pp. 149 ff., where the reader will also find a number of useful bibliographical details.

Let a man utter constantly the exaltedness of his god,
Let the young man⁵ praise artlessly the words of his god,
Let the inhabitant of the straightforward land *moan*,
In the house [of] s[ong] let him *interpret* . . . to his
woman-friend and man-friend,

Soothe [*his* he]art,

Bring forth . . . , utter . . . ,

Measure out . . . ,

Let his lament soothe the heart of his god,

(For) a man without a god would not obtain food.

The young man—he uses not his strength for evil
in the place of deceit, (10)

(Yet . . . , sickness, bitter suffering . . . d him,

. . . , fate, . . . brought . . . close to him,

Bitter . . . *confused its* . . . , covered his . . . ,

. . . placed an evil hand on him, he was treated as

. . . of his god,

. . . in his . . . , . . . he *weeps*,

. . . he directed a . . . ,

⁴ The primary poetic device utilized by the author is cumulative parallelism; cf., e.g., lines 1-9; 26-29; 31-36; 42-43; etc., etc.

⁵ "Young man" renders the Sumerian word *gurus* that has a semantic range equivalent to the Hebrew *gebher*.

Speaks [tearfully] to him of his suffering . . . ,
 . . . *in* his . . . wrath,
 . . . s

(approximately 5 lines destroyed) (20)

"I am a young man, a discerning one, (yet) who
respects me *prospers* not,⁶
 My righteous word has been turned into a lie,
 The man of deceit has covered me (with) the South-
 wind, I (am forced to) serve him,
 Who *respects* me not has shamed me before you.

You have doled out to me suffering ever anew, (30)
 I entered the house, heavy is the spirit,
 I, the young man, went out to the street, oppressed is
 the heart,

With me, the *valiant*, my righteous shepherd has become
 angry,⁷ has looked upon me inimically,
 My herdsman has sought out evil forces against me who
 am not (his) enemy,

My companion says not a true word to me,
 My friend gives the lie to my righteous word.
 The man of deceit has *conspired* against me,
 (And) you, my god, do not thwart him,
 You carry off my understanding,

The wicked has *conspired* against me (40)
 Angered you, stormed about, planned evil.

I, the wise, why am I bound to the ignorant youths?
 I, the discerning, why am I counted among the ignorant?
 Food is all about, (yet) my food is hunger,
 On the day shares were allotted to all, my allotted share
 was suffering.

The *brother* . . . quarrelled, planned [evi]l,
 [He . . . s] my . . . ,
 . . . ,

Raises up . . . ,
 Carries off . . . , (50)

Writes on clay . . . the wise . . . ,
 Seeks out the . . . of the journey,
 Cuts down like a tree the . . . of the road,
 . . . [. . . s] the supervisor,
 . . . [. . . s] the steward.

My god, [I would stand] befo[re yo]u,
 Would speak to you, . . . , my word is a groan,
 I would tell you about it, would bemoan the bitterness
 of my path,
 [Would bewail] the confusion of

Let the wise . . . *in* my plans, lament will not
 cease, (60)

⁶ For lines 26-30, 35-39, 101-103, 111-113, cf. Jacobsen, *PAPS*,
 Vol. 107, No. 16, pp. 482-83.

⁷ The "shepherd" and "herdsman" of this and the following line
 probably refer to the king; the sufferer therefore seems to have been
 a member of the court.

I . . . to my friend,
 I . . . to my companion.

Lo, let not my mother who bore me cease my lament
 before you,

Let not my sister [utter] the happy song and chant,
 Let her utter tearfully my misfortunes before you,
 Let my wife voice *mournfully* my suffering,
 Let the expert singer bemoan my bitter fate.

My god, the day shines bright over the land, for me the
 day is black,

The bright day, the good day has . . . like the . . . ,
 Tears, lament, anguish, and depression are lodged
 within me, (70)

Suffering overwhelms me like one who does
 (nothing but) weep,
 (The demon of) fate in its hand . . . s me, carries off
 my breath of life,

The malignant sickness-demon bath[es] in my body,
 The bitterness of my path, the e[vil] of [my . . .],
 . . . s the *kindly* . . . ,
 . . . s the *unsettled*

I who am not the . . . of the . . . ,
 I who am not the . . . of the . . . ,
 [L]ike . . . I . . . before you,
 (lines 80-94 largely destroyed)
 . . . I weep *not*.

My god, you who are my father who begot me, [*lift up*]
 my face,

Like an innocent cow, in *pity* . . . the groan,
 How long will you neglect me, leave me unprotected?
 Like an ox, . . . ,
 (How long) will you leave me unguided? (100)

They say—the sages⁸—a word righteous (and)
 straightforward:
 'Never has a sinless child been born to its mother,
 . . . a sinless *workman* has not existed from of old.'

My god, the . . . of destruction which I have . . . d
 against you,

The . . . of . . . which I have prepared before you,
 Let them not . . . the man, the *wise*; utter, (my god),
words of grace upon him,

(*When*) the day is not (yet) *bright*, in my . . . , in
 my . . . , make me walk before you,

My impure (*and*) my lack-lustre . . . —*touch* their
 . . . ,

Utter words of grace upon him whom you . . . d on
 the day of wrath,

Whom you . . . d on the day . . . —pronounce
joy upon him. (110)

⁸ Literally: "the wise men of valor."

SUMERIAN WISDOM TEXT

My god, now that you have *shown* me my sins . . . ,
In the gate of . . . , I would speak . . . ,
I, the young man, would *confess* my sins before you.

May you *rain* upon the assembly . . . like a cloud,
May you . . . *in* your *chamber* my groaning *mother*

. . . ,
Me, the *valiant*, may you . . . *in wis[dom my]* groan-
ing”

. . . .⁹

The man—his bitter weeping was heard by his god,
When the lamentation and wailing that filled him had
soothed the heart of his god for the young man,

The righteous words, the artless words uttered by
him, his god accepted, (120)

The words which the young *man* prayerfully
confessed,

Pleased the . . . , the *flesh* of his god, (and) his god
withdrew his hand from the evil word,

. . . which oppresses the heart, . . . he embraces,

⁹ The meaning of this fragmentary line is quite uncertain; but may belong with the preceding lines rather than the following.

The encompassing sickness-demon, which had spread
wide its wings, he *swept away*,

The . . . , which had smitten him like a . . . , he
dissipated,

The (demon of) fate, who had been placed (there) in
accordance with his *sentence*, he turned *aside*,

He turned the you[ng *m*]an's suffering into joy,
Set by him the . . . *good* . . . spirit (as a) watch (and)
guardian,

Gave him . . . the tutelary genii of friendly mien.

[The man uttered] constantly the exaltedness of
his god, (130)

Brought forth . . . , made known . . . ,

(lines 132-137 destroyed)

“. . . may he return for me,

. . . may he release,

. . . may he set straight for me.” (140)

The antiphon of the lamentation to a man's (personal)
god.¹⁰

¹⁰ It is quite uncertain which of the preceding lines formed the antiphon.

Akkadian Didactic and Wisdom Literature

TRANSLATOR: ROBERT D. BIGGS

Akkadian Fable

DISPUTE BETWEEN THE TAMARISK AND THE DATE PALM

Text and translation: Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 151-64. An Old Babylonian version of this contest, which differs in some respects from this text and the other Ashur text translated here, is preserved. See Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 155 f. It begins with a phrase familiar as the opening line of Sumerian literary texts from at least 2600 B.C. on: "In long-ago days, in far-off years," followed by a mythological introduction.

I

The tamarisk [opened] his mouth [saying], (3)
"My flesh compared with [your] flesh [is . . .]
My precious, fine *climbing-belt* you [. . .]
[You] are like a slave girl who *be[trays]* her
mistress."

The [date palm] answered proudly (7)
". . . your *pod*s with a rod [. . .]
When we call on a god [your] flesh [*is only good*]
against sin.

The tamarisk does not know the best of the . . . or the
best of [. . .]."

Ditto (Tamarisk speaks). "I am better than you, a
master of every craft. The *far[mer . . .]* (11)
All he has, the farmer has cut from the crooks of
me, [. . .]
He makes his spade from my trunk and with the spade
made from me
He opens the irrigation canal so the field gets water.
I have [. . .]
And for the moisture of the soil, the grain . . .
[. . .] (15)
I thresh, and grain, on which people thrive, I thresh."

Ditto (Date palm speaks). "I am better than you,
a master of every craft. The farmer [. . .] (17)
All he has: reins, whips, rope¹ for the team and the
*see[der-plow]*²
Harness, . . . , rope for the . . . , net *for* the wagon,
[. . .]
. . . the farmer's equipment, all there is of it, . . .
[. . .]." (20)

¹ Reading *ku* as *ēš* rather than *tūg*. Date palm fibers were widely used for making various kinds of ropes and cords.

² Reading *c-[pi-in-ni]*.

Ditto (Tamarisk speaks). "Think of the equipment
made from me in the king's palace. What
[. . .] (21)

[In] the king's house. The king eats from a dish
made from me, from a *cup* [made from me the
queen drinks],

With a spoon made from me the warriors eat, from a
trough made from me [. . .]

(And) the baker scoops out the flour. I am a weaver
[beating up] the thread (and thus)

I clothe the people [. . .] (25)

The . . . of the god. I am the chief exorcist and
(ritually) renew the temple. [I am] indeed a fine
thing

[And] can have no equal."

(rev.)

Ditto (Date palm speaks). "At the place of the
offering to the god Sin . . . Sin the noble
[. . .] (1)

The king cannot make a libation anywhere where
I am not present, in . . . [. . .]

Rites are performed with me, my leaves heaped up on the
ground, . . . [. . .]

Then the palm is also a brewer; . . . [. . .]."

Ditto (Tamarisk speaks). "Come, let us go, you
and I, to the city of Kish. [. . .] (5)
There are signs of me where the scholar works.

The [. . .] are not full [of . . . and]
Not full of incense. The *qadishtu*-woman sprinkles water
and [. . .]

Takes [the . . .] and they worship and hold a festival.
Then [. . .]

Is for the hand of the butcher and his leaves . . . [. . .]."

Ditto (Date palm speaks). "Come, let us go, you
and I, to the city of [. . .] (10)

Wherever there are sins, there is work for you, O
Tamarisk. The carpenter with [. . .]

And he respects me and daily praises [me]."

(Tamarisk speaks). "Who . . . [. . .] (13)
I bear. The *shepherd boy* [*uses*] great staves [of me]

Splits the . . . , like a reed worker who [. . .]

I shall rejoice in the greatness of my strength [. . .]

I have made you into something effective, very strong
[. . .]."

(Date palm speaks). "I am better than you. Six
times I excel, seven times I [. . .] (18)
I am one who alternates³ with the goddess of grain.
For three months [. . .]
The orphan girl, the widow, the poor man, [. . .]
Eat without stint my sweet dates [. . .]
broken⁴

(rest of text damaged or destroyed)

II

In long-ago days, *in far-off years*⁵
The Fates dug the rivers;
The gods of the lands, Anu, Enlil, and Ea convened
an assembly.
Enlil and the (other) gods took counsel,
Among them was seated Shamash, (5)
Among them was seated the great lady among
the gods.
Once there was no kingship in the lands
And the rule was given to the gods.

(two lines unintelligible)

The king planted
A palm in his palace.
With it he planted a . . . tamarisk.
In the shade of the tamarisk a dinner
Was given and in the shade of the palm (15)
. . .
The opening of . . . the way of the king.
Each other's worth [they insulted];
The tamarisk and the date palm [had a dispute].
The tamarisk (spoke) thus, "I . . . greatly. (20)
If the date palm is so wonderful . . ."
"You, tamarisk, are a useless tree.
What are your branches? Only wood without any fruit
at all!
My fruit is . . .

. . .
The gardener speaks well of me,
Of use to both slave and official.
My fruit makes the infant grow;
Grown men (also) eat my fruit."
". . . the equal of the king . . . (30)
The equipment in the king's palace—
What made from me is to be found in the king's palace?
The king eats from a *table* made of me,
The queen drinks from a *cup* made of me.
I am a weaver and beat up the threads. [. . .]
I am the chief exorcist and purify [the house]."

(rest of text fragmentary or destroyed)

³ Perhaps referring to the difference in seasons for the ripening of grain and dates.

⁴ Scribal note indicating the tablet he copied from was broken.

⁵ This is an emendation based on similar passages.

Akkadian Proverbs and Counsels

PROVERBS

I

Text: E. F. Weidner, *KUB*, iv, 40.¹ Translations: E. Ebeling, *MAOG*, iv, 23-5; W. G. Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 277 f.

(4) My well does not tire (of giving water); my thirst is not too great for it. . . . (6) I am going^{1a} shares in business; loss is unending. (7-8) You have gone. So what? You have stayed. So what? You have stood. So what? You have returned. So what?

II

Text and translation: Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 276 f.

(8-10) And a man, so long as he does not toil, will have nothing. Who will give him something for . . . ? (13-15) He who has neither king nor queen—who is his master? *He* is either an animal or one who lies down

III

A. K.4347+16161

Text and translation: Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 239-50, The proverbs are given here according to the line numbers of Lambert.

(ii 9-10) Eat no fat and you will not have blood in your excrement. (11-14) Commit no crime, and fear [of (your) god] will not consume you. (15-17) Speak no wrong and then grief [will not] reach your heart. (18-21) Do [no] evil, and then you will not experience lasting misfortune. (22-25) A scorpion stung a man. What did he get for it? [A common] informer caused a man's death. What good did it do him? (40-42) Has she become pregnant without intercourse? Has she become fat without eating? (43-44) Intercourse brings on lactation. (45-47) If I store up things, they will be robbed. If I use them up too fast, who will give anything to me? (iii 3-6) Does the reed-bed get the price of its reeds or the meadow the price of its grass? (7-10) The strong man makes his living by the work of his arms, but the weak man by selling his children. (14-16) My vagina is fine, yet it is said among my people that it is useless for me. (19-20) Do you strike the face of an ox with a thong when he is already walking? (21-24) My knees are in constant motion, my feet are tireless, yet a dull-witted person pursues me with trouble. (25-29) I am an *agālu*-donkey, yet I am yoked to an ass; I draw a chariot and suffer from the driver's stick. (50-55) I live in a house made of baked

¹ *KUB*, iv, 97, translated in previous editions of *ANET*, is now known to belong to a different literary genre. See M. Civil, *JNES*, xxiii (1964), p. 1.

^{1a} Reading *al-la-ak*.

bricks (set in) bitumen, yet a lump of clay drops upon my head. (56-59) Last year I ate garlic and this year my belly became inflamed. (iv 7-8) (As was) yesterday's life, so will it be every day. (19-24) If you are in a canal, the water becomes vile, and if you are in a palm grove, the dates are bitter. (34-41) Will the early grain thrive? How can we know? Will the late grain thrive? How can we know? (42-45) If I am going to die, I will use up what I have. If I am going to live, I will keep it. (46-50) They pushed me under the water and endangered my life. I caught no fish and lost my clothes (to boot). (53-57) The enemy will not depart from the gate of a city whose weapons are not powerful. (v 10-13) Like an old oven, it is hard to change you. (14-17) You went and plundered enemy territory. The enemy came and plundered your territory. (39-40) Would you pay money [for] a pig's squeal?

B. Sm. 61

Text and translation: Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 258 f.

(2-4) If oil is poured inside a (*reed*) staff, no one will know. (5-6) To give something is up to a king, to do good is up to a cup-bearer. (7-8) To give is up to a king, but to show favor is up to a steward. (16-17) A resident alien in another city is a slave.

C. K.15227 and 80-7-19,130

Text and translation: Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 257 f.

(11-13) A stranger's ox eats grass, but one's own ox lies down in hunger.

D. BM 98743

Text and translation: Lambert, *BWL*, p. 260.

(5-10) A thing which has not occurred since time immemorial: a young woman broke wind in her husband's embrace.

E. VAT 10810

Text and translation: Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 260-62.

(6-7) The unlearned is a cart. The ignorant is his road. (10-12) Bride, (as) you treat your mother-in-law, so will women (later) treat you.

F. BM 56607

Text and translation: Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 270 f.

(col. A 7-8) If the beer mash is sour, how can the beer be sweet? (9) A bucket floats in the river.

G. K.8338

Text and translation: Lambert, *BWL*, p. 255.

A variant of this proverb is attested in a collection of Sumerian proverbs from about 2600 B.C. See W. G. Lambert, "Celibacy in the World's Oldest Proverbs," *BASOR*, 169, p. 63 f. The old

Sumerian version may be translated: "He that supports no wife, he that supports no son, may his misfortunes be multiplied."

The one who does not² support a wife, who does not support a son, is a *dishonest person* who does not support himself.

IV

Text: C. Bezold and E. A. W. Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, No. 61, lines 16-19. See W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 89, pp. 29-32; Lambert, *BWL*, p. 282.

When ants are struck, they do not take it (passively), but bite the hand of the man who strikes them.

V

Text: R. F. Harper, *ABL*, 403, lines 4-7, 13-15; 652, lines 10-13. Translation: Lambert, *BWL*, p. 281. The first two of these proverbs are quoted by Ashurbanipal in a sarcastic letter to the Babylonians. For parallels in Ahiqar, see most recently Lambert, *BWL*, p. 281. The third proverb is from the time of Esarhaddon.

A common saying is: "When a potter's dog enters the kiln it will bark at the potter."

A common saying is: "In a court of law the word of a sinful woman prevails over her husband's."

As they say: "Man is the shadow of a god, and a slave is the shadow of a man; but the king is the mirror of a god."

THE INSTRUCTIONS OF SHURUPPAK

Text and translation: Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 92-5. This text contains the advice given by Shuruppak, who survived the Flood, to his son Ziusudra (Utnapushtu in the Akkadian version). It is known in Akkadian from only a small fragment, but it is attested in Sumerian before 2500 B.C. (see R. D. Biggs, *JCS*, xx, p. 78, and M. Civil and R. D. Biggs, *RA*, LX, pp. 1-5). It is thus one of the oldest known pieces of Mesopotamian literature. The Akkadian version probably began, as does the Old Babylonian Sumerian version (see *Ur Excavation Texts*, vi, 169 and S. N. Kramer, *Iraq*, xxv, pp. 174 f.), with "On a faraway day, on a faraway night, in a faraway time." The translation is restored freely from the Sumerian versions. To judge from the Sumerian versions, the composition was originally several hundred lines in length.

Shuruppak [son of Uburtutu gave instructions], (1)
To Utnapushtu [his son he gave instructions, saying],
"My son, [I will give you instructions, take my
instructions];

Utnapushtu, [I will give you instructions],

[Do not neglect] my instructions.

[Do not disobey] the words [I have spoken to you].

[One should not buy an] ass who [brays (too much)].¹

[One should not locate] a cultivated field on a
road[way].¹

[Do not . . .] your field.

² Reading (la) mu-taš-šu-ú.

¹ Restored from the Sumerian version. See M. Civil, *RA*, LX, p. 3.

In your cultivated field [do not . . .]. (10)
 Do not harm the daughter of a free man, for the
courtyard will find out about it."¹ (rev. 5)

COUNSELS OF WISDOM

Text and translation: Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 96-106.

(beginning of text badly damaged)

Do not talk [with a tale]bearer, (21)
 Do not consult [with a . . .] . . . who is an idler;
 Because of your good qualities, you will be made into
 an *example* for them.

Then you will reduce your own work, forsake your path,
 And will let your wise, modest opinion be perverted.
 Let your mouth be restrained and your speech guarded;
 (That) is a man's pride—let what you say¹ be very
 precious.

Let insolence and blasphemy be an abomination for you;
 Speak nothing profane nor any unjust report.
 A talebearer is looked down upon.² (30)

Do not set out to stand around in the assembly.
 Do not loiter where there is a dispute,
 For in the dispute they will have you as an *observer*.
 Then you will be made a witness for them, and
 They will involve you in a lawsuit to affirm something
 that does not concern you.

In case of a dispute, get away from it, disregard it.
 If a dispute involving you should flare up, calm it down.
 A dispute is a *covered* pit,
 A . . . wall which can *cover over* its foes;³
 It brings to mind what one has forgotten and makes
 an accusation against a man. (40)

Do not return evil to your adversary;
 Requite with kindness the one who does evil to you,
 Maintain justice for your enemy,
 Be friendly to your enemy.
 (a number of lines damaged)

Give food to eat, beer to drink, (61)
 Grant what is requested, provide for and treat
 with honor.

At this one's god takes pleasure.
 It is pleasing to Shamash, who will repay him with
 favor.

Do good things, be kind all your days.

Do not honor a slave girl in your house;
 She should not rule [your] bedroom like a wife.
 . . . , do not give yourself over [to] slave girls.
 If she goes up your . . . , you will not go down.
 Let this be said [among] your people: (70)

¹ Lit.: lips.

² Lit.: his head is small.

³ See *CAD*, sub *abru* adj.

"The household which a slave girl rules, she
 disrupts."

Do not marry a prostitute, whose husbands are legion,⁴
 An *ishtaritu*-woman⁵ who is dedicated to a god,
 A *kulmashitu*-woman⁵ whose . . . is much.

When you have trouble, she will not support you,
 When you have a dispute she will be a mocker.
 There is no reverence or submissiveness in her.
 Even if she is powerful in the household, get rid of her,
 For she pricks up her ears for the footsteps of another
 man.

Variant: Whatever household she enters (as wife) will
 be scattered and the one who marries her will
 not be stable. (80)

My son, if it be the wish of a ruler that you belong
 to him,⁶

If you are entrusted with his closely guarded seal
 Open his treasure house (and) enter it,
 For no one but you may do it.
 Uncounted wealth you will find inside,
 But do not covet any of that,
 Nor set your mind on a secret crime,
 For afterwards the matter will be investigated
 And the secret crime which you committed will be
 exposed.

The ruler will hear of it (and) will [. . .], (90)
 His happy face will [. . .],
 (a number of lines damaged)

Do not speak ill, speak (only) good. (127)
 Do not say evil things, speak well of people.

He who speaks ill and says evil—
 People will waylay him because of his debt to
 Shamash. (130)

Do not talk too freely, watch what you say.⁷
 Do not express your innermost thoughts even when you
 are alone.

What you say in haste you may *regret* later.
 Exert yourself to restrain your speech.

Worship your god every day.
 Sacrifice and (pious) utterance are the proper accom-
 paniment of incense.

Have a freewill offering for your god,
 For this is proper toward a god.
 Prayer, supplication, and prostration
 Offer him daily, then your prayer *will be granted*, (140)
 And you will be in harmony with your god.
 Since you are learned, read in the tablet:
 "Reverence begets favor,

⁴ Lit.: 3,600.

⁵ Women connected with the cult, but whose function remains unclear. See J. Renger, *ZA*, LVIII (1967), pp. 184 and 186 f.

⁶ i.e., to his staff.

⁷ Lit.: your lips.

Sacrifice improves life
 And prayer dispels guilt.
 He who worships the gods is not slighted by [. . .],
 He who worships the Anunnaki will thus prolong [his
 days].”

With a friend or comrade do not speak [*evil things*].
 Do not say unworthy things, [speak] what is good.
 If you have promised something, give [. . .], (150)
 If you have created trust, you should [. . .],
 [And fulfill] the wish of a comrade.
 [If] you have created trust in friends [. . .]
 [Since] you are learned, [read in the tablet]:
 (rest of text fragmentary)

Akkadian Observations on Life and the World Order

LUDLUL BĒL NĒMEQI

“I WILL PRAISE THE LORD OF WISDOM”

Text and translation: Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 21-56, 343 f.; E. Leichty, *Orientalia NS*, xxviii, pp. 361-63 (for the previously unrecognized beginning of the composition). The only unpublished text utilized for the present translation is the fragment K.9392 which has been joined to K.9810 (Lambert, *BWL*, Plate 74).

Tablet I

I will praise the lord of wisdom, the [*deliberative*]
 god, (1)
 Who lays hold of the night, but frees the day,
 Marduk, the lord of wisdom, the [*deliberative*] god,
 Who lays hold of the night, but frees the day,
 Whose fury surrounds him like a storm wind,
 But whose breeze is as pleasant as a morning zephyr,
 Whose anger is irresistible, whose rage is a devastating
 flood,
 But whose heart is merciful, whose mind forgiving,
 The . . . of whose hands the heavens cannot hold
 back,
 But whose gentle hand sustains the dying, (10)
 Marduk, the . . . of whose hands the heavens cannot
 hold back,
 But whose gentle hand sustains the dying,
 (long break)
 The lord [. . .] the *confusion* (41)
 And the warrior *Enlil*¹ [. . .] his . . .
 My god has forsaken me and *disappeared*,
 My goddess has cut me off and stayed removed from me.
 The benevolent spirit who was (always) beside [me]
 has departed,

¹ Or read “warrior of Enlil,” i.e. Ninurta.

My protective spirit has flown away and seeks someone
 else.
 My dignity has been taken away, my manly good looks
 jeopardized,
 My pride has been cut off, my protection has skipped off.
 Terrifying omens have been brought upon me,
 I was put out of my house and wandered about
 outside. (50)
 The omens concerning me are confused, daily there
 is *inflammation*.
 I cannot stop going to the diviner and dream interpreter.
 What is said in the street portends ill for me.
 When I lie down at night my dream is terrifying.
 The king, the very flesh of the gods, the sun of his
 peoples,
 His heart is enraged (with me) and cannot be appeased.
 Even though I stand *praying* they . . . against me.
 They gather together telling things that ought not be
 said.
 Thus the first, “I have made him want to end his
 life.”
 The second says, “I made him vacate his post.” (60)
 Likewise the third, “I shall take over his position.”
 “I will take over his house,” says the fourth.
 The fifth
 The sixth and seventh will pursue his
 The group of seven has assembled their forces,
 Merciless as a storm demon, they are like
 They are one in flesh, united in purpose.
 Their hearts rage against me and they are ablaze like
 fire.
 They agree on slander and lies about me.
 They have sought to muzzle my respectful mouth. (70)
 I, whose lips always prattled, have become like a
 mute.
 My hearty shout is [reduced] to silence,
 My proud head is bowed to the ground,
 Fear has weakened my brave heart.
 Even a youngster has turned back my broad chest.
 My arms, (though once) strong, are
 I, who used to walk like a proud man, have learned to
 slip by unnoticed.
 Though I was a respectable man, I have become a slave.
 To my *many relations* I have become like a recluse.
 If I walk the street, fingers² are pointed at me; (80)
 If I enter the palace, eyes blink.
 My own town looks on me as an enemy;
 Even my land is savage and hostile.
 My friend³ has become a stranger,
 My companion has become an evil person and a demon.
 In his rage my comrade denounces me,
 Constantly my associate *furbishes* his weapons.

² Reading *ú-ba(!)-na-a-ti*. See *CAD*, p. 3 sub *šabāru*.

³ Lit.: brother.

My close friend has brought my life into danger;
My slave has publicly cursed me in the assembly.
. . . the crowd has defamed me. (90)

When someone who knows me sees me, he *passes*
by on the other side.

My family treats me as if I were not related to them,
The grave is ready for anyone who speaks well of me,
But he who speaks ill of me is promoted.
The one who slanders me has the god's help;
The . . . who says "god have mercy" when death is
imminent

Without delay⁴ becomes well through his protective god.
I have no one to go at my side, nor have I found anyone
understanding.

They divided all my possessions among foreign
riffraff.⁵

They stopped up the source of my canal with silt.⁶ (100)
They have stopped the joyous harvest song in my
fields,

And silenced my city like an enemy city.
They have let another take over my duties,
They appointed someone else to be present at the rites
(where I should be).

By day there is sighing, by night lamentation,
The month is wailing, the year is gloom.
I moan like a dove all day long.

[Instead of singing a] song I *groan loudly.*

My eyes are . . . [through] constant weeping,
My lower eyelids are swollen [from *ceaseless*]
tears. (110)

[. . .] before me the fears of my heart⁷

[. . .] panic and fear.

(The rest of the tablet is badly damaged.)

Tablet II

I survived to the next year; the appointed time
passed. (1)

I turn around, but it is bad, very bad;
My *ill luck* increases and I cannot find what is right.

I called to my god, but he did not show his face,
I prayed to my goddess, but she did not raise her head.
Even the diviner with his divination could not make a
prediction,

And the interpreter of dreams with his libation could
not elucidate my case.

I sought the favor of the *zaqīqu*-spirit, but he would not
enlighten me;

The exorcist with his ritual could not appease the divine
wrath against me.

⁴ Reading *la ka-sim-ma* with K. Deller, *AJO*, xx, p. 167.

⁵ See *CAD*, sub *siddu*.

⁶ Reading *ı̄ı-i* (var.: *i-na-[ti]*) *ı̄ı(!)-ias ú-man-di-lu s[a]-ki-ka*.
See K. Deller, *AJO*, xx, p. 167.

⁷ See *CAD*, sub *adirtu* B for the restoration from an unpublished
text.

What strange conditions everywhere! (10)
When I look behind (me), there is persecution,
trouble.

Like one who has not made libations to his god,
Nor invoked his goddess when he ate,
Does not *make* prostrations nor recognize (the necessity
of) bowing down,

In whose mouth supplication and prayer are lacking,
Who has even *neglected* holy days, and ignored festivals,
Who was negligent and did not observe the gods' rites,
Did not teach his people reverence and worship,
But has eaten his food without invoking his god,
And abandoned his goddess by not bringing a flour
offering, (20)

Like one who has gone crazy and forgotten his lord,
Has frivolously sworn a solemn oath by his god, (like
such a one) do I *appear*.

For myself, I gave attention to supplication and prayer:
My prayer was discretion, sacrifice my rule.

The day for worshipping the god was a joy to my heart;
The day of the goddess's procession was profit and gain
to me.

The king's blessing—that was my joy,
And the accompanying music became a delight for me.
I had my land keep the god's rites,
And brought my people to value the goddess's
name. (30)

I made the praise for the king like a god's,
And taught the people respect for the palace.
I wish I knew that these things would be pleasing to
one's god!

What is good for oneself may be offense to one's god,
What in one's own heart seems despicable may be proper
to one's god.

Who can know the will of the gods in heaven?
Who can understand the plans of the underworld gods?
Where have humans learned the way of a god?
He who was alive yesterday is dead today.
One moment he is worried, the next he is
boisterous. (40)

One moment he is singing a joyful song,
A moment later he wails like a professional mourner.
Their condition changes (as quickly as) opening and
shutting (the *eyes*).

When starving they become like corpses,
When full they oppose their god.
In good times they speak of scaling heaven,
When they are troubled they talk of going down to hell.
I am *perplexed* at these things; I have not been able to
understand their significance.

As for me, exhausted, a windstorm is driving me
on!

Debilitating Disease is let loose upon me: (50)
An Evil Wind has blown [from the] horizon,

Headache has sprung up from the surface of the under-
world,

An Evil Cough has left its *Apsu*,
The Irresistible Demon has left *Ekur*,
[The Lamashtu-demon came] down from the Mountain,
Cramp set out [with . . .] the flood,
Weakness breaks through the ground along with the
plants.

[They all joined in] and came on me together.
[They *struck*] my head, they enveloped my skull;
[My] face is gloomy, my eyes flow. (60)
They have wrenched my neck muscles and made (my)
neck limp.

They struck [my chest,] beat my breast.
They affected my flesh and made me shake,
[In] my epigastrium they kindled a fire.
They churned up my bowels, . . . [they] . . . my . . .
Causing the discharge of phlegm, they tired out my
[lungs].

They tired out my limbs and made my *fat* quake.
My upright stance they knocked down like a wall,
My robust figure they laid down like a rush,
I am thrown down like a . . . and cast on my face. (70)
The *alû*-demon has clothed himself in my body as
with a garment;

Sleep covers me like a net.
My eyes stare straight ahead, but cannot see,
My ears are open, but cannot hear.
Feebleness has overcome my whole body,
An attack of illness has fallen upon my flesh.
Stiffness has taken over my arms,
Weakness has come upon my knees,
My feet forget their motion.

[A stroke] has got me; I choke like someone
prostrate. (80)

Death has [*approached*] and has covered my face.
If someone is concerned about me, I am not even able
to answer the one who inquires.

[My . . .] weep, but I cannot control myself.
A snare is laid on my mouth,
And a bolt keeps my lips barred.
My "gate" is barred, my "drinking place" blocked,
My hunger is . . . , my windpipe constricted.
I eat grain as though it were a vile thing,
Beer, the sustenance^{7a} of mankind, is distasteful
to me.

My malady is indeed protracted. (90)
Through not eating, my looks have become strange,
My flesh is flaccid, and my blood has ebbed away.
My bones look separated, and are covered (only) with
my skin.

My flesh is inflamed, and the . . . -disease has afflicted me.

^{7a} Reading, *nab-laš*. See *AHw*, sub *nabīātu*.

I have taken to a bed of *bondage*; going out is a pain;
My house has become my prison.
My arms are powerless—my own flesh is a manacle,
My feet are fallen flat—my own person is a fetter.
My afflictions are grievous, my wound is severe.
A whip full of needles has struck me,⁸ (100)
The goad that pricked me was covered⁹ with barbs.
All day long the tormentor torments [me],
And at night he does not let me breathe easily for a
minute.

Through twisting my joints are parted,
My limbs are splayed and knocked apart.
I spent the night in my dung like an ox,
And wallowed in my excrement like a sheep.
My symptoms are beyond the exorcist,
And my omens have confused the diviner.
The exorcist could not diagnose the nature of my
sickness, (110)

Nor could the diviner set a time limit on my illness.
My god has not come to the rescue nor taken me by the
hand;
My goddess has not shown pity on me nor gone by my
side.

My grave was waiting, and my funerary paraphernalia
ready,
Before I was even 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 news reached her who gloats, and her heart rejoiced.
I know the day for my whole family,
When, among my friends, their Sun-god will have
mercy. (120)

Tablet III

His hand was heavy upon me, I could not bear it. (1)
My dread of him was alarming, it [. . . me]
His fierce wind^{9a} [*brought on*] a destructive flood.
His stride was . . . , it . . . [. . .]
. . . the severe illness does not [leave] my person,
I forget *wakefulness*,¹⁰ it makes [my mind] stray.
Both day and night I groan,
Whether awake or dreaming I am equally miserable.
A remarkable young man of outstanding physique,
Splendid in body, clothed in new garments— (10)
Since in waking moments . . .
Clad in splendor, robed in dread,

(The rest of the first dream is mainly destroyed.)

A second time [I had a dream,] (21)
And in the dream I had at night

⁸ Reading *ištanni*. See *CAD*, sub *šillú* A.

⁹ Reading *labšat*. See *CAD*, sub *ziqtu* A.

^{9a} Reading [*ma*]-*nis-su*.

¹⁰ See *AHw*, sub *ērūtu*.

A remarkable priest¹¹ [was . . .]
 Holding in his hand a piece of purifying tamarisk wood.
 "Laluralimma, resident of Nippur,
 Has sent me to purify you."
 The water he was carrying he poured over me,
 Recited the life-restoring incantation, and massaged [my
 body].
 A third time I had a dream,
 And in the dream I had at night (30)
 A remarkable young woman of shining counte-
 nance, (30a)¹²
 . . . , equal to a god. (31)
 A queen of the peoples . . . [. . .]
 She entered and [sat down . . .]
 She spoke my deliverance [. . .]
 "Fear not," she said, "I [will . . . you]."
 . . . had a dream [. . .]
 She said, "Be delivered from your very wretched state,
 Whoever has had a vision during the night."
 In the dream Urnindinlugga, [. . .]
 A bearded young man wearing a head covering, (40)
 An exorcist, carrying a (cuneiform) tablet,
 "Marduk has sent me.
 To Shubshi-meshre-Shakkan I have brought prosperity,
 From Marduk's pure hands I have brought prosperity."
 He (Marduk) had entrusted me into the hands of my
 ministrant.
 [In] waking hours he sent a message
 And showed his favorable sign to my people.
 In the . . . sickness [. . .]
 My illness was quickly over and [my . . .] broken.
 After the mind of my Lord had quietened (50)
 And the heart of merciful Marduk rejoiced,¹³
 [After he had] received my prayers [. . .]
 To whom turning¹⁴ is pleasant.¹⁵ [. . .]

(several lines badly damaged)

Si 55

[He brought] near his spell which binds. [. . .] (4)
 [He drove] away the Evil Wind to the horizon,
 To the surface of the underworld he took [the Head-
 ache,]
 [He sent] down the Evil Cough to its *Apsû*,
 The Irresistible Demon he returned [to] *Ekur*,
 He overthrew the Lamashtu-demon, sending her off to
 the Mountain,
 He sent the chills to the flowing water and the sea.

¹¹ Lit.: washed one.

¹² See Lambert, *BWL*, p. 345 for the corrected sequence and divisions of lines.

¹³ Reading *ip-p[a-ar-du-u]*. See Borger, *JCS*, xviii, p. 52.

¹⁴ Reading [*na-as*]-*hur-šu*. See Borger, *JCS*, xviii, p. 52.

¹⁵ There follows a badly damaged section and a gap of uncertain length. The text is continued on Si 55 (Lambert, *BWL*, p. 52).

He tore up the root of Weakness as if it were a
 plant. (10)
 Troubled Sleep, the (continual) sleepiness
 He took far away like smoke with which the heavens
 get filled.
 Woe and Alas, . . . he raised like a mist and [put] in
 the underworld.
 The persistent complaint in the head which . . . ,
 He dispelled like dew of the night, and removed it from
 me.
 My clouded eyes, which were cloaked in a deathly
 shroud—
 He drove (the shroud) a thousand leagues away and
 brightened [my] vision.
 My ears which were clogged and blocked like a deaf
 man's—
 He removed their obstructions and opened my hearing.
 My nose, whose [breathing] was choked by the
 onset of fever— (20)
 He soothed its affliction and now I breathe [freely].
 My impetuous lips which had . . . [. . .]—
 He removed their terror and loosed their shackles.
 My mouth, which had been closed so that talking was
 diffi[cult]—
 He wiped like copper and [removed] its dirt.
 My teeth, which were clenched and held tightly
 together—
 He opened their lock and . . . their roots.
 My tongue, which was tied and [could] not converse—
 [He] wiped away its . . . and my speech *became clear*.
 My throat, which was tight and choking as though
 with lumps of earth, (30)
 He restored, and *it sang* songs which were like a flute.
 My gullet, which was swollen so that it could not take
 [in food]—
 Its swelling diminished, and he opened its blockage.
 (The remaining three lines of this text are damaged. The
 remainder of Tablet III is preserved only for certain lines
 quoted in the ancient commentary, here given by letters
 rather than numbers.)
 The large intestine, which was always empty through
 lack of food, and was twined like a reed basket— (a)
 It receives food and takes drink. (b)
 My neck, which was limp and bent at the base— (c)
 He gave rigidity and made it upright like a *fir tree*. (d)
 He made my physique like that of one perfect in
 strength. (e)
 He *trimmed* my fingernails *as if expelling a tabooed*
woman. (f)
 He drove out their fatigue and made their . . . good. (g)
 My knees, which were fettered and [bound like] the
būšu-bird's, (h)
 The frame of my body he . . . [. . .] (i)

He wiped away the . . . and cleansed its filth. (j)
 My gloomy appearance was made light. (k)
 Beside the river, where people's lawsuits are decided, (l)
 Half my body was stricken, but I was freed from the
 fetters.¹⁶ (m)

. . . (n)
 I proceeded along the Kunush-kadru Street—free
 (from my afflictions). (o)

He who has done wrong in respect to Esagil,¹⁷ let
 him learn from me! (p)

It was Marduk who put a muzzle on the mouth of
 the lion who was eating me. (q)

It was Marduk who took away the sling of the one
 who was pursuing me and turned back his sling-
 stone. (r)

(The rest of the text is badly damaged or destroyed.)

Tablet IV

The Lord . . . me, (1)
 The Lord took hold of me,
 The Lord set me on my feet,
 The Lord restored me to health,
 He rescued me [from the pit],
 He summoned me [from] destruction,
 [. . .] he pulled me from the *Hubur* river,
 [. . .] he took my hand.
 [The one who] (once) struck me down,
 Marduk, (now) raised me up. (10)

He struck the hand of the one who struck me;
 It was Marduk who made him drop his weapon.

(a number of lines damaged and missing)

The feast of the Babylonians . . . [. . .] (27)
 The grave I had made [. . .] at the banquet.
 The Babylonians saw how [Marduk] restores to
 health,

And all mouths proclaim [his] greatness: (30)
 Who would have thought that he would see his Sun?
 Who would have thought that he would walk along his
 street?

Who but Marduk could have restored the dying to life?
 Apart from Sarpanitum which goddess could have
 granted life?

Marduk can even restore to life someone already in the
 grave,

Sarpanitum knows how to save from destruction.
 Wherever the earth is laid, and the heavens are extended,
 Wherever the sun god shines, and the fire god blazes,
 Wherever water flows and winds blow,
 Creatures whose clay Aruru took in her fingers,¹⁸ (40)
 Those endowed with life, who walk about,

Humanity, all of it, gives praise to Marduk!
 [. . .] . . . , who give utterance,
 [. . .] may he rule all the peoples,
 [. . .] shepherd of all inhabited places.
 [. . .] the beneficial waters from the deep,
 [. . .] the gods [. . .]
 [. . .] the extent of heaven and [earth].

(some lines damaged or destroyed)

[. . .] which with my prayers [. . .] (76)
 [With] prostration and supplication [*I entered*] into
 the templè Esagil.

[I who went] down to the grave have returned to the
 "Gate of the [Sun Rise]."¹⁹

[In the] "Gate of Prosperity" prosperity was [given to
 me],

[In the] "Gate of the . . . Guardian Spirit" a guard-
 ian spirit came [up to me], (80)

[In the] "Gate of Well-being" I found well-being,
 In the "Gate of Life" I was granted life,
 In the "Gate of the Sun Rise" I was reckoned among
 the living,

In the "Gate of Splendid Wonderment" the omens con-
 cerning me were very plain,

In the "Gate of Release of Guilt" I was released from
 my bond,

In the "Gate of Worship" my mouth made inquiry,

In the "Gate of Resolving of Sighs" my sighs were
 resolved,

In the "Gate of Pure Water" I was sprinkled with water
 of purification,

In the "Gate of Well-being" I communed with Marduk,
 In the "Gate of Exuberance" I kissed²⁰ the foot of the
 goddess Sarpanitum. (90)

I persisted in supplication and prayer before them,
 Sweet incense I placed before them,

I presented an offering, a gift, accumulated donations,
 I slaughtered fat oxen, and butchered *fattened sheep*,

I repeatedly libated honey-sweetened beer and pure wine.
 The protecting genius and guardian spirit, divine attend-
 ants of the brickwork of Esagil,

[*With*] libation I made their hearts glow,
 [With] the many [meals] I made them joyful.

[The threshold, the bolt] socket, the bolt, the doors,

[*I offered*] oil, butter, and choicest grain. (100)

[. . .] . . . the rites of the temple.

THE DIALOGUE OF PESSIMISM

Text and translation: W. G. Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 139-49. Trans-
 lation: J. Bottéro, "Le 'Dialogue pessimiste' et la transcendance,"
Revue de théologie et de philosophie (Lausanne, 1966), pp. 7-24.

¹⁹ A number of these gates are known from other texts referring to
 Babylon. See Lambert, *BWL*, p. 301.

²⁰ Or, reading *an-na-bik* (see *CAD*, A/1, p. 9), translate "I fell at."

¹⁶ See R. Berger, *JCS*, xviii, p. 52.

¹⁷ The temple of Marduk in Babylon.

¹⁸ i.e., created.

(I) ["Servant, listen to me."] "Yes, master, yes." ["Quickly, get me] a chariot and hitch it up so that I can drive to the palace." ["Drive, master, drive . . .] . . . will be for you; [. . .] will show favor to you." (5) ["No, servant,] I will not drive to the palace." ["Do not drive, master, do not drive. [. . .] . . . will send you [. . .] and will make you take a [road] that you do not know; he will make you suffer agony [day and] night."

(II) (10) "Servant, [listen] to me." "Yes, master, yes." "Quickly, [get] me water (to wash) my hands and give it to me so that I can dine." "Dine, master, dine. Continual dining expands the mind. [. . .] is his god's food; Shamash accompanies (the one with) washed hands." "No, [servant,] I will not dine." (15) "Do not dine, master, do not dine. To become hungry (and then) to eat, to become thirsty (and then) to drink is best for man."¹

(III) "Servant, listen to me." "Yes, master, yes." "Quickly, get me a chariot and hitch it up so that I can drive to the open country." "Drive, master, drive. A hunter² gets his belly filled. (20) The hunting dogs³ will break the bones (of the prey), the hunter's *falcon* will alight, the fleeting wild ass will get its fill in the [open country]."⁴ "No, servant, I will not [drive] to the open country." "Do not drive, master, do not drive. (25) The hunter's idea changes; the hunting dog's teeth will get broken, the home of the hunter's *falcon* is in the [. . .] of the wall of his house and the habitat of the fleeting wild ass is the steppe."

(IV) "Servant, listen [to me]." "Yes, master, yes." (30) "I am going to set up a [household and have] children." "Do have some, [master], do have some. [The man who sets] up a household . . . [. . .] [. . .] . . . a door called 'The Snare.' [. . .] . . . robust, two-thirds a weakling." "[. . .] I will burn, *go* and return. (35) I shall wait for my adversary (in a legal case)." "So wait, master, wait." "So, so, I will set up a household." "Do not establish a household. One who does this breaks up his father's household."

(V) "Servant, listen to me." "Yes, master, yes." (40) "I will do something dishonest." "So, do, do. Unless you do something dishonest, where will your clothing come from? Who will give you something to fill your belly?" "No, servant, I shall not do anything dishonest." "The man who does something dishonest is either killed or flayed, (45) either has his eyes put out, or is captured, or is imprisoned."

(VI) "Servant, listen to me." "Yes, master, yes." "I am going to make love to a woman." "So make love, master, make love. The man who makes love to a woman forgets

sorrow and worry." "No, servant, I will not make love to a woman." (50) ["Do not] make love, master, do not make love. A woman is a pitfall, a hole, a ditch, a woman is a sharp iron dagger that slits a man's throat."

(VII) "Servant, listen to me." "Yes, master, yes." "Quickly, get me water (to wash) my hands, please, (55) so I can sacrifice to my god." "Sacrifice, master, sacrifice. The mind of the man who sacrifices to his god is at ease. He is making loan upon loan." "No, servant, I will not sacrifice to my god." "Do not sacrifice, master, do not sacrifice. (60) You get your god to follow you about like a dog, whether he wants you to perform rites or (says) 'Do not consult your god,' or anything else."

(VIII) "Servant, listen to me." "Yes, master, yes." "I am going to make loans." "So, make loans, master, [make loans]. The man who makes loans—his grain remains his grain and the interest is in addition." (65) "No, servant, I will not make loans." "Do not make loans, master, do not make loans. Making loans is as [easy] as making love, but repaying them is as hard as bearing a child.⁵ They will use up your loan⁶ and keep complaining about you without stopping and will make you lose your interest as well."

(IX) (70) "Servant, listen to me." "Yes, master, yes." "I will do a good deed for my country." "So do, master, do. The man who does a good deed for his country has his good deeds put in the . . . of Marduk." "No, servant, I will not do a good deed for my country." (75) "Do not do it, master, do not do it. Go up to the ancient ruin heaps and walk around; look at the skulls of the lowly and the great. Which belongs to someone who did evil and which to someone who did good?"

(X) "Servant, listen to me." "Yes, master, yes." "Then what is good?" "To have my neck and yours broken and to be thrown into the river. Who is so tall that he can reach to the heavens? Who is so broad that he can encompass the underworld?" "No, servant, I will kill you and let you go first." "Then (I swear that) my master will not outlive me by even three days."

THE BABYLONIAN THEODICY

Text and translation: Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 63-91. Modern understanding of this poem is due in large measure to the penetrating study of B. Landsberger, *ZA*, XLIII, pp. 32-76.

The Theodicy is an acrostic poem of twenty-seven stanzas of eleven lines each, not all of which are preserved, and takes the form of a dialogue. The acrostic reads: *a-na-ku sa-ag-gi-il-ki-[i-na-am-u] b-bi-ib ma-ú-ma-šu ka-ri-bu ša ili ú šar-ri*, "I Saggil-kinam-ubbib, the exorcist, am an adorant of the god and the king."

Sufferer I

O sage [. . .] come, [let] me tell you.

[. . . let] me inform you.

(1)

¹ See *CAD*, sub *šamû* v.

² See Lambert, *BWL*, p. 324.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Reading *i-šeb-[bi ina EDI]N*. Cf. *CAD*, sub *aḫḫannu*.

⁵ See *CAD*, sub *alādu*, p. 288.

⁶ Lit.: eat your grain.

[. . .] . . . [. . .] . . . you,
I [. . .], who suffered greatly, will not cease to reverence you.

Where is the wise man of your caliber?
Where is the scholar who can rival you?
Where is the counsellor to whom I can relate my trouble?
I am finished. Anguish has come upon me.
When I was still a child, fate took my father;
My mother who bore me went to the Land of No Return. (10)
My father and mother left me without anyone to be my guardian.

Friend II

Respected friend, what you say is sad.
Dear friend, you have let your *mind* dwell on evil.
You have made your good sense like that of an incompetent person;
You have changed your beaming face to scowls.
Our fathers do indeed give up and go the way of death.
It is an old saying that they cross the river Hubur.
When you look upon all of mankind
. . . it is not . . . that has made the impoverished first-born rich.

Who prefers as a favorite the rich man? (20)
He who looks to his god has a protective spirit;
The humble man who fears his goddess accumulates wealth.

Sufferer III

My friend, your mind is a spring whose depth has not been found,
The high swell of the sea, which does not subside.
I will ask you a question; listen to what I say.
Pay attention for a moment; hear my words.
My body is . . . hunger is my fear;¹
My success has vanished, my *stability* has gone.
My strength is weakened, my prosperity has ended,
Moaning and trouble have darkened my features. (30)
The grain of my fields is far from satisfying [me],
Beer, the people's sustenance,^{1a} is far from *being enough for me*.

Can a life of happiness be assured? I wish I knew how!

Friend IV

What I say is restrained, . . . [. . .]
But you [. . .] your reason contrarily.
You make [your . . .] diffuse and irrational,
You [turn] your select . . . blind.
As to your persistent unending desire for . . . [. . .]
[The former] security . . . [is . . .] by prayers.
The appeased goddess returns with [. . .] (40)

[. . .] without setting things aright, takes pity on [. . .]

Ever seek the [correct standards] of justice.
Your . . . , the mighty one, will show kindness,
[. . .] will grant mercy.

Sufferer V

I have bowed to you, my [comrade], I have taken your

. . .
[. . .] . . . the utterance of [your . . .].
[. . .] . . . come, let me [say something to you].
The onager, the wild ass, who filled itself with . . .
Did it pay attention to *the giver of assured* divine oracles?

The savage lion who devoured the choicest meat, (50)
Did it bring its flour offering to appease the goddess's anger?

. . . the prominent person who has multiplied his wealth,
Did he weigh out precious gold for the goddess Mami?
[Have I] withheld offerings? I have prayed to my god,
I have pronounced the blessing over the goddess's regular sacrifices, . . .

Friend VI

O date palm, tree that gives wealth, my precious brother,
Endowed with all wisdom, jewel of [. . .]
You are as stable as the earth, but the plan of the gods is remote.

Look at the superb wild ass on the [plain;]
The arrow will turn to the gorer who trampled down the fields. (60)

Come, consider the lion that you mentioned, the enemy of cattle,

For the deed which the lion did the pit awaits him.
The opulent prominent person who heaps up goods
Will be burned to death by the king before his time.
Would you wish to go the way these have gone?
Rather seek the lasting reward of (your) god!

Sufferer VII

Your mind is the north wind, a pleasant breeze for the people.

Dearest friend, your advice is good.

Just one word would I put before you.

Those who do not seek the god go the way of prosperity, (70)

While those who pray to the goddess become destitute and impoverished.

In my youth I tried to find the will of my god;
With prostration and prayer I sought my goddess.

But I was pulling a yoke in a useless corvée.

My god decreed poverty instead of wealth (for me).

A cripple does better than I, a dullard keeps ahead of me.

The rogue has been promoted, but I have been brought low.

¹ Reading *ḥa-a-t[ī]* with von Soden, *AHw*, sub *ḥātu*.

^{1a} Reading *nab-laṭ*. See *AHw*, sub *nablaṭu*.

Friend VIII

My just, knowledgeable friend, your thoughts are perverse.

You have now forsaken justice and *blaspheme* against your god's plans.

In your mind you think of disregarding the divine ordinances. (80)

[. . .] the sound rules of (your) goddess.

The clever plans of the god [are . . .] like the center of heaven,

The decrees of the goddess are not . . .

. . . humanity has learned well.^{1b}

Their ideas [. . .] to mankind;

To grasp the way of a goddess [. . .]

Their reason is close at hand [. . .]

. . . [. . .]

(stanzas IX-XII lacking or badly damaged)

Sufferer XIII

I will abandon my home [. . .] (133)

I will desire no property [. . .]

I will disregard my god's regulations and trample on his rites.

I will slaughter a calf and will . . . the food,

I will take the road and go to distant places,

I will dig a well and let loose a flood,

I will roam over the remote open country like a robber.

I will go from house to house to ward off my hunger; (140)

I will search in hunger and roam the streets.

Like a beggar I will [. . .] inwards [. . .]

Happiness is far away . . . [. . .]

(stanza XIV badly damaged)

Sufferer XV

The daughter speaks [unjust things]^{1c} to her mother. (159)

The fowler who casts [his net] is fallen. (160)

All in all, which person [has] success?

The many wild creatures which . . . [. . .]

Which among them has [. . .]?

Should I seek a son and daughter [. . .]?

May I not lose what I find . . . [. . .]

Friend XVI

Humble and submissive one . . . [. . .]

Your will ever submits [. . .] precious.

(rest of stanza damaged or missing)

Sufferer XVII

The crown prince is clothed in [rags] (181)

The son of the destitute and naked is clad in [fine garments]

^{1b} See *CAD*, sub *apātu*.

^{1c} Restoring [*la kii-ta*].

The one who keeps watch over the malt (as it dries) [accumulates] gold.

The one who measures out the red gold must bear the [. . .]

The one who (normally) eats only vegetables² [eats] the dinner of a noble.

The son of the important and the rich has only a carob to eat.

The rich man is fallen. [His *wealth*] is far away.

(stanzas XVIII and XIX badly damaged)

Friend XX

You have let your cunning mind go astray. (212)

[. . .] you have scorned wisdom,

[. . .] you despise what is proper, you profane the ordinances.

[. . .] . . . the carrying-hod is far away from him.

[. . .] is made into a person of influence,

[. . .] is called a savant;

He is looked after and gets what he wants.

Follow in the way of the god, *observe his rites*,

[. . .] is considered righteousness. (220)

(stanza XXI badly damaged)

Friend XXII

As for the rogue whose favor you want, (235)

His . . . soon vanishes.

The rogue who has acquired wealth [in a manner] which is against the will of the gods

is persecuted by a murderer's weapon.

Unless you seek the will of the god, what success can you have?

He that bears his god's yoke never lacks food, even though it be sparse. (240)

Seek the favorable breath of the god,

What you have lost in a year you will make up in a moment.

Sufferer XXIII

I have looked around in the world, but things are turned around.

The god does not impede the way of even a demon.

A father tows a boat along the canal,

While his son lies in bed.

The eldest son makes his way like a lion,

The second son is happy to be a mule driver.

The heir goes about along the streets like a *peddler*,

The younger son (has enough) that he can give food to the destitute. (250)

What has it profited me that I have bowed down to my god?

I must bow even to a person who is lower than I,

² Meat was rarely eaten except on the occasion of major festivals, and was probably very rarely eaten by the poor.

The rich and opulent treat me, as a youngest brother,
with contempt.

Friend XXIV

O wise one, O savant, who masters knowledge,
Your heart has become hardened and you accuse the
god wrongly.
The mind of the god, like the center of the heavens, is
remote;
Knowledge of it is very difficult; people cannot know it.
Among all the creatures whom Aruru formed
Why should the oldest offspring be so . . . ?
In the case of a cow, the first calf is a runt, (260)
The later offspring is twice as big.
A first child is born a weakling,
But the second is called a mighty warrior.
Though it is possible to find out what the will of the
god is, people do not know how to do it.

Sufferer XXV

Pay attention, my friend, understand my clever ideas,
Heed my carefully chosen words.
People extol the word of a strong man who has learned
to kill
But bring down the powerless who has done no wrong.
They confirm (the position of) the wicked for whom
what should be an abomination is considered right³
Yet drive off the honest man who heeds the will
of his god. (270)
They fill the [storehouse] of the oppressor with
gold,
But empty the larder of the beggar of its provisions.
They support the powerful, whose . . . is guilt,
But destroy the weak and trample the powerless.
And as for me, an insignificant person, a prominent
person persecutes me.

Friend XXVI

Narru, king of the gods, who created mankind,
And majestic Zulummar, who pinched off the clay for
them,
And goddess Mami, the queen who fashioned them,
Gave twisted speech to the human race.
With lies, and not truth, they endowed them
forever. (280)
Solemnly they speak favorably of a rich man,
"He is a king," they say, "riches should be his,"
But they treat a poor man like a thief,
They have only bad to say of him and plot his murder,
Making him suffer every evil like a criminal, because
he has no . . .
Terrifyingly they bring him to his end, and extinguish
him like glowing coals.

³ Reading *ki[t-tu]* with *CAD*, sub *anzillu*.

Sufferer XXVII

You are kind, my friend; behold my trouble,
Help me; look on my distress; know it.
I, though humble, wise, and a suppliant,
Have not seen help or aid even for a moment. (290)
I have gone about the square of my city unobtru-
sively,
My voice was not raised, my speech was kept low.
I did not raise my head, but looked at the ground,
I did not worship even as a slave in the company of my
associates.
May the god who has abandoned me give help,
May the goddess who has [forsaken me] show mercy,
The shepherd, the sun of the people, pastures (his flock)
as a god should.

Akkadian Oracles and Prophecies

AN OLD BABYLONIAN ORACLE FROM URUK

Text: *UVB*, Vol. xviii (1962), plate 28.

This text, found in the palace of Sin-kashid of Uruk (about 1850 B.C.), apparently refers to the revival of Uruk under the Sin-kashid dynasty, and it may be he who is addressed (albeit in the third person) at the beginning and the end of the text. The "I" of the text, who is not identified, does not disclose the means of the goddess's appearance to him, but quite possibly it was in a dream. The text, which has many grammatical inconsistencies, is so poorly preserved at the end that most of the goddess's final speech, obviously the most important, is unintelligible.

The faithful shepherd, whose name is good, whose guardian angel is permanent, entered the temple Eanna—from now on well-being will be before him, vigor behind him. (6) From a day Nanaya² visited me and had me sit down in the doorway of the god Sin, her father: She spoke, saying: (10) "Until I have established a faithful shepherd and³ revived dead Uruk you shall grind the *sutu*-ration of Uruk. Great Uruk will be given to me. Town and temple I will take over (15) when the faithful shepherd has been designated for the land." I spoke saying: "Dead Uruk has revived and the faithful shepherd concerning whom a command came from you (20) has been established . . ." She spoke saying: "When I *re-establish* Uruk . . . , and as for the faithful shepherd . . . , . . . , to me . . . , (25) Sit down, do not move . . . , . . . , keep the . . ." The words which Ishtar said to me—Let my lord pay attention to what I say. Let him retain my words (30) so he may attain the wishes of the god.

¹ For prophecies from Mari see pp. 623-25, 629-31.

² A goddess of love who is probably a form of Ishtar. She is apparently referred to as Ishtar below in line 27.

³ Reading *ù(1)*. The same emendation is made in several other lines.

ORACLES CONCERNING ESARHADDON

Text: Rawlinson, Vol. iv, Plate 68 (2nd ed., Plate 61). Translations: M. Jastrow, Jr., *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* (Giessen, 1912), Vol. II, pp. 158-65; for earlier translations see *ibid.* p. 158, note 2; Fr. Schmidke, *Asarhaddons Statthalterschaft in Babylonien und seine Thronbesteigung in Assyrien (Altorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen, 1, 2* [Leyden, 1916]); E. Ebeling, *AOT*, pp. 281-83; Luckenbill, *AR*, Vol. II, pp. 238-41; R. H. Pfeiffer, *ANET*², pp. 449-50.

(i 5) [Esarhad]don, king of the lands, fear not! *That* wind which blows against you—I need only say a word and I can bring it to an end. Your enemies, (10) like a (young) boar in the month of Simanu, will flee even at your approach. I am the great Belet—I am the goddess Ishtar of Arbela, she who (15) has destroyed your enemies at your mere approach. What order have I given you which you did not rely upon? I am Ishtar of Arbela! (20) I shall lie in wait for your enemies, I shall give them to you. I, Ishtar of Arbela, will go before you and behind you. (25) Fear not! You who are paralyzed (saying), “Only in crying Woe can I either get up or sit down.”

(This oracle is) from¹ the woman Ishtar-la-tashiat (30) of Arbela.²

O king of Assyria, fear not! The enemy of the king of Assyria I will deliver to slaughter. (i 34-40 and ii 1-8 are too fragmentary for translation.)

(This oracle is) from the woman Sin-qisha-amur of Arbela.

(ii 11) I rejoice over Esarhaddon, my king; Arbela rejoices! (This oracle is) from the woman Rimute-allate of the town Darahuya (15) which is in the mountains.

(i 16) Fear not, Esarhaddon! I, the god Bel, am speaking to you. (20) I watch over your inner heart³ as would your mother who brought you forth. Sixty great gods are standing together with me and protect you. The god Sin is at your right, the god Shamash at your left. (25) The sixty great gods are standing around you, ranged for battle. Do not trust human beings! Lift your eyes to me, look at me! (30) I am Ishtar of Arbela; I have turned Ashur's favor to you. When you were small, I chose you. Fear not! Praise me! Where is there any enemy who overcame you while I remained quiet? Those who are (now) behind will (soon) be the leaders. I am the god Nabu, god of the stylus. Praise me!

(40) (This oracle is) from the woman Baia of Arbela. (A number of lines are destroyed or damaged.)

(iii 15) I am Ishtar of Arbela, O Esarhaddon, king of Assyria. In the cities Ashur, Nineveh, Calah, Arbela I shall grant you many days, endless years. I am the great

¹ Lit.: from the mouth of.

² With a single exception, all oracles quoted in this text come from women.

³ Lit.: the beams of your heart.

midwife⁴ (who helped at your birth), (25) the one who gave you suck,⁵ who has established your rule under the wide heavens for many days, endless years; from a golden chamber in the heavens I will watch. I will light a lamp of *elmeshu*-stone for Esarhaddon, king of Assyria. (35) I will watch him like my very own crown. Fear not, O king! Because I have spoken to you (in an oracle), (40) I will not abandon you. (iv 1) Because I have encouraged you, I shall not let you come to shame. I will help you cross the river safely. (5) O Esarhaddon, legitimate heir, son of the goddess Ninlil! I am . . . for you. With my own hands, your foes (10) I shall annihilate. (lines 11 and 12 obscure) O Esarhaddon, in the city Ashur I shall grant you long days, endless years. O Esarhaddon, in Arbela I am your good shield. O Esarhaddon, legitimate heir, son of the goddess Ninlil, I am thinking of [you].⁶ I love [you] very much. (lines 26-39 obscure)

(v 1-3 obscure) I will cut to pieces before him those who speak . . . *blasphemies*. (lines 8 and 9 obscure)

(10) (This oracle is) from the woman Ishtar-bel-dayani, the . . . of the king.

(12) I, the Lady of Arbela, (say) to the king's mother: “Because you have complained against me saying ‘He who is at the right and he who is at the left’ you hold on your lap, but where is my own offspring? You make him run about (unprotected) in the open country!” Now, O king, fear not! Yours is the kingship! Yours is the might! (24-25) (This oracle is) from the woman Belit-abisha of Arbela.

(26) Greeting to Esarhaddon, king of Assyria! Ishtar of Arbela has gone out to the open country. Greeting to her son (i.e., the king)! You will send into the city . . . (lines 31-35 and vi 1-4 destroyed or badly damaged)

(vi 4) [. . . with which Ishtar] of Arbela fills his arms. Why did you not act on the earlier oracle which I gave to you? Now you should act on this later one. Praise me! When the day declines, let them hold torches facing (me). Praise me! (20) I will make the *rifraff* go out of my palace. You shall eat the best food and drink the best water. You shall live well in your palace. Your son and your grandson will exercise rule on the lap of the god Ninurta.

(30) (This oracle is) from the man La-dagal-ili of Arbela.

A LETTER TO ASHURBANIPAL

Text: *ABL*, Vol. IX, 923. Translations: E. G. Klauber, *Assyrisches Beamtenum nach den Briefen der Sargonidenzeit* (LSS, v, 3), p. 20; A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria* (New York, 1923), pp. 380, 415 f.; L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of*

⁴ Reading *sa-ap-su-ut(!)-ta-ka*.

⁵ Reading *mu-še-niq(!)-ta-ka*.

⁶ Reading *hi-is-sa-at-[ka] ha-sa-[ku]*.

⁷ i.e., everybody else.

the Assyrian Empire (1930), Vol. II, pp. 140-43; R. H. Pfeiffer, *State Letters of Assyria, American Oriental Series*, Vol. 6 (1935), pp. 173 f.; R. H. Pfeiffer, *ANET*², p. 450. The text is a letter of Marduk-shum-usur to Ashurbanipal (668-633 B.C.).

(7) In a dream the god Ashur spoke to the grandfather of the king my lord (i.e. Sennacherib), the sage, [saying], "O king, lord of kings, offspring of the sage and of Adapa. . . . You surpass in knowledge even the *Apsû*¹ and all the wise men." (10) When the father of the king my lord (i.e. Esarhaddon) went to Egypt, he saw in the region of Harran the temple made of cedar. The god Sin,² leaning on a staff, had two crowns on his head. The god Nusku was standing in front of him. The father of the king my lord entered and he (i.e. Nusku) placed [a crown] on his head, saying, "You will go and will make conquests in several countries." (15) He left and in fact conquered Egypt. Other lands, not yet submissive to Ashur and Sin, the king, lord of kings, will conquer. (rest too damaged for translation)

AN ORACULAR DREAM CONCERNING
ASHURBANIPAL

Text: Rawlinson, Vol. III, Plate 32; G. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal* (London, 1871), pp. 117 ff.; H. Winckler, *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten* (Leipzig, 1895), Vol. III, pp. 38-48. Translations: Smith, *op.cit.*; P. Jensen, in E. Schrader, *KB* (Berlin, 1890), Vol. II, pp. 250-53; M. Streck, *Assurbanipal* (Leipzig, 1916), Vol. II, pp. 114-19; Luckenbill, *AR*, Vol. II, pp. 332-33; R. H. Pfeiffer, *ANET*², p. 451.

(v 46) The goddess Ishtar heard my anxious sighs and said "Fear not!" and gave me confidence, (saying) "Since you have lifted your hands in prayer and your eyes have filled with tears, I have had mercy." During the night in which I appeared before her, (50) a *šabrû*-priest lay down and had a dream. He awoke with a start and then Ishtar caused him to see a nocturnal vision. He reported to me as follows: "The goddess Ishtar who dwells in Arbela came in. Right and left quivers were suspended from her. She was holding a bow in her hand, (55) and a sharp sword was drawn to do battle. You were standing in front of her and she spoke to you like a real mother. Ishtar called to you, she who is most exalted among the gods, giving you the following instructions: 'Wait with the attack;¹ (for) wherever you intend to go, I am also ready to go.' You said to her, 'Wherever you go, I will go with you, O goddess of goddesses!' She repeated her command to you as follows: 'You shall stay here where you should be.'² (65) Eat, drink wine, make merry, praise my divinity, while I go and accomplish that work to help you attain your heart's desire. Your face will

¹ The cosmic subterranean water, abode of Ea, god of wisdom.

² The moon god, tutelary deity of Harran. Cf. the texts translated by A. L. Oppenheim, above pp. 560-63.

¹ Reading *ša-aš-me(!)*. See *CAD*, sub *epēšū*, p. 220.

² Reading simply [*ma*]*š-kan-ka* with a variant text.

not be pale, nor your feet shaky, and you need not wipe off your (cold) sweat in the height of battle.' She wrapped you in her lovely babysling, protecting your entire body. Her face shone like fire. Then [she went out in a frightening way] to defeat your enemies, (75) against Teumman, king of Elam, with whom she was angry."

PROPHECIES

Text: E. Ebeling, *KAR*, 421. Translations: E. Ebeling, *AOT*, pp. 283-84; A. K. Grayson and W. G. Lambert, *JCS*, XVIII, pp. 12-16; R. H. Pfeiffer, *ANET*², pp. 451-52.

For the view that these "prophecies" should be considered simply omen apodoses rather than prophecies, see R. D. Biggs, *Iraq*, XXIX, pp. 117 ff. W. W. Hallo, *IEJ*, XVI (1966), pp. 231-42, proposes that they be considered apocalyptic texts. Note that this text, like *CT*, XIII, 50 and duplicates (see Grayson and Lambert, *JCS*, XVIII, pp. 16-19, and Biggs, *Iraq*, XXIX, pp. 117-28), begins (col. I 1-8) with a mythological introduction in the style of an omen protasis.

(ii)

[That ruler's days will be sh]ort. That land [will have another ruler]. (1)

[A ruler will arise], he [will rule] for eighteen years. The country will live safely, the interior of the country will be happy, the people will [have abun]dance. The gods will make beneficial decisions for the country, favorable winds [will blow].

The date palm and the furrow will bring in good yield. Shakkan¹ and Nisaba² will . . . in the land. There will be (favorable) rain and high water, the people of the land will observe a festival. That ruler will be killed in an uprising.

A ruler will arise, he will rule for thirteen years. (8) There will be an attack of Elam against Akkad, and The booty of Akkad will be carried off.

The temples of the great gods will be destroyed, the defeat of Akkad will be decreed (by the gods). There will be confusion, disturbance, and unhappy events in the land, and

The reign will diminish (in power); another man, whose name is not mentioned (as a successor) will arise, and

Will seize the throne as king and will put to death his officials.

He will fill with the *corpses* of half the army the lowlands of Tupliash,

Plain and level ground, and

The people of the land will experience a severe famine.

A ruler will arise, his days will be few, and he will not rule the land. (19)

¹ God of livestock.

² Goddess of grain.

A ruler [will arise], he will rule for three years. (20)
 The canals [of that land] will fill up with silt.
 (rest of column damaged or destroyed)

(iii)

[A ruler will arise, he will rule for . . . years].
 (several lines destroyed)

That king [will rule] all the regions. (2)

His people will [have] abundance and

The regular offerings for the Igigi-gods which had ceased
 he will re-establish, the gods [will . . .]

Favorable winds will blow, [there will be] abundance,
 and . . . in [the land.] (5)

Cattle [will lie down] safely in the open.

The vegetation of winter [will last] through the summer,
 the vegetation of summer [will last] through the winter].

The offspring of the domestic animals [will thrive].

A ruler will arise, he will rule for eight years.
 (rest of obverse destroyed)

(iv)

A ruler will arise, he [will rule] for three years. (2)

The remainder of the people [will return to their homes].

Abandoned cities will be reinhabited. [. . .]

There will be rebellions, and then [. . .]
 For Akkad [there will be] enmity, [. . .]
 The rites of Ekur and of Nippur will [be transferred]
 to [another] country.

The . . . of *Enlil* will [return] to Nippur.
 That ruler [will defeat] the land of Amurru.

A ruler will arise, he will [rule] for eight years. (10)

The temples of the gods [will be restored], at the
advice [of the king]

The rites of the great gods [will be restored].

[There will be] (favorable) rain and high water in the
 land.

The people who have experienced evil [will experience
 good].

The rich will become poor, the poor will become rich.
 [. . .]

The one who was *rich* will stretch out his hand to the
 poor.

. . . , the mother will speak what is right to her daughter.

[The *elders*] will *sit* and will give advice to the land.

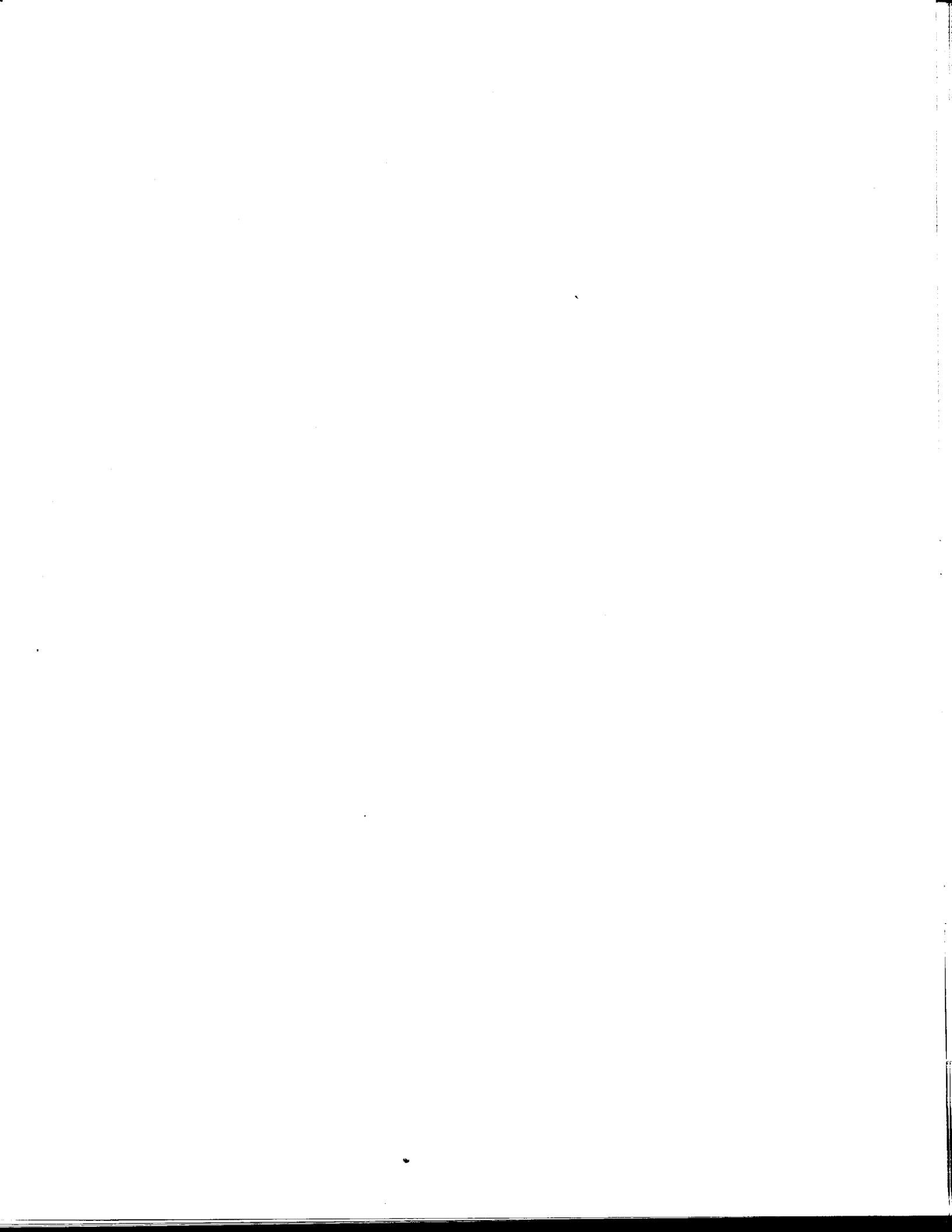
[Locusts will arise³ and devour the land, the king will
 [bring] hard times upon his land.

(rest of text too damaged for translation)

³ Reading [BURUŠ.HI.A Z]I(!)-ma.



VII. Lamentations



Sumerian Lamentation

TRANSLATOR: S. N. KRAMER

Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur

This outstanding composition, that is of no little significance for the history of Sumer as well as for its religion and culture, consists of over 500 lines, of which about 400 are fairly well preserved. It is divided into five *kirugu*, or stanzas, of unequal length. The first of these, which consists of 115 lines, begins with a detailed account of the tragic fate decreed by the four leading deities of the Sumerian pantheon—An, Enlil, Enki, and Ninhursag—for Sumer and its people: the subversion of the rules of conduct that made law and order possible; the overturning of the *me*, that is, the rights and prerogatives bestowed upon Sumer by the gods when organizing the universe—and especially those *me* that were concerned with the institution of kingship; the destruction of cities and houses, of stalls and sheepfolds; the drying up of rivers and canals and the sterility of the fields and steppes; the disruption of family life; the removal of kingship to a foreign land; the suppression of oracles, the ill-treatment by Nanna himself of his temple and people, leading to the expulsion of the inhabitants of Ur and the introduction of foreign offerings into its shrines by the Su-people¹ and the Elamites who took their place; the seizure of the terrified Ibbi-Sin and his forcible abduction to Elam whence he never returned to his homeland; the cessation of all travel and commercial intercourse between the ruined cities; the massacre of the inhabitants; the discontinuance of all sowing and plowing in field and steppe, as well as all activities concerned with animal husbandry; the wasting away of all growth from marsh and swamp, from orchard and garden; the utter prostration of Ur, the city famed for its lordship and kingship (lines 1-57).

The poet next turns to the bitter events that followed in the wake of the cruel decision taken by the gods against Sumer: seven of Sumer's leading deities turned against the land and brought harm to it, each in his own fashion (lines 58-64); the land was overtaken by a calamity the like of which was unknown to man, one that brought terror and chaos in its wake, namely, the deluge-like invasion of the Gutians who laid waste to everything in their path (lines 65-80), bringing with them bloody days of wreckage when even heaven and earth were convulsed and utter darkness held sway and the dead of Sumer lay heaped up on land and filled the Euphrates (lines 81-97); those who succeeded in escaping with their lives abandoned wife and child, home and property (98-102); Sumer was in a state of utter anarchy, its king lived in fear and anguish in his palace, and all about there was nothing but death and destruction (lines 103-115).

In the second *kirugu*, the poet takes up the destruction of Sumer city by city from north to south, thus:² Kish and Hursagkalamma that were abused by the enemy (lines 119-122); Kazallu that suffered drought and famine (lines 126-135); Marda abandoned by its tutelary deity Lugalmarada (lines 136-138); Isin deprived of its quays because of the dearth of water (lines 139-141); Nippur and its shrine Duranki, smitten by its own great

god Enlil (lines 142-145); Kesh and Adab which the Gutians took over as their own (lines 146-151); Zabalam and its destroyed *giguna*, and Erech from whose Eanna-temple Inanna herself was carried off into captivity (lines 152-157); Umma and its shrines Sigkurshag and Ninmah forsaken by its tutelary deities (lines 158-161); the Lagash complex (Girsu, Ninmar, Kinirsha, Nina) burned and looted by the Elamites (lines 162-187); the settlements of the Edanna of Nanna whose fleeing inhabitants were destroyed by wild beasts (lines 188-190); Gaesh, a sacred suburb of Ur, whose statues, dais and throne were broken to bits (lines 191-198); Ashshu, whose "assembly house was emptied" (lines 199-202); Abrig, destroyed like a stall (lines 203-208); the *egidda* (of the city Ennigi) smitten by its tutelary deity Ninazu (lines 209-212); Gishbanda abandoned by Ningishzida and Azimua, its two city-gods (lines 213-216); 𒂗.A abandoned by Asarluhi and Lugalbanda (lines 217-223); Eridu abandoned by Enki and crushed by the Gutians (lines 224-253);³ Ur, the capital, destroyed by the Elamites and the Tidnumites* (lines 254-265);⁴ Kisiga, the city destroyed by the Elamites, whence the fettered Dumuzi departed to the nether world accompanied by the wailing "queen" (lines 266-282).

Following a break of 11 lines, part of which began the third *kirugu*, we find the poet turning from Sumer as a whole to Ur, its capital. He bewails the suffering of its people, king, and priests through famine: there was no grain, beer, or cattle for food and sacrifices (lines 297-318); the canals were dry, the quays were desolate, and no offerings could be sent to Nippur for the ritual feasts and celebrations (lines 319-329); the stalls of Nanna were despoiled, and its sacred cows were carried off by the barbarous enemy so that there was not fat and milk for the temple (lines 330-339). All this, according to our poet, was too much for Ur's city-god, Nanna-Sin, who now turns to his father Enlil and pleads with him to look with favor on Ur, multiply its people once again, and restore its rights and prerogatives (lines 340-356).

But Enlil's answer, which begins the fourth *kirugu*, was cold and stern: Sin, he says, should pay no heed to Ur and its lamentful dirges (lines 360-365); its destruction had been decreed in the assembly of the gods and this decision cannot be altered—Ur had its day of "kingship" and now this must go to some other place, since there is no everlasting "reign of kingship" (lines 366-372). Ordered to leave his city, the dejected and anguished Nanna-Sin departed from Ur followed by his hastily dressed wife Ningal and the Anunna (lines 373-379). Whereupon the city was given over to carnage and massacre at the hands of the heavily armed enemy (lines 392-396), while famine took its toll of those who did not succumb to the foe (lines 392-396). This was more than the people could bear—they threw down their weapons and after taking counsel among themselves, decided to open the gates to the enemy (lines 397-407).⁵ In rushed the Elamites and crushed the city and its people (lines 408-411); they took over the Ekishnugal, destroyed its statues, shrines, and thrones, and slaughtered its sacred cattle (lines 412-419); they split asunder its hallowed palm trees together with their fronds and dates, despoiled the sacred *Magan*-reeds,⁷ and

³ Much of this long passage is unfortunately obscure.

⁴ The Tidnum people are Amorites, cf., e.g., J. R. Kupper, *Les Nomades en Mésopotamie*, pp. 156-57.

⁵ This passage too, is enigmatic in large part.

⁶ We have here a rare example of a record of rebellion and treason in Sumer.

⁷ *Magan* is often identified with Egypt.

¹ For the still unidentified Su-people, cf. now Edzard, *ZSB*, p. 48 ff.
² For the cities, temples, and gods in this *kirugu*, cf. Edzard, *ZSB* (index to place names and god-names); Sjöberg's forthcoming study on the Temple Hymns (now in press as a volume in the series *Texts from Cuneiform Sources*, J. J. Augustin, publisher), and Jacobsen, *Iraq*, XXI, pp. 174-85.

carried off the wealth accumulated in the storehouses (lines 420-426); they breached its parapets, hurled down its statues of cattle and *ushumgal*-dragons (lines 427-431); made the temple desolate and unfit for holy rituals by breaking down its doors, hinges, bolts and locks (lines 432-445); dismantled the lofty *dubla* where the judges held court, violated Nanna-Sin's holy vessels, bed, and statues, and carried off into captivity its lustration-priests (lines 432-456).

Overwhelmed by this terrible destruction of his city and temple, the suffering Nanna-Sin once again comes before his father Enlil with the plea that he turn his inimical look into a friendly one (lines 457-465). This time Enlil's response is favorable and he pronounces a blessing for the restoration of Ur and the Ekishnugal (lines 466-475). Whereupon the people gather once again in Ur from all over the land (lines 476-479), and Nanna-Sin proudly reenters his city and temple together with his wife Ningal (lines 480-484). The fifth *kirugu* begins with a plea by the poet addressed to the bitter, destructive storm to leave Ur and attack Sumer's enemies instead: Tidnum, Gutium, and Anshan⁸ (lines 490-500). Following a break of an unknown number of lines, the composition concludes with a fragmentary and obscure seven-line passage that seems to continue with the blessing of Ur and its people.

All in all there are now more than thirty tablets and fragments inscribed with portions of this lamentation. Not a few of these had been published between the years 1914 and 1944, but because of the numerous gaps, it had been mistakenly assumed that the pieces belonged to two different compositions, a so-called "Ibbi-Sin" lamentation, and a "Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Akkad." It is only with the publication of eleven new tablets and fragments in *UET*, vi, Part 2, that the text of the composition as a whole could be reconstructed, and then it became clear that it was actually a single composition beginning with a lament over the destruction of Sumer as a whole and continuing with a lament over the destruction of Ur and its temple, the Ekishnugal, and ending on a note of deliverance and salvation.⁹ A detailed edition of the text is planned by Gadd and Kramer for a forthcoming issue of *Iraq*; the present translation is based on this study.

That the day be overturned, that "law and order"
 cease to exist— (1)
 The storm is all devouring like the Flood—
 That the *me* of Sumer be overturned,
 That a favorable reign be withheld,
 That cities be destroyed, that houses be destroyed,
 That stalls be destroyed, that sheepfolds be wiped out,
 That its (Sumer's) oxen no longer stand in their stalls,
 That its sheep no longer spread out in their sheepfold,
 That its rivers flow with bitter water,
 That its cultivated fields grow weeds, (10)
 That its steppes grow wailing plants,
 That the mother care not for her children,
 That the father says not "Oh my wife,"
 That the young wife rejoice not in (his) lap,
 That the young child grow not sturdy on (their) knee,
 That the nursemaid chant not a lullaby,
 That the home of kingship be changed,
 That the seeking of oracles be suppressed,

⁸ Anshan here may refer to Elam as well.

⁹ For bibliographical details, cf. *UET*, vi, part 2, p. 1 (comment to Nos. 124-34); a study of part of the first *kirugu* was published by Falkenstein in *WO*, v, pp. 377-84 (cf. also *SAHG*, No. 37); a study of the third *kirugu*, was published by C. J. Gadd in *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver*, pp. 59-71.

That kingship be carried off from the land,
 That its face be directed to inimical soil, (20)
 That in accord with the command of An (and)
 Enlil, "law and order" cease to exist—

(All this was) after An had frowned upon all the
 lands,¹⁰ (22)

After Enlil had set his (friendly) face to inimical
 soil,
 After Nintu had prostrated her (own) creatures,
 After Enki had overturned (the course of) the Tigris
 (and) Euphrates,
 After Utu had cursed the roads (and) highways—

That the *me* of Sumer cease to exist, that its rules (of
 conduct) be changed,

That the *me* of kingship (and) reign of Ur be over-
 whelmed,

That the princely son stretch a defiling hand on his
 Ekishnugal,

That Nanna show no respect for his people as
 numerous as ewes, (30)

That of Ur, its shrine of the great offerings, the
 offerings be changed,

That its people no longer inhabit its dwellings, that it
 be made inimical soil,

That the Su-people (and) the Elamites, the enemies,
 inhabit their dwellings,

That its shepherd (living) in terror in the palace be
 seized by the foe,

That Ibbi-Sin be brought to the land Elam in a trap—
 From Mt. Zabu¹¹ on the "breast" of the sea, to the
 boundary of Anshan—

That like a sparrow which has fled its "house," he return
 not to his city,

That the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates in their
 entirety, grow sickly plants,

That no one tread the highways, that no one seek out
 the roads,

That its well-founded cities (and) hamlets be
 counted as ruins, (40)

That its teeming blackheaded people be put to
 (slaughter by) the mace,

That the cultivated fields be not hoed, that no seeds be
 implanted in the soil,

That its *shout* (and) song resound not in the . . . (and)
 steppe,

That the stalls provide not fat (and) cheese, that no dung
 be implanted in the soil,

¹⁰ Lines 22-26 seem to be parenthetically inserted in this passage which is a good example of the cumulative parallelism utilized throughout this composition.

¹¹ The location of Mt. Zabu is not too clear from the text, but it is somewhere to the east of Elam.

That the shepherd twirl not the *šukur*¹²-reed in the holy sheepfold,
 That the hum of the turning of the churn resound not in the sheepfold,
 That on the steppe the cattle large and small become scarce, that all living creatures come to an end,
 That the fourlegged creatures of Sumugan¹³ implant no dung in the soil,
 That in the marshes . . . , that they "have no name,"
 That in the swamps there grow sickly-headed reeds, that they come to (their) end in *stench*, (50)
 That in the orchards (and) gardens there be no new growth, that they waste readily away,
 That Ur, the great wild ox which steps forth confidently (in combat), which is secure in its own strength,
 My city of lordship and kingship, built on pure soil,
 Like an ox to be thrown instantly by the nose-rope, be fastened neck to ground,
 An, Enlil, Enki, (and) Ninhursag decreed (as) its fate—
 The fate decreed by them can not be changed, who can overturn it!
 The word commanded by An (and) Enlil, who can oppose it!
 An has made the Sumerians tremble in their dwelling places, the people are terrified,
 Enlil has made the day break bitter, has struck the city dumb,
 Nintu, the mother of the Land, has brought . . . into it, (60)
 Enki has deprived the Tigris (and) the Euphrates of water,
 Utu has banished justice (and) truth from the mouth (of men),
 Inanna has given the battle (and) combat to the rebellious land,
 Ningirsu has emptied out Sumer like milk,
 On the Land fell a calamity, one unknown to man,
 One that had never been seen (before and) for which there were no words, one that could not be withstood,
 On all the lands, the terrified, a disruptive hand was placed,
 In their cities their city-gods stood aside,
 The people, the terrified, could hardly breathe,
 The storm *fettered* them, it returns not the "day" to them, (70)
 The "returned day" that it obtained for them *came* not as a . . . day,
 Enlil, the shepherd of the blackheads, this is what he did—

¹² *šukur* usually means "lance."

¹³ Sumugan is the god of the steppe-animals.

Enlil, in order to destroy the righteous houses, to decimate the righteous,
 To set an evil eye on the sons of the righteous, the noble—
 On that day Enlil brought down the Guti from the mountain-land,
 Whose coming is the Flood of Enlil, that none can withstand,
 They filled the steppe with great winds of the steppe . . . ,
 They *laid waste* to the [steppe] (and) whatever *flourished* in it, none could travel there,
 They . . . in the dark, dark, days,
 They *overwhelmed* readily the bright day with *tumult*, (80)
 (It was a) day (when) mouths were *drenched* (and) heads *wallowed* in blood,
 A day (when) the harrow sent forth from above wrecked the city (as if) with a pickaxe,
 On that day Heaven was crushed, Earth was smitten, the face was *blinded* by the *storm*,
 Heaven was darkened, was overcast with shadow, it was turned into the nether world,
 Utu lay (motionless) on the horizon, . . . ,
 Nanna lay in . . . was terrified.
 (lines 87-93 too fragmentary for translation)
 The . . . were piled up in heaps,
 The . . . were spread in heaps,
 . . . in the Euphrates there were cadavers,
 . . . are massacred,
 [The father] turned away [from his wife], he said not "Oh my wife,"
 [The mother abandoned her child] she said not "Oh my child,"
 [Who had fields (and) acres abandoned his fields (and) acres], he said not "Oh my fields (and) acres," (100)
 Who had a well-built house abandoned his house, he said not "Oh my house,"
 The man of possessions forsook his possessions.
 On that day a defiling hand was placed over the kingship of the land,
 Its tiara (and) crown worn on the head were both . . . ,
 All the lands . . . their submission and *respect*,
 Of Ur, the shrine of great offerings—its offerings [were changed].
 Nanna overtur[ned] his people as numerous as [ewes],
 Its king was depressed in his splendid palace,
 Ibbi-Sin was filled with gloom in his splendid palace,
 He shed bitter tears in his heart-rejoicing "house of life." (110)
 The Flood crushes the earth, wipes out everything,
 It roared like a great storm over the earth, who could escape it!

To destroy all the cities, to destroy all the houses,
To make the liar superior to the honest man,
....

The first *kirugu*.

The storm is all devouring like the Flood.
The antiphon to the *kirugu*.

On Hursagkamma, the house of Kish, an evil hand
was placed,
Zababa [forsook his beloved dwelling], (120)
Mother Bau [wept bitterly for her holy] house
(and) [city],
"Oh my destroyed city, my destroyed house" bitterly she
cried.

(about 3 lines destroyed)

On Kazallu, the *awe-inspiring* city, a disruptive hand
was placed,
[N]umushda forsook his beloved dwelling,
His spouse Namrat, the kindly woman, wept bitter tears,
"Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she
cried.

Its river has become empty, it poured no water, (130)
Like a river cursed by Enki, it came to an end at
its source,

In the fields there was (neither) grain (nor) vegetation,
the people had nothing to eat,
Its orchards (and) gardens were parched like an oven,
their *produce perished*,
The cattle large (and) small, the four-legged creatures
waved not (their) tails,
The four-legged creatures of Sumugan found no rest.

Lugal[marda] stood aside from his city (Marda),
Ninzuanna forsook her beloved dwelling,
"Oh her destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she
cried.

Isin, no longer a "quay-shrine," was *deprived* of water.
[Nin]isinna, the mother of the Land wept bitter
tears, (140)
"[Oh] her [destroyed city] destroyed house," bit-
terly she cried.

Enlil smote Duranki with the mace,
Before Enlil a lament was set up in his city, the shrine
Nippur,
Mother Ninlil, the queen of the *kiur*,¹⁴ wept bitter tears,
"[Oh] her destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she
cried.

On Kesh, built all by itself on the high steppe, a devas-
tating hand was placed,

¹⁴ The *kiur* was part of the Ekur complex in Nippur; see also line
347.

Adab, that city stretched along the river, was *uprooted*,
The "snake of the mountain" made his bed there, it was
turned into a rebellious land,
The Gutians multiplied (their) offspring there, brought
forth (their) seed there,
Nintu wept bitter tears for her creatures, (150)
"Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly
she cried.

At Zabalam a devastating hand was placed on the holy
giguna,
Inanna was carried off from Erech, was brought to
enemy territory,
The enemy looked on the Eanna, the holy *gipar*-shrine,
Its holy *gipar* of *en*-ship was suppressed,
[Its *en*] was carried off from the *gipar*, was brought to
enemy territory,
"[Oh] her destroyed [city], destroyed house," bitterly
she cried.

In [Umm]a a bitter storm blew over Sigkurshag,
[Shara] forsook [E]mah, his lofty dwelling place,
[Nin]mul wept bitter tears in her destroyed city. (160)
"Oh my [house] whose riches have not been re-
turned," bitterly she cried.

Girsu, the city of heroes, was turned into a *cowardly*
place,
Ningirsu forsook the Eninnu,
Mother Bau wept bitter tears in her house Urukug,
"Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she
cried.

On that day the word—who knows its meaning?—
attacked like a storm,
The word of Enlil that winds to the right, *knows* the
left,
Enlil who decrees the fates, this is what he did:
Enlil brought down Elam, the foe, from the mountain,
He made Nanshe the princely daughter, dwell in
a strange city, (170)
He put Ninmar to the flames in (her) shrine
Guabba,
Its silver (and) lapis lazuli is carried off in big boats,
The queen—her possessions attacked and at an end—
the holy Ninmar,
On that day *cuts* . . . like . . .
Turned over Lagash to the hand of Elam.

On that day, the queen—her "storm" caught up with
her,
Bau, as if she were a mortal—her "storm" caught up
with her,
"Woe is me! The storm has turned it (Lagash) over
into his hand,

The storm that destroys cities has turned it over into his hand,
The storm that destroys houses has turned it over into his hand." (180)

Dumuzi-Abzu was terrified in *his* house Kinirsha
Kinirsha, his city of "princely-sonship" was turned to *ruins*.

Nanshe—Her city Nina was delivered to the enemy,
Sirara—her beloved dwelling place, was given over to misfortune,

"Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she cried,

Its holy *gipar* of *en*-ship was suppressed,
Its *en* was carried off from the *gipar*, was brought to enemy territory,

On the bank of the Idnun of Nanna a heavy arm was placed,

The settlements of the Edanna of Nanna were destroyed like a *distended* stall,

Those who fled from it were devoured by the wild beasts like fleeing kids. (190)

Gaesh was poured out like milk by the enemy, they destroy it utterly,

Its (well) made statues fair of form, they shatter,
"Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she cried,

Its *gipar* of *en*-ship was suppressed,
Its *en* was carried off from the *gipar*, was brought to enemy territory,

Its dais stretching to heaven was filled with lament,
Its heavenly throne stood there no longer, (its) *head* was glorious no longer.

Like a palm tree it was cut to pieces, it was completely *shattered*.

Ashshu that house stretched along the river was uprooted,

The . . . of Nanna was seized by the enemy, (200)
The house was made into a "debtor's house,"
The assembly house was emptied,

Abrig . . . was destroyed like a *distended* stall,
Nin-EZEN abandoned Gabur,
Niniaga, terrified, shed bitter tears,

"Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she cried,

Its holy *gipar* of *en*-ship was suppressed,
Its *en* was carried off from the *gipar*, was brought to enemy territory,

Ninazu planted the weapon on the neck of the Egidda,
He caused an evil wind to blow on Ninhursag of the . . . house, (210)

She fled like a dove from (her) cote, brought . . . into the steppe,
"Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she cried.

Gishbanda that house full of lamentation and wailing was destroyed,

Ningishzida abandoned Gishbanda,
Azimua, the queen of the city, wept bitter tears,
"Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she cried.

On that day, the *Southwind* the men of . . . were *quartered* there,

To destroy HAA, the men of . . . were *quartered* there,
Nin-é-*HA*, terri[fied], shed bitter tears,
"Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she cried. (220)

Asarluhi *hastily* put on a garment . . . ,
Lugalbanda abandoned his beloved dwelling place,
"Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly he cried.

Eridu the city overflowing with "great" waters, was *deprived* of drinking water,

In its outskirts, the *steppe* built up *with* houses . . . ,
The righteous [have been led off] to slaughter, . . . :

"I, the young man, whom the storm had not . . . ,
I, whom the storm had not destroyed, whose attractiveness had not been brought to an end . . . ,

"We who like . . . are fair of *body*, have been [struck down], (230)

Who like . . . paint the eyes (with kohl), have been [struck down],

Who like . . . have irrigated the plants, have been [struck down],

The Gutians, the destroyers, are crushing (us).'
(This is what) we kept on reiterating to Enki at the Abzu of Eridu.

. . . what can we add to what we have said!
. . . what can we add to what we have said!
. . . we have been *driven* out of Eridu,

We who were in charge of . . . [during the day] were [eclipsed] by shadows,

We who were in charge of . . . [during the night] were . . . by the *storm*,

Who was in charge during the day, *how* shall we receive him among our *weary* ones! (240)

Who was in charge by night how shall we let him go astray among our sleepless ones!

Oh Enki, your city has been cursed, it has been made into enemy territory,

Why do you reckon us among those who have been *displaced* from Eridu!

Why do they (the Gutians?) destroy those among us
upon whom like . . . no hand had [ever] been laid!
Why do they crush those among us who like . . . had
(never) been . . . !”

After [Enki] had set his face towards an inimical land,
He *planted* for the . . . the “evil *tree*,”
. . . have risen up, have *called* on their cohorts,
Enki forsook the house of Eridu,
Damgalnunna, the mother of the lofty house, wept
bitter tears, (250)
“Oh my [destroyed city], destroyed house” bitterly
she cried,
Its [holy *gi*]par of *en*-ship was suppressed,
Its *en* was carried off from the *gipar*, was brought to
enemy territory,

In Ur, no one took charge of food, no one took charge
of water,
Who was (formerly) in charge of food, stood away from
the food, pays no *heed* to it,
Who was (formerly) in charge of water, stood away
from the water, pays no *heed* to it,
Below, the Elamites are in charge, slaughter follows in
their wake,
Above, the Halma-people, the “men of the mountains,”
took captives,
The Tidnumites daily fastened the mace to their loins,
Below, the Elamites like those who bring forth
woe, *brandish* their *weapons*, (260)
Above, like chaff blown about by the wind, the
steppe

Ur, the great wild ox that (formerly) stepped forth
confidently (in combat), has been made prostrate.
Enlil, he who decrees the fates, this is what [he did]:
For a second time he brought down the Elamites, the
“men of the mountain” from the mountain,
The house, the foremost, having been

While Kisiga was being destroyed, *its* ten men, . . .
Escaped not; three days (and) three nights did not pass,
the city was broken up by the pickaxe,
Kisiga—Dumuzi [depa]rted from it as a substitute, his
hands were [fettered].

By the house, the . . . of [Emu]sh [spoke to him]:
“Rise, set sail . . . , rise, set sail, (270)
. . . has *brought*, rise, set sail”

The large . . . she caused to set sail . . . ,
The small . . . [she caused to set sail] like one-eyed
kids,
From her possessions she sailed forth, she descends to
the nether world,
The dirge of the nether world where no one (willingly)
sets foot, loudly [she uttered:]

“I the queen have [sailed] away from my possessions,
the *maid* has been [stationed] [th]ere,

From my lapis lazuli place I have [sailed] away, the
maid has been *stationed* [th]ere,
There the *maid*-ship of man,
. . . who will . . . for me!
There the *maid*-ship of Elam, (280)
. . . who will . . . for me!
Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house,” bitterly she
cried.

(Lines 283-293 in large part destroyed, including the
rubric: “the second *kirugu*.”)

In Ur no one took charge of food, no one took charge
of water,
Its people, like water poured from a well . . . ,
They (no longer) had confidence in themselves, [gone]
was their *strength*.

Enlil made Famine, who brings nothing but harm,
dwell in the city,
That which brings destruction to cities, that which
brings destruction to houses, he made dwell in the
city,
That before which no one can stand firm, the weapon,
he made dwell in the city,
The dizziness caused *by* the unsat'd heart he made
dwell in the city. (300)

Ur, like a single reed drops (its) head, is helpless,
Its people, like fish caught by hand—their life is departed,
Its lowly (and) noble lie spread about, none can rise,
For its king there was no bread to eat in the *lofty* Dubla,
The king who ate (only) fine bread was overcome by
. . . .

The *sun* set on him, . . . he *knows* . . . ,
In his brewery there was no beer, its . . . was no more,
In his palace there was no bread to eat, it was no longer
fit to live in,
His lofty *ganun*¹⁵ was not filled with grain, its “life” is
not *brought* there,

In the granaries of Nanna there was no grain, (310)
The evening meals of the gods were suppressed,
In their great dining-halls wine (and) honey came to
an end,

The . . . used to feed the oxen, feed the sheep, lay in
the meadow,

In its lofty oven oxen (and) sheep are not prepared . . . ,
Of the Bursag, the pure “arm” of Nanna, its “hum”
ceased,

That house where commands were shouted like an ox—
its silence is overwhelming,

Like holy . . . it makes no *sound*, far removed is its . . . ,
Its grinding mortar (and) pestle lie inert, no one bends
before them,

¹⁵ For this building, cf. e.g., Fig. 8 (p. 139) of Woolley's *Excavations at Ur*, where it is called *e-nun-mah*.

The "lapis lazuli" quay of Nanna was deprived of water,
The water at the boat's prow returned no echo, it
fell not at . . . , (320)

On the small . . . of Nanna dust was heaped high,
All (kinds of) grasses grew there, all (kinds of) grasses
grew there, . . . grew,

The boats (and) barges ceased (to come to) the lapis
lazuli quay,

On your river so well-suited for barges, they sail not,
Of the feasts (celebrated) in the ritual-places, changed
are their ordinances,

On the offering-boats of the father who begot him, no
offerings were carried to him,

Its bread (and) bread-offerings were not brought to
Nippur,

Its river is empty, no barge moves on it,

No foot trod *all* its banks, long grasses grew there.

Of the widespread stalls of Nanna—torn down were
their hedges, (330)

The garden huts were despoiled . . . ,

The *šilam*-cows¹⁶ [were] taken from their young, were
carried off to enemy territory,

The cows fed on the . . . -plant forsook the steppe, their
unknown terrain.

Gaa (the deity) who loves cows hurled (his) weapon
on the ewe,

Shunidu (the deity) who heaps up fat (and) cheese, did
not heap up fat (and) cheese,

Its fat—those who knew not fat, *stir* it,

Its milk—those who knew not milk, *pour* it,

In its sheepfold, they who stir the churn speak not
loudly,

Of its heavy braziers . . . -its fire is extinguished.

Sin wept before his father Enlil, (340)

"Oh my father who begot me, what has my city
done to you, why have you turned against it!

Oh Enlil, what has Ur done to you, why have you turned
against it!

The offering-boats carried no offerings to the father who
begot him,

Did not bring your bread (and) bread-offerings to Enlil
in Nippur,

The *en*'s (who lived) outside the city, the *en*'s (who
lived) inside the city have been carried off by the
wind (of desolation),

Ur, like a city crushed by the pickaxe, was counted
among the ruins,

The Kiur, the place where Enlil relaxes, has become a
desolate shrine.

Oh Enlil, gaze upon your city *full* of desolation,

Gaze upon your city Nippur, *full* of desolation,

¹⁶ The usual rendering "wild cow" for *šilam* does not seem to fit
the context.

Ur—(even) its dogs *snuff* not at the base of its
walls, (350)

. . . .

Oh my father who begot me, turn my city from its
loneliness back to your arms,

Oh Enlil, turn my city from its loneliness back to your
arms,

Turn my Ekishnugal from its loneliness back to your
arms,

Let Ur (once again) bring forth offspring, let the people
multiply for you,

May the *me* of Sumer that had ceased to exist, be re-
stored for you."

The third *kirugu*.

Oh righteous house, righteous house! Oh its man, its
man!

Its antiphon.

Enlil answers his son Sin:

"The desolate city—in its midst there was uttered (noth-
ing but) laments (and) dirges,

In its midst there was uttered (nothing but) laments
(and) dirges,

In its midst its people spend (their) days in lament,

Oh my son, you are its . . . noble son, what have you
to do with its tears!

Oh Nanna, you are its . . . noble son, what have you
to do with its tears!

The verdict of the assembly cannot be turned back,

The word commanded by Enlil knows no overturning,
Ur was granted kingship, it was not granted an eternal
reign,

Since days of yore when the land was founded to (now)
when people have multiplied,

Who has (ever) seen a reign of kingship that is
everlasting! (370)

Its kingship, its reign has been cut *off*, *he* is
aggrieved!

Oh my Nanna, be not aggrieved, depart from your
city."

Then, of my king the noble son—his spirit was heavy.

The Lord Ashimbabbar¹⁷ the noble son, was anguished,
Nanna, who loved his city, departed from the city,

Sin who loved Ur (no longer) dwelt in his *house*,
Ningal . . . , in order to go from her city to enemy
territory,

Hastily [put on] a garment, departed [from her house],
Ur—its Anunna went outside (the city),

Ur—its . . . approached . . . , (380)

Ur—its trees were sickly, [i]ts [re]eds were sickly,

¹⁷ This is another name for Nanna-Sin.

By its walls, as far as they extend in circumference,
laments were uttered,

At the . . . , the weapon makes all cower before it,
In Ur, the large axes *wreak* havoc before them,
The spear, "the might of battle" is hurled straight (to
its mark),

The large bows, the throw-stick, the sling are all
devouring,
The "head" arrows filled their bodies like heavy rain,
The large stones that of themselves (strike) afar, *crush*
the bones,

Daily the evil wind brings them back against the (people
of the) city,

Ur that relied on its lions,¹⁸ was given over to
carnage, (390)

Its people were turned over to the power of the
enemy,

The (people of the) city who did not succumb to the
weapons were overcome by famine,

Famine filled the city like water, there was no respite
from it,

Famine bends low their faces, it swells their sinews,
Its people were filled with *thirst*, short is (their) *breath*,
Its king gasped for breath in his splendid palace,

Its people threw down the . . . , hurled the weapons to
the ground,

Raised their hands to their necks, wept,
Take counsel among themselves, speak out elo-
quently:

"Woe is us, what can we say, what can we add! (400)
Until when will we perish in the *mouth* of destruc-
tion!

Ur—inside it is death, outside it is death,
Inside it we die of famine,

Outside it we are killed by the weapons of the Elamites,
Ur has been carried off by the enemy, let us not die . . ."
. . . they acted in unison,

They loosened the bolts of its gates, its doors stand
(open) to the day,

Elam trampled over it like the onrushing high waters,
Ur is shattered by the weapon like a (potter's) vessel,

Its refugees cannot hasten (to escape), they are
pressed tight to the side of the wall, (410)

Like fish *writhing* in *thirst*, their life is carried off.

The Ekishnugal of Nanna is inhabited by the enemy,
Its heavy . . . they shatter,

Its divine statues that *filled* the *shrines* they cut to pieces,
Nineiaga,¹⁹ the noble stewardess, scurries about in the
storehouse,

¹⁸ The implication of "on its lions" is not clear in the context.

¹⁹ A goddess in charge of fat and milk.

Its throne was hurled down in front of it, it "sat" in
the dust,

Its noble cows were seized by their . . . horns, their
horns were cut off,

Its choice oxen (and) well-fed sheep were struck down
by the weapon,

Were cut to pieces like cedars, were completely *shattered*.

The palm-tree (covered with) mighty copper, the
might of heroship, (420)

Was torn down like *rushes*, was plucked like rushes,
arrows swirled about its base,

(Its) *top* was trampled in the dust, it had no one to
lift it,

Its fronds were cut to pieces, were smashed to *bits*,
Its *bunches* of dates were swept *away*,

The *magan*-reeds planted by the holy *river* were
despoiled,

The immense tribute that had been stored away was
carried off by the enemy,

The house—its fastening ropes were felled, its parapets
were breached,

Its cattle standing to the left and right, its embracing
(ones),

Like hero smiting hero, were hurled down in front of it,
Its awesome *ušumgal* with wide open mouth, with
body of lion, (430)

Were hurled to the ground like captured wild oxen,
were carried off to enemy territory,

The holy dwelling of Nanna, the forest fragrant with
cedar—its fragrance has come to an end,

Its . . . ,
Its awe-inspiring house where sweet fat . . . , was de-
stroyed,

(Formerly) it had filled the lands like sunlight, (now)
it has become [*dim*] as the evening star,

Its doors [adorned *with*] the heavenly stars, its . . . ,
The large bronze *bulug*

Its . . . ,
Its hinges . . . ,

[Its] locks (and) [bol]ts do not . . . , (440)

(lines 441-444 too fragmentary for translation)

In the *house* filled *with* . . . lofty . . . , the holy
feasts were

In the lofty Dubla, the place where fates are decreed,
no words were . . . ,

Its judges' seats were not set up, no verdicts were
directed,

Lal threw down the scepter, from his hand . . . ,
In the holy sleeping *chamber* of Nanna . . . ,

The holy kettles that no one (was permitted) to
look upon, the enemy looked upon, (450)

SUMERIAN LAMENTATION

The fruitful bed was not set up, no "lapis lazuli"
 grass²⁰ was gathered,
 Its divine statues that filled the shrines were cut to pieces,
 Its commissaries, diviners (and) accountants did not fulfill (the) . . . ,
 Its wild oxen that were standing on their pedestals were
 carried off by the foe,
 The holy usga-priests of the purifying lustrations, its
 linen-wearers,
 Their . . . is come to an end, they were carried to an
 enemy city.

Sin brought his suffering heart to his father,
 Made a genuflection before Enlil, the father who begot
 him:
 "Oh my father who begot me, until when will you look
 inimically upon my account! Until when . . . !
 On the lordship and kingship that you have given
 (me), you have . . . , (460)
 Father Enlil, you whose instructions are righteous,
 Father Enlil, the fate you have decreed me has not been
 . . . ,
 (Instead of) the . . . the scepter of lordship, the be-
 jewelled,
 . . . I dress in rags,
 On the oppressed heart that you have made tremble like
 a flame, cast a friendly eye."

Enlil speaks a friendly word to his son Sin:
 "My son, the city has brought you with it prosperity
 (and) joy, you have been in possession of it for a
 time,
 Turn the great wall (and) rampart of the destroyed
 city to . . . ,
 The time of black, black days that has come upon you
 has been . . . ,
 Build confidently the . . . of your dwelling place,
 Etenigurru,²¹ (470)
 May Ur be built in joy, may (its) people bow
 before you,
 At its base may there be abundance, may Ashnan dwell
 by its side,
 At its crown may there be joy, may Utu rejoice by its
 side,
 Its dining table, may the abundance of Ashnan embrace,
 May Ur, the city blessed by An, be restored for you."
 At the friendly speech of Enlil, it (Ur) lifted "neck to
 heaven,"
 For Nanna (the people of) the land, below (and) above
 gathered,

²⁰ The precise meaning here intended by the poet for "lapis lazuli" is not clear.

²¹ This is the ziggurat terrace of Ur.

For Sin the roads of the foreign lands are straightened,
 Like (something) touching the (heavenly) mist, . . . is
 set up for him.

At the word spoken by An (and) Enlil, it (Ur)
 is delivered. (480)
 Father Nanna went head high to his city Ur,
 The valiant Sin enters his Ekishnugal,
 Ningal refreshes herself in her holy Ganun,
 He (Sin) enters his Ekishnugal in Ur.

The fourth *kirugu*.

The desolate city—in its midst there was uttered (nothing but) laments (and) dirges,
 In its midst there was uttered (nothing but) laments
 (and) dirges,
 Its people spend (their) days in lament.

Its antiphon.

Oh bitter storm, Oh storm, "raise your breast," Oh
 storm, return to your city, (490)
 Oh city-destroying storm, Oh storm, "raise your
 breast," Oh storm, return to your house,
 Oh house-destroying storm, Oh storm, "raise your
 breast," Oh storm, return to your house,
 That storm that had afflicted Sumer—may it afflict the
 (inimical) [la]nds,
 That storm that had afflicted the Land—may it afflict
 the (inimical) lands,
 May it afflict the (enemy) land Tidnum, may it afflict
 the (enemy) land,
 May it afflict the (enemy) land Gutium, may it afflict
 the (enemy) land,
 May it afflict the (enemy) land Anshan, may it afflict
 the (enemy) land,
 On Anshan, may the dust be heaped high, like (dust)
 carried by the "evil wind,"
 May Famine who brings (nothing but) harm dwell
 there, may it bring death to . . . ,
 The me of heaven, the rules that govern people—
 may An change them there. (500)

(break of x number of lines)

In Ur may (his) reign of prosperity long
 endure, (500 + x + 1)
 May its people "lie in the pastures," may
 its increase be heavy,
 "Oh mankind, . . . !"
 The queen, she of tears (and) lament:
 "Nanna, Oh your city! Oh your house?
 Oh mankind, . . . !"

The fifth *kirugu*.

IX. Letters

Akkadian Letters

TRANSLATOR: WILLIAM L. MORAN, S.J.

Divine Revelations

With the exception of the last (j), all the letters are from the Mari archives. Because of their importance for the history of prophecy they are already the subject of a considerable literature; see especially: F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl, *Opera Minora* (Groningen-Djakarta, 1953), 63-80; A. Malamat, *Eretz-Israel*, iv (1956), 74-84; v (1958), 67-73; *Supplement to VT*, Vol. xv (Leiden, 1966), 207-227; *Eretz-Israel*, viii (1967), 231-240; Martin Noth, *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament, Theologische Bücherei*, vi (Munich, 1957), 230-47; H. Schult, *ZDPV*, LXXXII (1966), 228-32; H. Schmökel, *TLZ*, LXXVI (1951), 53-58; W. von Soden, *WO*, 1/5 (1950), 397-403; C. Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech*, trans. by Hugh Clayton White (Philadelphia, 1967), 115-28; *Forschung am Alten Testament, Gesammelte Studien, Theologische Bücherei*, xxiv (Munich, 1966), 171-88; H. W. Wolff, *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament, Theologische Bücherei*, xxii (Munich, 1964), 206-31.

The letters are grouped according to the recipients of the revelations: private persons (a-d), ecstasies (e-g), those designated by the term *āpilum* (variant, *aplūm*; fem. *āpiltum*; h-i), a prophetess (j).

a

Text: G. Dossin, *RA*, XLII (1948), 128, 130. Translations: G. Dossin, *ibid.*, 129, 131; W. von Soden, *WO*, 1/5 (1950), 398-99; A. Leo Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East, Transac. Amer. Phil. Society*, Vol. XLVI/3 (Philadelphia, 1956), 195; A. Malamat, *Eretz-Israel*, iv (1956), 81-83. —The writer is known both as the governor of Nahur (cf. Nahur, Gen. 11:26) on the upper Habur, and as an official at the court of Mari. It is in the latter capacity that he seems to have sent this letter to the king Zimri-Lim, who must therefore have been absent from Mari. Hence our tablet, unless it was never sent, must be a copy.

Speak to my lord: Thus Itur-Asdu your servant. (5) The day I dispatched this tablet of mine to my lord, Malik-Dagan, a man from Shakka, ca(m)e and spoke to me as follows: "In a dream of mine I was set on going in the company of a(nother) man (10) from the fortress of Sagaratum, in the Upper District, to Mari. On my way¹ I entered Terqa, and right after entering I entered the temple of Dagan and (15) prostrated myself. As I was prostrate, Dagan opened his mouth and spoke to me as follows: 'Did the kings² of the Yaminites³ and their

¹ *ina pāniya*, lit., "before me," which has been taken by Dossin and von Soden to mean that in his dream Malik-Dagan saw himself entering Terqa. Our translation follows Malamat; the viewpoint of the preceding lines is not that of a spectator, but the subjective one of consciousness and intention. The meaning "on the way" for *ina pāni* is otherwise unattested, and may therefore be a West Semitism. The route from Sagaratum to Mari would pass through Terqa, which was located on the Euphrates above Mari.

² The Yaminite "kings," who were sheiks, are mentioned elsewhere in a number of Mari letters. The term seems to imply a military role within the tribal confederation during a time of crisis; see J. R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* (Paris, 1957), 59.

³ DUMU.MEŠ-ia-mi-na, lit., "sons of the right (= south)"; for read-

forces make peace with the forces of Zimri-Lim (20) who moved up here?' I said, 'They did not make peace.' Just before I went out he spoke to me as follows: 'Why are the messengers (25) of Zimri-Lim not in constant attendance upon me, and why does he not lay his full report before me?'⁴ Had this been done, I would long ago have delivered (30) the kings² of the Yaminites³ into the power of Zimri-Lim.⁵ Now go, I send you. Thus shall you speak to Zimri-Lim, saying: (35) "Se[nd] me your messengers and lay your full report before me, and then I will have the kings² of the Yaminites³ [coo]ked⁶ on a fisherman's spit,⁷ and I will lay them before you." "

(40) This is what this man saw in his dream and then recounted to me. I now hereby write to my lord; my lord should deal with this dream. (45) Furthermore, if my lord so desires, my lord shall lay his full report before Dagan and the messengers of my lord shall be constantly on their way to Dagan. (50) The man who told me this dream was to offer a *pagrum*-sacrifice⁸ to Dagan, and so I did not send him on. Moreover, since this man was trustworthy,⁹ I did not take any of his hair or the fringe of his ga(r)ment.¹⁰

b

Text: J. R. Kupper, *ARMT*, XIII, No. 112 (transliteration only). Translations: *ibid.*; A. Malamat, *Supplement to VT*, xv, 223. The writer was the governor of Terqa; he writes to Zimri-Lim.

Speak to my lord: Thus Kibri-Dagan your servant. (5) Dagan and Ikrub-El are safe and sound;¹¹ the ci[ty]

ing the logogram DUMU.MEŠ as Akkadian (*mārū*) and not as West Semitic (*banū* or the like, and hence the possibility of comparison with the biblical Benjaminites), see H. Tadmor, *JNES*, xvii (1958), 130, n. 12, and G. Dossin, *RA*, LII (1958), 60-62.

⁴ Cf. "A Letter to a God" below.

⁵ "Deliver into the power," *ana qāt X mullūm*, lit., "to fill (into) the hand of X," should be compared with biblical *nātan b'yād*, "he gave into the hand," in the oracles of Yahweh's wars (Deut. 2:24; 3:2; Josh. 6:2; 8:1, etc.).

⁶ Dossin restores [lu-pa-á]š-šī-il-šū-nu-ti-ma and translates, "I shall lead them away"; von Soden restores [lu-ša-a]p-šī-il-šū-nu-ti-ma and translates, "I shall make them writhe"; Malamat restores [lu-ša-a] b-šī-il-šū-nu-ti-ma, which is followed here.

⁷ Following Dossin's reading ⁸¹šū-uš-šū-ul and accepting his comparison with *šilšal dāgim* in Job 40:31, which however is hardly a harpoon, but rather (again with Malamat) an instrument for cooking. W. von Soden reads ⁸¹šū-us-šū-ul, "basket."

⁸ This may be some kind of sacrifice associated with the cult of the dead; cf. Ugar. *pgr*, "mortuary-offering," and see below, n. 23.

⁹ Reading *tāk-lu* with A. Leo Oppenheim, *JNES*, xi (1952), 131.

¹⁰ The lock of hair and the fringe of the garment were used for purposes of identification; see also letter b, and cf. I Sam. 24:5, 11.

¹¹ Reference is to the cult-statues in their sanctuaries. The latter deity, who also appears in the West Semitic form Yakrub-El, is peculiar to Terqa. He is either an apotheosized tribal hero or a form

of Terqa and] the district are safe and sound. (A badly preserved line and a break of about six lines.) (rev.) He saw the following (dream): "You (pl.) shall not (re-) build this *deserted* house. If this house is (re)built, I will make it collapse into the river." (5') The day he saw this dream, he said nothing to anyone.¹² The next day he again saw the following dream: "It was a god. 'You (pl.) shall not (re)build this house. (10') If you (re-) build it, I will make it collapse into the river.'" I now hereby (15') dispatch to my lord the fringe of his garment and a lock from his head. From that day [this] servant has been ill.

c

Text: J. R. Kupper, *ARMT*, XIII, No. 113 (transliteration only). Translation: *ibid.* The same correspondents and introduction as in b.

Furthermore, a man repeated the dre[am . . .] . . . [saying]: [x] thousand men . . . (10') in the forti[fi]ed cities of [Ma]ri, Terqa, and [Sa]garatum (three badly preserved lines). (16') [This man repea]ted this dream of his, and then [sh]ifted the responsibility onto me, saying, "Write to the ki[ng]." For this reason I wrote to my lord.

d

Text: J. R. Kupper, *ARMT*, XIII, No. 114 (transliteration only). Translations: *ibid.*; A. Malamat, *Supplement to VT*, xv, 219. The same correspondents as in b and c; introduction omits reference to the gods and city.

(5) The day I sent this tablet of mine to my lord, a man's wife came to me before the darkness of the mountain (sundown) and (10) spoke to me on the news about Babylon as follows: "Dagan sent me. Write to your lord. He is not to worry, nor is he *ev[er]* to worry. (15) [Ha]mmurabi [the king o]f Babylon . . ." (rest of tablet almost entirely illegible).

e

Text: J. R. Kupper, *ARM*, III (TCL, xxiv, 1948), No. 40. Translations: J. R. Kupper, *ARMT*, III, No. 40; W. von Soden, *WO*, 1/5 (1950), 399; A. Malamat, *Eretz-Israel*, IV (1956), 75-76. The same correspondents as in b-d; the usual introduction.

Moreover, the day I sent this tablet of mine to my lord, [an ec]static¹³ of Dagan (10) came and addressed me as follows: "The god sent [me]. Hurry, write to the ki[ng] that they are to offer the mortuary-sacrifices¹⁴

of El, so called ("El blessed") perhaps because the god was represented in a gesture of blessing.

¹² Perhaps his silence derived from hesitation on the identity of the speaker and the significance of the dream; note the introduction to the dream of the following day.

¹³ The term used is *muḥḥūm*; on the distinction between *muḥḥūm* and the more common form outside Mari, *maḥḥūm*, see Malamat, *Supplement to VT*, xv, 210, n. 4. The translation "ecstatic" is based on etymology and general usage, but the Mari material gives no evidence of extraordinary psychic conditions.

¹⁴ The word used is *kišpi*, the usual Akkadian word for food-offerings for the dead; cf. n. 8 and n. 23.

for the sha[de] of Yahdun-Li[m]."¹⁵ This is what this ecstatic (20) said to me, and I have therefore written to my lord. Let my lord do what pleases him.

f

Text: J. R. Kupper, *ARM*, III (TCL, xxiv, 1948), No. 78. Translations: J. R. Kupper, *ARMT*, III, No. 78; W. von Soden, *WO*, 1/5 (1950), 399; A. Malamat, *Eretz-Israel*, IV (1956), 78-79. The same correspondents as in b-e; the usual introduction.

I have not been remiss in harvesting the barley of the district and storing it in the granaries. (10) [Moreover], with regard to the [construc]tion of the new gate, [. . .] the ecstatic came here earlier, [*the wor*]k (15) [*was started*] and [*we set abo*]ut [*the construction of*] that [ga]te.¹⁶ [Now¹⁷ the day] I sent this tablet of mine to my lord, (20) this [ec]static returned here and addressed [a wor]d¹⁸ to me, giving me [an ul]ti[matum]: "[I]f you (pl.) do not build that gate, (25) [*a la*]mentation will be held!¹⁹ You are not numerous enough!" [Th]is is what this ecstatic [sa]id to me. Besides, I am [worr]ied for the har[vest]; (30) I cannot turn my [ne]ck.²⁰ [*Heaven forbid that*]²¹ my lord should say . . .

g

Text: Charles-F. Jean, *ARM*, II (TCL, xxiii, 1950), No. 90. Translations: Charles-F. Jean, *ARMT*, II, No. 90; W. von Soden, *WO*, 1/5 (1950), 398; A. Malamat, *Eretz-Israel*, IV (1956), 76-77. The same correspondents as in b-f; lines 7-12 are concerned with the flocks of the Yaminites along the Euphrates.

(13) [The day I sent th]is tablet of mine [to] my lord, [. . . the *ecstatic*²² o]f Dagan ad[dressed me] as follows: "Dagan se[nt me] concerning the performance of the sacrifice [*for the dead*]."²³ (20) Write to your lord that in the coming month, on the fourteenth day, the sacrifice *for the dead*²³ is to be performed. Under no circumstances are they to omit this sacrifice." This is what this man said to me. (25) I now hereby write to my lord. May my lord do what in accordance with his deliberation pleases him.

¹⁵ Founder of the dynasty at Mari to which Zimri-Lim belonged. He was killed in a palace revolution, an event which made way for Assyrian control under Shamshi-Adad I. It was Zimri-Lim who regained Mari from the Assyrians.

¹⁶ Our restoration, which is necessarily quite conjectural, is: [šī-īp]-rum / [iṣ-ša-ba-it]-ma / [a-na e-pé-eš a-bu]-ul-lim [š]a-a-ti / [qatam ni-iš-k]u-un; cf. *ARM*, II, No. 87:21-22. If this is right, or at least close, work was actually begun, but presumably the demands of the harvest kept the labor-force very small, and hence the construction went very slowly. With von Soden and Malamat, we see the censure directed against inaction, not the construction of the gate.

¹⁷ [a-nu-ma].

¹⁸ [a-wa-ta]m.

¹⁹ Following Malamat and restoring [šum-m]a ("if") and [ú-k]u-ul-lum; the former assumes an erroneous use of *ul* instead of *lā* in the conditional clause.

²⁰ Following von Soden and restoring [ki-f]a-di-ia.

²¹ Following Malamat and restoring [a-su-ur-ri]; for the meaning, see M. Held, *JCS*, xv (1961), 20-21.

²² Also possible is *āpilum/aplūm*; see following letter.

²³ *pa-ag-ra-i*; *ARMT*, xv, 238, seems to indicate that unpublished occurrences support "(sacrifice for) the dead"; cf. n. 8.

h

Text: G. Dossin *apud* Ad. Lods, *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy Presented to T. H. Robinson*, ed. H. H. Rowley (Edinburgh, 1950), 103-04 (transliteration only). Translations: G. Dossin, *ibid.*, 104-05; W. von Soden, *WO*, 1/5 (1950), 403; A. Malamat, *Eretz-Israel*, v (1958), 67-70. The name of the writer is missing; H. Klengel, *JCS*, xix (1965), 88, suggests Nur-Sin, Zimri-Lim's ambassador in Halab (Aleppo). Solecisms, barbarisms, and orthographic errors mark the letter as the work of a provincial scribe.

(Beginning broken.) [With regard to the *zukurum*²⁴ and the cattle about which Abi-. . .] said to me in the presence of Zu-Hadnim, "Hand over the *zukurum* and the cattle," my lord told me (5) to hand over the *zukurum* in the presence of the kin[gs and . . .], saying, "In the future he is not to break the agreement with me." I provided witnesses against him. My lord should know this.

At (the inspection of) the omens²⁵ Adad the lord of Kallassu²⁶ [spoke] as follows: "Am I not (10) Adad the lord of Kallassu who reared him between my thighs²⁷ and restored him to the throne of his father's house? After restoring him to the throne of his father's house, I again gave him a dwelling-place. Now, since I (15) restored him to the throne of his father's house, I should receive from him an hereditary property.²⁸ If he does not give (it), I am the lord of throne, territory, and city, and what I gave I will take away. If on the other hand (20) he grants my request, I will give him throne upon throne, house upon house, territory upon territory, city upon city; even the land from east to west will I give him." This is what the *āpilu's*²⁹ said. Furthermore, (25) they are constantly appear(ing)³⁰ at (the inspection of) the omens, (and) now to boot the *āpilum* of Adad the lord of Kallassu is guarding the *threshing-floor*³¹ of

²⁴ Meaning unknown (*CAD*, Z, 153, "pasture[?]"). The issue in these opening lines and the connection, if any, with what follows, are obscure. The references to an agreement, witnesses, and possibly sheiks (kings), suggest some kind of pact between Zimri-Lim and a tribal chieftain.

²⁵ *ina tēretim*, understood as the occasion on which the *āpilu's* (n. 29) stepped forth (n. 30) and delivered the oracle. Malamat interprets *tēretim* as "visions."

²⁶ Location unknown, but probably very near Aleppo, if not a quarter of the city itself (Klengel, *JCS*, xix [1965], 89). Zimri-Lim was a refugee in Aleppo after the downfall of the Yahdun-Lim dynasty in Mari (n. 15).

²⁷ *paḥalliya*, more properly "my testicles," a realistic detail which is more easily understood if the god is here conceived in the form of a bull or calf (so Malamat; cf. also *CAD*, B, 250 a).

²⁸ Following Landsberger *apud* Malamat, *Eretz-Israel*, v (1958), 68, and *JAOs*, LXXXII (1962), 149, and taking *nihlatum* here and in line 27 (delete the determinative as a scribal error) as a common noun related to Heb. *nah'la*. For landed property as Yahweh's hereditary possession see Exod. 15:17; Jer. 2:7, etc.

²⁹ *āpilum* (fem. *āpiltum*), apparently a participle meaning "the respondent," but the variant form *aplūm* (letter i) and the existence elsewhere of cultic functionaries called *aplu* and *apillā*, all of which forms are hardly unrelated, introduce considerable complications; *āpilum* perhaps represents a popular etymology.

³⁰ *ii-ta-na-az-na-az-(zu)*, lit., "they are constantly stepping forth." Malamat appeals to another meaning of the verb, "to assume responsibility for," and sees here the *āpilu's* guaranteeing the truth of the oracle.

³¹ Akk. *maḥkanum*, for which Malamat proposes a West Semitic

Alahtum as the hereditary property.²⁸ My lord should know this.

(30) Previously, when I was living in Mari, I reported to my lord every word the *āpilum* and the *āpiltum* told me. Now I am living [in] a different country, (but) am I not to write to my lord what I hear and they tell me?

(35) If in the future something amiss should happen, would my lord not say, "Why did you not write to me the word the *āpilum* told you and that he was guarding^{31a} your *threshing-floor*."³¹ I have now (40) written to my lord. My lord should know this.

[More]over, the *āpilum* of Adad the lord of Halab (Aleppo) came [to Abu]-Halum and said, "[W]rite to your lord (break)." (Edge of tablet) "[. . . from the east] to the west [*it is I*] who will give him." [This] is what Adad the lord of Halab said in the presence of Abu-Halum. My lord should know this.

i

Text: J. Bottéro, *ARMT*, XIII, No. 23 (transliteration only). Translations: *ibid.*; A. Malamat, *Supplement to VT*, xv, 214-15. The writer was a high official at Mari; he writes to Zimri-Lim.

Speak to my lord: Thus Mukannishum your servant. (5) I offered a sacrifice to Dagan for the life of my lord, and then the *aplūm* of Dagan of Tut[tul]³² arose and spoke as follows: "O Babylon! How must you be constantly treated?³³ (10) I am going to gather you into a net . . .³⁴ I will d[eli]ver into the power of Zimri-Li[m] the houses of the seven confederates³⁵ and all their poss(ess)ions. Moreover, the *aplūm* of D[agan] . . . he s[poke] as follows (rest destroyed).

j

Text: *ABL*, v, No. 437. Translations: L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, Vol. 1 (Ann Arbor, 1930), 302-05; B. Landsberger, *Brief des Bischofs von Esagila an König Asarhaddon*, *Med. d. koninkl. Neder. Akad. v. Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, NR xviii/6 (Amsterdam, 1965), 46-49. See also W. von Soden, *Festschrift V. Christian* (Vienna, 1956), 103-04, with references to earlier literature. The writer, who is well known from other reports to Esarhaddon, the one addressed in this letter, served as a kind of ambassador at large. For a penetrating description of his fanaticism and often bizarre theology, see Landsberger, *Brief des Bischofs* . . . , 38-57.

meaning, "tent-shrine" (cf. Heb. *miḥān*); cf. however II Sam. 24: 18 ff. (David's altar at the threshing-floor of Araunah).

^{31a} The translation assumes an erroneous use of the indicative in *iqbiqum* and *inašar*; von Soden reads *awatam ša (ilim)* . . . , "the *āpilum* spoke the word of (the god) to you . . . , why did you not . . ."

³² Either the Tuttul (Hit) on the Euphrates below Mari, an ancient center of the worship of Dagan, or the one (of two?) west of Mari; see Malamat, *Supplement to VT*, xv, 216, n. 2.

³³ (*minam*) *te-et-te-ne-e-pé-éš* is hardly active (Gtn; so Bottéro and Malamat), which would be written *te-te-ne-(ep)-pé-éš (tētenēppéš)*, but rather passive (Ntn, *tētenēpéš*).

³⁴ *il-ka ri-i[m]*, apparently "your god is a wild-ox," but this yields little sense, and even less if, as Bottéro now seems to think (cf. Malamat, *Supplement to VT*, xv, 218, n. 1), the signs in question belong in the previous line.

³⁵ The seven (= all) confederates are the allies of Hammurabi; see below, "Treaties and Coalitions," letter b.

[To the king] my [lord] your servant [Mar-Ishtar]. [Greetings] to the king my lord. [May Nabu and Bel] bless [the king] my lord. [A long life], health and happiness may [the great gods] (5) grant the king my lord. [Damqi], the son of the bishop of Ak[kad],³⁶ [. . .] of the land of Ashur and Babylon [. . .] exercised hegemony over the universe. He [and his queen] have . . . [. . .]; (10) the substitution³⁷ for the king my lord, [the queen-mother] (and) the . . . of Shamash-shum-ukin [he . . .]. For their redemption he went to (his) fate. We built the mausoleum, he (and) his queen (15) were outfitted in their finery, solemnly laid in state, buried, (and) mourned. The burning (of magical figurines) has been performed; all (evil) portents have been rendered ineffective; many rituals against (evil) portents, (the ceremonies) "House of (ritual) bathing," "House of dipping in water," (as well as other) incantation-rituals (and) lamentations for the pacification of the gods, (20) have been carried out punctiliously, in the traditional formulae of the scribal guild. For the information of the king my lord.

I have heard that (even) before these ceremonies (of enthronement), the prophetess³⁸ prophesied, (and) to Damqi, the bishop's son, she said: (25) "You shall bear my kingship." (reverse) Moreover, the prophetess said to him in an assembly of the people: "I have indicated the . . .³⁹ of my lord, I have turned you over (to the assembly)."

The apotropaic (5) rituals which were performed went perfectly. The king my lord should be exceedingly gratified. (Of course) the Akkadians were frightened, (but) we reassured them (and) they calmed down. I heard (too) that the bishops and the high (temple-) officials of Akkad were frightened. (10) (Thus) have Bel and Nabu (and) all the great gods prolonged the life of the king my lord. However, during the *eternity* of the eclipse and the conjunction of the gods he (the king) must not in fact go to the (palace?) *limits*.

If it is acceptable to the king my lord, (15) a commoner should be appointed to the bishopric as previously. He should offer the daily sacrifices before the high-altar; on the days of the monthly-feasts and (the feast) of the "Greeting of the temple" he should pour out the incense on the censor-stands [before] the Lady of Akkad, (and then) should (the moon) bring about an eclipse (and with it) affe[ct] Akkad, (20) [. . .] he should serve as the king's substitute. (21-25 fragmentary) Whoever is acceptable to the king my lord, the king my lord should appoint in his (Damqi's) place.

³⁶ Akkad(ian) = Babylon(ian) in this and the following letter.

³⁷ The substitute-king took on himself all the evil portents which would otherwise have affected the king himself.

³⁸ *rāginu* (masc. *rāgimu*), lit., "shouter."

³⁹ *ka-ki-su šar-ri-iq-tú*; see Landsberger, *Brief des Bischofs* . . . , 48, n. 84.

The Substitute King

Text: *ABL*, vi, No. 629. Translations: L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence* . . . , I, 438-39; B. Landsberger, *Brief des Bischofs* . . . , 43, n. 65; 45-46. See also W. von Soden, *Festschrift Christian* . . . , 104, with reference to earlier literature; for the ritual for the substitute king, see W. G. Lambert, *AJO*, xviii (1957-58), 109-12. The same correspondents and introduction as in the letter j.

(5) The [substitute] king, who on the evening of the fourteenth took his se[at] (upon the throne), then spent the night of the fifteenth in the palace [of *Ashur*], (and) whom (the moon) affected with the eclipse, entered (10) Akkad³⁸ safe and sound on the evening of the twentieth, (and) took his seat (on the throne). In the light of day I had (him) recite the traditional formulae of the scribal guild; he took upon himself all the signs of heaven and earth, (and) assumed the hegemony over all the universe. For the informa[ti]on of the king my lord.

(15) This eclipse, which (the moon) brought about in (the month of) Tebet,⁴⁰ concerned the land of Amurru. The king of the land of Amurru will die, his land will diminish, (or) in another interpretation, will disappear. Surely the scholars can tell the king my lord (20) something about the land of Amurru: the land of Amurru means the land of the Hittites⁴¹ and the land of the Suteans,⁴² (or) in another interpretation, the land of Chaldaea. Someone or other of the kings of the land of the Hittites, or of the land of Chaldaea, (reverse) or of the land of the Arabs, must bear (the consequences of) this sign. For the king my lord (there is to be) contentment: the king my lord will achieve his desire. The rites and prayers (5) of the king my lord are acceptable to the gods. Either the king of Cush, or the king of [Tyre], or Mugallu⁴³ must meet the appointed death; (10) or, the king my lord will cap[ture him], the king my lord will diminish his land, the women of his harem will enter the service of the king [my lor]d. The king my lord should be gratified.

However, the king my lord should be careful,⁴⁴ and (his) vigilance great. The apotropaic rituals, the lamentations for the pacification (of the gods), the spell against malaria (and other forms of) (15) pestilence should be carried out for the k[ing my lor]d and the sons of the king, my lords. (Several lines fragmentary or destroyed.)

A Happy Reign

Text: *ABL*, I, No. 2; F. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Wörterbuch zur . . . Keilschriftliteratur* (Leipzig, 1887), 164 (partly copied,

⁴⁰ The tenth month, Dec.-Jan.

⁴¹ Syro-Palestine.

⁴² Arabs.

⁴³ A ruler of Tabal in Asia Minor.

⁴⁴ *šarru bēli lū etik*; the translation is Landsberger's.

partly transliterated); F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl, *Akkadian Chrestomathy*, I (Leiden, 1947), No. 94 (with conjectured restorations not indicated as such). Translations: L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence . . .*, I, 2-5; E. Ebeling, *AOT*, 328 (with references to earlier literature). See also K. Deller, *RA* (future number).

The letter is addressed to Assurbanipal.

To the king [my lord] your servant Adad-shum-[usur]. Greetings to the ki[ng my lord]. May Nabu and Marduk bless the king [my lord] (5) most richly. Ash[ur the king of the go]ds has pronounced the name of the [king] my lord for the kingship over the land of Ashur. In their reliable oracle Shamash and Adad have established for the king my lord, for his kingship over the lands, a happy reign: days (10) of justice, years of equity, heavy rains, waters in full flood, a thriving commerce. The gods are reconciled, divine worship is widespread, the temples are enriched. (This) the great gods of heaven and earth have brought about (15) in the time of the king my lord.

Old men dance,⁴⁵
young men sing,
Women and maidens
are gl[ad (and) ma]ke merry.⁴⁶

Wives they take,
deck with ear-[ri]ngs,⁴⁷
(20) Beget sons and daughters—
the offspring are instructed.⁴⁸

Whom his crime had condemned to death,
the king my lord has let live;
[who] was held prisoner many [ye]ars,
is set free;⁴⁹

[wh]o were sick many days,
have recovered.

(reverse) The hungry have been sated;
the lice-infested⁵⁰ have been anointed;
the naked have been clad in garments.^{50a}

A Royal Decree of Equity

Text: G. Dossin, *TCL*, xvii, No. 76. Translations: F. R. Kraus, *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-saduqa von Babylon*, *Studia et documenta ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentia*, Vol. v (Leiden,

⁴⁵ The following lines are, if not poetry, highly rhythmical prose. Their "messianic" reminiscences have often been noted; cf. especially Joel 3:1 ff.; Is. 61:1 ff.

⁴⁶ Reading *ha-d[i-a i]-ri-ša*.

⁴⁷ Reading *qu-[da]-ša* (copy DA)-a-te, with Deller.

⁴⁸ *āš-rat*, from *āš-ru*; *AHW*, 254 b, from *eš-ru*, "to thrive." The point of the first would be that the children are raised at home and given parental care, not sold off or given as pledges for the payment of debts, as would happen frequently in less blessed reigns.

⁴⁹ Reading *up-ta-tar*, with *CAD*, §, 7 b.

⁵⁰ Reading *up-pu-lu-ū*, with Jacobsen apud Deller. For anointing as a means of removing lice, see Jacobsen's remarks in *PAPS*, Vol. cvii/6 (1963), 477, n. 11. In the text referred to there (*CT*, xvi, 12 ii 1), in the immediately preceding (i 66-67) and following (ii 2) lines hunger, thirst, and cold are mentioned.

^{50a} The rest of the letter is concerned with the writer's efforts that he and his son share in the blessings just described.

1958), 225-27, with collation by J. Nougayrol and references to earlier literature (add: F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl, *Bi.Or.*, viii [1951], 50-56 = *Opera Minora*, 364-74). The writer was the son and successor of Hammurabi of Babylon.

Speak to Etel-pi-Marduk: Thus Samsu-iluna. The king my father *i[s ill]*. (5) In order to [. . .] the land, I have taken [my seat] on the throne of [my father's] house. Moreover, in order to bol[ster up] the ten[ant(s)], [I ha]ve remitted (10) the arrears of the [. . .], the tenant-farmers (and) [*the shepherds*]; [the deb]t-tablets of the soldier, the fisherman, and the *muškēnu*⁵¹ (15) I have broken,⁵² (and) I have established equity in the land. In the land of [. . .] no one *is to make demands* on the house⁵³ of a soldier, a fisherman, or a *muškēnu*. (20) As soon as you re[ad] my tablet, you and the elders of the land under your command are to come up here and have an audience with me.

A Letter to a God

Text (transliteration only) and translation: G. Dossin, *Syria*, xix (1938), 126. Letters to gods, of which another example from Mari is *ARM*, I, No. 3, are also known from Sumerian sources; they are attested in Akkadian as late as the seventh century B.C. For the Akkadian material, see E. A. Speiser, "Ancient Mesopotamia," in *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven, 1955), ed. Robert C. Dentan, 60-67 (with references to earlier literature); A. Leo Oppenheim, *JNES*, xix (1960), 133-47.

Speak to Ida (the river-god) my lord: Thus Zimri-Lim your servant. I herewith send a gold cup to my lord. At an earlier date I wrote my report to my lord;⁵⁴ my lord reveal[ed] a sign.⁵⁵ May my lord (10) make the sign which he revealed come true for me. Moreover, may my lord not neglect to protect my li[fe], may my lord not turn [his f]ace elsewhere, (15) besides me may my lord have need of no one el[se].

Punishment by Fire

Text: G. Dossin, *Symbolae ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschaker dedicatae, Studia . . . ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentia*, Vol. II (Leiden, 1939), 113. Translation: *ibid.*, 115. The writer was the king of Carchemish.

Speak to Zimri-Lim: Thus Yatar-Ami your son.⁵⁶ Now as to these two men from here (5) whom I sent

⁵¹ The meaning of this term is disputed; for one view, see above 166, n. 44. H. Petschow, *ZA*, LVII (1965), 150: dependent on crown, but free in the city, and therefore seldom distinguished from *awilum*, the free-man.

⁵² Cf. Exod. 23:10 f.; Deut. 15:1 ff.; Lev. 25:1 ff.

⁵³ *ana bitim šasūm*, lit., "to call at the house," is a legal expression with the broad meaning of demanding something (or a service or a person) from a family; see R. Yaron, *Orientalia* NS, 34 (1965), 24-27.

⁵⁴ Cf. above, "Divine Revelations," letter a, lines 25 ff.

⁵⁵ The nature of the sign is not clear; B. Landsberger, *WO*, III/3-4 (1966), 73, n. 97, who notes here a certain similarity to the biblical conception of sign, has suggested dreams.

⁵⁶ Contrary to general usage, the filial relationship does not mean that Yatar-Ami was a vassal of Zimri-Lim, but is simply an expression of respect.

off with Napsuna-Addu, in this report on the city of Irrid⁵⁷ which was picked up, they mentioned these men, saying, "They talked (10) with Mebisa, the servant of Bunuma-Addu; they know about the affair." So I have now had them conducted to Ida,⁵⁸ (15) but their accuser is being guarded here in prison. A trustworthy⁵⁹ servant of yours, in the company of Napsuna-Addu, should lead these men (20) to Ida. If these men are saved, I will burn their accuser in fire;⁶⁰ if the men (25) die, here I will give their houses (and) their people to their accuser.⁶¹ May my father report on them to me.

Treaties and Coalitions

a

Text: J. Laessøe, *Det første assyriske Imperium, et Aspekt* (Copenhagen, 1966), 84-86. Translations: J. Laessøe, *People of Ancient Assyria* (London, 1963), 147-48, revised and completed in *Det første . . .*, 83, 87. The writer is the king of Assyria who ousted the dynasty of Yahdun-Lim from Mari; he here writes to a vassal in Shemshara (ancient Shusharra) in the Zagros Mountains to the east, where this tablet was found.

Speak to Kuwari: Thus Shamshi-Adad. Surely you have heard about the hostility of Yashub-Addu (5) the Ahzaean.⁶² Prior to this he had followed⁶³ the man of the Shimurraeans, deserted the man of the Shimurraeans and followed the man of the Tirukkaeans. He deserted the man of the Tirukkaeans and (10) followed the Ya'ilanum (tribe). He deserted the Ya'ilanum (tribe) and followed me. Even me he deserted and has been following the man of Kakmu. Moreover, to all (15) these kings he has sworn an oath. It is scarcely three years since he became an ally and an enemy of these kings.

When he became an ally, (20) he swore an oath to me in the temple of Adad of Arrapha. Again, on the bank of the (Lower) Zab, in A'innum, he swore an oath to me; moreover, I swore an oath to him.⁶⁴ Twice he swore

⁵⁷ Probably modern Ordî, northeast of Carchemish, west-northwest of Harran (M. Falkner, *AJO*, xviii [1957], 13-14).

⁵⁸ On the river-god as judge, see the Code of Hammurabi, §2.

⁵⁹ See n. 7. Yatar-Ami probably desired a representative of Zimri-Lim present in order to make clear his intention of dissociating himself from any machinations of Bunuma-Addu, whose disloyalty to Zimri-Lim is evident from other letters.

⁶⁰ Execution by burning is attested in §§110 and 157 of the Code of Hammurabi; see also *ARM*, III, No. 73:14-15, and cf. Gen. 38:24; Lev. 20:14; 21:9; Josh. 7:15 (Jer. 29:22).

⁶¹ Cf. Code of Hammurabi, §2.

⁶² This and the other gentilics are attested in other Mari letters and/or other Akkadian documents. They place Yashub-Addu's alliances in the general area of Shemshara, and hence his disloyalty should be of interest to Kuwari.

⁶³ Lit., "he went after" (*warkî . . . illik*), a common expression for a relationship of dependence; cf. *hālak 'ah'rē*, especially in the deuteronomic literature for the service of other gods (Deut. 6:14, etc.).

⁶⁴ The exchange of oaths, with the suzerain also swearing, is noteworthy; cf. Deut. 26:17-19. The content of Shamshi-Adad's oath may be deduced from lines 25 ff.

an oath to me. (25) From the time he took the hem of my garment, I never collected any silver, oxen, sheep, or grain from his land; (30) I did not seize a single town in his land. (Nevertheless), having now become my enemy, he has been following the man of Kakmu. He becomes the ally of a king and (35) and swears an oath, (then) he becomes the ally of a(nother) king and swears an oath, while becoming an enemy of the first king with whom he was allied. His alliance with, and then hostility to, the king he is allied with [*take place*] within *two* months. With me [he was allied] for [x] months, and again he is hosti[le]. (45) I have now arri[ved]⁶⁵ (and been here) these [x] months, but he has given me no help. When he moves up (for battle), you will he[ar]⁶⁶ all that I am doing in his land.⁶⁷

b

Text (transliteration only) and translation: G. Dossin, *Syria*, xix (1938), 117. The letter is addressed to Zimri-Lim; this excerpt, the only part published, tells much about political power before Hammurabi imposed the *pax babylonica*.

(22) Moreover, with regard to what my lord wrote here to the kings, saying, "Come to the sacrifice in honor of Ishtar," I gathered the kings to Sharmaneh and conveyed this message to them: "There is no king who is strong just by himself. Ten (to) fifteen kings are following⁶⁸ (25) Hammurabi the man of Babylon; so, too, Rim-Sin the man of Larsa; so, too, Ibal-pi-el the man of Eshnunna; so, too, Amut-pi-el the man of Qatanum; (and) twenty kings are following Yarim-Lim the man of Yamhad."⁶⁸

"The God of My Father"

Text: G. Dossin, *ARM*, v (*TCL*, xxvi, 1952), No. 20. Translations: G. Dossin, *ARMT*, v, No. 20; J. Laessøe, *People of Ancient Assyria*, 60. The correspondents are the king of Qatna in Syria and Ishme-Dagan, the older brother of Yasma'-Addu of Mari and the successor of Shamshi-Adad on the Assyrian throne. The presence of this letter in the Mari archives is perhaps to be explained by the intervention of Yasma'-Addu, who, aware of the letter's tone and anxious to avoid any form of retaliation by his brother, stopped it on its way through Mari. Possibly, however, Ishme-Dagan sent it back to Mari for the consideration of his brother, who was the son-in-law of the king of Qatna.

Speak to Ishme-Dagan: Thus Ishhi-Addu your brother. (5) Right now, just to relieve my feelings, I must speak about this matter which should not be spoken about. You are a great king; you made a request to me for two horses, and I had them conducted to you. But you sent

⁶⁵ Reading *ka-a [š-da-ku]*.

⁶⁶ Reading *te-še-[(em)-me]*.

⁶⁷ The rest of the letter (lines 49-67) is concerned with another matter.

⁶⁸ The coalitions flank Mari to the south (Larsa, Babylon, Eshnunna) and to the west and northwest (Qatna and Yamhad, of which the capital was Halab [Aleppo], two states in Syria).

me (10) twenty minas of tin! Without any formal agreement with me you have not gone wanting (what you requested),⁶⁹ (and yet) you sent me this bit of tin! Had (15) you simply not sent me (anything), by the name of the god of my father⁷⁰ my feelings would not have been hurt. The price of these horses over here by us in Qatna was (20) six hundred shekels of silver, yet you sent me twenty minas of tin! What will the one who hears of this say? Will he not *vilit* us?⁷¹ (25) This house is your house. What is missing in your house (that) a brother does not grant a request to a brother? Had you (30) not sent me the tin, my feelings would not have been hurt at all. You are not a great king! Why have you acted so? (35) This house is your house.

A Loan between Gentlemen

Text: J. Nougayrol, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit*, III, *Mission de Ras Shamra*, Tome VI (Paris, 1955), Plate XII, RS 15.11. Translation: *ibid.*, 19.

Speak to Muarihu the commissioner: Greetings to you. As to your writing here and saying: "He has acquired your servants from the hands of Hehea the Egyptian for 400 shekels of silver, but there are 140 shekels of my own money (10) which are outstanding. Moreover, he has *now* entered the temple and indeed said under oath (that) in fact he had not handed over your servants. I (still) have (15) their ransom money."—I shall give (you) the money you personally disburse, and he has returned my servants to me, so give (20) your 80 shekels⁷² and do not put interest (on a loan) between us. We are each of us gentlemen.⁷³

⁶⁹ Without waiting to work out terms, and presuming Ishme-Dagan's sense of fairness and propriety, Ishhi-Addu complied with the request immediately. (*lā* for *ul* in *lā hašhāta* is an example of the confusion of the two negatives not infrequent in the Mari letters.)

⁷⁰ *aššum ilim ša abiya* cannot mean "because of the god of my father," since this results in Ishhi-Addu's saying his feelings *would* have been hurt (but were not), a flat contradiction of lines 29-32. Rather, it is an oath formula introducing the contrary-to-fact (negative) object-clause, *šumman libbi imraš*.—Cf. "the god of the fathers" and the oath in Gen. 31:53.

⁷¹ Following W. von Soden, *Orientalia* NS, XXII (1953), 207, and reading *i-tā-pa-la-ni-ti-i*.

⁷² The background of the letter and the text itself are somewhat obscure. The above translation, which differs in several important details from that of Nougayrol, yields the following: the writer had previously sent some money to the addressee, who was to arrange the redemption of some servants. This the latter did, writing that the sum agreed on was 400 shekels; however, on finding out that the servants had not actually been handed over, no money changed hands. Subsequently, however, the servants were turned over, and so the writer asks that the money be paid. The addressee seems to say that he would have to pay 140 shekels of his own money, but the writer mentions only 80 shekels. Nougayrol corrects the text, but the difference of 60 shekels may be the very high interest the writer wishes to avoid. This last suggestion is due to Mr. Marvin Chaney.

⁷³ In a paper read before the American Oriental Society, 1956, A. Leo Oppenheim noted the implication that in northern Syria at this time loans between free-men customarily did not bear interest, and compared the biblical law against interest on loans to fellow-Israelites (Exod. 22:24; Lev. 25:35 ff.; Deut. 23:19 f.).

A Boy to His Mother

Text: G. Dossin, *TCL*, XVIII (1934), No. 111. Translation: E. Ebeling, *MAOG*, xv, 78-79. The writer's father, Shamash-hazir, was a high official in the administration of Larsa under Hammurabi. The script is very clumsy, the language shows a boy's mistakes and (probably) colloquial speech, and the complaint belongs to the "letter home" through the ages.

Speak to Zinu: Thus Iddin-Sin. May Shamash, Marduk and Ilabrat for my sake forever (5) keep you well. Gentlemen's clothes improve year by year. (10) You are the one making my clothes cheaper year by year. By cheapening and scrimping my clothes⁷⁴ (15) you have become rich. While wool was being consumed in our house like bread,⁷⁵ you were the one making my clothes cheaper. The son of Adad-iddinam, (20) whose father is (only) an underling of my father, *has* [recei]ved two new garments, (but) you keep getting upset over just one garment for me. Whereas you (25) gave birth to me, his mother [acquir]ed him by adoption,⁷⁶ (30) but whereas his mother loves him, you do not love me.

Divine Revelations

APPENDIX

The following letters from G. Dossin, *ARM*, x (*TCL*, xxxi, 1967) were published too late for inclusion in the original manuscript. They are arranged, as above, according to the distinction of laity (k-t), ecstasies (see p, lines 22 ff.), *āpulum/āpiltum* (u-w), and—a new category—*qamatum* (x). A translation of these letters by G. Dossin may be found in *La divination en Mésopotamie ancienne et dans les régions voisines*, XIV^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 1966), 82-85 (hereafter, *La divination*). Our disagreements in readings and interpretation are not noted here; for a discussion of them together with a fuller treatment of these new texts, see the translator's article in *Biblica*, L (1969), 15-56.

k

Text: G. Dossin, *ARM*, x (*TCL*, xxxi), No. 4. The writer of the letter was the daughter of Yarim-Lim of Aleppo, who helped Zimri-Lim regain the throne of Mari (see n. 26). She sends this and letters l-o, t to her husband. That the words of the unnamed man and woman, who are so prominent in this letter, were considered revelations in some sense is clear from their being designated "word, utterance" (with oracular significance, Akk. *igerrūm*, lines 6, 10) and, implicitly, "signs, portents" (line 4). However, why they were so esteemed remains obscure.

Speak to my lord: Thus Shibtu your maid-servant. For a report on the campaign my lord is waging, I inquired (5) of a man and a woman . . .⁷⁷ for the signs,

⁷⁴ Reading (*ina šubāiyya*) *gu-ul-lu-lim u šu-us-si*: on *gullulum*, rather than *qullulum*, see B. Landsberger, *WZKM*, LVII (1961), II, n. 47; *šušsi* is taken as the Š-inf. of **wiṣ*.

⁷⁵ Unless the first *ina* in *ina šig.šl.a. ina bitini innakkalā*, is a simple mistake and to be ignored (translate then: "wool in our house is consumed like bread"), it must be taken as a conjunction in a probably very colloquial use (so the translation).

⁷⁶ Reading [*a-n*] *a le-qī-tim [il-qé]-e-šu*; *leqitum* is an error for *leqūtum*.

⁷⁷ Probably two signs (BAR.KI?); unintelligible.

and the (oracular) word was very favorable to my lord. Similarly, I inquired of the man and woman with regard to Ishme-Dagan⁷⁸, (10) and the (oracular) word concerning him was not favorable. As to the report on him, he has been placed under the foot of my lord. Thus they (spoke): "My lord raised the *humāsum*⁷⁹ to Ishme-Dagan, (15) saying, 'I shall beat you (in a contest) with the *humāsum*. Just wrestle and I shall beat you in wrestling.'" Thus I (spoke): "Is my lord approaching battle?" Thus they (spoke): (20) "No battle will be fought. Right after arriving his (Ishme-Dagan's) auxiliary troops will be scattered, (25) and they will cut off the he[ad of Ishme]-Dagan and then put it under the foot of my lord. Thus (my lord will say): "The army of Ishme-Dagan is large, and if I [arriv]e,⁸⁰ (30) will his auxiliary forces be sca[tt]ered from him? They have hemmed in my own auxiliary forces."⁸¹ It is Dagan, Adad, Itur-Mer and Belet-ekallim—and Adad is indeed the lord of decision—who are march[ing] at the side of my lord.⁸² (35) Heaven forbid that my lord should s[ay] this, "With arms I [must defeat t]hem."

(I am not making them sp[ea]k]. They speak on their own, and on their own they ag[ree]). (40) Thus they (spoke): "The auxiliary forces of Ishme-[Dagan] are (made up of) captives. With acts of treason and *treachery*⁸³ they are constantly . . .⁸⁴ They do not accept [. . .] [Be]fore my lord his army will be scattered."

I

Text: G. Dossin, *ARM*, x (*TCL*, xxxi), No. 6. Translation (reverse, lines 3' ff.): G. Dossin, *La divination*, 82-83. An otherwise unknown cult-player seems to have been granted a revelation by the goddess Annunitum regarding an enemy (Hammurabi of Babylon?) of the king. It was not only very favorable, but it agreed with the report that the queen had received when on the same question she had made inquiries on her own, in all probability from the haruspex. This remarkable coincidence is urged as confirmation of the trustworthiness of the oracle.

Sp[e]ak to my lord: Thus Sh[ib]tu your maid-servant. The palace is safe and sound. (5) I[li-kha]snaya, the c[ul]t-p[la]ye[r] of . . . , in [. . . enter]ed [the temple of Annunitum] and [concerning the man of . . . the goddess (10) has s]ent him here [to my lord]. [Thus she spo]ke, [saying: "I . . ."] (Break) (rev.) . . . I inquired, and this man is determining many things for

⁷⁸ The king of Assyria, the son of Shamshi-Adad and his successor; see above "The God of My Father."

⁷⁹ *humāsum* means either "strength" or some as yet undetermined concrete object (W. von Soden, *ZA*, LI [1955], 142); the latter was perhaps a curved staff.

⁸⁰ Reading 'a'-[ka-aš-š]a-ad.

⁸¹ Reading *til-la-ti-(im) i-ta-at-tu es-ra*.

⁸² These are the gods on whom Zimri-Lim's kingship most depends: Dagan, the king of the Mari region (see above the inscriptions of Sargon and Naram-Sin, 259); Itur-Mér, "the king of Mari" (*ARM*, x, 63: 16); Belet-ekallim, "the mistress of the palace," who seems to have been the patroness of the dynasty (see letters n, p); Adad, who as "the lord of decision" gives judgment in the ordeal of battle.

⁸³ Reading 'u' *de-ša-tim* and taking *dēšātīm* as a variant of *dāšātīm*.

⁸⁴ *it-ti-šu it-ta-na-šu*, "with him they. . ."

this land. He will not succeed. (5') My lord will see what the goddess will do to this man. You will conquer him and over him you will stand. His days are short. He will not survive. My lord should know this. (10') Before the report of Ili-khasnaya which Annunitum sent here, on the fifth [d]ay (of the month) I myself had made inquiry, and the [re]port which Annunitum sent here to you (15) and that which I asked for agree perfectly.

m

Text: G. Dossin, *ARM*, x (*TCL*, xxxi), No. 7. Translation: G. Dossin, *La divination*, 82. This is a public prophecy, and with the new evidence of *ARM*, x the rule seems to be that in such cases the legal symbols of the lock of hair and the fringe of the tunic were required (see n. 10); see lines 23 ff., and letters m, p, w. This and the following letter especially make it clear that extraordinary psychic states were characteristic of prophecies delivered in the temples (see n. 13); the evidence suggests trance of the lucid type in which the medium does not lose all consciousness of self and surroundings.

Speak to my lord: Thus Shibtu your maid-servant. The palace is safe and sound. (5) In the temple of Annunitum, on the third day (of the month), Shelebum went into a trance. Thus (spoke) Annunitum: "O Zimri-Lim, with a revolt (10) they would put you to the test. Guard yourself. At your side put servants, your controllers whom you love. (16) Station them so they can guard you. Do not go about by yourself. (20) And as for the men who would put you [to the test], I shall deliver [th]ese m[en] into your hand." Now I have hereby dispatched to my lord the ha[ir and fringe] (25) of the cu[lt-player].

n

Text: G. Dossin, *ARM*, x (*TCL*, xxxi), No. 8. Translation: G. Dossin, *La divination*, 82.

Speak to my lord: Thus Shibtu your maid-servant. (5) In the temple of Annunitum in the city, Akhatum, the servant of Dagan-malik, went into a trance and spoke as follows, saying: "O Zimri-Lim, even though you for your part have spurned me, (10) I for my part shall embrace you. I shall deliver your enemies into your hand, (15) and the men of Sharrakiya I shall seize and gather them to the destruction of Belet-ekallim." On the following day (20) Akhum the priest brought me this report (together with) the hair and fringe, and I have written to my lord, sealed the hair (25) and fringe, and sent (them) to my lord.

o

Text: G. Dossin, *ARM*, x (*TCL*, xxxi), No. 10. Translation: G. Dossin, *La divination*, 83. Among the Mari revelations the following is unique in being communicated in a vision.

[Speak to my lord: Th]us Shibtu your maid-servant. The temples, the gods, the palace, and the workshops

are safe and sound. (5) Moreover, Kakkalidi had the following vision in the temple of Itur-Mer: Two huge transports were blocking the river, and the king with the soldiers (10) was already on board in the center. Those on the right and the left were [sh]outing. Thus they (spoke): "Kingship, [sce]pter and throne, (15) the upper and lower *region*⁸⁵ have been given to Zimri-Lim." And the soldiers to a man were answering: "To Zimri-Lim alone have they been given." These transports to the gate of the palace . . . (break).

P

Text: G. Dossin, *ARM*, x (*TCL*, xxxi), No. 50. Translation: G. Dossin, *La divination*, 84. The writer of the letter is known as a woman of some means and high position at the court of Mari. A disturbing dream of years back has returned, and this is made all the more ominous by a recent warning of an ecstatic which indicates the king is in danger.

Speak to my lord: Thus Addu-duri your maid-servant. Since the peace of your father's house⁸⁶ I have never had this dream. These were my signs before. In my dream I entered the temple of Belet-ekallim and Belet-ekallim (10) was not in residence nor the statues before her present. And I saw this and went on weeping. This dream of mine was in the evening-watch.⁸⁷ Again (I dreamt) and Dada, the priest (15) of Ishtar-pishra,⁸⁸ was on duty in the gate of Belet-ekallim, and an eery voice was crying this over and over, saying: "Come back, O Dagan! (20) Come back, O Dagan!" This it was crying over and over. Moreover, the ecstatic arose in the temple of Annunitum and thus (spoke), saying: "O Zimri-Lim, do not go on an expedition. (25) Stay in Mari, and then I alone will take responsibility." My lord must not be negligent in guarding himself. (30) I m[y-self] hereby seal my hair and fringe and send (them) to my lord.⁸⁹

Q

Text: G. Dossin, *ARM*, x (*TCL*, xxxi), No. 51. Translation: G. Dossin, *La divination*, 84.

Speak to my lord: Thus Addu-duri. Iddin-ili, the priest (5) of Itur-Mer, saw a dream. Thus he (spoke): "In my dream Belet-biri⁹⁰ stepped up to me and (10)

⁸⁵ Reading [n]a-ma-ad-d'u-tum; meaning deduced from context.

⁸⁶ This refers to the restoration of the dynasty when the Assyrians were expelled.

⁸⁷ This is the first of the three watches into which the night was divided. The significance of this detail escapes us.

⁸⁸ An Ishtar figure known only from Mari texts; see J. Bottéro, *ARMT*, vii, p. 343.

⁸⁹ The apparent failure to send the hair and fringe of the ecstatic is probably to be explained by *ARM*, vi, 45 where we find the priest Akhum reported to have given the hair and fringe of an unnamed ecstatic to the governor of Mari. Addu-duri sends the legal symbols on her own, probably to show the king how serious she considered the matter.

⁹⁰ A Mesopotamian goddess after whom one of the months in the Mari calendar was named. The significance of her appearance here is not clear.

spoke as follows. Thus she (spoke): ' . . .⁹¹ is [his] *ki*[ng-sh]ip⁹² and the rule is his permanent possession. (15) Why does he keep going up again and again to the family-house?⁹³ Let him guard himself.' Now my lord must not be negligent in guarding himself.

r

Text: G. Dossin, *ARM*, x (*TCL*, xxxi), No. 94. The writer seems to have lived with the king's daughter in the palace of the ruler of Ilansura, a vassalage of Mari. She addresses the king in *ARM*, x, 95 as "the Star," a form of address confined elsewhere to his family, and hence she must have been quite close to the king.

[Speak] to my lord [the Star]: Thus Shibat[um⁹⁴ your maid-servant]. . . .⁹⁵ (rev.) . . . (5') In the dream (it went) thus: A man of [. . .] stepped up and thus he (spoke): "Let the girl, the daughter of . . . pahim. . . , Tagidnate, be sum[moned]." This he said to me. Now, (10') let my lord have the har[us]pex look into the matter, and if this [dr]eam was s[e]n, my lord, have confidence in this girl and let her be summoned. And may the *health* of my lord . . .

s

Text: G. Dossin, *ARM*, x (*TCL*, xxxi), No. 100. Translation: G. Dossin, *La divination*, 84-85. Unfortunately, the identity of the writer of the letter is unknown. This might help explain where and why the god Dagan is so easily accessible to her.

Speak to my lord: Thus . . . nana, your maid-servant. When I lived in Ganibatam,⁹⁶ (5) I sent Kukkimkhiya to Rubben, and on her way they made off with her. But Dagan, your lord, protected me and no one touched me.⁹⁷ Dagan said this to me. Thus he (spoke): (10) "Did you head up (or) down?"⁹⁸ Thus I (spoke): "Down, and I came here and did not find my girl. When (15) my lord went to Andariq, the very image of my girl appeared here with Sammetar, and I went to him and he gave [me] his consent. (20) Again he broke faith with me and did not give me my girl." Dagan said this to me. Thus he (spoke): "Until the time Zimri-Lim frees your girl, no one (25) will release (her) to you." Now, in accordance with the wrath of Dagan, my lord must not detain my girl.

⁹¹ *di-ru-tum*; meaning unknown.

⁹² Reading na-a[m-l] a-a [k-t] a-[šu].

⁹³ Probably the family grave or sanctuary where cult was shown to ancestors.

⁹⁴ Or perhaps Shimatum.

⁹⁵ The obverse, which is badly damaged, does not seem to deal with the subject of the dream except perhaps indirectly. If *šulum* on the last line of the reverse refers to the king's health, and not to greetings from him, then the dream may deal by implication with this subject and perhaps the girl was supposed to be endowed with healing powers.

⁹⁶ A city between Terqa and Emar on the Middle Euphrates; see M. Burke, *RA*, lv (1961), 147-151.

⁹⁷ Since she does not seem to have accompanied the girl, this can only mean that the kidnapers did not come into Ganibatam.

⁹⁸ That is, go north into the Upper Country, or south towards Mari. She seems to have got at least as far as Terqa where this letter seems to have been written.

t

Text: G. Dossin, *ARM*, x (*TCL*, xxxi), No. 117. The identity of the writer of the letter is uncertain.

Speak to Addu-duri, my mistress: Thus Timlu yo[ur] maid-servant. Let it be a sign that at the time of . . . (5) Yar'ib-Abba expelled me from Kasapa⁹⁹ and I cam[e and] said [this] to you. Thus I (spoke): "I had a [dre]am about yo[u, and] (10) in my dr[eam] Annum . . ."¹⁰⁰

u

Text: G. Dossin, *ARM*, x (*TCL*, xxxi), No. 9. The prophet mentioned on the obverse is otherwise unknown. He intervenes, not as the bearer of a revelation, but in his own name and authority; cf. above letter f. The very poor condition of the tablet makes it impossible to determine just what the issue is. On the reverse, which is in no better condition, someone (the prophet of the obverse?) seems to tell of an experience in which he witnessed a meeting of the gods of the circle of Ea. Again the point at issue is most obscure.

Speak to my lord: Thus Shibtu your maid-servant. The palace is safe and sound. (5) Qishti-Diritim, the prophet of Diritum,¹⁰¹ on the second day (of the month) [came] to the gate of the palace [and] sent [t]his message to me. [Thus he (spoke)]: "Before the throne of Ma[ri] (10) no one . . . To Zimri-Lim *ala'itum* has been *gi[ven]*.¹⁰² The lance of the . . ." This is the message [he sent me]. (15) More[over, . . .] (break) (rev.) . . .¹⁰³ (8') [*He spoke*] a word to E[a]. What Asumum¹⁰⁴ [*said to Ea*] I did not hear. He *ar[ose and thus]* he spoke, saying: "[*Before*] we pronounce [the oath], let them¹⁰⁵ take the di[rt] and door-frame of the gate [of Mari] . . ., and then [*let us pronounce*] the oath." (15') They took the dirt and the door-frame of the ga[te] of Mari and they dissolved (them)¹⁰⁶ in water. Then the gods and goddesses drank. Thus (spoke) Ea: "Swear to the gods that [you will not] harm the brickwork or the *commissioner* [of Mari]."¹⁰⁷ The gods and goddesses [swore]: "We will not harm the brickwork or the *commissioner* of Mari."

⁹⁹ A town somewhere to the north of Mari.

¹⁰⁰ Perhaps the god Annum or the beginning of a personal name with Annum the theophoric element. There is one more practically illegible line on the obverse; the reverse is badly preserved and what is legible has no discernible connection with the dream.

¹⁰¹ A goddess of some popularity at Mari; she is named after the city of Der in the east Tigris region, or perhaps a city of the same name close to Mari.

¹⁰² *ala'itum* is unknown; restore *na-a[d-na-at]*?

¹⁰³ Only the first few signs are preserved in lines 1'-7'; in them the subject of the oath is introduced.

¹⁰⁴ An otherwise unknown god, unless he is the same as Us(u)mu, the vizier of Ea.

¹⁰⁵ The identity of the subject is not clear.

¹⁰⁶ Properly, only the dirt is dissolved.

¹⁰⁷ Reading *ana libitti Mari u rabis* [(Ma-ri*) *la-a tu*]-*ga-al-la-lu*.

v

Text: G. Dossin, *ARM*, x (*TCL*, xxxi), No. 53.

[Sp]eak [to] my lord: [Th]us Addu-duri your [maid]-servant. (5) [A pro]phet, Iši-akhu by name, [a]rose in the temple of [Kh]ishametum,¹⁰⁸ and (spoke) thus: "Only your [fo]llowers will eat your [ram and (10) *dri*]n^k your [cu]p. . ."¹⁰⁹ Your [ad]versaries will be . . . [I al]one have trampled them down." (break)

w

Text: G. Dossin, *ARM*, x (*TCL*, xxxi), No. 81. Inibshina was a daughter of Zimri-Lim and dedicated to the god Adad as an *ugbaltu*-priestess.¹¹⁰ The prophetess probably delivered her oracle publicly, though no temple is mentioned. In view of letter n, the god inspiring her was probably Annunitum.

Speak to the Star: Thus Inibshina. Innibana the prophetess (5) arose and spoke as follows, saying: "O Zimri-Lim, the city Sharrakiya (10) [*I shall give* to] its enemies and those [en]circling it. . . (16) I hereby give you my hair and fringe. Let them declare (me) free (of legal claims)."¹¹¹ I now hereby send (20) the hair and the fringe to the Star. Let the Star [have] an omen taken¹¹² so that he may act in accordance with his omens. Let the Star guard himself.

x

Text: G. Dossin, *ARM*, x (*TCL*, xxxi), No. 80. Translation: G. Dossin, *La divination*, 83.

Speak to the Star: Thus Inibshina. Earlier Shelebum the cult-player (5) gave [m]e an oracle and I wrote to you. Now the *qamatum*¹¹³ of Dagan of Terqa came here and spoke as follows. (10) Thus she (spoke): "The peace-moves of the man of Eshnunna are sheer deception. 'Under the straw the water courses,'¹¹⁴ but (15) I am going to gather him into a net which holds fast. I shall put an end to his city, and his property, which from ancient times has [n]ot been destroyed, I shall destroy." (20) This she said to me. Now guard yourself. Without an omen do not enter the city. (25) Here is what I hear: "He keeps moving about by himself." You are not to keep moving about by yourself!

¹⁰⁸ A goddess named after the town of Khishamta between Mari and Terqa.

¹⁰⁹ Reading [*f*]a *wa-ar-ki-ka-ma* [*kar-k*]a *i-ka-lu* [*u k*]a-*as-ka* [*i-ša-a*]-*t-tu-ú* in lines 8-11; lines 12-13 are unintelligible.

¹¹⁰ See J. Renger, *ZA*, LVIII (1967), 148, n. 262.

¹¹¹ This request we understand as implicitly one for the consultation of the haruspex, whose response, she is sure, will confirm her oracle, and thus clear her of the claims symbolized by the hair and fringe.

¹¹² The expression refers to the activity of the haruspex, who examined the liver or other exta.

¹¹³ The term (read *qa-ba-tum*?) is new and from the nature and style of her message she would seem to be a type of prophetess.

¹¹⁴ This is clearly a proverb and its meaning is that one cannot trust appearances, like the flotsam lying so quietly on the surface while underneath flows the current.

Aramaic Letters

TRANSLATOR: H. L. GINSBERG

Assignment to a New Lessor of Land Abandoned in the Egyptian Rebellion of 410 B.C.

This is one of a collection of documents and fragments of documents, written on leather and enclosed in a leather bag, which were acquired by the late Ludwig Borchardt in Egypt. They were first studied by a group of scholars who were living in Berlin in the early 1930's. A typewritten study by those scholars was acquired by the Bodleian Library (Oxford) from Borchardt's executors together with the documents in 1943-44 and was utilized by G. R. Driver, who published them as *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* in 1954 and, in a revised edition, but without the fragments and without the photographic plates, in 1957. This particular letter, numbered VIII by Driver, had meanwhile been published in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*, Cairo, x/2, 113-30, by Murad Kamil, who had had access to a photograph of it.

The sender of the letter, Arsames, was the Persian satrap of Egypt (and of Babylonia and Transeuphrates as well?) in the last two decades of the fifth century B.C. It may have been written less than a year after the rebellion to which it refers, and it probably originated in Babylon, which is named in some of the other letters. Arsames is known (see p. 492a) to have been absent from Egypt during, and for a couple of years after, the rebellion.

(outside)

(1) From Arsames to the officer Nakht-Hor the Comptroller and his colleagues the accountants in Egypt.

(inside)

(1) From Arsames to Nakht-Hor the Comptroller and his colleagues.

Now, Petosiri (as he is called), a *forester*, a servant of mine, has written to me as follows: "In the matter of [my father] Pamun (as he [was called]). When] (2) the rebellion occurred in Egypt, in the course of it my father the said Pamun (as he was called) perished and the² farm occupied by him, measuring a seed requirement³ of 30 ardabs, was abandoned; for our staff⁴ pe[rished] to a man. [Therefore, let them assign] (3) the farm of my father Pamun to me. Take thought on my behalf: let them assign it to me to occupy."

Arsames, therefore, commands thus: If the facts accord with the above statement of Petosiri in his letter to [me concerning] his father the said [Pamun] (4) (as he was called)—if he did perish together with [his] st[aff]⁴ when the rebellion occurred in Egypt, [and] the farm of his father [the said] Pamun, measuring a seed requirement³ of 30 ardabs, was abandoned—and if it has (5) not been (re)joined [to my estate] and assigned by me to another servant of mine, then I hereby assign the farm of the said Pamun to Petosiri. You⁵ for your part advise him (thus): Let him occupy it and let him pay (6) the land-tax to my estate just as it was formerly paid by his father Pamun.

(7) Artohi is cognizant of this order; Rasht is the clerk.

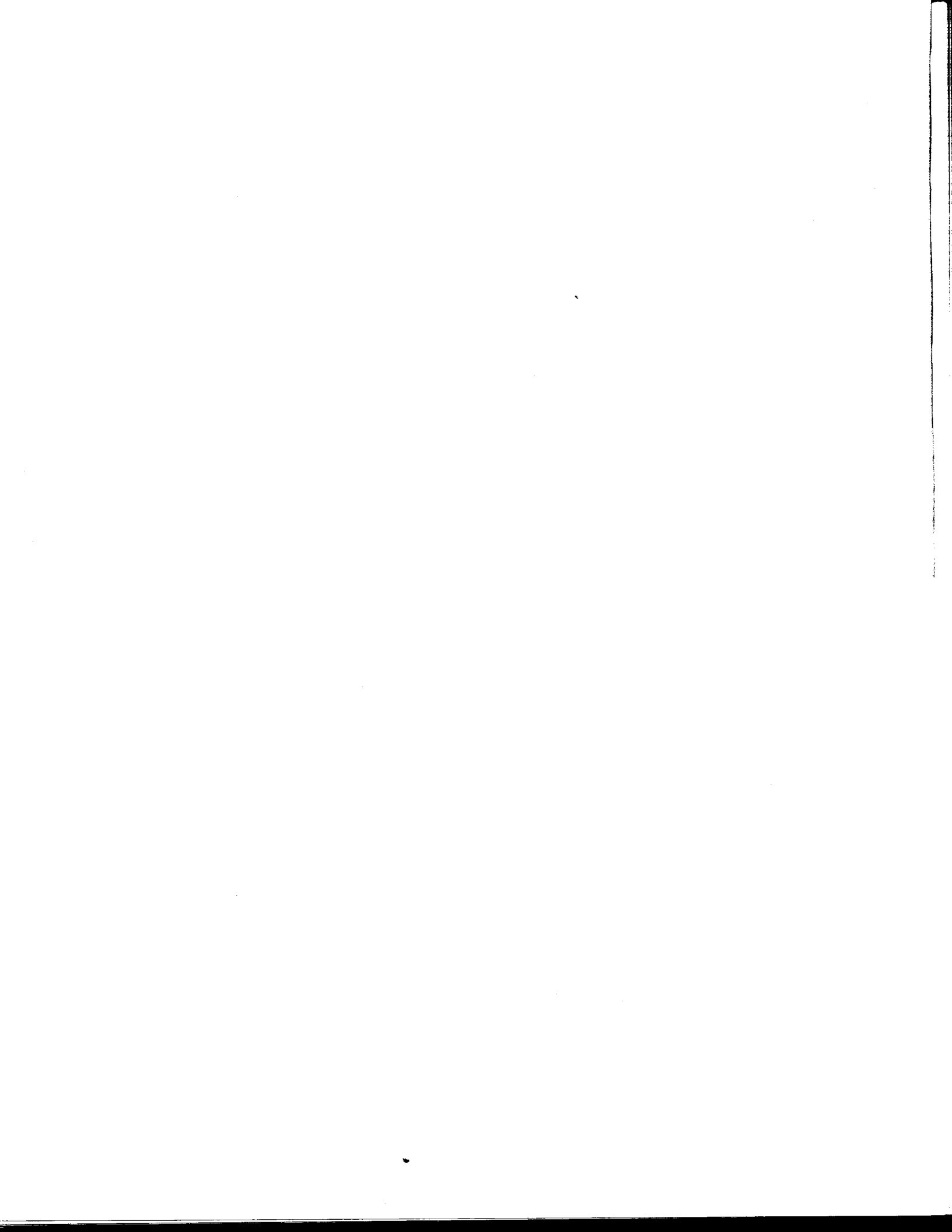
¹ Lit.: "There is."

² Lit.: "his."

³ A conventional manner of indicating acreage, not limited to cultivated land. For Akkadian parallels, see *CAD*, II, 292 b (lowest third), XXI, 92 b-93 a. For biblical parallels, cf. Lev. 27:16; I Ki. 18:32; Isa. 5:10 (*zéra' hōmer*, usually mistranslated as if it were *hōmer zéra'*, can only mean "an area requiring a homer of seed," [so rightly Targum], as in Lev. 27:16). For Roman Palestine, cf. e.g. Mishnah Baba Bathra 7:1-2.

⁴ *Nšy byt-*, the Neo-Babylonian *nišē bitī*, not from the ordinary Aramaic *nšyn*, "women."

⁵ Plural; cf. I. 1.



X. Miscellaneous Texts



Sumerian Sacred Marriage Texts

TRANSLATOR: S. N. KRAMER

Dumuzi and Inanna

PRIDE OF PEDIGREE

This poem, which consists largely of a dialogue between Inanna and Dumuzi, begins with a boastful address by the goddess intended to impress her husband-to-be with the importance of her family for his well-being (lines 1-6). Dumuzi's answer, gentle but firm, is that his family is as good as Inanna's (lines 7-22). But this little quarrel serves only to arouse their passion for each other and they proceed to indulge their love (lines 23-30). There follows a tender and poetic tête-à-tête between the two which seems to further stimulate their love, but the passage is allusive and metaphorical in character, and its meaning is far from clear (lines 31-45).

For text and transliteration, cf. for the present *PAPS*, Vol. 107, No. 6, 1963, pp. 493-95.

"Without my mother, you would be driven into street
(and) . . . -plain,
Young man, without my mother, you would be driven
into street (and) . . . -plain,
Without my mother Ningal, you would be driven into
street (and) . . . -plain,
Without the 'Lady of the Holy Reed' you would be
driven into street (and) . . . -plain,
Without Father Sin, you would be driven into street
(and) . . . -plain,
Without my brother Utu, you would be driven into
street (and) . . . -plain."

"Young lady, do not start a quarrel,
Inanna, let us talk it over,
Inanna, do not start a quarrel,
Ninegalla¹ let us take counsel together. (10)
My father is as good as your father,
Inanna, let us talk it over;
My mother is as good as your mother,
Ninegalla, let us take counsel together;
Geshtinanna is as good as . . . ,²
Inanna, let us talk it over;
I am as good as Utu,
Ninegalla, let us take counsel together;
Enki is as good as Sin,
Inanna, let us talk it over; (20)
Sirtur is as good as Ningal,
Ninegalla, let us take counsel together."

¹ Ninegalla, "queen of the palace" (cf. also lines 14, 18, and 22), is an epithet of Inanna.

² Dumuzi is probably comparing his sister Geshtinanna to Inanna's sister (the name is only partially preserved), although Inanna had not mentioned the latter.

The word they had spoken, it is a word of desire,³
With the starting of a quarrel comes the desire of her
heart.

He of the *shuba*-stones, he of the *shuba*-stones, plows
the *shuba*-stones⁴

Amaushumgalanna, he of the *shuba*-stones, plows the
shuba-stones,

He of the *shuba*-stones . . . ,

He of the *shuba*-stones . . . ,

. . . who fills the water of the roof, fills for her the
water of the roof,

. . . who fills the water of the walls, fills for
her the water of the walls. (30)

[His] wife, [the hierodule], says to Amaushum-
galanna:

"[Plow] the *shuba*-stones, plow the *shuba*-stones, who
(else) will plow them for her?"⁵

Amaushumgalanna, plow the *shuba*-stones, who (else)
will plow them for her?

Of the [*na*]-*shuba*-stones, of the [*na-shuba*-stones], their
small ones on the . . . -face of the *melam*,

Of the [*na-shuba*-stones, of the *na-shuba*-stones], their
large ones are the holy breast of the *melam*."

Amaushumgalanna answers the hierodule:

"Who is a hierodule, my wife who is a hierodule,
Holy Inanna, he who is not . . . will plow them for her."
He of the *na-shuba*-stones, he of the *na-shuba*-stones
plows the *shuba*-stones,

Amaushumgalanna, he of the *na-shuba*-stones
plows the *shuba*-stones. (40)

"Plow the *shuba*-stones, plow the *shuba*-stones,
who (else) will plow them for her?"⁶

Amaushumgalanna, plow the *shuba*-stones, who (else)
will plow them for her?

Of him who was made for me, of him who was made
for me, his beard is lapis lazuli,

Who was made by An for me, his beard is lapis lazuli;
. . . his beard is lapis lazuli, his beard is lapis lazuli."

³ Lines 23 and 24, if the translation is correct, contain what seems to be a proverbial comment on the psychological value of a lover's quarrel.

⁴ The obscure references to plowing the *shuba*-stones in this line and lines 26, 27, 28, 32, 33, 39, 40, 41, and 42 and to the *na-shuba*-stones in lines 33, 34, 35, 39 and 40 are probably metaphorical expressions for sexual intercourse.

⁵ In lines 32, 33, 38, 41, 42 the "her" probably refers to Inanna, although it is the goddess who is speaking, and we might therefore have expected "me" instead.

⁶ Lines 41-45 are all assumed to be part of Inanna's speech and her queries (lines 41-42) therefore remain unanswered by Dumuzi.

It is a *durgar*⁷ of Inanna.

Written with a tablet reed, with a reed.⁸

LOVE IN THE GIPAR

This narrative poem is divided into two stanzas by the rubric *sa-gíd-da-àm* (line 25). The first six lines are quite obscure; the remainder of the first stanza is taken up with a detailed account of Inanna's bedecking the various parts of her body with precious stones, jewels, and ornaments, which she selects from what seems to be a treasure-heap brought to her by a "date-gathering" devotee. The second stanza tells of the meeting between the bejeweled Inanna and Dumuzi in the Eanna of Erech, a meeting which so fills Inanna with desire and passion that she sends a special messenger to her father (no doubt the god Sin) with the request that he (that is, perhaps, her father) make her house "long" so that she and her lover can take their pleasure in it.

For a transliteration and translation of the text which was published in *TRS*, No. 70, cf. *PAPS*, Vol. 107, No. 6, pp. 495-97.

...

Holy Inanna

He who gathers the dates, . . . the date palm,

Who gathers the dates, . . . the date palm for Inanna,

He brought her water, he brought her water, for the seed, the black,

He brought Inanna a *heap* (of precious stones) *by* the water for the seed, the white.

He brought her, he brought her, he brought her a heap of (precious) stones to pick from,

He brought the maid Inanna, he brought her a heap of (precious) stones to pick from,

Of the heap—he gathers the lapis lazuli (stones) onto its "breast,"

Of the heap, for Inanna he gathers the lapis lazuli (stones) onto its "breast." (10)

She picks the buttocks-stones, puts them on her buttocks,

Inanna picks the head-stones, puts them on her head, She picks the *duru*-lapis lazuli stones, puts them on her nape,

She picks *ribbons*¹ of gold, puts them in her hair of the head,

She picks the narrow gold earrings, puts them on her ears,

She picks the bronze eardrops,² puts them on her earlobes,

She picks "that which drips honey," puts it on her face, She picks "that which *covers* the princely house," puts it on her nose,³

⁷ For the *durgar* genre of poetic compositions cf. line 620 of Proto Lú, Landsberger manuscript as completed by M. Civil.

⁸ The subscription contained in line 47 is unique, as far as I know.

¹ "Ribbons" attempts to render *níg-sal-la*, perhaps literally "narrow things."

² "Eardrops" attempts to render *ág-su-ub-a-g-a*, "that which presses."

³ The objects mentioned in lines 18 and 19 cannot be identified from the literal meaning of the descriptive phrases used for them.

She picks "the house which . . .," puts it on her . . . , She picks cypress (and) boxwood, the lovely wood, puts them on her navel, (20)

She picks a sweet "honey well," puts it about her loins,

She picks bright alabaster, puts it on her anus,

She picks black . . . willow, puts it on her vulva,

She picks ornate sandals, puts them on her feet.

It is a *sagidda*.

For whom the heap of lapis lazuli stones had been gathered—the *en* met her,

Inanna for whom the heap of lapis lazuli stones had been gathered—Dumuzi met her,

In the "*navel* of heaven," the house of Enlil, the *en* met her,

In the Eanna, Enlil's herdsman Dumuzi met her,

Who was standing at the lapis lazuli door of the *gipar*—the *en* met her, (30)

Who was standing by the *narrow* door of the storehouse of Eanna—Dumuzi met her.

When to the "breast" of the heap she returned them,⁴

When Inanna, to the "breast" of the heap, she returned them,

The woman . . . her *ilulamma*-song.

The maid, singing, sent a messenger to her father,

Inanna, dancing, sent a messenger to her father:

"My *house*,⁵ my *house*, let him make it 'long' for me, I the queen—my *house*, my *house* let him make it 'long'

for me,

My *gipar-house* let him make it 'long' for me,

The people will set up my fruitful bed, (40)

They will cover it with plants (the color of) *duru*-lapis lazuli,

I will bring there my sweetheart,

I will bring there Amaushumgalanna,

He will put his hand by my hand,

He will put his heart by my heart,

His putting of hand to hand—its *sleep* is so refreshing,

His pressing of heart to heart—its pleasure is so sweet."

COURTING, MARRIAGE, AND HONEYMOON

The text was published in *SLTN*, No. 35; the transliteration, translation, and a very brief commentary were published in *PAPS*, Vol. 107, No. 6, pp. 497-99.

(The beginning of this Dumuzi-Inanna myth is fragmentary, and little can be made of its contents; it seems to begin with an account of a marriage ceremony, and continues with an address of obscure meaning in the Emesal dialect by a female deity, presumably Inanna. The narrative seems to begin again with col. i 20, but

⁴ The meaning of lines 32 and 33 is obscure.

⁵ The rendering "house" (lines 37 ff.) assumes that *m* is a variant reading for *gá*, a synonym of *é* "house."

it is not until line 25 that the text becomes intelligible, we then learn that Dumuzi has come to Inanna's house with gifts of fat, milk, and beer, and pleads for admittance [col. i 25-31].)

The shepherd carried fat *by* hand,
 Dumuzi carried fat (and) milk at the side,
 He carried fat (and) milk in small pitchers at the side,
 He carried milk (and) beer in . . . at the side,
 M[y lord] speaks by the house,
 Dumuzi . . . :
 "Open the [house], my queen, [open] the house. . . ."

(Following a break of uncertain size, we find Inanna going for advice to her mother who urges her strongly to "open the house" for Dumuzi since he will be like a father and mother to her [col. ii 1-11]. Whereupon Inanna prepared herself to meet Dumuzi as befits a Sumerian queenly bride, washing, anointing and bedecking herself, and not failing to take along her dowry and seal [col. ii 12-17]; she opens the door for Dumuzi and they embrace and cohabit [col. ii 18-22].)

The hierodule . . .
 Directed her feet to the mother who gave birth to her.
 "Your . . . ,
 Lo, the *youth* . . . ,
 L[o, the you]th . . . ,
 Lo, the [youth], he . . . for you,
 Lo, the youth, he is your father,
 Lo, the youth, he is your mother,
 His mother has . . . like your mother,
 His father has . . . you like your father, (10)
 Open the house, my queen, open the house."
 Inanna, at the command of her mother,
 Bathed, anointed herself with goodly oil,
 Covered her body with the noble *pala*-garment,
 Took . . . , her dowry,
 Arranged the lapis lazuli about (her) neck,
 Grasped (her) seal in her hand.

The lady directed her step,
 Opened the door *for* Dumuzi,
 In the house she came forth to him like the light
 of the moon, (20)
 Gazed at him, rejoiced for him,
 Embraced him

(Following another break in the text we find Dumuzi addressing Inanna and inviting her to accompany him to his god's house where she will be treated with great honor [col. iii 8-13].)

The shepherd Dumuzi says to his wife:
 "My wife, . . . his coming forth
 Inanna, . . . the house of my god,
 I will bring you to the house of my god,

You will lie before my god,
 You, *Inanna* will sit at the seat of honor of my god."

(What follows then is entirely obscure since the remainder of col. iii and much of col. iv are largely destroyed, except for a passage in which Dumuzi is addressing some individual or deity whom he is placing in charge over a city described as an "assembly" city, with instructions to refrain from certain actions (presumably) harmful to his wife, [col. iv 6-17].)

It is an [assembly city], your city is an assembly city,
 I have put you in charge over the assembly *city*,
 Your city . . . it is an assembly city,
 I have put you in charge . . . ,
 I did not put my mother . . . in charge of it,
 I did not put [my] brother . . . in charge of it,
 I did not put my sister Geshtinanna in charge of it,
 It is you . . . whom I have put in charge of it.
 Do not lay a hand on my wife,
 Do not . . . ,
 Do not build . . . ,
 Do not . . . ,

THE ECSTASY OF LOVE

The formal structure of this tender and ardent love song is rather unusual. It consists of two soliloquies by the goddess separated from each other by a brief tête-à-tête between the goddess and her lover Dumuzi; the first soliloquy and its ensuing tête-à-tête make up the first stanza, designated by the scribe as a *sagidda*, while the second soliloquy takes up the entire second stanza, designated by the scribe as a *sagarra*. In Inanna's first soliloquy (obv. lines 1-8), the goddess relates that one night, while she was innocently singing and dancing about, presumably in heaven, Dumuzi met her, held her hand, and embraced her. There follows a brief dialogue between them consisting of Inanna's plea (obv. lines 9-12) to Dumuzi to let go of her since on coming home she will have to deceive her mother and she does not know how, and Dumuzi's suggestion (obv. lines 13-22) to tell her mother that she whiled away the hours with a girl friend in the public square, an excuse that will enable them to spend the night making love by the moonlight. The extant part of Inanna's second soliloquy which is rather elliptical and allusive, begins with an exulting pronouncement of her arrival at the "gate" of her mother Ningal accompanied by Dumuzi who "will say the word" to her, that is, no doubt, ask for her daughter's hand (rev. lines 4-13); it concludes with an ecstatic eulogy of her husband-to-be and the fertility insured by their sacred marriage (rev. lines 14-21).

For a transliteration and translation of the text which was published in *TuMNF*, III, No. 25, cf. *PAPS*, Vol. 107, No. 6, pp. 499-501.

(obverse)

Last night, as I, the queen, was shining bright,
 Last night, as I, the queen of heaven, was shining bright,
 As I was shining bright, as I was dancing about,
 As I was uttering a song at the brightening of the
oncoming night,
 He met me, he met me,
 The Lord Kuli-Anna¹ met me,

¹ Starting with this line, we find Dumuzi called by different names,

The lord put his hand into my hand,
Ushumgalanna embraced me.

"Come now,² wild bull, set me free, I must go home,
Kuli-Enlil, set me free, I must go home, (10)
What shall I say to deceive my mother!
What shall I say to deceive my mother Ningal!"

"Let me inform you, let me inform you.
Inanna, most deceitful of women, let me inform you:³
'My girl friend took me with her to the public square,
She *entertained me* there with *music* and dancing,⁴
Her chant, the sweet, she sang for me.
In sweet rejoicing I whiled away the time there—
Thus deceitfully stand up to your mother,
While we by the moonlight indulge (our) passion,⁵ (20)
I will [prepare] for you a bed pure, sweet, (and)
noble,
Will while away the sweet *time* with you in joyful
fulfillment."

It is a *sagidda*.

(remainder of the obverse and first three lines of reverse destroyed)

(reverse)

I have come to our⁶ mother's gate,
I, in joy I walk,
I have come to Ningal's gate,
I, in joy I walk.
To my mother he will say the word,
He will sprinkle cypress oil on the ground,
To my mother Ningal he will say the word, (10)
He will sprinkle cypress oil on the ground,
He whose dwelling is fragrant,
Whose word brings deep joy.

My lord is seemly *for* the holy lap,
Amaushumgalanna, the son-in-law of Sin,
The lord Dumuzi is seemly *for* the holy lap,
Amaushumgalanna, the son-in-law of Sin.
My lord, sweet is your increase,
Tasty your plants (and) herbs in the plain,
Amaushumgalanna, sweet is your increase, (20)
Tasty your plants (and) herbs in the plain.

It is a *sagarra*. A *tigi*-song of Inanna.

thus: Kuli-Anna (line 6), Ushumgalanna (line 8), Kuli-Enlil (line 10), and Amaushumgalanna (lines 15, 17, 20).

² "Come now" for me - a is a guess based on the context.

³ To judge from this line Inanna had a long-standing reputation for deceit, a fact which might be surmised from Gilgamesh's characterization of the goddess in Tablet VI of the Akkadian Epic of Gilgamesh.

⁴ The meaning of this line is quite uncertain and the translation is highly dubious.

⁵ "Indulge (our) passion" attempts to render e - n e - s ù - u d - b i - d a - e, a complex (or perhaps two complexes) which is difficult to analyze grammatically.

⁶ It is difficult to see why the poet uses - m e, "our," instead of - m u, "mine."

Inanna and the King

BLESSING ON THE WEDDING NIGHT

This poem is an epithalamion in the Emesal dialect which is in some respects a companion piece to the last stanza of the Inanna hymn that celebrates the *hieros-gamos* between King Iddin-Dagan and the goddess. The poet begins with an address, probably to the goddess Inanna, informing her that Gibil had purified for her "the great shrine" in her Eanna temple, and that the king had erected an altar and carried out the lustration rites for her (col. i 1-12); this is followed by a prayer that in the evening when "the day had gone to sleep," and it was time for the goddess "to caress the lord" in the favored sleeping place, she should give the king life and the staff and crook (col. i lines 13-17). The poet then sings of the preparation of the "sleeping place" of kingship and queenship which "rejoices the heart" and "sweetens the lap" (col. i lines 18-31). After a break we find Inanna speaking to the king(?) "words of life, words of long days" (col. ii lines 1-3). Following which Ninshubur takes him by his right forearm(?), leads him to Inanna's lap, and asks her to bless him with everything essential for the well-being of the king and his people: a good reign, a firmly founded throne, a well-governing scepter, a staff and crook for the control of Sumer and Akkad and the lands beyond (col. ii lines 4-18); she should grant him, too, that "he (the king) like a farmer set the fields in order, like a faithful shepherd multiply the sheepfolds" (col. ii lines 19-20); and that under his reign, the land should have all it need: plants and grains, overflow by the rivers, late grain in the fields, fish and birds in the marshes, fresh and mature reeds in the canebrake, *mashgur*-trees in the plains, deer and wild-goats in the forest, honey and wine in the well-watered gardens, vegetables in the trenches (between the furrows), long life in the palace, high water brought by the Tigris and Euphrates to make verdant their banks and watered acres, grain heaps and mounds piled high by the goddess Nidaba (col. ii line 18-col. iii line 4). Following a further request by Ninshubur that the king be allowed to spend a long time in Inanna's lap (col. iii lines 5-6), the king proceeds with "lifted head" to the lap of Inanna and is embraced by her (col. iii lines 7-12).

The text of this composition was published in *CT*, XII, No. 4. The transliteration and translation by the writer is published in *PAPS*, Vol. 107, No. 6, pp. 501-03.

(col. i)

" . . . ,
Of the house of Eridu—its guidance,
Of the house of Sin—its radiance,
Of the Eanna—its *habitation*;
The house—it has been presented (to you).
(In) my enduring house which floats like a cloud,
(Whose) name in truth, is a goodly vision,
(Where) a fruitful bed, lapis-bedecked,
Gibil had purified for you in the great shrine,
He who is well-suited for 'queenship,' (10)
The lord has *erected* his *altar*,
In his *reed-filled* house which he has purified for you,
he performs your rites.

The sun has gone to sleep, the day has *passed*,
As in bed you gaze (lovingly) upon him,
As you caress the lord,
Give life unto the lord,
Give the staff and crook unto the lord."

She craves it, she craves it, she craves the bed,
 She craves the bed of the rejoicing heart, she craves
 the bed,
 She craves the bed of the sweet lap, she craves
 the bed, (20)
 She craves the bed of kingship, she craves the
 bed,
 She craves the bed of queenship, she craves the bed.
 By his sweet, by his sweet, by his sweet bed,
 By his sweet bed of the rejoicing heart, by his sweet
 bed,
 By his sweet bed of the sweet lap, by his sweet bed,
 By his sweet bed of kingship, by his sweet bed,
 By his sweet bed of queenship, by his sweet bed,
 He covers [the bed] . . . for her, covers the bed for her,
 He covers [the bed] . . . for her, covers the bed
 for her. (30-31)

(col. ii)

[To] the k[ing] . . . ,
 The *beloved* speaks on his sweet bed,
 Speaks to him words of life, words of "long days."

Ninshubur, the trustworthy vizier of the Eanna,
 Took him by his right *forearm*,
 Brought him blissfully to the lap of Inanna:
 "May the lord whom you have called to (your) heart,
 The king, your beloved husband, enjoy long days at your
 holy lap, the sweet,
 Give him a reign favorable (and) glorious,
 Give him the throne of kingship on its enduring
 foundation, (10)
 Give him the people-directing scepter, the staff
 (and) the crook,
 Give him an enduring crown, a diadem which *ennobles*
 the head,
 From (where) the sun rises, to (where) the sun sets,
 From south to north,
 From the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea,
 From (where grows) the *halub*-tree to (where grows)
 the cedar,
 Over all Sumer and Akkad give him the staff (and)
 the crook,
 May he exercise the shepherdship of the blackheads
 (wherever) they dwell,
 May he make productive the fields like the farmer,
 May he multiply the sheepfolds like a trustworthy
 shepherd. (20)

Under his reign may there be plants, may there be
 grain,
 At the river, may there be overflow,
 In the field may there be late-grain,
 In the marshland may the fish (and) birds make much
chatter,

In the canebrake may the 'old' reeds, the young reeds
 grow high,
 In the steppe may the *mashgur*-trees grow high,
 In the forests may the deer and the wild goats multiply,
 May the watered garden produce honey (and) wine,
 In the trenches may the lettuce and cress grow high,
 In the palace may there be long life, (30)

(col. iii)

Into the Tigris and Euphrates may flood water be
 brought,
 On their banks may the grass grow high, may the
 meadows be covered,
 May the holy queen of vegetation pile high the grain
 heaps and mounds,
 Oh my queen, queen of the universe, the queen who
 encompasses the universe,
 May he enjoy long days [at your holy] lap."

The king goes with lifted head [to the holy lap],
 He goes with lifted head to [the holy] lap [of Inanna],
 The king going with [lifted head],
 Going to my queen with lifted head, (10)
 From . . . ,
 Embraces the hierodule

Dumuzi and Inanna

PRAYER FOR WATER AND BREAD

This rather obscure and heterogeneous composition designated as a *sir-nam-šub inanna-kam*,¹ is divided into four sections of uneven length. In the first, which consists entirely of a monologue by Inanna (lines 1-18), the goddess speaks of journeying to the Abzu, and to Eridu and its shrines and gods, bringing with her animals and trees. The second section, too, is a monologue by Inanna (lines 19-35), in it the goddess tells of her bringing water (probably) to the marshland, and boasts of her prowess in battle and of uttering a challenge to Utu, Nanna, and Sud. The third section (lines 36-47) seems to be a narrative passage concerned primarily with the Euphrates, whither Enki, Damgalnunna and Asarluhi had gone, presumably with Inanna, and where Enlil was eating and drinking.² The fourth section (lines 48-77), obscure as it is, is of significance for the Dumuzi-Inanna marriage ceremony. Following what seems to be a brief soliloquy by Inanna, concerned with the preparation of a marriage bed, presumably by the king (lines 48-51), the "linen wearers" address the king, before whom food and drink had been placed, as Dumuzi, announce to him in riddle-like phrases the presence of Inanna, and invite him to approach the goddess, as well as the place in the *kur*-shrine where Enlil seems to have been stationed (lines 52-65). Inanna then seems to pronounce a prayer for the life and rule of the king (lines 66-69). The composition closes with a plea to Inanna, perhaps by the king himself, to give him her breast from which he will drink as a symbol of the fertility of the land (lines 70-77).³

¹ For this rubric cf. Falkenstein, *ZA*, XLIX, 86, note 4.

² The real meaning and implication of this section are quite obscure, and it is difficult to relate it to what precedes and follows.

³ The assumed shift of speakers in this passage (Inanna for lines 48-51, the "linen-weavers" for lines 56-65, Inanna for lines 66-69, the king for lines 70-77) is far from assured.

The text has been published in *CT*, xvii, No. 13; the transliteration and translation are published in *PAPS*, Vol. 107, No. 6, pp. 503-05.

When I proceeded, when I proceeded,
 . . . ,
 When I, the queen, proceeded to the Abzu,
 When I, the queen of heaven, proceeded to the Abzu,
 When I proceeded to the Abzu, the princely house,
 When I proceeded to Eridu, the goodly,
 When I proceeded to the *E-Engurra*,
 When I proceeded to Enlil's house, Eanna,⁴
 When I proceeded to . . . ,
 When I proceeded to the large jars reaching
 heavenward, (10)
 When I proceeded to the . . . jars . . . by the
 pure . . . ,
 When I proceeded to the . . . ,
 When I proceeded to Enki who . . . ,
 When I proceeded to Damgalnunna who . . . ,
 When I proceeded to Asarluhi who . . . ,
 I brought along a dog, brought along a *lion*,
 I brought along boxwood, brought along *halub*-wood,
 I, the queen of heaven *took along* the light winds.

When I go forward, when I go forward,
 As one who brings forth water, I come, as one who
 brings forth water, I come. (20)
 [I] the queen, as I proceed to the marshland,
 Of the marshland as its . . . , I come.
 When I proceeded to the "mouth" of the battle,
 As one who brings forth its brightest light, I come.
 When I proceeded to the front of the battle,
 As one who brings forth its brightest light, I come.
 When I take my stand at the rear of the battle,
 As one who . . . , I come.
 When I enter Enlil's house,
 As its outstanding "woman of the *kur*," I come. (30)
 I uttered angry words against the foreign lands,
 Seated my husband before me,
 Uttered a challenge *in* the house of the *gods*,
 Uttered a challenge against Utu, against Nanna,
 Uttered a challenge against Sud

The river, the river—good like the vast river, like the
 . . . , good like the city—there is nothing so good,
 The river, the princely river—(good) like the vast river,
 The river, the Euphrates—(good) like the vast river
 The . . . of the Euphrates—(good) like the vast
 river, (40)
 . . . ,
 . . . who . . . *like* . . . ,
 Good like the . . . , good like the city, there is nothing
 as good,

⁴ The Eanna of Enlil seems to refer to a shrine located in Eridu, not in Erech.

Like when Enki, the wild bull of Eridu has come with
 her,
 [Like] when the queen of the noble house, Damgal-
 nunna has come with her,
 Like when Asarluhi the son of Eridu has come,
 Like when Enlil has eaten, has drunk,
 Good like the . . . , good like the city—there is nothing
 so good.
 ". . . is *in* my heart,
 (When I had proceeded) to the . . . ,
 (When I had proceeded) to the . . . , (50)
 Its lord prepared a *fresh* fruitful bed in the midst
 of the house."

In Eanna the "linen-wearers" prepared an altar for him,
 Water was placed (there) for the lord, they speak to him,
 Bread was placed (there), they speak to him,
 He was refreshed in the palace, they speak to him:
 "Dumuzi, radiant, in the palace (and) on earth,
 Mother Inanna, mother Inanna, your (treasure) heap,
 your (treasure) heap,
 Mother Inanna, goddess of heaven, your garment, your
 garment,
 Your black garment, your white garment,
 Oh my lord who has come to the house—approach
 her, (60)
 Approach her with a chant, a heart (moving)
 melody,
 Approach their . . . , the . . . where they are seated,
 Approach their place, the place where they are standing,
 (Where) they have stationed, they have stationed,
 (Where) they have stationed Enlil in the Kiur."

"Oh wild bull, 'eye' of the land,
 I would *fulfill* all its *needs*,
 Would make its lord carry out justice in the princely
 house,
 Would make its seed . . . justice in the palace."

"Oh lady, your breast is your field, (70)
 Inanna, your breast is your field,
 Your wide field which 'pours out' plants,
 Your wide field which 'pours out' grain,
 Water flowing from on high—(for) the lord—bread
 from on high,
 Water flowing, flowing from on high—(for) the lord—
 bread, bread from on high,
 [Pour] out for the 'commanded' lord,
 I will drink it from you."

A *nam-sub*-song of Inanna.

PROSPERITY IN THE PALACE

The contents of this myth, inscribed on a four-column tablet of which little more than half is preserved, may be tentatively sketched as follows: The text begins with a long monologue by

Inanna in which, following a fragmentary, obscure passage (col. i lines 1-21), she proceeds to recount her appointment of Dumuzi to the "godship" of Sumer, her bridal preparations for the ensuing marriage, and the singing and rejoicing which accompanied their union (col. i line 22-col. ii line 9). The text as well as the transliteration and the translation was published in *PAPS*, Vol. 107, No. 6, pp. 505-08.

(col. i)

"I gazed on all the people,
Called Dumuzi to the godship of the Land.
Dumuzi, the beloved of Enlil,
My mother holds ever dear,
My father *exalts* him.
I bathed, scoured myself with soap,
(And) after putting a linen cloth over the (freshly)
bathed *skin*,
I arranged my garments as the garments of power,
I make fast for him the noble *pala*-garment, (30)
... ,
Toward the . . . ,
...
... "

(col. ii)

The *queen* . . . ,
. . . the *house* . . . lapis lazuli . . . ,
My *house* (and) shrine in *prayer* . . . ,
In holy prayer, . . . ,
I am . . . the queen of heaven,
The *gala* chants there (his) song,
The singer brings (his) . . . hymn,
The bridegroom [rejoices] by my side,
The wild bull Dumuzi [rejoices] by my side."

(The text continues with a brief and fragmentary narrative passage ending with a statement by the poet that Inanna composed a song to her vulva [col. ii lines 10-17]).

Who has . . . , (10)
The little . . . ,
. . . Nippur . . . ,
. . . the son of . . . ,
The . . . , the queen . . . *exalts* him],
The *gala* [chants there] (his) song,
Inanna *exalts* him,
[Composes] a song about her vulva:

(The song itself follows: Inanna compares her vulva to, among other things, fallow land, a field, and a hillock, and ends by asking who will plow it for her [col. ii lines 18-28]).

"The vulva it is . . . ,
Like a horn it . . . at the large wagon,
It is the 'Boat of Heaven,' fastening ropes . . . , (20)
Like the new crescent, passion . . . ,
It is fallow land, in the plain . . . ,
It is a *field*, which the *uz*-bird . . . the *uz*-bird,

It is a *high field*, my . . . ,
As for *me*, my vulva is a . . . hillock, —for *me*,
I, the maid, who will be its plower?
My vulva is . . . wet ground for *me*,
I, the queen, who will station there the ox?"

(To this query comes the answer given probably by Dumuzi himself, that it is he, the king Dumuzi, who will plow it for her, and, accordingly, in the very next line Inanna urges him to do so [col. ii lines 29-31]).

"Lady, the king will plow it for you,
Dumuzi, the king, will plow it for you."
"Plow my vulva, my sweetheart."

(Following another fragmentary passage pertaining to the sexual union of the couple comes a detailed description of the ensuing vegetation [col. ii line 31-col. iii line 11]).

[Inanna] bathed (her) holy lap,
The queen of the palace, the holy . . . ,

(about 11 lines destroyed)

(col. iii)

At the lap of the king, the high-standing cedar . . . ,
The plants stood high by (his) side, the grain stood high
by (his) side, (10)
The . . . garden flourished luxuriantly by his side.

(After which, Inanna, now dwelling joyfully by Dumuzi's side in the palace, "the house of life," utters a plea to the king to supply her with rich fresh milk, cheese, and cream, and makes him the reassuring promise, reiterated again and again, that she will watch over and preserve the palace and its prosperity [col. iii line 12-col. iv line 18]).

(col. iii)

In the house of life, the house of the king,
His wife dwelt by (his) side in joy,
In the house of life, the house of the king,
Inanna dwelt by (his) side in joy.
Inanna rejoicing in his house,
Utters a plea to the king:
"Make yellow the milk for me, my bridegroom, make
yellow the milk [for me],
My bridegroom, I will [drink] with you the fresh milk.
Wild bull Dumuzi, make yellow the milk for me, (20)
My bridegroom, I will [drink with you] the *fresh* milk.
The milk of the goat [make *flow* in] the sheepfold
for me,
With the . . . cheese *fill* my holy churn,
Dumuzi, the milk . . . , the . . . 'cheese of heaven,'
Of the . . . 'cheese of heaven,' its milk . . . ,
Its cream is good beer . . . ,
Lord Dumuzi, I will [drink] with you the *fresh* milk.

My husband, the goodly storehouse, the *sheepfold* . . . ,
 I, Inanna, will preserve for you,
 I will [watch] over your house of life. (30)
 The brilliant, the place which enraptures the Land,
 The house where the fate of all the lands is decreed,
 Where the breath of life is ordained for the people,
 I, the queen of the palace, will preserve it for you,
 I will watch over your house of life.
 The house of life, the storehouse which gives long life,

(col. iv)

[I, Inanna will] preserve [for you],
 [I will watch over your house of life.]”

(four lines destroyed)

The heart . . . ,
 The house . . . ,
 Ningal speaks up with authority (saying):
 “I will give you life unto distant days;
 Dumuzi, the desire and love of Inanna,
 I will preserve it for you,
 I will watch over your house of life.
 The house whose awesomeness covers the land,
 The house in whose midst are the holy rites,
 The house whose . . . are most becoming,
 . . . with cream, beer, cheese, (and) fat,
 . . . I will station for you there.” (10)

(The myth ends with what is probably a narrative passage, but the text is fragmentary and unintelligible.)

“Lettuce Is My Hair”

A LOVE-SONG FOR SHU-SIN

This text consists of a song purportedly chanted by a *lukur*-priestess¹ in connection with the *hieros-gamos* between Shu-Sin, in the role of Dumuzi, and the goddess Inanna, whom she may have represented in the ceremony.² The hierodule first sings of her lettuce³-like hair that seemed to have been especially set for the occasion (lines 1-8). She then sings of her coming before Shu-Sin, himself,⁴ but unfortunately this passage is largely destroyed (lines 9 ff.). She concludes with an ecstatic and loving invocation of the king ending in a wishful blessing for his life (lines 18-22).⁵

The text, transliteration and translation have been published in *PAPS*, Vol. 107, No. 6, p. 508 and Fig. 5.

My hair is lettuce, [*planted*] by the water,
 It is *gukkal*-lettuce, [*planted*] by the water,
 Its . . . is . . . ,
 My nurse has . . . high,

¹ For this priestess, cf. the introduction to “Love Song to a King,” p. 496.

² For the *hieros-gamos* ceremony, cf. *PAPS*, Vol. 107, No. 6, pp. 489-90.

³ The comparison of hair with lettuce may have had “fertility” significance.

⁴ Note the designation of Shu-Sin, the husband-to-be as “brother.”

⁵ Note the rather extravagant imagery in the description of Shu-Sin as “silver (and) lapis lazuli” (line 19).

Has made my hair *into* a . . . ,
 Has piled up its small *locks*,
 My *attendant* arranges it,
 The *attendant* (arranges) my hair which is lettuce, the
 most favored of plants.
 The brother brought me into his life-giving *gaze*,
 Shu-Sin has called me to (his) refreshing . . . , (10)
 . . . without [*end*],

(about 5 lines destroyed)

You are our lord, you are our lord,
 Silver (and) lapis lazuli—you are our lord,
 Farmer who makes the grain stand high,—you are our
 lord, (20)
 For him who is the honey of my eye, who is the lettuce
 of my heart,
 May the days of life come forth, [may] my Shu-Sin. . . .
 It is a *balbale* of Inanna.

“Life Is Your Coming”

THE KING AS BROTHER AND SON-IN-LAW

This poem seems to be a song chanted by a chorus of *lukur*-priestesses to Shu-Sin,¹ probably on the occasion of a *hieros-gamos* celebration. It begins with a passage consisting primarily of a series of epithets of the king, some of which, such as “the *ensi* of the *magur*-boat,” and “the *nubanda* of the chariot,” are rather unusual and unexpected (lines 1-12). The remainder of the song (lines 13-16) is a jubilant invocation to the king as the bridegroom bringing life and abundance to the “house.”

The texts from which this poem was pieced together were published in *UET*, vi, Part 2, No. 122, and in *PAPS*, Vol. 107, No. 6, Figs. 5 and 9; the transliteration and translation were published in *PAPS*, Vol. 107, No. 6, p. 510.

. . . .
 The *heart* of . . . ,
 You are our brother, [you are our] . . . ,
 [You are] the . . . brother of the palace,
 You are our *ensi*² of the *magur*-boat,
 You are our *nubanda*³ of the chariot,
 You are our . . . of the . . . chariot,
 You are our city father and judge,
 You are the son-in-law of our father,
 Brother, you are the son-in-law of our father⁴ (10)
 You are our most prominent of the sons-in-law,
 Our mother⁵ provides you with all that is good.
 Your coming is life,
 Your entering the house is abundance,

¹ Note, however, that the king’s name is not mentioned in the text.

² The title *ensi* usually refers to the governor of a city.

³ The title *nubanda* usually designates a high palace official.

⁴ “Father” in this and the following line may refer to the god Nanna-Sin, if the singers are speaking for Inanna, who was his daughter.

⁵ “Our mother” may refer to Ningal, the wife of Nanna-Sin, and mother of Inanna.

Lying with you is the greatest joy,
My sweet
It is a *balbale* of Inanna.

“Set Me Free, My Sister”

THE SATED LOVER

“The Honey-man”

LOVE-SONG TO A KING

This song, too,¹ was no doubt chanted by a *lukur*-priestess² in connection with the *hieros-gamos*, although the name of the participating king is not mentioned in the text. Instead, he is described in sensuous, concrete, fertility imagery: he is lettuce planted by the water, a well-stocked garden, luxuriant grain in the furrow, a fruit-bearing apple tree, and above all, a “honey-man” who sweetens her body, or rather that of the goddess Inanna whom she represents. Structurally, the poem may be divided into three parts: (1) an initial four-line strophe characterized by “vegetation” symbolism and an identical refrain for three of its lines; (2) a four-line “honeyman” strophe with an identical refrain for three of its lines; (3) a summary two-line strophe ending in the refrain characteristic of the first strophe.

The text was pieced together from tablets published in *TRS*, xv, No. 20, and *UET*, vi, Part 1, No. 121. A transliteration and translation were published in *PAPS*, Vol. 107, No. 6, pp. 508-09.

He has *sprouted*, he has *burgeoned*, he is lettuce *planted*
by the water,

My well-stocked garden of the . . . plain, my favored of
the *womb*,

My grain luxuriant in its furrow—he is lettuce *planted*
by the water,

My apple tree which bears fruit up to (its) top—he is
lettuce *planted* by the water.

The “honey-man,” the “honey-man” sweetens me ever,
My lord, the “honey-man” of the gods, my favored of
the *womb*,

Whose hand is honey, whose foot is honey, sweetens me
ever.

Whose limbs are honey sweet, sweetens me ever.

My sweetener of the . . . *navel*, [my favored of the
womb],

My . . . of the fair thighs, he is lettuce [*planted* by the
water]. (10)

It is a *balbale* of Inanna.³

¹ cf. “Lettuce is my Hair: A Love-Song for Shu-Sin,” p. 644.

² Note, however, the rather surprising fact that it is not written in the Emesal dialect.

³ The text actually reads “they are two *balbale* of Inanna,” since one of the tablets was inscribed with another poem (not translated here).

As far as can be determined at present, the extant part of this poem consists of several speeches. Lines 21-22 end an address to Inanna by some female deity¹ informing her of some of the virtues and prerogatives presented to her. This is followed by a soliloquy on the part of Inanna reminiscent of “Inanna and Dumuzi: The Ecstasy of Love”² in which she chants of meeting her beloved, further designated here as “brother,” and “my brother of fairest face,”³ and uniting with him in love so much so that he became “sated” (lines 23-34). The remainder of the poem (lines 35-38) consists of the lover’s plea to Inanna, to “set him free,” so that he can return with her to the palace where she will be treated as a “young daughter” by the father.⁴

A transliteration and translation of the poem, as well as the texts on which it is based, were published in *PAPS*, Vol. 107, No. 6, pp. 509-10, and Figs. 6, 7, and 8.

“ . . . , sweet allure,

My holy Inanna, I presented to you.”

“As . . . the beloved of my eye,

My beloved met me,

Took his pleasure of me, rejoiced *together* with me.

The brother brought me to his house

Made me lie on its . . . honey bed,

My precious sweet, having lain by my heart,

In unison, the ‘tongue-making’ in unison,

My brother of fairest face, made 50 times. (30)

I . . . for him like a *weakling*,

I set it up for him in the . . . together with . . . from the
earth,

My brother who . . . in his anger,

My precious sweet is sated with me.”

“Set me free, my sister, set me free,

Come, my beloved sister, I would go to the palace,

You will be a little daughter before my father,

I will set free for you”

It is a *balbale* of Inanna.

¹ Judging from the fact that it is written in the Emesal dialect.

² Cf. pp. 639-40.

³ “Of fairest face” renders *i-bí-šagš-šagš*, a frequently used epithet of Dumuzi.

⁴ If, as is more than likely, it is Dumuzi speaking, the “father” would refer to Enki (cf. “Inanna and Dumuzi: Pride and Pedigree,” pp. 637-38).

Sumerian Miscellaneous Texts

TRANSLATOR: S. N. KRAMER

The Curse of Agade

THE EKUR AVENGED

This rather unusual "historiographic"¹ document, first composed (probably) about 2000 B.C.² by a Sumerian theologian-poet with a reflective and inventive turn of mind, is of significance for the history of religious thought. Its central theme concerns national catastrophe as a direct consequence of divine wrath kindled by a defiant act on the part of man. In the case of Sumer, the disastrous catastrophe came in the guise of a humiliating and destructive invasion by the barbarous, ruthless Gutians from the Zagros ranges, that brought confusion and anarchy in the land for about a century or so.³ This cruel event preyed on the hearts and minds of the more thoughtful and literate of the Sumerians, and pressed for an explanation within the framework of the Sumerian world view. It is this need for a satisfying rationale which seems to have led to the composition of the document by a deeply religious poet⁴ imbued with the conviction that it was the desecration of Sumer's holiest shrine by a bitter and defiant king which led to the calamity that overwhelmed the king's capital city and the land as a whole.

The culprit chiefly responsible for this catastrophe, according to our author, was Naram-Sin, the fourth king of the Dynasty of Akkad, that ruled from its capital, the still unlocated city of Agade. The founder of the dynasty was Sargon the Great, Naram-Sin's grandfather. According to our author, Sargon's rise to power was due to Enlil, the leading deity of the Sumerian pantheon, who turned over both the temporal and religious control of Sumer, after Kish and Erech, its two great political centers, had been destroyed by the angered god (lines 1-6).⁵ But it was primarily the goddess Inanna who devoted all her efforts to make Agade a prosperous and affluent city whose sway over Sumer, and indeed over virtually the entire ancient world, was supreme and unchallenged, and especially so when Naram-Sin began his reign (lines 7-53).

But then, our author continues, Inanna, acting, it seems, in accordance with "the word of the Ekur," that is presumably, the word of Enlil,⁶ abandoned her shrine Eulmash in Agade and

turned inimical to the city (lines 54-65). At the same time some of the other gods—Ninurta, Utu, and Enki—deprived the city of the powers and endowments they had conferred upon it, and Agade became weak and impoverished (lines 66-84). At first Naram-Sin, according to our author,⁷ accepted this cruel fate in humility and self-abasement, especially after he had a highly mysterious vision concerned with the Ekur (lines 85-90). But when after seven years of this contrite behavior, he sought an oracle from the Ekur in Nippur,⁸ and was not granted his request his humility turned to defiance (lines 91-98). He mobilized his troops and proceeded to devastate the Ekur, desecrate its holy places, and despoil it of its possessions (lines 97-144).

But no sooner had he done so, our document continues, than the angered Enlil began to avenge the destruction of his beloved Ekur. He brought down from their mountain lairs, the Gutians, an uncivilized, uncontrollable, multitudinous horde who spread over the land like swarming locusts, and brought about the suspension of all avenues of communication by land or sea (lines 145-169). Cities became desolate; fields and gardens were abandoned; famine raged, and death stalked the inhabitants of Sumer (lines 170-191). The land was filled with wailing, lamenting, hair-tearing, and bodily laceration, but Enlil turned a deaf ear to the people's suffering; he went into his cella, and laid himself down to sleep (lines 192-208). It was then that some of the great gods of Sumer⁹ decided to mollify Enlil, and thus presumably save Sumer from total destruction,¹⁰ by pronouncing a terrible oath against Agade, dooming her to a fate worse than that inflicted by her on Nippur: she would become a city deprived of all human friendship and filled with wailing and lamentation; all its holy places would be destroyed, and starvation and desolation would be rampant; she would become a place unfit for human habitation (lines 209-269). And, concludes our author, that is just what happened: Agade was destroyed, and became a desolate uninhabitable ruin.¹¹

So much for the contents of this remarkable composition. Stylistically, the author depends primarily on cumulative parallelism for poetic effect; there is virtually no repetition of lines,

it was Enlil (or the composite deity An-Enlil) who, according to the Sumerian theologians, carried out the decrees of the divine assembly to transfer the political power from one city to another, cf., e.g., Enlil's response to Nanna-Sin's plea for his city Ur in the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur," lines 361-372 (see pages 611-19).

⁷ There is no way of knowing whether this assertion had any basis in fact, or whether, as seems more probable, it was sheer imagination on the part of the author.

⁸ The city is not actually mentioned by name, but it seems hardly likely that "the house" and "the built house" of lines 93-94 refer to any other temple than the Ekur of Nippur.

⁹ These "great gods" were Sin of Ur, Enki of Eridu, Inanna of Erech, Ninurta of Nippur, Ishkur of Ennigi, Utu of Larsa, Nidaba, the patron deity of writing, and Nusku, Enlil's vizier in the Ekur. But just why the author selected these, and only these deities to pronounce a curse against Agade, or why he listed them in that special order is not too clear. But note the fact that Nanna-Sin of Ur is first on the list, which may be taken as further proof that our document was first composed sometime during the Third Dynasty of Ur, when that city was the capital of Sumer.

¹⁰ The deliverance of Sumer from the Gutians is nowhere referred to in the composition, but it is not unreasonable to surmise that this took place soon after the avenging of the Ekur and the destruction of Agade.

¹¹ The total destruction of Agade is confirmed by the fact that the city is not mentioned in any of the thousands of Ur III documents published to date.

¹ "Historiographic" as here used, denotes a type of poetic narrative composition concerned with some significant historical event interpreted in a style and manner consonant with the Sumerian world view.

² The tablets themselves, like virtually all the Sumerian literary documents translated in this book, date from the 18th century B.C. But many of them are known to go back to the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur, when literature flourished throughout Sumer, especially in the *edubba's*, or academies of Ur and Nippur. There is no way of knowing just when the "Curse of Agade" was first composed, but it is hardly likely that it was more than a century or two after the reign of Naram-Sin.

³ The Gutian catastrophe that overtook Sumer is a matter of substantiated historical record. What is uncertain is the time of the first significant Gutian incursion into Sumer, but scholars now tend to the opinion that it was towards the end of the reign of Naram-Sin (cf. Finkelstein's succinct summary in *PAPS*, Vol. 107, No. 6, p. 467 and especially note 25 where the essential bibliographical references will be found).

⁴ It is not unlikely that he was a product of the Nippur *edubba* established by Shulgi, the second ruler of the Third Dynasty of Ur (cf. my forthcoming "Shulgi of Ur: A Royal Hymn and a Divine Blessing" in *JQR*).

⁵ The reference here is probably to Sargon's victory over Ur-Zababa of Kish, and Lugalzagesi, originally of Sumer who made Erech his capital (cf. S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians*, pp. 58 ff.).

⁶ The "word of Enlil" was often a harbinger of destruction, since

the device so characteristic of Sumerian hymnography.¹² Nor does it make use of long speeches, static epithets, recurrent formulas, and other stylistic techniques that are earmarks of the Sumerian myth or epic tale. Next to parallelism, our poet's major poetic device is the simile. Similes of one kind or another are found in virtually all of the Sumerian literary works, but in "The Curse of Agade" they are used far more copiously and imaginatively than in most.¹³

Fragments belonging to this composition began to be published as early as 1914. By 1944 close to a score of pieces inscribed with parts of the document had been copied and published, but its true character remained unrecognized, primarily because most of the pieces belonged to the first half of the composition. Since much of the available text spoke of the destruction, devastation, and desolation of Agade, it was taken to be a lamentation over the destruction of Agade, although its formal structure differed markedly from the typical Sumerian lamentation. In 1956, however, I had the opportunity of working in the Hilprecht Sammlung of the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena, where I identified seven pieces belonging to the composition; one of these was of very special importance, since it contained the last 138 lines, and thus made it possible to recognize the true nature of the composition.¹⁴ The publication of this new material enabled the eminent Heidelberg cuneiformist, Adam Falkenstein to publish an excellent transliteration of the document based on all the published material.¹⁵ There were still, however, quite a number of gaps and misreadings, and most of these could be filled in and corrected with the help of the still unpublished Nippur pieces which Adele Feigenbaum, a graduate student in the Department of Oriental Studies in the University Museum is now in the process of studying and copying as part of her dissertation for the degree of Ph.D. The translation here presented is based on the transliteration prepared by her for this purpose.

After the frowning forehead of Enlil
Had killed (the people of) Kish like the "Bull of
Heaven,"¹⁶

¹² For two rare cases of the repetition pattern, cf. lines 93-96 and 224-225.

¹³ Thus, to take only those that are reasonably certain and intelligible: The wrathful Enlil kills the people of Kish "like the Bull of Heaven" (lines 1-2), and grinds the house of Erech to dust "like a giant bull" (line 3). Inanna spends sleepless nights in order to insure the security and prosperity of Agade "like a second son erecting the (wife's) chamber (lines 10-24). King Naram-Sin steps forth on the holy dais of Agade "like the sun" (lines 40-41). The walls of Agade reach skyward "like a mountain" and its gates are opened by Inanna "like the Tigris emptying its waters into the sea" (lines 42-44). The submissive peoples carried their gifts to Inanna "like sack-carrying donkeys" (line 50). Inanna forsakes Agade "like a maiden forsaking her chamber," she goes forth belligerently against her city "like a warrior hastening to (his) weapon" (lines 61-64). Naram-Sin abuses the Ekur "like a mighty man accustomed to high-handed (action)"; he shows contempt for its *giguna* "like a runner contemptuous of (his body's) strength"; he erects ladders against the walls of the house "like a bandit who plunders a city" (lines 101-106). The Ekur is destroyed "like a huge boat"; it is turned into dust "like a mountain mined for silver"; it is cut to pieces "like a mountain of lapis lazuli"; it is prostrated "like a city ravaged by Ishkur" (lines 107-110); it is fallen to the ground "like a man who had been killed in battle" (line 118); its copper lies piled up on the quay "like large (heaps of) grain (ready to be) carried away" (line 137). The Gutians cover the earth in vast numbers "like locusts" (line 157). The father who is still left in the death-ridden Agade moans "like a dove in its hole," thrashes about "like a swallow in its cranny," scurries about "like a dove in terror" (lines 218-226). The protecting genii stationed in the Ekur fall prostrate "like huge (fighting) men drunk with wine" (lines 228-229). The oxen of Nanna moan in the desolate city "like *ghosts* who roam the silent places (the cemeteries)" (lines 260-261).

¹⁴ Cf. *HBS*, pp. 226-32.

¹⁵ Cf. *ZA*, LVII, 43-124, where the pertinent bibliographical details will also be found.

¹⁶ For the role of the "Bull of Heaven" in Sumerian mythology, cf. last, Edzard, *Die Mythologie der Sumerer und Akkader*, p. 79. The

After he had ground the house of Erech into dust, like a
giant bull,
After in due time, to Sargon the king of Agade,
From below to above, Enlil
Had given him lordship and kingship,
Then did holy Inanna, the shrine of Agade,
Erect as her noble chamber,
In Ulmash did she set up a throne.

Like a "little fellow" building (his) house anew, (10)
Like a young son, erecting the (wife's) chamber—
That everything be collected (safely) in the storehouses,
That their city be a firmly established dwelling place,
That its people eat "dependable" food,
That its people drink "dependable" water,
That the bathed "heads"¹⁷ make the courtyards joyous,
That the people beautify the places of festivity,
That the men of the city "eat" in harmony,
That the outsiders scurry about like "unknown" birds,
That Marhashi be turned to *clay*,¹⁸ (20)
That in future *days* the giant elephant,
(and) the *abzaza*,¹⁹ the beasts of distant lands,
Roam about all together in the midst of (its) boulevards,
(Also) the "princely" dogs,²⁰ the Elamite dogs,
the "asses" of the mountain,²¹ *long-haired alum*-sheep,
Inanna allowed herself no sleep.

In those days the dwelling of Agade were filled with
gold,
Its bright-shining houses were filled with silver,
Into its granaries were brought copper, lead, (and) slabs
of lapis lazuli,²²
Its silos *bulged* at the sides,
Its old women were endowed with counsel,
Its old men were endowed with eloquence, (30)
Its young men with endowed with the "strength of
weapons,"

"giant bull" in the following line may also refer to some mythological creature, but if so, no recognizable literary evidence pertaining to it has as yet been recognized.

¹⁷ "Heads" may refer to devotees of the temple. The Sumerian *sag*, "head," has a wide semantic range; usually it means "slave," but it can also mean "man" in general. Note, too, the initial *sag* in *sag-ursag*, a complex that designates a class of castrated devotees in the service of Inanna, the goddess of love.

¹⁸ Marhashi (also written Barhashi), was one of the more menacing enemies of the Agade Dynasty. The translation "into clay" is quite uncertain; there is a variant that reads "into the Bull of Heaven," which is altogether unintelligible at the moment.

¹⁹ This is a word of uncertain meaning, perhaps it is the Indian humped bull.

²⁰ That is wild dogs perhaps used by princes for the chase. Note that the same "princely dogs" are mentioned in the "Golden Age" passage of "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta" (cf., e.g., *HBS*, pp. 222-25 and note that the words "wild dog" in the third line of the passage on p. 222 should be corrected to read "princely dog") where the expression is parallel to "wolf."

²¹ It is uncertain whether *anše-kur-ra* is here to be taken literally as "ass of the mountain," or whether it has the meaning "horse" attributed to it in later days.

²² That is, precious metals were so plentiful that even the granaries had to be utilized to store them instead of grain.

Its little children were endowed with joyous hearts,
 The nurse-raised children of the governors,
 Played on the *algarsur*-instruments,²³
 Inside, the city (was full of) *tigi*-music,²⁴
 Outside it (was full of) reed-pipe (and)
zamzam-music,²⁵
 Its quay where the boats docked were all abustle,
 All lands lived in security,
 Their people witnessed (nothing but) happiness,
 Their king Naram-Sin, the shepherd, (40)
 Stepped forth like the sun on the holy dais of Agade,
 Its walls reached skyward like a mountain,

The gates—like the Tigris emptying its water into the sea,
 Holy Inanna opened its gates.
 The Sumerians eagerly sailed (their) goods-(laden) boats
 to it (Agade),
 The Martu, (the people of) the lord that knows not
 grain,
 Brought her perfect oxen, perfect sheep,
 The Meluhhaites, the people of the black land,²⁶
 Brought up to her the (exotic) wares of the foreign lands,
 The Elamites (and) Subaraeans carried for her (all sorts
 of) goods, like sack-carrying donkeys, (50)
 Ensi's *sanga*'s,²⁷
 The comptroller of the Guedinna²⁸
 Conduct their monthly and New Year gift (to Agade).

(But then) in the palace of Agade—what prostration!
 Holy Inanna accepted not its gifts,
 Like a princely son who . . . , she *shared* not its wealth,
 The "word of the Ekur" was upon it like a (deathly)
 silence,
 Agade was all atremble,
 The Ulmash was in terror,
 She who had lived there, left the city, (60)
 Like a maiden forsaking her chamber,
 Holy Inanna forsook the shrine Agade,²⁹
 Like a warrior hastening to (his) weapon,
 She went forth against the city in battle (and) combat,
 She attacked as if it were a foe.

In days not five, in days not ten,
 The *fillet* of lordship, the tiara of kingship,

²³ For the *algarsur* musical instrument, see the *CAD* under its Akkadian equivalent *algarsurru*.

²⁴ The *tigi*-music consisted of songs of joy and jubilation accompanied (probably) on the lyre; note that the ideogram for *tigi* is NAR.BALAG, that is a combination of "minstrel" and "lyre." For a different view, cf. Henrike Hartmann, *Die Musik der Sumerischen Kultur*, p. 80 ff.

²⁵ For the *zam-zam*, cf. *ibid.*, p. 95 ff.

²⁶ This seems to point to the identification of Meluhha with Ethiopia, cf., e.g., S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians*, p. 277 ff.

²⁷ The *sanga*'s were high temple administrative officers.

²⁸ The Guedinna is probably the region mentioned frequently in the Lagash-Umma wars, cf. S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians*, p. 54 ff.

²⁹ That is, presumably on marriage.

Mansium, the throne given over to kingship,
 Ninurta brought into his Eshumesha.³⁰
 Utu carried off the "eloquence" of the city, (70)
 Enki *poured out* its wisdom.
 Its awesomeness that had reached towards heaven,
 An brought up to the midst of heaven,³¹
 Its boats that had been carefully *caulked*,
 Enki [brought down] into the Abzu,
 Its weapons were
 The shrine Agade . . .
 The city . . . ,
 Like a huge elephant . . . ,
 Like a huge bull . . . ,
 Like a fierce *ushumgal*-dragon . . . , (80)
 Its battles were [decreed] a bitter fate,
 The kingship of Agade was prostrated,
 Its future is extremely unhappy,
 At the "month house" the treasures lay scattered about.

(Then) Naram-Sin in a vision . . . ,
 He kept it to himself,³² put it not in speech,
 spoke with nobody about it,
 Because of the Ekur,³³ he dressed in sackcloth,
 Covered his chariot with a boat-covering mat,
Loaded not his boat with . . . ,
 Gave away everything desirable for Kingship. (90)

Seven years Naram-Sin remained firm,³⁴
 Who had ever seen that a king should "put hand on head
 for seven years!"
 (But then) seeking an oracle at the house,
 In the "built" house there was no oracle,
 Seeking an oracle a second time at the house,
 In the "built" house there was no oracle.
 (Whereupon) changing his line of *action*,
 He defied the word of Enlil,
 Crushed those who had submitted to him (Enlil),
 Mobilized his troops, (100)
 Like a mighty man *accustomed* to high-handed (action),
 He put a restraining hand on the Ekur.
 Like a runner *contemptuous* of (his body's) strength,
 He treated the *giguna* like thirty shekels.³⁵
 Like a bandit who plunders a city,
 He erected large ladders against the house.

To destroy the Ekur like a huge boat,
 To turn it into dust like a mountain mined for silver,
 To cut it to pieces like a mountain of lapis lazuli,

³⁰ Ninurta's temple in Nippur.

³¹ That is, An kept the "awesomeness" of Agade in heaven so that it was no longer effective on earth.

³² Literally: "He made it known (only) to his heart."

³³ Presumably, then, the vision had something to do with Enlil's temple at Nippur.

³⁴ That is, presumably, in his pious and humble conduct.

³⁵ Treating anything "like thirty shekels" is a Sumerian cliché expression for showing contempt.

The *commodities* of their cities were bought up like good "words,"

Who slept on the roof died on the roof, (180)

Who slept inside the house was not brought to burial,
The people droop helplessly because of their hunger.⁴⁹

By the *kiur*, the "great place" of Enlil,
The cedar-cutter held back (his) speech in (deathly) silence,⁵⁰

In its *midst* men by *two's* were devoured,
In its . . . men by *three's* were devoured,
Heads were *crushed*, heads were . . . ,
Mouths were *crushed*, "heads" were turned to seeds,
The faithful "*slaves*" were changed into treacherous "slaves,"⁵¹

The valiant lay on top of the valiant, (190)
The blood of the treacherous flowed over the blood of the faithful.

Then did Enlil, out of his immense shrine,
Make a small reed-shrine,
From sunrise to sunset its treasures decreased,
The old women who were cut off from the day,⁵²
The old men who were cut off from the day,
The chief *gala's* who were cut off from the year,
For seven days, seven nights,
Like "the seven lyres standing at the horizon," followed him (Enlil) about,

Like Ishkur played for him the *shem*, *mezi*, and *lilis*.⁵³ (200)

The old women ceased not (crying) "Oh, my city,"
The old men ceased not (crying) "Oh, its men,"
The *gala's* ceased not (crying) "Oh, the Ekur,"
Its maidens ceased not tearing (their) hair
Its youths ceased not (their) maceration,
Their tears, the tears of the mothers and fathers of Enlil,⁵⁴

They bring again and again in the awe-filled *duku*⁵⁵ of holy Enlil.

Because of all this, Enlil entered (his) holy cella, lay down on (his) *katabba*.⁵⁶

Then did Sin, Enki, Inanna, Ninurta, Ishkur, (and) Utu, the great gods,

⁴⁹ The rendering "droop" is a guess based on the context; "helplessly" attempts to render *ni-bi-a*, "of their own accord."

⁵⁰ The meaning of the line and its implication are quite obscure.
⁵¹ This line is identical with line 25 of the Enlil hymn (except for the initial "Father Enlil") on page 576.

⁵² The implication of this and the five following lines is not clear.
⁵³ For what little is known about these musical instruments, cf. now Henrike Hartman, *Die Musik der Sumerischen Kultur*, pp. 91 ff.

⁵⁴ "The mothers and fathers of Enlil" are listed in several literary documents (cf. especially Van Dyk, *SGL*, II, pp. 151 ff.); presumably they had all died and gone to the nether world, where they were lamenting their fate.

⁵⁵ The *duku* of Enlil here seems to be located in Nippur; for further references to the *duku*, cf. Edzard, "Wörterbuch der Mythologie," p. 51.

⁵⁶ The complex *ka-tab-ba* used with the determinative for leather, means "halter"; when used with the determinative for "reed" it designates a type of basket; here it is used with the determinative for wood, and its meaning is uncertain.

They who soothe (and) *comfort* the heart of Enlil, utter a prayer to him: (210)

"Oh, valiant Enlil, the city that has destroyed your city may it become like your city,

(The city) that has demolished your *giguna*, may it become like Nippur,

Of that city, may *skulls* fill its wells,
May no sympathizing friends⁵⁷ be found there,

May brother not recognize his brother,
May its maiden flagellate herself in her chamber,
May its father utter bitter cries in the house of his dead wife,

May he moan like a dove in its hole,
May he thrash about like a swallow in its cranny,
May he scurry about like a dove in terror." (220)

A second time did Sin, Enki, Inanna, Ninurta, Ishkur, Utu, Nusku (and) Nidaba, the great gods,

Direct their face to the city,
Curse Agade with a baleful curse:

"City, you who dared assault the Ekur—it is Enlil (whom you assaulted),

Agade, you who dared assault the Ekur—it is Enlil (whom you assaulted),

At your holy wall, lofty as it is, may wailing resound,
May your *giguna* be heaped up like dust,
May your *lahama* that stand in the *dubla*,⁵⁸

Lie prostrate like huge (fighting) men drunk with wine,
May your clay return to its Abzu,⁵⁹ (230)

May it be clay cursed⁶⁰ by Enki,
May your grain return to its furrows,

May it be grain cursed by Ashnan,⁶¹
May your trees return to their forests,

May they become trees cursed by Ninildu,⁶²
May the oxen-slaughterer, slaughter (his) wife (instead),

May your sheep-butcher, butcher his child (instead),
May your poor hurl his *precious*⁶³ children into the water,

May the prostitute stretch herself out in the gate of her brother,

May your hierodule mother, your courtesan mothers give back (their) children,⁶⁴ (240)

May your gold be sold as silver,
May your silver be sold as *zaha*-metal,⁶⁵

May your copper be sold as lead.

Agade, may your strong man be deprived of his strength,
May he not be able to lift a leather bag . . . ,

⁵⁷ Literally "men who 'know' men."

⁵⁸ cf. note 43.

⁵⁹ Clay, according to the Sumerian view, originated in the Abzu.

⁶⁰ Literally "clay upon which an (evil) fate was decreed."

⁶¹ Ashnan is the goddess of grain.

⁶² Ninildu is the divine chief-carpenter.

⁶³ Perhaps literally "his children that were *valued* as silver."

⁶⁴ That is, they would be forced to return their adopted children; the hierodules and courtesans had no children of their own.

⁶⁵ The *zaha*-metal is probably a low-grade silver.

May your *wrestler*⁶⁶ rejoice not in his strength, may he
lie in 'darkness,'⁶⁷
May famine kill (the people of) that city,
May the princely children who ate (only) the very best
bread, lie about in the grass,
May your man who used to carry off the first *fruits*, eat
the *scraps* of his tables,
The leather thongs of the door of his father's house,
(250)

May he munch these leather thongs with his teeth;
May your palace built in joy, fall to ruins in anguish,
May the evil ones, the ghosts of 'silent places'⁶⁸ howl
(there) evermore;⁶⁹

Over your *usga*-place⁷⁰ established for lustrations,
May the 'fox of the ruined mounds,' glide (his) tail;
In your great gates (firmly) established in the land,
May the '*ukuku*-birds of anguished heart' set up (his)
nest,

In your city where you (no longer) sleep to (the sound
of) *tigi*-music,⁷¹

Where you (no longer) go to bed with a joyful heart,
May the oxen of Nanna, that (used to) fill the stalls,
(260)

Moan evermore like ghosts who roam the 'silent places';
May your canalboat towpaths grow (nothing but) tall
grass,

May your wagon-roads grow (nothing but) the 'wailing-
plant';

Moreover,⁷² on your canalboat towpaths, the places where
the channel is narrow,⁷³

May no one walk among the wild goats, 'darting snakes
of the mountain,'

May your steppe where grew the succulent plants,

Grow (nothing but) the 'reed of tears,'

Agade (instead of) your sweet-flowing water, may salt
water flow (there),

May he who said 'I would sleep in that city,' not find a
good dwelling there,

May he who said 'I would sleep in Agade,' not find a
good sleeping place there." (270)

(And) lo, with Utu's bringing forth the day, so it came
to pass!

Its canalboat⁷⁴ towpaths grew (nothing but) tall grass,
Its wagon-roads grew (nothing but) the "wailing-plant."

⁶⁶ This rendering is a guess based on the context.

⁶⁷ The implication of this phrase in the context is uncertain.

⁶⁸ The "silent places" probably refer to cemeteries.

⁶⁹ "Evermore" attempts to render the triplication of the root in the verb.

⁷⁰ The *usga* was a part of the temple where lustrations were carried out, cf., e.g., line 455 of the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Ur and Sumer" on p. 619; for a different opinion cf. Falkenstein, *ZA*, LVII, 120-121.

⁷¹ For the *tigi*-music cf. note 24.

⁷² Literally: "for a second time."

⁷³ Literally: "the places where the water is diminished in the river."

⁷⁴ The text actually has "your," but this is no doubt a scribal error.

Moreover, on its canalboat towpaths, the places where
the channel is narrow,

No one walks among the wild goats and darting snakes
of the mountain,

Its steppe where grew the succulent plants,

Grew (nothing but) the "reed of tears."

Agade, (instead of) its sweet-flowing water, salt water
flowed (there),

He who said, "I would dwell in that city," found not a
good dwelling place there.

He who said, "I would sleep in Agade," found not a
good sleeping place there, (280)

Agade is destroyed! Praise Inanna.⁷⁵

Ua-ua

A SUMERIAN LULLABY

This composition, the only one of its kind thus far known from the Ancient Near East, probably consists entirely of a chant purported to be uttered by the wife of Shulgi,¹ the preeminent and long-lived ruler of the Third Dynasty of Ur, who seemed to have been anxious and troubled by the ill-health of one of her sons. Being a mother's lullaby, one might have expected her to address her words directly to the child. This is true, however, only of the greater part of the poem (cf. lines 6-11, 19-23, 39-63, 92-100). In the other preserved passages she seems to soliloquize about her son in the third person (cf. lines 1-5, 24-38, 64-91), and in one passage she addresses Sleep personified (lines 12-18): In detail the contents of the composition may be sketched as follows:

The poem begins with a rather wistful and wishful soliloquy in which the mother seems to reassure herself that as she envisions it in the very chant she is uttering, her son will grow big and sturdy (lines 1-5). She then seems to try to buoy up her son's spirit with the promise of care and oncoming sleep (lines 6-11). Having mentioned sleep, she addresses it directly and urges it to close her son's wakeful eyes as well as his babbling tongue (lines 12-18). She now turns again to her ailing son, and promises to provide him with the sweet little cheeses that will serve to heal him, who is none other than the son of Shulgi (lines 19-23). He will also eat her well-watered lettuce, she continues (lines 24-26). She now sees herself—again while uttering her chant—providing him with loving wife and beloved child nursed and tended by a joyous nursemaid (lines 27-38).

Now anxiety about the illness of her son begins to dominate her mood, and in her next soliloquy addressed directly to her son whom she seems to see in her troubled fancy as dead and mourned by professional mourners and crawling insects (lines 39-50). Following a fragmentary passage in which sleep is mentioned once again (lines 51-56), we find the mother blessing her son with a wife and son, abundance of grain, a good angel, a happy and joyous reign (lines 57-63). Following another fragmentary and obscure passage which ends in two lines concerned with a palm-tree (lines 64-91), the mother turns once again to her son and future king, and admonishes him to stand by Ur and Erech, to seize and pinion the enemy, a dog who, unless cowed, will tear him to pieces (lines 92-100):

The composition is inscribed on a tablet (UM 29-16-85) excavated by the University of Pennsylvania sometime between 1889

⁷⁵ The rubric "Praise Inanna" indicates that this composition was dedicated to Inanna.

¹ There is a bare possibility that this was the Queen Abisimti mentioned in the economic texts (cf. Jacobsen's discussion in *JCS*, VII, pages 44-47).

and 1900. To judge from the script, the tablet dates to the first post-Sumerian period in the early second millennium B.C., but there is little doubt that the document was first composed² during the reign of Shulgi, toward the end of the third millennium. Not unexpectedly, the text of this composition, which is only about half-preserved, proved to be difficult and obscure. After preparing a preliminary transliteration and translation, therefore, I sent them on to Thorkild Jacobsen and Michel Civil for comment. Not a few of their suggestions have been incorporated in the present translation. A detailed edition of the text is to appear in the forthcoming Festschrift to the Italian scholar Elorado Volterra, and the reader will find there an extensive philological commentary, as well as an appendix with a number of variant translations by Thorkild Jacobsen.

*ua! aua!*³

In my song of joy— he will grow stout,
In my song of joy— he will grow big,
Like the *irina*-tree⁴ he will grow stout of root,
Like the *šakir*-plant⁴ he will grow broad of crown.

Lord, from . . . you know . . . ,⁵
Among those burgeoning apple trees by the river arrayed,
Who . . . will spread his hand on you,
Who lies there will lift his hand on you,
My son, sleep is about to overtake you, (10)
Sleep is about to settle on you.

Come Sleep, come Sleep,
Come to my son,
Hurry Sleep to my son,
Put to sleep his restless eyes,
Put your hand on his (kohl)-painted eyes,
And (as for) his babbling tongue,
Let not the babbling hold back (his) sleep.

He will fill your lap with *emmer*.⁶
I—I will make sweet for you the little cheeses, (20)
Those little cheeses that are the healer of man,
The healer of man, the son of the Lord,
The son of the Lord Shulgi.

My garden is lettuce well-watered,⁷
It is *gakḫul*-lettuce . . . ,
The Lord will eat that lettuce.

² The author was probably one of the court poets who may have composed it at the queen's behest.

³ In Sumerian, the writing is u₆-a a-ù-a. The exclamation u₆-a is an onomatopoeic word for "lullaby." The following a-ù-a has the meaning, "ah! woe!"

⁴ Virtually nothing is known of the *irina*-tree and the *šakir*-plant, except that the former must have been noteworthy for the sturdiness of its roots, and the latter for its luxuriating crown.

⁵ The meaning of this line and the following three is uncertain and obscure.

⁶ The interpretation of this crucial passage is far from assured, although the meaning of virtually all the words and complexes is quite certain. Most difficult is line 19, since there seems to be no antecedent for "he," and it is therefore not clear just who it is that fills the child's lap with emmer. Rather strange, too, at least on the surface, is the not very apt characterization of "little cheeses" as the "healer of man," and the equating of "man" with "the son of the Lord Shulgi."

⁷ The interpretation of lines 24-26 and their connection with what precedes and follows depends largely on the identity of "the Lord" in line 26. The translation assumes that it refers to the child, but it is not impossible that it refers to Shulgi, and if this is the case, the

In my song of joy—I will give him a wife,
[I will] give him [a wife], I will give him a [son],
The nursemaid, joyous of heart, will converse with him,
The nursemaid, joyous of heart, will suckle him; (30)
I—I will [take] a wife for my son,
She will [bear] him a son so sweet,
The wife will lie on his burning lap,
The son will lie in his outstretched arms,
The wife will be happy with him,
The son will be happy with him,
The young wife will rejoice in his lap,
The son will grow big on his sweet knee.
You are in pain,
I am troubled, (40)
I am struck dumb, I gaze at the stars,
The new moon *shines* down on my face,
Your bones will be arrayed on the wall,
The "man of the wall" will shed tears for you,
The *keeners* will pluck the harps for you,
The gekko will gash the cheek for you,
The fly will pluck the beard for you,
The lizard will *bite* his tongue for you,
Who "makes sprout" woe, will make it sprout all about you,⁸

Who spreads woe, will spread it all about you. (50)
(lines 51-56 fragmentary)

May the wife be your support,
May the son be your lot,
May the winnowed barley be your bride,
May Ashnan, the *ḫusu*-goddess⁹ be your ally, (60)
May you have an eloquent guardian-angel,
May you *achieve* a reign of happy days,
May your feasts make bright the fore[head].

(lines 64-91 fragmentary)

And you, lie you in sleep!¹⁰
Array the branches (of) your palm-tree,
It will fill you with joy like . . .
Stand at the side of Ur as a *ḫuldubba-demon*¹¹
Stand at the side of Erech as . . . -demon,
Seize the mouth of the dog as a . . . -demon,
Pinion his "arms" as with a net of reeds,
Make the dog cower before you,
Lest he will rip your back like a sack.

(remainder of the text very fragmentary)

interpretation of the contents of the three lines and their implication are obscure and enigmatic.

⁸ The rendering of lines 49-50 and their connection with what precedes and follows are quite uncertain.

⁹ Ashnan is the goddess of grain and vegetation; *ḫusu* is an epithet whose meaning is uncertain.

¹⁰ In line 92, as well perhaps as in the obscure lines 93-94, the mother seems to address her son as a child; in lines 95-100, on the other hand, she thinks of him as fully grown and a reigning king of Sumer.

¹¹ Rendering uncertain.

Canaanite and Aramaic Inscriptions

TRANSLATOR: FRANZ ROSENTHAL

The Northwest Semitic inscriptions originating from the Near East—and to some degree also the Punic inscriptions from Northwest Africa and adjacent Phoenician colonies—are without exception of immediate interest to the student of the Old Testament, for either linguistic or historical reasons. Any selection, therefore, is arbitrary, and no claim is made that the inscriptions translated here are necessarily more important than some others which, for lack of space, have not been presented. For the sake of conciseness, the bibliographical references in connection with the individual inscriptions had to be severely restricted. A more generous hearing is accorded to recent publications. In general, publications conveniently available to the reader are noted. It was not possible, though in some cases it might have been desirable, to check the original inscriptions or consult photographs and reproductions other than those contained in the available publications.* (See Addenda).

The transcription of proper names is often problematic and, as handled on the following pages, runs the whole gamut from certainty to mere guesswork. The vocalization of some names is made practically certain by contemporary vocalized transcriptions. Of some, it is fairly well indicated by their etymology. Then, again, there are names which admit several possible etymologies, and, finally, there are yet others whose vocalization is unknown. In some cases, the known Masoretic vocalization differs considerably from what can be assumed to have been the contemporary pronunciation. In such cases, the Masoretic vocalization has as a rule been adopted. For the sake of convenience, most of the proper names have been vocalized, and the interested reader will easily know into which of the aforementioned categories each vocalization belongs.

Dr. H. L. Ginsberg kindly looked over my original manuscript and provided helpful suggestions on doubtful points, not all of which, it should be noted, have been passed on here.

Building Inscriptions

YEHIMILK OF BYBLOS

This inscription records the dedication of a new building, possibly a temple, and is now quite generally dated in the tenth century. It was found in Byblos in 1929. Bibliography: M. Dunand, *RB*, xxxix (1930), pp. 321-31; *id.*, *Fouilles de Byblos*, Paris 1937-1939, vol. 1, p. xxxi; vol. 2, p. 30; W. F. Albright, *JAOS*, lxxvii (1947), p. 156 f.; Donner-Röllig, No. 4 (1, p. 1, ii, p. 6 f.

A house built by Yehimilk, king of Byblos, who also has restored all the ruins of the houses here.

May Ba'lishamem and the Lord of Byblos¹ and the Assembly of the Holy Gods of Byblos prolong the days and years of Yehimilk in Byblos, for (he is) a righteous king and an upright king before the Holy Gods of Byblos!

AZITAWADDA OF ADANA

This unusually long inscription comes from a locality called Karatepe situated about thirty-eight miles southwest of Mar'ash beside the River Jeyhan. Three versions of the Phoenician text,

¹ A correction to "Lady of Byblos," a frequently mentioned deity, has been suggested.

together with some Hittite versions, were discovered in 1946-47. They contain an autobiographical account which king Azitawadda composed on the occasion of the dedication of a citadel and city founded by him. The exact date of the inscriptions is still uncertain and depends on a further study of the archaeological and historical evidence. The text seems to antedate events described in the inscription of Kilamuwa (see no. 3), but to present a much later, eighth-century date cannot be ruled out.

One version of the inscription is written in four columns on four sides of a statue. Another version starts on a gate lion and is continued on two orthostats. The third version consists of three columns distributed over four orthostats and continued on the bases of the fourth and adjacent orthostats to a gate lion. Cf. the photograph published by Halet Çambel in *Oriens*, 1 (1948), p. 162, pl. 1.

The first, incompletely preserved version was the one first made accessible to scholars by H. T. Bossert, Halet Çambel, and U. Bahadır Alkim. The third version, which is best preserved, is translated here. The numerous publications dealing with it include the following items: H. T. Bossert, *Oriens*, 1 (1948), pp. 163-92; ii (1949), pp. 72-120; *id.*, *Archiv Orientalní*, xviii, 3 (1950), pp. 10-42; *id.*, *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung*, 1 (1950-51), pp. 264-95; ii (1952-53), pp. 167-88 and 293-339; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Oriens*, 1 (1948), pp. 193-97; ii (1949), pp. 121-26; *id.*, *RA*, xlii (1949), pp. 161-88; *id.*, *Archiv Orientalní*, xviii, 3 (1950), pp. 43-47; *id.*, *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung*, 1 (1950-51), pp. 296-308; ii (1952-53), pp. 189-200; R. O'Callaghan, *Orientalia*, NS, xviii (1949), pp. 171-205; G. Levi Della Vida, *Rendiconti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Cl. di Sc. mor.*, series 8, iv (1949), pp. 273-90; C. H. Gordon, *JNES*, viii (1949), pp. 108-15; J. Obermann, *New Discoveries at Karatepe*, in *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, xxxviii (1949), pp. 1-50; I. Lévy, *Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Académie Royale de Belgique*, series 5, xxxv (1949), pp. 467-72; *id.*, *La Nouvelle Clio*, i-ii (1949-50), pp. 105-21; H. Grégoire, *La Nouvelle Clio*, i-ii (1949-50), pp. 122-27, 162-65; R. Goossens, *ibid.*, pp. 201-05; A. Heubeck, *La Nouvelle Clio*, v (1953), 322-25; M. Dunand, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, viii, pp. 17-36 (dated on the title page in 1946-48!); R. Marcus and I. J. Gelb, *JNES*, viii (1949), pp. 116-20; A. M. Honeyman, *PEQ*, lxxxii (1949), pp. 21-39; A. Alt, *Die Welt des Orients*, 1949, pp. 272-87; J. Leveen and C. Moss, *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 1 (1949), pp. 189-93.*

I am Azitawadda, the blessed of Ba'l,¹ the servant of Ba'l, whom Awariku² made powerful, king of the Danunites.

Ba'l made me a father and a mother to the Danunites. I have restored the Danunites. I have expanded the country of the Plain of Adana from the rising of the sun to its setting. In my days, the Danunites had everything good and plenty to eat and well-being. I have filled the storehouses of Pa'r. I have added horse to horse, shield to shield, and army to army, by virtue of Ba'l and the Gods (*El*). I shattered the wicked. I have removed all the evil that was in the country. I have set

¹ Or perhaps: "chief official (*habarakku*) of Ba'l."

² Awariku most probably was the father of Azitawadda.

up my lordly houses in good shape and I have acted kindly toward the roots of my sovereignty.³

I have been sitting upon the throne of my father. I have made peace with every king. Yea, every king considered me his father because of my righteousness and my wisdom and the kindness of my heart.

I have built strongholds in all the outposts at the borders in places where there were evil men, gang-leaders, none of whom had been subservient to the House of Mupsh. I, Azitawadda, placed them underneath my feet. I have built strongholds in those places, so that the Danunites might dwell in peace of mind.

I have subdued powerful countries in the west which the kings who were before me had not been able to subdue. I, Azitawadda, subdued them. I have brought them (their inhabitants) down and established them at the eastern end of my borders, and I have established Danunites there (in the west). In my days, there was, within all the borders of the Plain of Adana, from the rising of the sun to its setting, even in places which had formerly been feared, where a man was afraid to walk on the road but where in my days a woman was able to stroll, peaceful activity,⁴ by virtue of Ba'l and the Gods (El). And in all my days, the Danunites and the entire Plain of Adana had plenty to eat and well-being and a good situation and peace of mind.

I have built this city. I have given it the name of Azitawaddiya, for Ba'l and Reshef-Šprm commissioned me to build it. I have built it, by virtue of Ba'l and by virtue of Reshef-Šprm, with plenty to eat and well-being and in a good situation and in peace of mind to be a protection for the Plain of Adana and the House of Mupsh, for in my days, the country of the Plain of Adana had plenty to eat and well-being, and the Danunites never had any night in my days.

Having built this city and having given it the name of Azitawaddiya, I have established Ba'l-Krnrtyš in it. A sacrific(ial order) was established for all the molten images: for the yearly sacrifice an ox, at the [time of pl]owing a sheep, and at the time of harvesting a sheep.

May Ba'l-Krnrtyš bless Azitawadda with life, peace, and mighty power over every king, so that Ba'l-Krnrtyš and all the gods of the city may give Azitawadda length of days, a great number of years, good authority, and mighty power over every king! And may this city possess plenty to eat⁵ and wine (to drink), and may this people that dwells in it possess oxen and small cattle and plenty to eat and wine (to drink)! May they have many children, may they be strong numerically, may they serve Azitawadda and the House of Mupsh in large numbers, by virtue of Ba'l and the Gods (El)!

If there be a king among kings and a prince among princes or a man who is (just) called a man⁶ who shall wipe out the name of Azitawadda from this gate and

put down his own name, even if he has good intentions toward this city but removes this gate which was made by Azitawadda and makes for the (new) gate a (new) frame and puts his name upon it, whether he removes this gate with good intentions or out of hatred and evil, let Ba'lshamem and El-the-Creator-of-the-Earth and the Eternal-Sun and the whole Group of the Children of the Gods (El) wipe out that ruler and that king and that man who is (just) called a man! However, the name of Azitawadda shall endure forever like the name of sun and moon!

KILAMUWA OF Y'DY-SAM'AL

This autobiographical account, composed in connection with the dedication of a palace, was discovered in 1902 in modern Zinjirli in northwest Syria. It dates from the second half of the ninth century B.C. The text consists of two parts. In the first part, king Kilamuwa boasts of his success in foreign policy, and in the second part, he praises his domestic accomplishments. He states that he improved the position of the *mškbm*, possibly an oppressed sedentary element of the population, on whose undisturbed relations with another group, the *b'rrm*, possibly referring to "wild" Bedouins, peace in his realm depended.

Y'dy, whose vocalization is uncertain, might be the capital city of the realm, to be vocalized Yu'addiya or the like (cf. Azitawadda-Azitawaddiya), which later on came to be known as Sam'al. The latter, however, might have been the name of a larger region or country.

For a brief bibliography, cf. F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography* (New Haven, 1952), p. 11, fn. 2 (*American Oriental Series*, 36). Cf. also *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, IV (Berlin, 1911), pp. 374-77 (*Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen*, 14); H. Bauer, *ZDMG*, LXVII (1913), pp. 684-91; M. Lidzbarkii, *Ephemeris*, III (Giessen, 1909-15), pp. 218-38; C. C. Torrey, *JAOs*, XXXV (1915-17), pp. 364-69; A. Alt, *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, LXXV (1939), pp. 16-20; B. Landsberger, *Sam'al* (Ankara, 1948), pp. 50 ff. (*Veröffentlichungen der Türkischen Historischen Gesellschaft*, series 7, XVI); A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les Araméens* (Paris, 1949), pp. 42 f.*

I am Kilamuwa, the son of Hayya. Gabbar became king over Y'dy but he was ineffective. There was *Bmh* but he was ineffective. There was my father Hayya but he was ineffective. There was my brother Sha'il but he was ineffective. But I, Kilamuwa, the son of *Tm*,¹ what I achieved, the former (kings) did not achieve.

My father's house was in the midst of mighty kings. Everybody stretched forth his hand to eat it. But I was in the hands of the kings like a fire that eats the beard, like a fire that eats the hand. The king of the Danunites (tried to) overpower me, but I hired against him the king of Assyria, (who) gave a maid for a lamb, a man for a garment.²

I, Kilamuwa, the son of Hayya, sat upon the throne of my father. Before the former kings, the *mškbm* went (cowed) like dogs. I, however, to some I was a father. To some I was a mother. To some I was a brother. Him

³ The "roots" may be the residential and capital cities of the realm, or the royal offspring. The decision would seem to lie with the Hittite text.

⁴ Literally: "work (Akk. *dullu*) with spindles."

⁵ With reference to Prov. 3:10, H. L. Ginsberg points out that *šb'*, as contrasted with *mš*, has the concrete meaning of "corn."

⁶ That is, an ordinary human being without titles of any sort.

¹ Many suggestions have been made to explain these two letters but the one considering them the name of Kilamuwa's mother—to be corrected to Tammat—remains the most plausible one for the time being.

² Kilamuwa apparently used a proverb in which a buyer boasts of a good bargain. He not only hired the mighty king of Assyria, but was able to do so cheaply.

who had never seen the face of a sheep, I made the possessor of a flock. Him who had never seen the face of an ox, I made the possessor of a herd of cattle and a possessor of silver and a possessor of gold. He who had not (even) seen linen since his youth, in my days he was covered with byssus. I took the *mškbm* by the hand. They were disposed (toward me) as an orphan is to his mother.

If one of my children who shall sit in my place should damage this inscription, may the *mškbm* not respect the *b'rrm*, and may the *b'rrm* not respect the *mškbm*!

He who smashes this inscription, may his head be smashed by Ba'l-Samad who belongs to Gabbar, and may his head be smashed by Ba'l-Hamman who belongs to *Bmh*, and by Rakabel, the Lord of the dynasty!

BARRAKAB OF Y'DY-SAM'AL

This inscription of a remote successor of the afore-mentioned Kilamuwa was found in Zinjirli in 1891. It was set up about 730 B.C. A relief representing the same Barrakab is published in *ANEP*, no. 460. His seal and silver ingots are published in *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, v (Berlin, 1943), pp. 73 and 119 f., pl. xxxviii (*Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen*, 15). Bibliography: *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* (Berlin, 1893-1911), I, p. 66; iv, pp. 377-80, pl. LXVII (*Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen*, 11 and 14); M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898), p. 443 f., pl. xxiv; G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), pp. 180-84; B. Landsberger, *Sam'al* (Ankara, 1948), p. 71.*

I am Barrakab, the son of Panamu, king of Sam'al, servant of Tiglath-pileser, the lord of the (four) quarters of the earth.

Because of the righteousness of my father and my own righteousness, I was seated by my Lord Rakabel and my Lord Tiglath-pileser upon the throne of my father. The house of my father has profited¹ more than anybody else, and I have been running at the wheel of my Lord, the king of Assyria, in the midst of mighty kings, possessors of silver and possessors of gold. I took over the house of my father and made it more prosperous than the house of one of the mighty kings. My brethren, the kings, are envious because of all the prosperity of my house.

My fathers, the kings of Sam'al, had no good house. They had the house of Kilamu, which was their winter house and also their summer house. But I have built this house.

Cultic Inscriptions

BEN-HADAD OF DAMASCUS

The stela with this inscription was discovered, apparently in 1939, in an ancient cemetery about four miles north of Aleppo, probably not *in situ*. It may, however, have originally been set

¹ cf. H. L. Ginsberg, *Studies in Koheleth* (New York, 1950), p. 3, fn. 24; *id.*, *Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research*, xxi (1952), pp. 35-37, for a discussion of the root 'ml.

up somewhere in the neighborhood of Aleppo. It dates from about 860 B.C. Bibliography: M. Dunand, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, III (1939), pp. 65-76; VI (1942-43), pp. 41-45; W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, no. 87 (1942), pp. 23-29; W. F. Albright and G. Levi Della Vida, *BASOR*, no. 90 (1943), pp. 30-34; H. L. Ginsberg, *Louis Ginsberg Jubilee Volume* (New York, 1945), pp. 159-71; A. Jepsen, *AfO*, xvi (1952), pp. 135-37.*

A stela set up by Barhadad, the son of T[abrimmon, the son of Hezion], king of Aram, for his Lord Melqart, which he vowed to him and he (then) heard his voice.

KILAMUWA OF Y'DY-SAM'AL

A gold sheath found in Zinjirli. For its date, cf. above, no. 3, p. 500. Bibliography: *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, v (Berlin, 1943), p. 102, pl. XLVII (*Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen*, 15); B. Landsberger, *Sam'al* (Ankara, 1948), p. 47, fn. 102; K. Galling, *BASOR*, no. 119 (1950), pp. 15-18; Donner-Röllig, No. 25 (I, p. 5, II, p. 35).

A *smr* (*sheath, scepter?*) fashioned by Kilamuwa, the son of Hayya, for Rakabel.

May Rakabel give him a long life!

ZAKIR OF HAMAT AND LU'ATH

This historical inscription, dating from the early years of the eighth century B.C., was composed in connection with the dedication of a statue of Ilu-Wer, an avatar of Hadad. It was found in 1904 in a place about twenty-five miles southwest of Aleppo which in modern times is called Afis and which appears to have been mentioned in this inscription as Apish. Bibliography: H. Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul* (Paris, 1907), pp. 156-78, pls. IX, X, XXXV, XXXVI; M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, III (Giessen, 1909-15), pp. 1-11; C. C. Torrey, *JAOS*, xxxv (1915-17), pp. 354-64; M. Noth, *ZDPV*, LII (1929), pp. 124-41.*

A stela set up by Zakir, king of Hamat and Lu'ath, for Ilu-Wer, [*his god*].

I am Zakir, king of Hamat and Lu'ath. A humble man I am. Be'elshamayn [*helped me*] and stood by me. Be'elshamayn made me king over Hatarikka (Hadrach).

Barhadad, the son of Hazael, king of Aram, united [seven of] a group of ten kings against me: Barhadad and his army; Bargush and his army; the king of Cilicia and his army; the king of 'Umq and his army; the king of Gurgum and his army; the king of Sam'al and his army; the king of Milidh and his army. [All these kings whom Barhadad united against me] were seven kings and their armies. All these kings laid siege to Hatarikka. They made a wall higher than the wall of Hatarikka. They made a moat deeper than its moat. But I lifted up my hand to Be'elshamayn, and Be'elshamayn heard me. Be'elshamayn [*spoke*] to me through seers and through *diviners*. Be'elshamayn [*said to me*]: Do not fear, for I made you king, and I shall stand by you and deliver you from all [these kings who] set up a siege against you. [*Be'elshamayn*] said to me: [*I shall destroy*] all these kings who set up [a siege against you and *made this moat*] and this *wall* which

.....

[. . .] *charioteer* and *horseman* [. . .] its king in its midst [. . .]. I [*enlarged*] Hatarikka and added [to it] the entire district of [. . .] and I *made him ki[ng . . .]* all these strongholds everywhere within the bor[ders].

I built houses for the gods everywhere in my country. I built [. . .] and Apish [. . .] and the house of [. . .].

I set up this stela before Ilu-Wer, and I wrote upon it my achievements [. . .]. Whoever shall remove (this record of) the achievements of Zakir, king of Hamat and Lu'ath, from this stela and whoever shall remove this stela from before Ilu-Wer and banish it from its [place] or whoever shall stretch forth his hand [to . . .], [may] Be'elshamayn and I [Ilu-Wer and . . .] and Shamash and Sahr [and . . .] and the Gods of Heaven [and the Gods] of Earth and Be'el-[. . . deprive him of h]ead and [. . . and] his root and [. . . , and may] the name of Zakir and the name of [his house endure forever]!

*(See Addenda).

YEHAWMILK OF BYBLOS

This ex-voto has been known since 1869, but a fragment completing most of its lower right-hand corner was found only sixty years later. It appears to date from the fifth or fourth century. The identity of the second of the three main objects which Yehawmilk here dedicates to his goddess has not yet been fully cleared up. Instead of an *engraved object*, it might have been a *door*. Bibliography: CIS, I, no. 1, pl. 1; M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898), p. 416, pl. III; G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), pp. 18-25; M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos* (Paris, 1937-39), I, p. 56, pl. xxxix; *id.*, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, v (1941), pp. 57-85, pl. v; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Semitica*, III (1950), pp. 35-44.*

I am Yehawmilk, king of Byblos, the son of *Yeharba'l*, the grandson of Urimilk, king of Byblos, whom the mistress, the Lady of Byblos, made king over Byblos.

I have been calling my mistress, the Lady of Byblos, [and she heard my voice]. Therefore, I have made for my mistress, the Lady of Byblos, this altar of bronze which is in this [courtyard], and this *engraved object* of gold which is in front of this *inscription*¹ of mine, with the *bird (winged sun?)* of gold that is set in a (*semiprecious*) stone, which is upon this *engraved object* of gold, and this portico with its columns and the [*capitals*] which are upon them, and its roof: I, Yehawmilk, king of Byblos, have made (these things) for my mistress, the Lady of Byblos, as I called my mistress, the Lady of Byblos, and she heard my voice and treated me kindly.

May the Lady of Byblos bless and preserve Yehawmilk, king of Byblos, and prolong his days and years in Byblos, for he is a righteous king. And may [the mistress,] the Lady of Byblos, give [him] favor in the eyes of the gods and in the eyes of the people of this country and (that he be) pleased with the people of this country.

¹ The text here seemingly has "*engraved work of mine*," but this might be a mistake of the stonemason for a word meaning "inscription."

[Whoever you are,] ruler and (ordinary) man, who might [*continue*] to do work on this altar and this *engraved work* of gold and this portico, my name, Yehawmilk, king of Byblos, [you should put with] yours upon that work, and if you do not put my name with yours, or if you [*remove*] this [*work and transfer this work from its foundation*] upon this place and [. . . , may] the mistress, the Lady of Byblos, [*destroy*] that man and his seed before all the Gods of Byblos.

THE MARSEILLES TARIFF

The two blocks of stone containing this inscription were found in Marseilles in 1845. The stone used for them is known to occur in the region of Carthage. Thus, it is possible that the document originally belonged to a temple in Carthage. However, the possibility that a similar kind of stone might also have been quarried in the neighborhood of Marseilles apparently has not yet been sufficiently explored. The date of the inscription is uncertain; it may date from the third century or the early part of the second century B.C. The text is carefully engraved. It is provided with a title, and each paragraph begins with a new line. Bibliography: CIS, I, no. 165, pl. xxxvii; M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898), p. 428, pl. xi; *id.*, *Kanaanäische Inschriften* (Giessen, 1907), pp. 47-51 (*Altsemitische Texte*, 1); G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), pp. 112-22.*

TEMPLE OF BA'L-[ZAPHON]

Tariff of payments set up [by the men in charge of] the payments in the time of [the lords Hilles]ba'l, the suffete, the son of Bodtanit, the son of Bod[eshmun, and Hillesba'l], the suffete, the son of Bodeshmun, the son of Hillesba'l, and their colleagues.

For an ox, as a whole offering or a *substitute offering* or a complete whole offering, the priests shall have ten—10—silver (pieces) for each. In the case of a whole offering, they shall have, over and above this payment, meat [weighing *three hundred—300*]. In the case of a *substitute offering*, they shall have *neck*¹ and *shoulder joints (chuck)*, while the person offering the sacrifice shall have the skin, *ribs*, feet, and the rest of the meat.

For a calf whose horns are *still lacking somewhat and . . .*, or for a *stag*, as a whole offering or a *substitute offering* or a complete whole offering, the priests shall have five—5—silver [pieces for each. In the case of a whole offering, they shall have, over and] above 'his payment, meat weighing one hundred and fifty—150. In the case of a *substitute offering*, they shall have *neck* and *shoulder joints*, while [the person offering the sacrifice] shall have the skin, *ribs*, feet, [and the rest of the meat].

For a ram or a goat, as a whole offering or a *substitute offering* or a complete whole offering, the priests shall have one—1—shekel of silver and 2 *zr*² for each. In the case of a *substitute offering*, they shall have, [over and above this payment, *neck*] and *shoulder*

¹ Other guesses are *knucklebones*, or *short ribs* (G. Levi Della Vida, *RSO*, xxxix [1964], p. 303 f.).

² *zr* is the name of a small coin or, possibly, the abbreviation for such a coin, as 'a below is an abbreviation of the name of another unit smaller than *zr*.

joints, while the person offering the sacrifice shall have the skin, *ribs*, feet, and the rest of the meat.

For a lamb or for a kid or for a *young stag*, as a whole offering or a *substitute offering* or a complete whole offering, the priests shall have three quarters of silver and [2] *zr* [for each. In the case of a *substitute offering*, they shall have, over and] above this payment, *neck* and *shoulder joints*, while the person offering [the sacrifice] shall have the skin, *ribs*, feet, and the rest of the meat.

For an *'gnn* bird or a *šš* (bird), as a complete whole offering or a *ššf* offering or a *hzt* offering, the priests shall have three quarters of silver and 2 *zr* for each. [The person offering the sacrifice] shall have the meat.

[For] any (other) bird or a holy *oblation* or a hunt offering or an oil offering, the priests shall have 10 'a' of silver for each [. . .].

For any *substitute offering* which they shall have to carry to the God, the priests shall have *neck* and *shoulder joints*, and for a *substitute offering* [. . .].

Upon a *cake*² and upon milk and upon fat and upon any sacrifice which someone is to offer as a meal-offering, [the priests shall have . . .].

For any sacrifice which shall be offered by persons poor in³ cattle or poor in fowl, the priests shall have nothing [whatever].

Any *citizen* and any scion (*of a noble clan*) and any participant in a banquet for the God and anybody who shall offer a sacrifice [. . .], those men shall make payment per sacrifice as specified in a written document [which was set up under . . .].

Any payment which is not specified in this tablet shall be made according to the written document which [was also set up . . . under Hillesba'1, the son of Bodtan]it and Hillesba'1, the son of Bodeshmun, and their colleagues.

Any priest who shall accept a payment contrary to what is specified in this tablet shall be fined [. . .].

Any person offering a sacrifice who shall not give the [*money for*] the payment [which is specified in this tablet . . .].

THE CARTHAGE TARIFF

A number of fragments very similar in contents to the preceding Marseilles Tariff have also been found in Carthage itself over a number of years beginning with 1858. Three of those fragments, though not parts of the same monument, were recognized by J.-B. Chabot as belonging to identical texts, and Chabot's reconstruction has been followed in this translation. The date of the Carthage Tariff is about the same as that of the Marseilles Tariff. Bibliography: *CIS*, 1, no. 167, pl. xxxvii; M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898), p. 429, pl. xii; *id.*, *Kanaanäische Inschriften* (Giesesen, 1907), p. 51 f.; G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), p. 123 f.; P. Berger, *RHR*, LXI (1910), pp. 279-90; J.-B. Chabot, *JA*, series xi, vol. xvii (1921), pp. 177-84; Donner-Röllig, Nos. 74 and 75 (1, p. 16, ii, p. 92 f.).

² *bl* may mean "fodder" as in Hebrew. It is certainly possible that fodder was offered for the animals of the temple.

³ "Without" (H. L. Ginsberg); "with" (J.-G. Février, G. Levi Della Vida).

Tariff of payments set up by [the men in charge of the payments . . .].

[For an ox, as whole offerings or *substitute offerings*], the priests [shall have] the skins, and the person offering the sacrifice the *fat parts* [. . .].

For a *stag*, [as whole offerings or *substitute offerings*], the priests [shall have] the skins, and the person offering the sacrifice the *fat parts* [. . .].

For a ram or a goat, as whole offerings or as *substitute offerings*, the priests shall have the skins of the goats, and the person offering the sacrifice shall have the *ribs* [. . .].

For a lamb or for a kid or for a *young stag*, as whole offerings or *substitute offerings*, the priests shall have the skins [. . .].

For any sacrifice which shall be offered by persons poor in cattle, the priest shall have nothing whatever.

For an *'gnn* bird or for a *šš* (bird), 2 *zr* of silver for each.

[For any *substitute offering* wh]ich he shall have to carry to the God, the priest shall have *necks* and *shoulder joints* [. . .].

[Upon any] holy [*oblation*] and upon a hunt offering and upon an oil offering [. . .].

Upon a *cake* (*fodder*) and upon milk (fat) and upon a sacrifice as a meal-offering and upon [. . .].

Any payment which is not specified in this tablet shall be made [according to the written document . . .].

Any priest who shall take [. . .].

Any person offering a sacrifice who [. . .].

Any person who shall trade [. . . , and who] shall shatter this tablet [. . .].

Pds, the son of Eshmunhilles [. . .].

THE KING OF KEDAR

One of four silver bowls with brief Aramaic inscriptions found, it seems, around 1950 at Tell el-Maskhuta about twelve miles west of Ismailia in Egypt and dating from the fifth century B.C. Bibliography: I. Rabinowitz, *JNES*, xv (1956), pp. 1-9, and xviii (1959), p. 154 f.

Offered to Han-llat by Qaynu, the son of Gashm, king of Kedar.

PUNIC EX-VOTO INSCRIPTIONS

The first two of these stelas were discovered at Salamambo between 1945 and 1950 and published by J.-G. Février in *CIS*, 1, Nos. 5684 and 5685, Pls. xcvi and xcix. They appear to belong among the oldest Punic inscriptions known so far, possibly dating from about as early as 600 B.C. The other two stelas, dating from a considerably later period, were found at El-Hofra in Constantine in 1950 and published by A. Berthier and R. Charlier, *Le Sanctuaire punique d'El-Hofra* (Paris, 1955), Nos. 28 and 55, pp. 29-31, 49-51, Pls. II A and VII A. All of them belong to a type of monument that over the last century and a half has become known in hundreds of specimens, most of them inscribed with basically identical inscriptions. A few of the texts contain the word *mlk* which has been recognized as a cultic term denoting some kind of sacrifice. *mlk* appears at times modified by such words as 'mr, "lamb," 'dm, "man" (?), or b'l ("Ba'al," or "citizen," or, rather unlikely, "instead of an infant"). Occasionally, one also finds other cultic expressions added, such as *bshrm btm*, of which the first, crucial element is most obscure and has again been thought to refer to human (infant) sacrifices. Whatever their precise significance, the relevance of these monuments and the inscriptions they bear to Canaanite cult practices characterized by the OT terms *molech* (*molech*) and *topheth* seems quite well established and has been discussed extensively, cf. the following additional bibliography: J.-G. Février, *JA*, ccxliii (1955), pp. 52-55; *id.*, *JA*, ccxlviii (1960), pp. 167-87; *id.*, *REJ*, NS, IV, 3 (cxix) (1964), pp. 7-18; Donner-Röllig, No. 61 (I, p. 14, II, pp. 76-78); G. Levi Della Vida, *RSO*, xxxix (1964), p. 303; (Jean and) Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 45, 154, 325; S. Moscati, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, xxxviii (1965-66), pp. 1-8 (on the excavations in Mozia [Sicily], Monte Sirai [Sardinia], and Tas Silg [Malta]).

a. A stela of *mlkt b'l* made by Bodisi, the son of Melqartgadd, for the Lord Ba'al Hammon.

b. A stela of *mlk b'l* given by Magon, the son of Hanno, to Ba'al Hammon.

c. For the Lord, for Ba'al Hammon, *mlk 'dm bshrm*, completely, vowed by 'Afishshihar, because He heard his voice and blessed him.

d. For the Lord, for Ba'al Hammon, *mlk 'mr* (*molchomor*), a vow vowed by Akborat, the daughter of [...].

Incantations

THE AMULET FROM ARSLAN TASH

The limestone plaque containing this inscription was purchased in 1933 at Arslan Tash, the ancient Hadattu. At the time, two such plaques were obtained but only one has been published so far. The language of the inscription is an undetermined Canaanite dialect; the writing is of an Aramaic type. It would seem to date from the seventh century B.C. According to the interpretation presented below, we have here the text of an incantation named after a certain *Ssm*, possibly a mythological being of Anatolian (or Egyptian?) provenance but not a full-fledged god such as is pictured on the reverse of the plaque. The incantation is directed against the winged sphinx and the she-wolf devouring a human being, both pictured on the obverse and collectively called the "stranglers," that is, female demons supposed to cause the death of infants and children. It may have been intended to facilitate childbirth and to make sure that the newborn infant would not fall prey to the "stranglers." However, the reading of the crucial passage at the end which is often translated: "May her womb be opened and may she give birth! . . . When the sun rises, travail and give birth!" is

based upon the doubtful reconstruction of missing words and upon an uncertain and, it seems, unwarranted emendation of what is actually written.

Bibliography: Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Mélanges syriens offerts à R. Dussaud*, I (Paris, 1939), pp. 421-34 (*Bibliothèque archéologique et historique*, xxx); A. Dupont-Sommer, *RHR*, cxx (1939), pp. 133-55; W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 76 (1939), pp. 5-11; T. H. Gaster, *Orientalia*, NS, XI (1942), pp. 41-79; *id.*, *JNES*, VI (1947), pp. 186-88; H. Torczyner, *JNES*, VI (1947), pp. 18-29; *ANEP*, No. 662; A. van den Branden, *Bibbia e Oriente*, III (1961), pp. 41-47; Donner-Röllig, No. 27 (I, p. 6 f., II, pp. 43-47).

An incantation for *the female flying demon*. The "bond" of *Ssm*, the son of *Pdrsh* (?).

Take *these*¹ and say to the strangling females: The house I enter you shall not enter, and the courtyard I tread you shall not tread. An eternal bond has been established for us. *Ashshur* has established (it) for us, and all the divine beings and *the majority of the group* of all the holy ones, through the bond of heaven and earth *for ever*, through the bond of Ba'al, *the lord of the earth*, through the bond *of the wife* of Hawron, *whose utterance is pure*, and *her seven co-wives* and the eight wives of Ba'al . . .

(On the sphinx:) *To the female demon that flies in the dark chamber* (say): Pass by, time and again, Lili(t)!

(On the she-wolf:) *To the robbing, slaying female* (say): Go away!

(On and around the deity:) *Sz zt, may his [mouth] not (?) open . . . Let the sun rise, eternally, eternally!*²

THE URUK INCANTATION

A tablet inscribed with cuneiform characters originating from Uruk (Erech) was acquired by the Louvre in 1913. Already its first editor, F. Thureau-Dangin, tentatively determined its language as Aramaic. The date of the tablet is uncertain. It may possibly come from the third century B.C.

Bibliography: F. Thureau-Dangin, *Textes cunéiformes*, VI (Paris, 1922), No. 56, Pl. cv; P. Jensen, *Der aramäische Beschwörungstext in spätbabylonischer Keilschrift* (Marburg, 1926); C. H. Gordon, *AJO*, XII (1937-39), pp. 105-17; *id.*, *Orientalia*, NS, IX (1940), pp. 29-38; B. Landsberger, *AJO*, XII (1937-39), pp. 247-58; A. Dupont-Sommer, *RA*, xxxix (1942-44), pp. 35-62.

I have taken a (magic) bond from the wooden roof,³ in silence, from the threshold of the gate. I have put it underneath my tongue. I have entered a house full of words, a tongue-tied table, a mixing bowl (full) of poison. When they saw me, the house full of words fell silent, the tongue-tied table was upset, the mixing bowl (full) of poison was poured out.

I have been successful, and I am successful . . . [. . .], before adults and children, women and men, . . . and those assembled and sitting at the gate, before so-and-so, from *everything*.

¹ i.e., the amulets of this type. More than one was needed for effective protection. The indicated uncertainty of the interpretation lies in the spelling 'lh, instead of the expected 'l. The verb may be masculine or feminine (sg.), depending on whether the magician is addressed, or the woman who is to wear the amulets.

² Torczyner: "The sun has risen, the morning shines."

³ Or, perhaps, "wall."

Remove, drive out pains! Defective one, be wh[ole]!
Lame one, run! Find companions, excessive one!
Finally, (you all) rise!

Speak, dumb one! Rise, silent one!

Who is angry, who is enraged, who is clothed in the garment of anger, (has) fire in his mouth, (has) *mixtures (of spittle)* underneath his tongue? So-and-so, the son of so-and-so, is angry and enraged, is clothed in the garment of anger, (has) fire in his mo[uth], (has) *mixtures (of spittle)* underneath his tongue. I am wise . . . [. . .].

I have taken a (magic) knot from [*the threshold ?*], soundless(ly), from the room [(below) the roof]. I have entered into the presence of so-and-so . . . [. . .]. I have made him take off the garment of anger. I have clothed him in the garment of . . . I have taken the fire from his mouth, the *mixtures (of spittle)* from underneath [his tongue]. My good things from his mouth [*come forth*], my evil things from *his posterior* [. . .], before adults and children, women and men, [. . . and those assembled] and sitting at the gate, and before s[o-and-so . . .].

[*Remove, drive out pains!*] Defective one, [be whole]! Lame one, run! Find companions, excessive one! *Finally*, (you all) rise!

Speak, dumb one! Rise, silent one!

Political Documents

THE TREATY BETWEEN KTK AND ARPAD

The inscriptions containing this treaty originate from a locality called Sujin near Sfire, or, as seems more likely, from the village of Sfire itself, about sixteen miles southeast of Aleppo. The block of basalt on which the portion of the treaty designated Sfire I is inscribed was broken horizontally into two parts, with the loss of a few lines in between. In addition to the text inscribed upon the front and the back of the block (designated I A and I B, although it is by no means clear which is the recto and which is the verso), one side of it is also inscribed (Sfire I C). Another version is preserved in a very fragmentary fashion (Sfire II). It is similarly inscribed upon a stela reconstructed from a number of preserved fragments. Another portion of the treaty (Sfire III) has been recovered from nine fragments of a stela. In this case, only one inscribed side, apparently the verso, is preserved.

The treaty dates from about 750 B.C. The identity of *Ktk* has not yet been established. *Ktk* has been vocalized *Katikka* (Alt), and it has been identified with *Kas/shku* or *Urartu* (Dupont-Sommer), *Hatarikka-Hadrach* (Landsberger), *Assyria* (Dossin), and a locality named *Kis(s)ik* (Noth). Cf. also R. Degen, *Die Welt des Orients*, iv (1967), pp. 48-60.

The inscriptions became known to scholars in 1930, but no usable photographs or first hand studies of the originals were published until 1956-58. Bibliographical references, now largely obsolete, are given in F. Rosenthal, *Die Sprache der palmyrenischen Inschriften* (Leipzig, 1936), p. 5, fn. 2 (*MVAG*, xli); *id.*, *Die aramaische Forschung* (Leiden, 1939), p. 13, fn. 5. Cf. S. Ronzevalle, *Mélanges de l'Université St.-Joseph*, xv (1931), pp. 237-60, Pls. xxxix-xlv; H. Bauer, *AfO*, viii (1932), pp. 1-16; A. Alt, *ZDMG*, lxxxviii (1934), pp. 233-58; G. Dossin, *Le Muséon*, lvii (1944), pp. 147-55; B. Landsberger, *Sam'al*

⁴ The subjects addressed in this paragraph are all female. The subject addressed in the following paragraph is male.

(Ankara, 1948), p. 59, fn. 147; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les Araméens* (Paris, 1949), pp. 56-60.

An *editio princeps* of Sfire I and II was published by A. Dupont-Sommer, in collaboration with J. Starcky, in *Les Inscriptions araméennes de Sfire* (Paris, 1958) (*Extrait des mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, xv), while Sfire III was published by the same scholars in *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, xiii (1956, but, it seems, released at some later date), pp. 23-41. Cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, xx (1958), pp. 444-76; *id.*, *JAOs*, lxxxii (1961), pp. 178-222; E. Vogt, *Biblica*, xxxix (1958), pp. 269-74; F. Rosenthal, *BASOR*, 158 (1960), pp. 28-31; M. Noth, *ZDPV*, lxxxvii (1961), pp. 118-72; S. Gevirtz, *VT*, xi (1961), p. 144; K. R. Veenhof, *Bi. Or.*, xx (1963), pp. 142-44; Donner-Röllig, Nos. 222-24 (i, pp. 41-45, ii, pp. 238-74, iii, p. 65), where further literature is cited; J. C. Greenfield, *Acta Orientalia*, xxix (1965), pp. 1-18; *id.*, *JSS*, xi (1966), 98-105; A. Dupont-Sommer, in F. Rosenthal (ed.), *An Aramaic Handbook*, i, pp. 3-6; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire* (Rome, 1967) (*Biblica et Orientalia*, 19).

(Sfire I A)

A treaty of Barga'yah, king of *Ktk*, with Matti'el, the son of 'Attarsamak, king of [Arpad; a t]reaty of the sons of Barga'yah with the sons of Matti'el; a treaty of the sons of the sons [and the offspring] of Barga'yah with the offspring of Matti'el, the son of 'Attarsamak, king of Arpad; a treaty of *Ktk* with [a treaty of] Arpad; a treaty of the inhabitants of *Ktk* with a treaty of the inhabitants of Arpad; a treaty of . . . [. . .] and with all Aram and with Musr and with his (*Matti'el's*) sons who will come up after him, and [. . .] all upper and lower Aram, and with anybody entering and [eav- ing] the royal house, [all those who have h]ere set up this treaty.

This treaty concluded by Barga'yah [*is set up* before . . .] and *Mulleh* (?), before Marduk and Zerpanit, before Nabu and T[ashmet, before Irra and Nus]k, before Nergal and Las, before Shamash and *Nur*, before S[in and Nikkal, be]fore Nikkar and *Kd'h*, before all the Gods of *Rhbh* and '*dm*, [before . . . Hadad of A]leppo, before Sibitti, before El and 'Elyon, before Heaven [and Earth, before A]byss and Sources, and before Day and Night. Witnesses all [you] G[ods be for it]! Open your eyes to behold the treaty of Barga'yah [*with Matti'el, king of Arpad*]!

If Matti'el, the son of 'Attarsamak, kin[g of Arpad,] is false to [*the Gods of this treaty*, and i]f the offspring of Matti'el is false [to . . . (large break) . . . Seven rams shall tup] a ewe, and she shall not become pregnant. Seven [wetn]urses shall anoint [*their breasts* and] suckle a boy, and he shall not be sated. Seven mares shall suckle a colt, and it shall not be s[ated. Seven] cows shall suckle a calf, and it shall not be sated. Seven ewes shall suckle a lamb, and [it shall not be s]ated. His seven *daughters* shall go in search of food, and they shall not *arouse concern*.

If Matti'el is false [to Barga'yah and to] his son and to his offspring, his kingdom shall be a kingdom of sand, (nay) a kingdom (like) a dream that *fades* like fire. [May Ha]dad [*pour out*] everything evil on earth and in heaven, and every trouble. And may he pour out *hai[lstones]* upon Arpad. Seven years shall the locust

eat. Seven years shall the worm eat. Seven [years shall] *blight* come upon the face of *its* land, and no grass shall sprout, so that nothing green can be seen and its vegetation does not [appear]. The sound of the cithara shall not be heard in Arpad and among its people, *only* . . . and *only* [mournful sou]nds⁵ and lamentation. The Gods shall send every kind of devouring pest against Arpad and against its people. The mo[uth] of snakes [*shall devour*], the mouth of scorpions, the mouth of *bears*, the mouth of panthers,⁶ and moths and lice. [There shall be no] *foliage*. *Defoliated*,⁷ it will be laid waste. Its vegetation will not ripen. Arpad shall be a (desolated) mound for [. . . and] gazelles, foxes, hares, wild-cats, owls, [. . .], and *magpies*. [*This tow*]n, and *Mdr'*, *Mrbh*, *Mzh*, *Mblh*, *Shrn*, *Tw'm*, *By'l*, *Bynn*, [. . . , 'rnh, Hzz, and 'dm⁸ shall not be mentioned (ever after).

As this wax is consumed by fire, thus Arpad [and its dependencies] shall be consumed *ext[ensively]*. Hadad shall sow in them salt and water cress. And *it shall not be mentioned (ever after)*.

This *bandit* and [. . .] is Matti'el. *It is he himself*.

As this wax is consumed by fire, thus M[at]ti'el shall be consumed [by fire].

As this bow and these arrows are broken, thus *Inurta* (*Ninurta*) and Hadad shall break [the bow of Matti'el] and the bow of his nobles.

As a man of wax *is blinded*, thus Matti'el shall *be blinded*.

[As] this calf is cut up, thus Matti'el and his nobles shall be cut up.

As [. . .], thus the wives of Matti'el and the wives of his offspring and the wives of his nobles shall *work as slaves*.

As [. . .] and have her face boxed, thus . . . [. . .].

(The text of the upper part of Sfire I B is quite similar to that in I A. The lower portion spells out, as does Sfire III, details of the obligations incumbent upon the parties to the treaty. Only three or four paragraphs seem reasonably clear so far.)

(Sfire I C)

[If . . .] *they thus* say and *write* whatever [I, Matti'el,] have written as a reminder for my son [and the son of] my son who will come up [after me], [*they*] will be made prosperous [before] the Sun, [and no]thing evi[l will be done to] my ro[yal hou]se, [and] the house of M[at]ti'el . . .].

May [he who observes the words of this stela] be guarded by the Gods as to his day and as to his house.⁹ But whoever does not observe the words of the inscription on this stela but says: I shall *efface* some of its

⁵ Read, perhaps, *hn lmrq whn[ln]qh. Nqh*, the croaking of the raven (cf. Syriac and the corresponding Arabic *n'q*), is the harbinger of bad news. *Mrq* at first sight suggests its ordinary meaning of "disease." However, it may mean here some other kind of ominous noise ("crushing"?).

⁶ Or, *wasps* and *ants*? In Sfire II A 9, lions seem to be mentioned in the same context, offering a good parallel to panther. But here, among reptiles and insects, bears and panthers are strangely out of place.

⁷ *Qabtn* may be an adjective ending in *-tn*, from the root (Arabic) *qab*, (Hebrew) *qib/p*.

⁸ These seem to be twelve dependencies of Arpad.

⁹ That is, his life and property, unless the meaning is: "during his own lifetime and that of his posterity."

words, or I shall upset the good things and put down evil ones, on the day he will do so, that man and his house and all that is *in it* shall be upset by the Gods, and *he (his house)* be turned upside down, and that (man) shall not *acquire*¹⁰ a name!

(Sfire II C)

(While most of the preserved text of Sfire II A and B permits a coherent translation only where the missing links can be supplied on the basis of Sfire I and III, the concluding portion is quite clear.)

[. . . and he who inten]ds to *efface* these inscriptions from the Bethels where they are set up and says: I shall destroy the inscriptions, and *tomorrow* I shall destroy *Kzk* and its king, but (who) himself is afraid to *efface* the inscriptions from the Bethels and (therefore) says to someone who does not know:¹¹ I shall hire (you), and commands (him) to *eff[ace]* these inscriptions from the Bethels . . . [. . .].

[*But if they observe this treaty* . . .], the God[s] of the trea[ty] in this inscription [*shall guard*] Matti'el, his son, the son of his son, his offspring, all the kings of Arpad, all his nobles, and their people, as to their houses and their days.

(Sfire III)

[. . .] or to your son or to your offspring or to one of the kings of Arpad and s[pea]ks [ag]ainst me or against my son or against the son of my son or against my offspring in the manner of any one man who blows hot and speaks evil words, you must not accept from him the words (he says) to my detriment [and to the detriment of my son]. You must turn them over into my hands. Your son must turn (them) over to my son. Your offspring must turn (them) over to my offspring. The offspring of [anyone of the k]ings of Arpad must turn (them) over to me. Whatever is good in my eyes, I shall do to them. If you do not do so, you will have been false to all the Gods of the treaty in [this] inscription.

If one of my officials or one of my brothers or one of my eunuchs or one of the people under my control flees from me and becomes a fugitive and goes to Aleppo, you must not pro[vide f]ood for them, and you must not say to them: Stay peacefully in your place, and you must not cause them to be disdainful of me. You must placate them and return them to me. If not, they shall [remain] in your land to be quiet there until I come and placate them. If you cause them to be disdainful of me and provide food for them and say to them: Stay where you are and pay no attention to him, you will have betrayed this treaty.

When I send my messenger to anyone of the kings around me or to anyone who is a friend of mine, to (exchange) greetings or for any of my business, or he sends his messenger to me, the road shall be open to me. You must not (try to) exercise control over me in this respect and you must not contest i[t](s) use) with

¹⁰ This translation presupposes, of course, a form of *rshh* with infixed *t*, which is not normal in these inscriptions and in Aramaic.

¹¹ Not just an ignoramus but someone who is unaware of the curse awaiting the destroyer of the inscription.

me. If you do not do so, you will have betrayed this treaty.

If it happens that one of my brothers or one of the house of my father or one of my sons or one of my officers or one of my officials or one of the people under my control or one of my enemies seeks my head to kill me and to kill my son and my offspring, if it is me they kill, you must come and avenge my blood from the hand of my enemies. Your son must come to avenge the blood of my son from his enemies. The son of your son must come to avenge the blood of the son of my son. Your offspring must come to avenge the blood of my offspring. If it is a city, you must slay it with the sword. If it is one of my brothers or one of my slaves or [one] of my officials or one of the people under my control, you must slay him and his offspring, his supporters, and his friends with the sword. If you do not do so, you will have been false to all the Gods of the treaty in this inscription.

If the idea to kill me comes to your mind and you bring it upon your lips,¹² and the idea to kill the son of my son comes to the mind of the son of your son and he brings it upon his lips, or if the idea to kill my offspring comes to the mind of your offspring and they bring it upon their lips, and if (such an) idea comes to the mind of the kings of Arpad, whenever someone dies (as a result), you will have been false to all the Gods of the treaty in this inscription.

If [my] son who will sit upon my throne quarrels with one of his brothers or conceives a hatred of him, you must not let loose your tongue among them, saying to them: Kill your brother, or imprison him and [do not] set him free! For if you make peace among them, he will not be killed and he will not be imprisoned. So, if you do not make peace among them, you will have betrayed this treaty.

When a fugitive of mine flees to one of the kin[gs around] me and a fugitive of theirs flees and comes to me, if mine is returned, I shall return [theirs and] you must not (try to) hinder me. If you do not do so, you will have betrayed this treaty.

You must not let loose your tongue in my house and among my sons and among [my] brothers and among [my] offspring and among my people, saying to them: Kill your lord, and be in his place, for he is not better than you! Someone will avenge [my blood. If you] commit treachery against me or against my sons and against my offspring, you will have been false to all the Gods of the treaty in this inscription.

[Tl'ym], its villages, its inhabitants, and its territory belong to my father and to [his house for]ever. When the Gods drove out the house [of my father, it] came to belong to someone else. But now, the Gods have brought about the return of the house [of my father . . .] my father and Tl'ym has returned to [. . .] and to his son and to the son of his son and to his offspring forever. [If . . .] my son, and my offspring quarrels [with your offspring concern]ing Tl'ym, its villages,

¹² The expected reference to the sons of the two parties is missing.

and its inhabitants, whoever brings up [. . . k]ings of Arpad [. . .], you will have betrayed this treaty.

If [. . .] and they bribe whatever king who [. . . all tha]t is beautiful and all that is go[od . . .].

Sepulchral Inscriptions

AHIRAM OF BYBLOS

This inscription, found in 1923, is the oldest of the documents translated here and is now quite generally dated in the early tenth century B.C. Its technical execution leaves much to be desired, and it should be noted that sepulchral inscriptions occasionally are less carefully executed than other types of monumental inscriptions. Bibliographical references are given by P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte* (Paris, 1928-29), pp. 236-38, pls. CXXXVIII-CXLI (*Bibliothèque archéologique et historique*, 11), cf. p. 238, fn. 1, and by W. F. Albright, *JAOS*, LXVII (1947), p. 154 f., cf. p. 153, fn. 1. Cf. further, R. Dussaud, *Syria*, v (1924), pp. 135-45, 386-88; L. H. Vincent, *RB*, xxxiv (1925), pp. 183-203, pl. VIII; C. C. Torrey, *JAOS*, XLV (1925), pp. 269-79; S. Ronzevalle, *Mélanges de l'Université St.-Joseph*, XII (1927), pp. 1-40; K. Gallinger, *Die Welt des Orients*, 1950, pp. 421-25.*

A sarcophagus made by [It]oba'l, the son of Ahiram, king of Byblos, for Ahiram, his father, as his eternal (<dwelling->)place.

If there be a king among kings and a governor among governors and an army commander up in Byblos who shall uncover this sarcophagus, let his judicial staff be broken, let his royal throne be upset! May peace flee from Byblos, and he himself be wiped out!

Written by (before ?). . .

AGBAR, PRIEST OF THE MOON-GOD IN NERAB

Found in 1891 at Nayrab in the immediate neighborhood of Aleppo, the monument probably dates from the seventh century. Bibliography: C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Études d'archéologie orientale*, II (Paris, 1897), pp. 182-223 (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences historiques et philologiques*, 113); M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898), p. 445, pl. xxv; G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), pp. 189-91, pl. VI; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les Araméens* (Paris, 1949), pp. 87 and 116.*

Belonging to Agbar, priest of Sahr, in
Nerab. This is his picture.

Because of my righteousness before him, he gave me a good name and prolonged my days. On the day I died, my mouth was not closed to words, and with my eyes, what do I see? Children of the fourth generation, who wept for me, being distraught.

They did not place with me a vessel of silver and bronze. With my garments they placed me (here), lest in the future my couch be removed.

Whoever you are who shall do wrong and remove me, may Sahr, Nikkal, and Nusk cause him to die a miserable death, and may his posterity perish!

TABNIT OF SIDON

This inscription, which was excavated in 1887, dates, as is now generally held on historical and archaeological grounds, from Achaemenid times, apparently, the early fifth century (cf. also no. 4, n. 4). Bibliography: M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898), p. 417, pl. iv; *id.*, *Kanaanäische Inschriften* (Giessen, 1907), p. 15 f.; G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), pp. 26-30; C. C. Torrey, *JAOS*, LVII (1937), pp. 405-07.*

I, Tabnit, priest of Astarte, king of Sidon, the son of Eshmun'azar, priest of Astarte, king of Sidon, am lying in this sarcophagus.

Whoever you are who might find this sarcophagus, don't, don't open it and don't disturb me, for no silver has been *given* me, no gold and no *jewelry* whatever has been *given* me! Only I (myself) am lying in this sarcophagus.

Don't, don't open it, and don't disturb me, for such a thing would be an abomination to Astarte! But if you do open it and if you do disturb me, may (you) not have any seed among the living under the sun or resting-place together with the shades!

ESHMUN'AZAR OF SIDON

Eshmun'azar's great sarcophagus was found near Sidon in 1855. It is dated about fourteen years later than the preceding inscription. Bibliography: *CIS*, I, no. 3, pl. II; M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898), pp. 417 f., pl. iv; *id.*, *Kanaanäische Inschriften* (Giessen, 1907), pp. 16-19; G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), pp. 30-39; C. C. Torrey, *JAOS*, LVII (1937), pp. 397-410.*

In the month of Bul, in the year fourteen—14—of the reign of Eshmun'azar, king of Sidon, the son of king Tabnit, king of Sidon, king Eshmun'azar, king of Sidon, spoke as follows:

I have been snatched away before my time, the son of a *number of restricted* days, an orphan, the son of a widow. I am lying in this casket and this grave, in a place which I (myself) built.

Whoever you are, ruler and (ordinary) man, may he not open this resting-place and may he not search in it for anything, for nothing whatever has been placed into it! May he not take the casket in which I am resting, and may he not carry me away from this resting-place to another resting-place! Even if people goad you, do not listen to their talk, for any ruler and any man who

shall open this resting-place or who shall take up the casket in which I am resting or who shall carry me away from this resting-place—may they not have a resting-place with the shades, may they not be buried in a grave, and may they not have son and seed to take their place! And may the Holy Gods abandon them to a mighty ruler who (might) rule them, in order to cut down that ruler or man who shall open this resting-place or who shall take up this casket, as well as the seed of that ruler or those men! May they have no root down below and no fruit up on top, and *may they be cursed*¹ among the living under the sun, for I *am to be pitied*,² I was snatched away before my time, the son of a *number of restricted* days, an orphan, the son of a widow, I am.

For I, Eshmun'azar, king of Sidon, the son of king Tabnit, king of Sidon, the grandson of king Eshmun'azar, king of Sidon, and my mother, Amo'ashtart, priestess of Astarte, our mistress the queen, the daughter of king Eshmun'azar, king of Sidon, (we are) the ones who built the houses of the gods, the house of [Astarte] in Sidon-by-the-Sea, and we (also) established Astarte in Shamem-Addirim.³ We are the ones who built a house for Eshmun, the Holy Prince, (at) the *Ydll* Spring in the mountain, and we established him in Shamem-Addirim. We are the ones who built houses for the gods of Sidon in Sidon-by-the-Sea, a house for the Lord of Sidon and a house for 'Ashtart-Shem-Ba'l. Furthermore, the Lord of Kings⁴ gave us Dor and Joppa, the mighty lands of Dagon, which are in the Plain of Sharon, in accordance with the important deeds which I did. And we added them to the borders of the country, so that they would belong to Sidon forever.

Whoever you are, ruler and (ordinary) man, may he not open it and may he not uncover me and may he not carry me away from this resting-place and may he not take up the casket in which I am resting, lest these Holy Gods abandon them and cut down that ruler and those men and their seed forever!

¹ Or perhaps: "may they not have any stately appearance."

² *Nhn* may actually belong in the beginning of the next paragraph and reflect an attempt to start that paragraph as follows: "For we, I . . ." The remainder of this paragraph is out of place here.

³ For these sections of Byblos, cf. O. Eissfeldt, *Ras Shamra und San-chunjon* (Halle, 1939), pp. 62-67, 109-27 (*Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums*, 4).

⁴ In related Phoenician inscriptions, this title refers to the Ptolemaic ruler, but it occurs already in a seventh-century Aramaic papyrus from Egypt and there refers to the king of Egypt. Here, it would seem to refer to the Achaemenid king.

South-Arabian Inscriptions

TRANSLATOR: A. JAMME

The historical period of South Arabia begins, according to common opinion,^{1a} with the eighth century B.C., and is definitively closed by the Moslem occupation in the first half of the seventh century A.D. Its inscriptions are chiefly in the dialects spoken in the four great kingdoms of Saba', Ma'in, Qataban, and Ḥaḍramawt. Exclusively historical texts have been excluded from this collection; they require a long commentary, for many important historical facts are still uncertain. In addition, South-Arabian studies are still in the period of decipherment; consequently the translations must be accompanied by critical remarks and explanations. For all the South-Arabian divinities, see my paper *Le panthéon sud-arabe préislamique d'après les sources épigraphiques*, in *Le Muséon*, LX (1947), pp. 57-147.

In addition to abbreviations listed on pp. XIX-XXI the following appear frequently in notes on these translations:

CIH Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Pars Quarta, Inscriptiones Himyariticas et Sabaeas continens (I-III), Paris, 1889-1929.

RÉS Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique (V-VII), Paris, 1928-1950.

Sitz.A.W.W., Ph.-hist.Kl. Sitzungsberichte, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Euting, Glaser, Halévy, Jamme, Philby, Collections of South-Arabian inscriptions known by the name of the person who found the texts.

SE Collection of South-Arabian texts copied by the South-Arabian Expedition of the Academy of Sciences in Vienna.

Sabaeen Inscriptions

1. Mâreb, capital of Saba', is famed for the dam west of the city, and the great temple 'Awwâm southeast of it. The following text mentions the building of the enclosure wall of this sanctuary, and was carved on the outside of the wall itself. Glaser 484 = N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien zur Lexicographie und Grammatik des Altsüdarabischen*, II (Vienna, 1917), in *Sitz.A.W.W., Ph.-hist.Kl.*, 185. Bd., 3. Abh., pp. 7-11 = *CIH* 957 = *RÉS* 3624.

Yada'il Ḍariḥ, son of Sumhu'alay,¹ *mukarrib*² of Saba',

^{1a} Cf. K. Mlaker, *Die Hierodulenlisten von Ma'in nebst Untersuchungen zur altsüdarabischen Rechtsgeschichte und Chronologie* (Leipzig, 1943), pp. 75 ff. and 102; W. F. Albright, *The Chronology of Ancient South Arabia in the Light of the First Campaign of Excavation in Qataban* (Baltimore, 1950), p. 7; H. von Wissmann-M. Höfner, *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie des vorislamischen Südarabien*, in *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Abh. der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, Jahrgang 1952, No. 4 (Mainz, 1953), p. 7; and G. Ryckmans, in A. Fakhry, *An Archaeological Journey to Yemen (March-May, 1947)*, I (Cairo, 1952), p. 155; but J. Ryckmans, *L'institution monarchique en Arabie méridionale avant l'Islam (Ma'in et Saba)* (Louvain, 1951), p. 1: the ninth century B.C.; and A. F. L. Beeston, *Problems of Sabaeen Chronology*, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XVI (1954), p. 44: the sixth century B.C.

¹ *yd'ul/ḍrḥ/bn/smh'ly*: second *mukarrib* in J. Ryckmans, *L'institution*, p. 68, and first in A. F. L. Beeston, *Problems*, pp. 46 and 49; H. von Wissmann-M. Höfner (*Beiträge*, p. 30) date this *mukarrib* in the 8th century B.C.

² *mkrb*: the meaning of this word is still uncertain; e.g. J. Ryckmans' explanation (*L'institution*, pp. 51-52) is far from being convincing; there is no proof for the usual rendering "priest-king" (cf. J. H. Mordtmann-E. Mittwoch, *Sabäische Inschriften*, Hamburg, 1931, p. 15, note 2).

walled 'Awwâm, the temple of 'Ilumquh,³ when⁴ he sacrificed to 'Attar⁵ and [when] he established⁶ the whole community [united] by a god and a patron and by a pact and a [secret] trea[ty].⁷ By⁸ 'Attar and by Hawbas⁹ and by] 'Ilumquh.¹⁰

2. On the top of Jebel el-Falag (near Mâreb), is a beautiful votive stela,¹ on the lower part of which a boustrophedon inscription commemorates the reason for its erection by a man who was granted transport for an important building. Glaser 737 = Glaser 1099² = M. Höfner-N. Rhodokanakis, *Zur Interpretation altsüdarabischer Inschriften*, III, in *WZKM*, XLIII (1936), pp. 212-13 = *RÉS* 4635 = *Jamme* 538.

← Bi'attar, he of [the family of] Ḥa(lil),³ son of 'Ilqawwâm, (I)

→ he⁴ of [the clan of] Barahum, erected [and] built⁵ the stela⁶ of 'Aṭ-

← tar and Sami⁷ and of Ḍât-Himyâm⁸ and of Wadd-

³ *lmqh*: lunar god, the first divinity of the Sabaeen pantheon; cf. also the commentary on *Jamme* 510/2.

⁴ *ywm*: this conjunction means literally "in the day of."

⁵ *ṭr*: star-god; cf. also the commentary on *Jamme* 559/18 and note.

⁶ *hwst*, cf. *CIH*, II, p. 13B; N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II, p. 8; M. Höfner-N. Rhodokanakis *Zur Interpretation altsüdarabischer Inschriften*, in *WZKM*, XLIII (1936), p. 96.

⁷ *kl/gwm/d'lm/wšymm/wq/ḥblm/wḥ[mr]m*, cf. A. Jamme, *Le panthéon*, p. 117, note 524. This formula, indicating that the divinity ('I and 'šym) was taken as witness to a pact of confederation, does not prove that the organization of the Sabaeen community was a theocracy (N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II, p. 11, followed by A. F. L. Beeston, *Problems*, p. 46, note 2). On the other hand, this formula introduced by *hwst* "he established" points out an important development in Sabaeen history with regard to the confederation of the tribes, but is not necessarily connected with the foundation of a dynasty (A. F. L. Beeston, *Problems*, p. 46); cf. *CIH* 367 and *RÉS* 2831/2 (no. 8 of the present collection).

⁸ *ḥṭr*: *b* has the same meaning as instrumental Arabic *bi* (M. Höfner, *Altsüdarabische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1943, pp. 142-43) introducing an invocation to the divinity.

⁹ *hubs*: another name of the Sabaeen lunar god.

¹⁰ *[b'ṭr/wb/hubs/wb/]'lmqh*: in spite of the fact that the text mentions the building of the wall of a temple dedicated to 'Ilumquh, the final invocation begins with 'ṭr and mentions 'lmqh in the third place. There is perhaps a survival from an older stage of the religion, in which 'ṭr was venerated as the first god.

¹ cf. the small drawing in A. Grohmann, *Göttersymbole und Symboltiere auf südarabischen Denkmälern* (Vienna, 1914), p. 38, fig. 84.

² *RÉS* 3398 mentions a part of it.

³ *ḥ(lil)*: more probable interpretation of the remains on the stone; it is strange to find the family name mentioned before the name of the father.

⁴ *bn/-bn/-*: the first *bn* introduces the name of the father, and the second that of the clan, cf. A. Jamme, *Pièces épigraphiques de Heid bin 'Aqil, la nécropole de Timna' (Hagr Kohlân)* (Louvain, 1952), pp. 20-23, formula G.

⁵ *bny*: verb rather than common noun (M. Höfner-N. Rhodokanakis, p. 212) because of the substantive *mbny* in ll. 4 and 5.

⁶ *qyf*: the exterior aspect of the monument does not allow the translation of *qyf* either as "stelznaltar" (M. Höfner-N. Rhodokanakis, pp. 212-13) or as "incense altar" (*RÉS*, VI, p. 144); this *qyf* is not an altar. M. Höfner and N. Rhodokanakis (p. 216, note 1) admit the existence of the root **qwl* (may better be **qyf*). The root *wqf* "to stand (upright)" is attested by Landberg (*Glossaire dafinois*, III, Leiden, 1942, p. 2934, and *Ḥaḍramawt*, Leiden, 1901, p. 17, note 1); it seems better to adopt the preceding meaning for South-Arabian *q(y)l*, which can hardly be translated as "cult stone" (A. F. L. Beeston, *Sabaeen Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1937, p. 83).

⁷ *sm*: name of the lunar god honored as the god "who listens to," that is to say "who hearkens to."

⁸ *ḍt/hmyn*: name of the sun-goddess characterized as "she who darts forth her rays."

- um,⁹ when he was appointed for transport for the building of the entrance court¹⁰
 ← of Sumhu'alay¹¹ and [for] the building [which] he planned and (5)
 → made strong.¹²

3. Another stela found¹ in Ma'rib (north-northwest of Mâreb) bears a boustrophedon text commemorating both the erection of this monument and the hunt which took place on that occasion. Glaser 797 = E. Glaser's translation published in A. Grohmann, *Göttersymbole*, pp. 20-21 = *RÉS* 3625 B² = N. Rhodokanakis, *Altsabäische Texte*, II, in *WZKM*, xxxix (1932), pp. 191-92 = *RÉS* 4177 = M. Höfner-N. Rhodokanakis, *Zur Interpretation*, III, pp. 213-14 = A. F. L. Beeston, *Sabaeen Inscriptions*, p. 83 = A. F. L. Beeston, *The Ritual Hunt*, in *Le Muséon*, LXI (1948), pp. 184-85.

- ← sym- Yata'amar Bayyin, son of Sumhu- (1)
 → bols³ 'alay,⁴ muḳarrib of Saba', erected
 ← the stela⁵ of the two gates⁶ of Númum,⁷ when he hunted
 → the hunting by 'ttr and by pits.⁸

4. The funeral stela was in common use among the South-Arabian peoples. On this stela, found at Mâreb in 1947, the "identity card" of the person is engraved on the top above the depression in which a human head is shown in relief.¹ Fakhry 13 = A. Fakhry, *An Archaeological Journey to Yemen (March-May, 1947)*, III (Cairo, 1951), pl. XL and XLI, and I (1952), p. 101 = G. Ryckmans, *Epigraphical Texts* [in French], t. II of A. Fakhry, *An Archaeological Journey* (Cairo, 1952), p. 11 = my paper, *Inscriptions sud-arabes de la collection Ettore Rossi* (En appendice, la collection Tazzer), note 6 (to be printed).

⁹ *wdm*: name of the lunar god venerated in Ma'in as "love."
¹⁰ *m'lm*: M. Höfner-N. Rhodokanakis (p. 213, note 2) relate this word to Ethiopic 'elām and to Hebrew 'elammōt.
¹¹ *sm'h*: well-known personal name of several muḳarribs (e.g. *CIH* 636) and kings of Saba' (e.g. *RÉS* 3903/1-2).
¹² *ryd/wwšq*: verbs; for *ryd*, cf. *ruḏ* in the dialect of Daḡinah: "to want, wish, plan" (Landberg, *Glossaire*, II (1923), pp. 1542 ff.); for *wšq*, cf. Arabic *waṭiqa* (M. Höfner-N. Rhodokanakis, p. 213, note 4) in the second form "to consolidate, strengthen, make firm or strong" (G. W. Freytag, *Lexicon arabico-latinum*, p. 664 A).

¹ cf. H. von Müller-N. Rhodokanakis, *Eduard Glaser's Reise nach Mârib* (Vienna, 1913), p. 92 A.

² The last five words were already published a few months before by N. Rhodokanakis, in *WZKM*, xxviii (1914), p. 112 = *RÉS* 3625 A.

³ On the left of ll. 1-2, two symbols: a bundle of lightning bolts and a ḏ (cf. A. Grohmann, *Göttersymbole*, p. 20 B and fig. 37 c).

⁴ cf. H. von Wissmann-M. Höfner (*Beiträge*, p. 26): about 650 B.C.; cf. also A. F. L. Beeston, *Problems*, p. 48.

⁵ *qf/qyf*, cf. another example of paronomasia in ll. 3-4: *šd/syd*.

⁶ *hfy* "of the two gates"; probably between the two gates rather than near them (M. Höfner-N. Rhodokanakis, p. 214).

⁷ There was no temple at all on the top of Jebel al-Falag (cf. the preceding text); consequently, *nwm* could be the name of the muḳarrib's house or of another important building; cf. the Thamudic clan name *num* (A. van den Branden, *Les inscriptions thamoudéennes*, Louvain, 1950, p. 260; HU 600) and the modern Arabic personal names *Noume* (fem.) and *Noumân* (masc.) (J. J. Hess, *Beduinennamen aus Zentralarabien*, Heidelberg, 1912, p. 51 B).

⁸ *ymn/šd/syd/ttr/wkrwm*: N. Rhodokanakis' interpretation of the grammatical case of 'ttr/wkrwm is obviously right. Since 'ttr is also known as a clan name (*CIH* 434/1 and 461/10), as well as *wdm* (*RÉS* 4852/4 = no. 22), where the religious meaning of the word most certainly is not recalled, it seems possible that 'ttr of the present text, like *krw*, might indicate a special kind of weapon or of hunting craft without any actual relation to the star-god 'Attar. For *krw*, cf. N. Rhodokanakis (*WZKM*, xxviii, 1914, p. 112) who rightly translates it "pits." A. F. L. Beeston's interpretation of this text with regard to the sacred meaning of the hunting game is possible.

¹ cf. another example in Jamme 536 = A. Jamme, *An Archaic Dextrograde Sabaeen Inscription from Mâreb*, in *BASOR*, no. 134, April 1954, pp. 25-26.

Ḥay(û)m [of the family of] Ga'irân²

5. A large number of Sabaeen texts are dedicatory inscriptions. The present text from Mâreb tells of the offering of a bronze statue; it probably mentions the judicial clearing of a man who was falsely considered as a member of a conspiracy, although he had resisted the propaganda made by 'Awwsum. This text also mentions the punishment of a girl ordered by the divinity. University Museum (Pennsylvania) 30-47-96 = photograph published by L. Legrain, *Au pays de la reine de Saba*, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXVI (1934), p. 66, fig. 2 = translation proposed by G. Ryckmans, in *Le Muséon*, XLVIII (1935), pp. 164-68 (= *RÉS* 4233) and corrected by K. Mlaker, *Die Hierodulenlisten von Ma'in* (Leipzig, 1943), pp. 56-57 and notes p. 67.

(1) [. . .]rwadd and [. . .] (2) [. . .]m, dedi-(ca) [ted to 'Ilumquh Tahwân,¹ master² of 'Aww[âm] (3), this [sta]tue in bronze in praise³ because vouchsafed (4) [and assist]ed 'Ilumquh Tahwân His servant Yaṣ[baḥ and] (5) his [brother or son]⁴ from the interdiction he incurred when [tried to incite]⁵ (6) him [to revolt] 'Awwsum, the Ḥawlânî, against (thei)[r] lord (7) the king; and because 'Ilumqu[h] vouchsafed and assisted (8) His servant Yaṣbaḥ in showering down upon him the favor he (9) [be]sought Him in order to punish⁶ and give away the (10) girl, who was called 'Abwafay in Kab(g)ân⁷ (11) in the city of Šibâmum. And that 'Ilumquh may continue to gr[ant] (12) His servant Yaṣbaḥ the favors he may beseech (13) [Him]; and that He may vouchsafe him the esteem and the grace of h[is] lord (14) [Naša'kar]ib Yu'[m]in Yuharhib, king of Saba' and (15) [Raydân, son of 'Ilšar]aḥ Yaḥḏub⁸ and Ya'zil Bayyin, King[s (16) of Saba' and Raydân; and that] He [may] protect their persons; and that He may preserve (17) [them from the hostility and the wicked]ness of enemy. By 'Ilumquh.

6. The public confession was known among the South-Arabian peoples.¹ The present text in relief on a bronze tablet from Medfnet Haram² mentions five transgressions, all of which concern ritual sexual purity. Glaser 1789 = Museum of Vienna 6 = *CIH* 523 = N. Rhodokanakis, *Altsüdarabische Inschriften*, in *AOT*, p. 465; cf. G. Ryckmans, *La confession publique des péchés en Arabie Méridionale préislamique*, in *Le Muséon*, LVIII (1945), pp. 1-14 *passim*.

² *mr'[r]n*: G. Ryckmans' deciphering is erroneous; for the interpretation of a formula like the present text, cf. A. Jamme, *Pièces épigraphiques*, pp. 7-10.

¹ *ghwn* describes 'Ilumquh as "the speaker"; this epithet must be connected with *ms'l* "oracle."

² *bl*: usually translated "lord" as well as *mr'*.

³ *hmdm*: commonly rendered "in thanks"; the South-Arabian and Arabic verb *hmd* means "to praise, glorify."

⁴ Mlaker's restoration *hwfyhw* does not explain the plural personal pronoun *hmw* in l. 6; it is necessary to read *wbnyhw* "and his son" or *w'hyhw* "and his brother."

⁵ *hrg*: Mlaker's conjectural restoration fits very well with l. 5.

⁶ *ḡb* in the second form.

⁷ Possibly the name of a temple.

⁸ J. Ryckmans (*L'institution*, pp. 285-86): in 24 B.C.; W. F. Albright had first agreed with this opinion (*The Chronology of Ancient South Arabia*, p. 9), but later on (*JAOS*, LXXIII, 1953, pp. 38-39) proposes the date of c. 75-50 B.C. (cf. J. Ryckmans, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, x (1953), pp. 205-11 and A. F. L. Beeston, *Problems*, pp. 52-53).

¹ A new example is Jamme 525.

² In the eastern part of Beled Hamdân.

(1) Ḥarim, son of Tawbân, avowed and did (2) penance to Dû-Samâwî³ because he drew near a (3) woman during a period illicit to him [or her]⁴ and fondled a woman during her menses (4); and that he came together with a woman in childbed; and that he went⁵ without any purification and wore his clothes (6) without purification⁶; and that he touched women (7) during their menses and did not wash himself; and that he (8) moistened his clothes with ejections. And he humbled himself (9) and abased himself and repented.⁷ And that he may be rewarded.⁸

7. In spite of particular favors received from the divinity, the offering of a statue was sometimes ordered by the god himself through his oracle. K. Y. Nâmi, Nuqûš 'arabîyat ġunûbîyat, in *Mağalla Kulliyat al-'Adâb*, ix (Cairo, 1947), pp. 1-6, no. 1.

(1) Karib'atat, (son of Ha)ytân,¹ high (2) official² of Wahab'atat, of [the tribe of] Gadanum (3), dedicated to 'Ilumquh Tahwân, master of (4) 'Awwâm, this statue in praise because³ preser[ved] (5) him 'Ilumquh in life and [because] he arose⁴ from (6) the illness he suffered in the year⁵ of Naša'karib, son of (7) Sumkarib, as He bade him (8) [by] His ora[cle]⁶; and that⁷ 'Ilumquh may continue to shower down upon (9) His servant⁸ Karib'atat all the favors [which] he may (10) beseech from Him; and that He may assist [and] protect him from (11) all illness⁹ and [from] the hostility and the wickedness of enemy. By 'Attar¹⁰

³ Although the Sabaeen god *dsmwy* was important, we still do not know his characteristics.

⁴ *hrmw*: the personal pronoun [h]w can refer to the woman as well as to Ḥarim.

⁵ *bh'* "he came into (the temple)" (cf. G. Ryckmans, p. 9) or "(the temple or the house of somebody else)" (cf. *CIH*, II, p. 238 B); these details are outside the text.

⁶ The interpretation of l. 5 B + 6 A is determined by the whole text, the meaning of which is sexual. It is thus irrelevant to allude to the possibility that this passage could refer to the obligation of changing or washing the clothes before coming in touch with the divinity (cf. G. Ryckmans, p. 9, note 24); the text does not speak either of a temple or a prayer.

⁷ F. Hommel, followed by G. Ryckmans (p. 130), translated *yhl'n < yhl'n* "to pay the fine"; this opinion is conjectural.

⁸ *lywbn* "that [the god] may reward [him]" (cf. N. Rhodokanakis). The verb is in the passive form and certainly has the same subject as all the other verbs.

¹ *hytn*, not *hyn* (cf. Nâmi, p. 3); cf. Arabic *hayyat* "band of men," also found in Saffaitic, cf. E. Littmann, *Saffaitic Inscriptions* (Leiden, 1943), p. 112, no. 417.

² *mqtwy*, cf. C. Conti Rossini (*Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica*, Rome, 1931, p. 234 B), who relates it to Arabic *qatâ* "to be familiar with the service of princes"; however, N. Rhodokanakis prefers Ge'ez *'aqatawa* and translates it "military officer" (in *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 11-22 [1938], p. 74 and note 3). The idea of a military function certainly is secondary and does not fit in the texts (G. J. Botterweck, *Altsüdarabische Glaser-Inschriften*, in *Orientalia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 437-38, no. 6/1 = A 788/1, and K. Y. Nâmi, *Našr nuqûš sâmiyyat qadîmat min ġanûb bilâd al-'arab wašarhuhâ*, Cairo, 1943, pp. 18-20, no. 14/2-3), where a woman is called *mqtwyt*. "Official" seems to be a good translation according to the etymology. Cf. also A. F. L. Beeston, *Problems*, p. 54. Contrast *Le Muséon*, LXVI (1953), p. 313.

³ *hgt* introduces two verbs expressing the reasons for gratitude.

⁴ *šr'*: first form with *kyb'y* as subject; Nâmi (p. 3): "He has cured him"; the pronoun is not mentioned in the text.

⁵ *bhrf* indicates the eponym year of the man whose name follows.

⁶ *hgn|š|thw [bms] |'hw*: reason for the offering.

⁷ *l* introduces the petitions.

⁸ The passage must be restored as *wlwz' |hwfy-9-[n] |' |' |'bdhw*: cf. *CIH* 3/9-11.

⁹ *wl|tlum|h'nnhw|bn|kl|mrđm*: the two verbs are asynchronously united (cf. *RÉS* 3869/6: Ḥaḍrami); Nâmi (p. 3) translates "and that He may grant him to cure him from all illness."

¹⁰ The restoration of a dividing stroke after *'tr* is impossible on the photograph.

(12) and 'Ilumquh and by Dât-Ḥimyâm and by Rub' [of] Hirr[ân].¹¹

Minaean Inscriptions

8. A few Minaean fragmentary inscriptions discovered in El-'Ela have been interpreted as containing South-Arabian parallels to the Hebrew Levite; this opinion does not seem to be right. Euting 37 = D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien* (Vienna, 1889), pp. 42-43, no. 17 and pl. II = *RÉS* 3351.

(1) [. . . and his] son 'A[w]s . . . (2) [. . . and all what he pos]sess to Wadd as pledge¹ . . . (3) . . . disturbs Waddum . . . (4) . . . reduced² him into his subjection; and when . . . (5) . . . 'A]ws to Wadd against whoever would remove it . . . (6) . . .³ in the temple of . . . (7) . . . Yadkur'il, he of [the clan of] 'Aḥram. . .

9. In a depression called el-Miḥyar approximately twenty minutes from the ancient capital Ma'n, J. Halévy found a stela, the four sides of which are covered with inscriptions, and only copied a part of them.¹ On the basis of E. Glaser's squeezes of the stela and several inscribed fragments, K. Mlaker published *Die Hierodulenlisten* (pp. 1-72).² These texts are written according to an almost identical formula mentioning the appointment of women to the temple.³ The countries or the cities from which these women came are always indicated; from South-Arabia: the countries of 'Awsân (Glaser 1286), Qatabân (Glaser 1266) and Ḥaḍramawt (Glaser 1253); the cities of Yatrib (*yrb*: Medina; Glaser 1288); from northern countries and cities: Mišr (*mšr*: Egypt; Glaser 1272 = *RÉS* 3445 bis, no. 35⁴), Dedan (*ddn*⁵: El-'Ela; Halévy 233/6-9 = *RÉS* 2773/1), Jawanum (*jwnm*: probably Greece; Glaser 1247), Moab (*m'b*; Glaser 1256), Liḥyân, Gaḏa and Sidon. These texts allow us to make several hypotheses either about the exact acts of the men with regard to the women mentioned, or about the fate or the activities of these women inside the temple⁶; the latter may be presented, e.g. as maids of any kind, hierodules, recluses, and so on.

(Glaser 1278:) (1) Ḥayû, son of 'Aways, he of [the family of] Ḥazmân, (2) he of the clan of Niswar, ap-

¹¹ *rb' |hr[n]*: Nâmi proposes the following translation: "the temple (of) Hirrân"; *rb'* is the name of the Sabaeen moon-god considered as "lunar quarter"; cf. the parallel *'lb/rymm* "Ta'lab [of] Riyâmum."

¹ *lw'*: H. Grimme (*Der südarabische Levitismus und sein Verhältnis zum Levitismus in Israel*, in *Le Muséon*, xxxvii, 1924, pp. 181-82) translates "pledge, loan," contrary to "priest" of J. H. Mordtmann (*Beiträge zur minäischen Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1897, pp. 42-43) and "Levite" of A. Jausen-R. Savignac (*Mission archéologique en Arabie*, II: *El-'Ela, d'Hégra à Teima, Harrah de Tebouk*, Paris, 1914, pp. 257-58, note 1). But K. Mlaker (*Die Hierodulenlisten*, pp. 57-58) rejects H. Grimme's view on the value of purification attributed to this pledge.

² *š'qs*: J. H. Mordtmann's restoration of *ys* before *š'qs* is conjectural; cf. Arabic *š'āqa* "to strike somebody (thunder)"; here in the meaning of "to reduce, subject."

³ A. Jausen-R. Savignac's translation of the three preceding words *m.mym/n|bm'tq* "offering a gift he presents himself as a freed man" does not seem to be satisfactory.

¹ *RÉS* 2773.

² Seven formulas mentioning Egypt were published by F. Hommel (*Ägypten in den südarabischen Inschriften*, 1897, pp. 25-29); five of them are reproduced in *RÉS* 3445 bis; in his translation, *RÉS* (VI, p. 161) combined nos. 35 and 43 in one formula mentioned as no. 43.

³ According to *RÉS* 2831.

⁴ Mentioned in *RÉS* as a part of Glaser 1238.

⁵ Glaser 974/3 (a fragment) mentions the gentilic adjective *ddnym*.

⁶ cf. the discussion in K. Mlaker, pp. 50-71.

pointed (?) and secluded (?)⁷ (3) his wife⁸ Masqî, free woman⁹ of (4) Lihyân.¹⁰

(Glaser 1256:) (1) 'Ilwahab, son of Ḥayû, he of [the family of] Namḥân, (2) he of the clan of Gaba'ân, appointed (?) (3) and secluded (?) 'Abba' from (4) Gaza.¹¹

(Glaser 1252:) (1) Wahab'il, son of Yaḥam'il, he of [the family of] (2) Rada', he of the clan of Gaba'ân, appointed (?) (3) and secluded (?) 'Absamî from (4) Sidon.¹²

10. The following text, engraved above the door of the temple located at el-Miḥyar, mentions the restoration of this sanctuary by a Minaean king. Two symbols are on the sides of the text, a door on the left, and on the right, a hand on a square (cf. A. Grohmann, *Göttersymbole*, pp. 53-54 and 44-46 and drawing on fig. 104). Halévy 257 = Glaser 1091 = *RÉS* 2831 = M. Tawfiq, *Ātâr Ma'in min ġauf al-Yemen* (Cairo, 1951), pp. 31-32, no. 13 and photographs 71-77 on pls. 34-37; cf. also K. Y. Nâmî, *Nuqûs Ḥaribat Ma'in* (Cairo, 1952), p. 19.

(1) Ḥalkarib Ṣaduq, son of 'Abyada',¹ king of Ma'in, built and renewed² Riṣâfum,³ the temple of 'Aṭtar, He of [the temple of] Qabḍum, and entrusted⁴ the temple (2) Riṣâfum to the care of 'Aṭtar Ṣarqân⁵ and all the divinities of [the] tribes [united] by a god and a patron and a pact and a secret treaty⁶ against⁷ anyone who would change it⁸ and against anyone who would (3) let it come to an end⁹ and against anyone who would strip¹⁰ [it] and against anyone who would commit foul acts¹¹ in the temple Riṣâfum, in war¹² and peace, in both periods of earth and heaven.¹³

¹ *skrb/wḥsr*: K. Mlaker's argumentation (pp. 29-31) seems to be based on the opinion that these women really were hierodules. For *skrb*: the primitive meaning of *krb* is "to tighten, bind" (Landberg, *Glossaire*, III, p. 2563); according to the particular value of the fourth form, *skrb* may be translated "to appoint." For *ḥsr*, the points mentioned in K. Mlaker's argument allow us to render this verb, which I consider as a second form, in "to seclude."

² *nṭs*: N. Rhodokanakis (*Altsüdarabische Inschriften*, p. 464, note h) rightly relates the pronoun *s* to Ḥayû and not to the god venerated in the temple.

³ *hrt*, cf. K. Mlaker, p. 29.

⁴ *lhyn*.

⁵ *ġzt*; the form *ġztm* is also mentioned in Glaser 1269 = *RÉS* 2773/11.

⁶ *sydn*.

¹ J. Ryckmans (*L'institution*, p. 266): before the middle of the fifth century B.C.; H. von Wissmann-M. Höfner (*Beiträge*, p. 73): at the latest before the beginning of the fifth; but W. F. Albright (*The Chronology of the Minaean Kings of Arabia*, in *BASOR*, no. 129, 1953, p. 23): about 250 B.C.

² *bny/wshdġ*: *bny* indicates not the first construction of the building, but the recent masonry works which are specified by *shdġ*.

³ *rsfm*: also the name of a Qatabanian temple located on the hill of Ḥeid bin 'Aqil (near Hajar Kohlân) and dedicated to the lunar god 'Anbay (A. Jamme, *Pièces épigraphiques*, e.g. pp. 6-7).

⁴ *rtđ* means "to entrust something to the care of" a divinity in order that the god protect it "against" (*bn*; cf. note 7) any kind of damage.

⁵ *srqn*: epithet characterizing the star-god as "the eastern."

⁶ The Minaean formula *'sbm/d'lm/wšymm/wḥblm/wḥmrm* is obviously identical with the Sabaeen expression *gwm/d'lm/wšymm/wḥ/hblm/wḥ[mr]m* (cf. no. 1).

⁷ *bn* introduces the different kinds of malefactors that the god must turn aside from the temple.

⁸ *ḡsynkrs* and not *ḡsnkrs* (*RÉS*); cf. A. Jamme, *Pièces épigraphiques*, p. 198.

⁹ *ḡysd's* and not *ḡysysd's* with dittography (*RÉS*); cf. Hebrew *yāsa'* "to cease, end, finish, go to the end." On the basis of the same Semitic root, *RÉS* (v. p. 193) translates "to rob."

¹⁰ *ḡyūrg*: *RÉS* suggestion *hrš* (v. p. 173) is definitively excluded by Tawfiq's photographs; cf. Hebrew *hārag* "to come out"; may be translated "to strip."

¹¹ *ḡy'tkr*, cf. Arabic *'akara* "to disquiet, disturb, interrupt," Syriac *'akar*

11. A large inscription engraved on the wall near the western door of the ancient Minaean capital mentions the building of towers and communication trenches and also the farming of a large estate granted by the king and the high council of Ma'in. Halévy 192 + 199 = Glaser 1150 = N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II, pp. 54-71 = *RÉS* 2774 = M. Tawfiq, *Ātâr*, pp. 24-25 and photographs 30-35 on pls. 17-19; cf. K. Y. Nâmî, *Nuqûs Ḥaribat*, pp. 1-2.

(1) 'Almân, son of 'Ammkarib, he of [the family of] Ḥad'ar, father of Ya'wis'il and Yaḍkur'il and Sa'ad'il and Wahab'il and Yasmi'il, [people of the clan of] Gaba'ân, favourites¹ of 'Abyada' Yaṭa',² king of Ma'in, consecrated and built and dedicated³ to 'Aṭtar, He of Qabḍum, and to Waddum and Nakraḥum, all the upper building⁴ and the pier support⁵ of six communication trenches and of six towers in the wall of the city

(2) Qarnawu,⁶ on the conduit of the quarter Ram-šawu from the tower [which] the judges⁷ built, to the crossroads⁸ of the city; [those trenches and those towers] which he ['Almân] built and raised⁹—which he covered with a roof¹⁰—in wood and hewn stones, and the sloping banks¹¹ of their escarpments from the building of the counter escarpment to the top, with the taxes¹² [which] 'Aṭtar, He of Qabḍ, imposed on him and with the first fruits he has taken for the divinities and with what he added from his own, when

(3) he offered [perfum]es to Wadd and sacrificed to 'Aṭtar, He of Qabḍ, and to Wadd victims in [the temple] courts //15//¹³; and when 'Abyada' Yaṭa', king of Ma'in, and the council of Ma'in, [deliberating] in

"to hinder, obstruct" and in the Ethpaël *'er'akar* "to be hindered, prohibited," Hebrew *'akar* "to disturb, make turbid, dreggy, foul." *'tkr*, the 8th form, may refer to the profanation of the temple and be translated "to bring foul or dreggy things" or "to commit foul acts" inside the sanctuary. *ysnkr*, *ysd'*, *yūrg*, and *y'tkr* point out four different major damages: the alteration, the destruction, the despoiling and the profanation of the temple.

¹² *bdrn* and not *bdrs* (*RÉS*).

¹³ *ywmyl/rđm/wsmhm*: expression meaning "for ever."

¹ *mwddt* (N. Rhodokanakis, p. 60: "friend"; cf. also J. Ryckmans, *L'institution*, pp. 35-36); these persons may have some analogy with the Sabaeen *m'dbt* (*RÉS* 4708 = Jamme 490): "courtiers."

² W. F. Albright dates this king about 340 B.C. (*BASOR*, no. 129, 1953, p. 23).

³ *šl'wbnny/wsqny*: according to the grammatical construction of the phrase, each verb is the singular with the singular subject 'Almân; but the meaning of the text (cf. line 6) shows that 'Almân and his sons are the real subject.

⁴ *tl'y*, cf. *ta'liyāh*, the infinitive of the second form of Arabic *'alā*: "raising the upper part of a construction."

⁵ *rzwr*: N. Rhodokanakis (pp. 60-61) refers to Arabic *zi'r* "corner of a fortress; counterfort; pilaster"; cf. also the modern Yemeni in E. Rossi, *Vocaboli sud-arabici nelle odierne parlate arabe del Yemen*, in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, XVIII (1940), p. 306: "column."

⁶ *qrnw*, name of the capital of the Minaean kingdom; actually Ḥaribat Ma'in, about 90 km. northwest of Māreb.

⁷ *ḥsy/nfs* are the judges whose jurisdiction only spread to cases involving persons.

⁸ *šlwz*: N. Rhodokanakis explains (p. 63) that this word could indicate the place where three roads going out from the city cross each other. *rb'n/rmsw* is mentioned at the beginning of the same line. *šlwz* may be explained if it is admitted that one road divided the city into two parts and came somewhere in the city across another road; at that junction there were three roads.

⁹ *'ly*, perfect of the second form of *'ly*.

¹⁰ *ḡll* is a parenthetical phrase.

¹¹ *ḥbz*, cf. M. Höfner, K. Mlaker und N. Rhodokanakis, *Zur altsüdarabischen Epigraphik und Archäologie*, II, in *WZKM*, XLII (1934), p. 82; cf. Arabic *ḥubz* "flat ground."

¹² *bkbwdt/dyns*: the first of three expressions indicating where the funds for the building come from.

¹³ The number refers to the quantity of victims.

the high council,¹⁴ invested 'Almân with the administration and the organization¹⁵ of what¹⁶ has been commanded for his god and his patron and his king and his tribe in war and peace; and [when] they farmed out¹⁷ to him the land [which contributed to] the building

(4) by means of the income¹⁸ from the spinning mill of the king, forty-seven cubits //47// [in height] and in breadth¹⁹ seventeen cubits //17//²⁰ and by means of [the] contribution²¹ [granted] by the law of Ma'in through public allocation of cereal: forty-seven²² *zbr*²³ //47//; and with regard to its²⁴ boundaries and its directions: from the weir²⁵ [which] the clan of Ḥandar repaired and in the direction—upstream²⁶—of the water conduit of the clan of Hawar

(5) and the irrigation canal [which] the clan of Ganad repaired, and in the direction—on the west²⁶—of the land of Ṭanuf, and in the direction—Yaṭil²⁶—of the two water conduits of the clan of 'Amam and of the water conduit of the clan of 'Ašar, in conformity with the document of his archives. By 'Attar Šarqân and by 'Attar, He of Qabḍ, and Wadd and Nakraḥum and by 'Attar, He of [the temple of] Yuhariq, and by all the divinities of Ma'in and Yaṭil, and by 'Abyada' Yaṭa', king

(6) of Ma'in, and by their tribe of Ma'in and Yaṭil.²⁷ And 'Almân and his sons entrusted their offering and their farming and their usufruct²⁸ to 'Attar Šarqân and 'Attar, He of Qabḍ, and to Wadd and Nakraḥum and

¹⁴ *bn/mšwd/mn'n*: *bn* corresponds to *b* in the parallel phrase *bmiwd/mn'n*; this expression means "in [deliberating during a session of] the high council."

¹⁵ *sšr'*: N. Rhodokanakis (p. 67) relates to Ethiopic *šārē'* "to regulate, arrange, ordain."

¹⁶ *bḥt* "in what" = "of what"; neither N. Rhodokanakis (p. 56) nor RÉS (v, p. 113) translates *b*, and both restore "of the first-fruit." The preceding restoration is superfluous.

¹⁷ *mḥd*, the subject of which is 'Abyada' Yaṭa' and the council of Ma'in, indicates the juridical, rather than the political (N. Rhodokanakis, p. 67) transfer of the administration of the land.

¹⁸ *bḥ'*: N. Rhodokanakis (p. 37) relates it to Hebrew *bā'* (root: *bw'*).

¹⁹ *rds*: "its breadth"; cf. Arabic '*arīd* "wide, broad"; by opposition, the first measurement indicates the height of the building.

²⁰ The two preceding measures give the part of the construction mentioned in line 1 as built with the income from the factory (N. Rhodokanakis, p. 68).

²¹ *šbw*, cf. Syriac *šbō'* "to leave, leave over, leave by will"; this word means the contribution granted by the Minaean state and specified by *ḍr'* "cereal"; N. Rhodokanakis (p. 69) thinks that *šbw* means the supply for the workers (indirectly true) and imposed on the country (which does not seem to be exact).

²² The number refers to the quantity of *šbw*.

²³ *zbr* is a unit of capacity the exact value of which is still unknown; notice that the post-biblical Hebrew *zibrār* means "to measure the length from shoulder to belly" (M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim*, p. 519 B), and that the measure of the height of the building is exactly the same as that of *zbr*.

²⁴ *b'wzphs*: the singular pronoun *s* refers to *r'd* of line 3 and not to the buildings mentioned in line 1 which would require the plural *sm*; in addition, the site of these latter is described at the beginning of line 2; the end of line 4 and the beginning of line 5 mention grounds, a water conduit and an irrigation canal which were evidently located outside the city itself.

²⁵ *fs'*, a weir dividing the water into two directions (N. Rhodokanakis, p. 71, note 1).

²⁶ *bn/šnn/l'*, cf. the two other parallels in line 5: *bn/šnn/dr'* and *bn/šnn/yḥl'*. It is rather difficult to admit that *l'* "upward, upstream," *dr'* "west" and *yḥl'* "Yaṭil" determine *šnn* and are determined by the following word. These three terms may be considered as parentheses with an adverbial meaning.

²⁷ *šbhsn/m'n/wyḡl*, cf. S. Smith, in *Vetus Testamentum*, II (1952), p. 287.

²⁸ *nḥl* is the economic result of farming (N. Rhodokanakis, p. 67).

all the divinities of Ma'in and Yaṭil and Ḥirrân, the torrent²⁹ of Wadd against anyone who would change them and their documents during the days of earth.

12. The present inscription, found in Ḥaribat Ma'in in 1944, mentions several offerings of buildings, possessions and animals, brought to different divinities by a family of priests of high rank,¹ who were in the service of the lunar god Waddum and whose chief was Ḥalyafa' Fayš. M. Tawfiq, *Ātār*, p. 26, no. 5, and drawing on pl. 22, fig. 41 = K. Y. Nâmi, *Nuqûš Ḥaribat*, p. 5, no. 5 = Jamme 404; cf. A. Jamme, *Les inscriptions minéennes TaAM 4 et 5*, in *Cahiers de Byrsa*, IV (1954), pp. 130-51.

(1) ³Ḥalyafa' Fayš, priest of Waddum, (so)n of 'Abkarib, father of Na(ba)ṭkarib Riyyâm and 'Ilsaduq, the two priests of Waddum, and their sons Ḥalyafa' Riyyâm and Sa'ad'il and 'A(b)karib and 'Ammsamâ', [people of the] clan of Yada',⁴ consecrated and dedicated to 'Attar,

(2) He of [the temple of] Qabḍum, and to Waddum and Nakraḥ<>um, all the building of the tower Yahir and of its passage Rata', in wood and in hewn stones, from the foundation to the top, from the jamb⁵ of the door to the tower [which] he dedicated [in] Dû-Ḥadr⁶; when he sacrificed to 'Attar, He of Qabḍ,

(3) four offerings,—each including forty-four [units] —; and when he sacrificed to the divinities black cattle and sucklings in the name of all Ma'in: freemen and workers and hirelings (and) overseers of employees⁷; and when he sacrificed to 'Attar, He of Qabḍ, and to

(4) Waddum victims on the [temple] courts; and when he built [and] dedicated to 'Attar, He of [the temple of] Yuhariq and to Nakraḥ(um) three cubits of the wall of Yaṭil, in hewn stones, from the foundation to the top; and when he consecrated (and) dedicated to (his) god 'Attar, (He) of Qabḍ, (what) he possessed.⁸

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13. A Qatabanian *muḥarrib* tells us his titles, some connected with the lunar god and his sanctuaries, others relating to landed

²⁹ *hrn ḡyl* and not *hrn/ḡyl* (RÉS, v, p. 124); cf. A. Jamme, in *Oriente Moderno*, XXIII (1953), p. 110 B.

¹ J. Ryckmans' opinion (*L'institution*, pp. 23 ff.), based on this text, with regard to the religious meaning of the structure of the Minaean state, is doubtful.

² cf. also A. Jamme, in *Oriente Moderno*, xxxviii (1953), pp. 109-11, A. F. L. Beeston, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, x (1953), pp. 199-201 and G. Ryckmans, in *Le Muséon*, LXVI (1953), pp. 401-02.

³ A magnificent bucranium is engraved on the right of lines 1-3.

⁴ For a reconstitution of this family, cf. A. F. L. Beeston, p. 199 B, and also my paper, *Les inscriptions*.

⁵ *bn/k'(b)t* "from the jamb"; for this term, cf. also the modern Yemeni word *ka'bah* "column" (E. Rossi, *Vocaboli*, p. 306). It is possible to read *k'(ḍ)t* "opening."

⁶ *ḡhrd*: this reading, which only inverts two letters in Tawfiq's copy *ḡhrd*, is the name of a Minaean month. G. Ryckmans' *ḡqbd* (p. 401) is doubtful because the star god is always mentioned in the text with his proper name 'Attar, and also because two letters must be changed.

⁷ *bsm/kl/m'nm/hrm/w'grm/wmškm/ (w)ḍbr/šqdm*, cf. my paper, *Les inscriptions*, where this difficult expression is discussed in detail. *ḍbr* in RÉS 4337 A/6 seems to be translated "overseers" instead of "community" in order to avoid the tautology *wld'm* (line 5) and *ḍbr/wld'm* (lines 6-7).

⁸ *šl'(w)sqny/l(s)l'ṭr/(ḡ)qbd/(l)(ḡ)qny*, cf. the first remark of note 7.

properties; and he finally mentions the dedication of one property to the moon divinity 'Anbay; from Wādī Beihān. SE 85 and 60 cannot be reunited as in *RÉS* 3540 (cf. A. Jamme, *La paléographie sud-arabe de J. Pirenne* [Washington, 1957], pp. 117-18 and 101-02), but SE 85 and the beginning of SE 60 are parts of a stereotyped formula.

(a 1) Šahar Hilāl . . . , son of Yada'ab,¹ *muḳarrib* (a 2) of Qatabān, first born² of 'Anbay and Ḥawkum, He of 'Amar and Šamar, (b 1) procurator³ of the clerk of the priest of 'Ammum (b 2) Ṭantum,⁴ priest⁵ and administrator⁶ of 'Amm Ray'ān, (b 3) master of the possessions [which] he measured⁷ in Dabaḥtum (b 4) and including⁸ (the) stone-cased wells⁹ in the estate (b 5) [which the tribe] Hawrān possessed, dedicated to 'Anbay, (b 6) master of the feast, his possession against (b 7) calamity (?).¹⁰

14. The present text mentions the opening of a road in the mountains, commanded by the principal Qatabanian god 'Amm and executed by 'Aws'amm, the same man who opened the road at the Meblaqaḥ pass,¹ according to the order of the *muḳarrib* of Qatabān. On the left and the right of the lines 4-7, a bucranium and above it, a monogram (cf. A. Grohmann, *Göttersymbole*, p. 66, fig. 172). SE 90 (cf. *RÉS* 3642) = M. Höfner, *Die qatabanischen und sabäischen Inschriften der südarabischen Expedition im Kunsthistorischen Museum in Wien*, II, in *WZKM*, LXII (1935), pp. 35-37 = *RÉS* 4328; cf. H. von Wissmann-M. Höfner, *Beiträge*, p. 43.

(1) Yada'ab Dubayyin, (2) son of Šahar, *muḳarrib* of Qatabān and all the (3) children of 'Amm and 'Awsān and Kaḥid and (4) Dahasum and Tabnaw and Yarfa', the southerners (5) and the northerners, pierced and bored² and put through the mountain road (6) and

¹ For the genealogy and the dating of these two persons, as well as for their relationship to those mentioned in our numbers 14 and 16, cf. W. F. Albright, *The Chronology of Ancient South Arabia*, p. 8, and H. von Wissmann-M. Höfner, *Beiträge*, pp. 43 ff. and 71-72.

² The Qatabanian people is often called (*kl*)*uld*'*m* "(all) the children of 'Amm" (cf. e.g. no. 14/2-3), so it is not surprising to see the Qatabanian *muḳarrib* Šahar Hilāl presenting himself as *kbr* "the first-born" of the same moon divinity mentioned under two different names (the singular pronoun *š* relates to the two proper names).

³ *mr* and *šmr* are names of temples, according to the unpublished texts Jamme 868-72.

⁴ *ntm*: this epithet is still unexplained.

⁵ *šhr* is according to M. Höfner-N. Rhodokanakis (*Zur Interpretation*, III, in *WZKM*, XLIII [1936], p. 216, followed by G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*, 2nd ed., Louvain, 1951, p. 30), the priest who goes around the altar.

⁶ *rby*, pl. *rby*, is an administrator of the estates belonging to a temple, and not necessarily a "priest administrator" (G. Ryckmans, *Les religions*, p. 30). The expression *šhr*/*urby* means that Šahar was at the same time priest of the temple of 'Amm Ray'ān, and administrator of the estates of this sanctuary.

⁷ *lšk*, cf. Syriac *letk*, a dry measure (J. Payne Smith, *Syriac Dictionary*, p. 245 B) and post-biblical Hebrew *letek*, a dry measure and also a land measure (M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary*, p. 720 B); here a verb (N. Rhodokanakis, p. 43, note 3) with the meaning "to measure."

⁸ *b'm*: N. Rhodokanakis (p. 43) equals *b'm* to Hebrew *mē'im* "from."

⁹ *djrm*; according to Landberg (*Hadramout*, pp. 312-13). N. Rhodokanakis considers this word as the proper name of the place. The importance of the wells, and especially of such well-built wells, explains why the *muḳarrib* kept control of them.

¹⁰ *glb*: the reading of the first two letters is uncertain. N. Rhodokanakis (p. 40) translates it "unexpected attack (? famine ?)." Because *qnyhw* "his possession" also includes the buildings, the meaning "famine?" is excluded as well as that of "unfruitful year"; cf. Arabic *gulbah* "calamity, misfortune."

¹ Cf. Groom-Beihan 12(b), in *Le Muséon*, LXII (1949), p. 78; the Meblaqaḥ pass connects Wādī Beihān to Wādī Ḥarīb.

² *wzl*: meaning dubious but like *nqz* "to bore"; "undertaking" for the word *wzl* in Groom-Beihan 12(b) as well as in line 10 of the present text, is too vague.

the pass of Zarrum on the command of 'Amm, He of [the temple of] Šaqr. By 'Amm and by (7) 'Anbay and by 'Amm, He of [the temple of] Raymatum, and by 'Amm, He of Šaqr, and by (8) Ḥawkum and by Dāt-Šantum³ and by Dāt-Zahrān³ and by Dāt-Raḥbān.³ (9) 'Aws'amm, son of Yašurr'amm, of [the family of] Madahum, directed and controlled all (10) the work and the boring² and the paving of the pass Zarrum by the order of his lord (11) Yada'ab.

15. This inscription engraved on Jebel Šeqīr (northeast of Hajar Henū az-Zurīr) mentions a work which probably was the opening of a road, by an ordinary man who entrusted it to the care of several divinities not only for himself, but also for his children and his colonists. SE 99 = M. Höfner, *Die qatabanischen und sabäischen Inschriften*, p. 41 = *RÉS* 4330 (correct copy; cf. *Le Muséon*, LXII (1949), pp. 76-77) = quotation in my copybook: W[ādī] B[eihān] 3/54.

(1) Naba'amm, son of Yaqaḥmalik, he of [the tribe of] Dara'ān, performed and pierced a boring² on the top of the fortified hill (2) Dū-Mawzadum, for his ground Dū-Dara'at and Dū-'Aṭirat; and he entrusted it to the care of 'Aṭtar and 'Amm, He of Šaqr, and (3) of Ḥawkum and Dāt-Raḥbān for him and his children and his colonists. By 'Aṭtar and by 'Amm and by (4) 'Amm, He of Šaqr, and by 'Anbay and by Ḥawkum and by Dāt-Raḥbān and by Šahar Hilāl and his son (5) Naba'amm, both kings of Qatabān.²

16. A concession is granted by a Qatabanian king to several people regarding their contribution to a temple; from Hajar Kohlān (ancient Timna'). Glaser 1395 = 1604 = SE 84 = N. Rhodokanakis, *Qatabanische Texte zur Bodenwirtschaft*, in *Sitz.A.W.W., Ph.-h.Kl.*, 194. Bd., 2. Abh., I (1919), pp. 121-130, and 198. Bd., 2. Abh., II (1922), p. 103 = *RÉS* 3691 = quotation in my copybook: T[imna'] S[outh Gate] i.

(1) Šahar Hilāl Yuhan'im, son of Yada'ab, king of Qatabān, granted and decreed on account of Ḥaṭabum, the temple of 'Amm, He of Dawanum, and on account of Rišāfūm, the temple (2) of 'Anbay Šaymān and by obedience to Šams and Rub' Šahar¹ for his people 'Ammyada' and Hufnum, both sons of Haybar, and for Hawf'il, son of Haybar (3) 'Abān, and for Ra'ab'amm, son of Ḥayū, and for 'Alayum and Yašriḥ'amm, both sons of Rabaḥ and to their brothers the administrators of 'Amm, He of Labaḥ, and to their female relationship (4) and to their children: from [the] owed part² and [the definitive] arrangement [as regards the preceding part] and [the] seizure and [the] income, [they may use them] to pay their due in voluntary offering and

³ *dī/šntm* "she who fixed," *dī/ghrn* "she who appears in her splendour" and *dī/rhbān* "she who is spacious" are three names of the Qatabanian sun-goddess and seem to describe the ascending progression of the sun in the sky.

¹ M. Höfner translates *mḥd/nqzn* "sunk a well."

² These kings may be placed in the early fourth century B.C. (W. F. Albright, *The Chronology of Ancient South Arabia*, Baltimore, 1950, p. 8).

¹ *rb'/šhr*, name of the Qatabanian moon divinity characterized as the first "lunar quarter."

² *snf*: part to be given by the colonists to the state after the estimate of the harvest made by the fiscal service; the translation of *bn* "instead of" before *snf* (A. F. L. Beeston in *Le Muséon*, LXIII [1950], pp. 267-68) is not well founded.

gift and promise to 'Amm and 'Aṭirat (5), so that will be informed the administrators of 'Amm, He of Labaḥ, and their female relationship and their sons and their daughters according to this stipulation and this concession (6). And Šahar granted to his people the administrators of 'Amm, He of Labaḥ, and to their female relationship and to their sons by privileging them according to this stipulation and this concession and (7) his [inscribed] lines. And Šahar ordered his people the administrators of 'Amm, He of Labaḥ, to write and engrave these [inscribed] lines on the valley of Labaḥ and in the apartment reserved to them in (8) the temple of 'Amm, He of Labaḥ, in Dû-Gaylum and at the entrance Dû-Šadaw in Timna', in the month of Dû-Timna', during the second eponym of Šaharum, he of [the tribe of] Yagur. (9) And may the administrators of 'Amm, He of Labaḥ, submit and do justice to this stipulation and this concession and to the concessions which wrote for them (10) Šahar Yagul.³ And Šahar signed it with his own hand.

17. Inscription found during the excavation at Heid bin 'Aqil, the cemetery of Timna', mentioning a statue as votive offering. Jamme 350 = A. Jamme, *Pièces épigraphiques*, pp. 195-99 = quotation in the field book: T[imna'] C[emetry] 969.

(1) 'Abšaduq 'Arim [woman of the family of] Wahab'il, he of [the clan of] Hīrrân, (2) and he of [the clan of] Dara'ân, dedicated to 'Anbay Šaymân (3) her votive offering¹ in Rišâfum. She entrusted [to 'Anbay's care] her female statue (4) against anyone who would change [it] from its place.

18-19. Bases of proscynemata mentioning the "identity card" of the persons who were in some way represented on the upper plate, but now actually missing. University Museum (Pennsylvania) = G. Ryckmans, *Inscriptions sud-arabes (Troisième série)*, in *Le Muséon*, XLVIII (1935), p. 174, nos. 128 and 130, and pl. iv.¹

(30-47-28 = RÉS 4569) Yaṭi'um [of the family of] Faqaḏ.²

(30-47-30 = RÉS 4571) Na'ammum [of the family of] Waqaš.²

Hadrami Inscriptions

20. An inscription in relief on a bronze plate commemorates its offering to the principal Ḥadrami lunar god and also the consecration to several divinities of two very precious things of the dedicator, the light of his eye and the thought of his heart; from Šabwa; now in the British Museum, where its number is 6(48479) = RÉS 2693.

³ *ygl* is certain on the stone; W. F. Albright (*The Chronology of Ancient South Arabia*, p. 8), followed by H. von Wissmann-M. Höfner (*Beiträge*, p. 47), dates this king about 300 B.C.

¹ Cf. also note 7 of my forthcoming paper *Inscriptions sud-arabes de la collection Ettore Rossi*.

¹ Cf. also A. Jamme, *Pièces épigraphiques*, p. 144, commentary of no. 287.

² The upper half of the dividing stroke following *fqd* and *wqš* is damaged.

(1) Šaduqḏakar Barrân, prefect of the property¹ of the king of Ḥadramawt,² son of (2) 'Ilšarah, dedicated to Šin, He of [the temple of] 'Ilum, an offering in bronze of which the (3) weight is true, reddish-brown bronze—and he offered it³—, which he promised to Šin (4) as He bade him by His oracle. And Šaduqḏakar consecrated in submission (5) to Šin, He of 'Ilum, and to 'Attar, his father, and to the goddesses of His temple 'Ilum, (6) and to the gods and goddesses of the city Šabwa, his person and his understanding and his (7) children and his possessions and the light of his eye⁴ and the thought of his heart⁵ as homage (8) and submission which may be agreeable.

On the reverse of the plate, the monogram "Sa'adšamsum (?)."⁶

21. A Ḥadrami king commemorates the rebuilding of the temple and the fortress of his capital which he has transformed; on the occasion he gave a hunting party¹ which was particularly successful; engraved on the cliff called 'Uqla about 15 km. west of Šabwa. Philby 84 = A. F. L. Beeston, Appendix on the Inscriptions Discovered by Mr. Philby, in H. St. J. B. Philby, *Sheba's Daughters* (London, 1939), pp. 448 c and 451-52, = RÉS 4912 = Jamme 949; cf. A. Jamme, *The al-'Uqlah Texts* (Washington, 1963).

(1) Yada'il Bayyin,² king of Ḥadramawt, son of Rabbšams, of the freemen of Yuhab'ir, he who transformed³ and altered³ the city Šabwat (2) and rebuilt³ in stone the temple, roofed [and] paved⁴ the fortress, when they [the temple and the fortress]⁵ collapsed and [when]⁶ they [Yada'il and his party] killed thirty-

¹ *ḏn/qny*, cf. Arabic *ādīn* "officer."

² For a title preceding the genealogy, cf. e.g. RÉS 4916 (Ḥadrami).

³ *gš'z* "its oblation-vase" (A. F. L. Beeston in *Le Muséon*, LXIII [1950], pp. 261-62). It is gratuitous to affirm the existence of "a receptacle for incense or other offerings which was placed in front of votive statues" (p. 272), and to consider *br'sm* in RÉS 4691/6 as synonym of *bšhr* in RÉS 3507 A/2.

⁴ *šbhl'yynsww*.

⁵ *ḏkrlbs*.

⁶ Possibly the name of the king mentioned in line 1 (RÉS, v, p. 49).

¹ Cf. A. S. Tritton (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, x (1940), pp. 514-15), who is also inclined to exclude the idea of sacrifice, which later on is proposed by A. F. L. Beeston (*The Ritual Hunt*, p. 191). The preceding hypothesis is not required for the interpretation of the text.

² W. F. Albright (*The Chronology of the Ancient South Arabia*, p. 11 and note 30): probably in the second century A.D.; cf. also H. von Wissmann-M. Höfner (*Beiträge*, pp. 105, 107 and 115): after A.D. 200.

³ *sqbl/wḥrr* and *ḏrs*: A. F. L. Beeston: "founded and colonized" and "built in stone"; but M. Höfner in H. von Wissmann-M. Höfner (*Beiträge*, p. 115): "destroyed and overthrew" and "damaged." Yada'ab Bayyin of the present text cannot be the founder of Šabwa, for the city had existed a long time before this king and the existence of both the fortress and the temple is attested in line 2. On the other hand, it would rather be a strange policy for the founder of a new dynasty to engrave an inscription recalling that he himself destroyed and overthrew his capital and damaged its temple. I suggest to interpret *sqbl* (cf. *qlb* in Arabic "to turn (up), change" and in Soqotri "to turn" (W. Leslau, *Lexique soqotri*, p. 374) and *ḥrr*, second form, cf. Arabic *ḥrr* "to fall down") as alluding to the complete and profound transformation of the city, which the king Yada'ab Bayyin had performed. This transformation was needed as it is indicated by the falling in of both the fortress and the temple.

⁴ *šqr/šll*: A. F. L. Beeston's translation "roofed with stone" is certainly possible, cf., e.g. RÉS 2789/2 (Minaean) which contradicts RÉS remark (VII, p. 417) with regard to the necessity of *m* or *n* after *šll*. This remark however is opposed to M. Höfner's interpretation of *šll* in "the pavings, the stone facings (?)." RÉS suggests another possibility; *šqr/šll* may be considered as two verbs asynchronously united: "he roofed and paved."

⁵ According to RÉS interpretation.

⁶ The conjunction *mt* "when" introduces the two verbs.

five bovines and eighty-two young camels⁷ and twenty-five gazelles and eight cheetahs⁷ at the fortress 'Anwadum.

22. An inscription, engraved on the same cliff as the preceding, enumerates the people who accompanied their Ḥaḍrami king on a sojourn in the fortress where coronation honors were distributed. Philby 27 + 29/1-3 = A. F. L. Beeston, *The Philby Collection of Old-South-Arabian Inscriptions*, in *Le Muséon*, LI (1938), pp. 316 and 317-18 = *RÉS* 4852 = Jamme 928 (cf. No. 21).

(1) Naṣrum, son of Nahadum, and Raqṣum, (2) son of 'Aḍmar, and Wa'ilum, son (3) of Yu'allid, and Wa'ilum, son of Baqilum (4), and 'Abkarib, he of [the

⁷ Cf. A. Jamme, *The al-'Uqlah Texts*, p. 50.

23. A fragmentary inscribed clay stamp unearthed at Beitfn, biblical Bethel, in 1957, by James L. Kelso; 7 x 8 cm. and 1.5 cm. thick; almost identical with, but different from the one seen by Th. Bent at al-Maṣhad (about 62 km. in a straight line southeast of Šibām, in Ḥaḍramawt) and whose paper squeeze, A 727, belongs to the Glaser collection. The inscription, identical in the two stamps, although slightly different from a palaeographic viewpoint, is the seal of a Ḥaḍrami *fdn* "delegate" living at Bethel and whose function was to authenticate with his seal, shipments of goods sent back to Ḥaḍramawt. Cf. G. W. Van Beek and A. Jamme, *An Inscribed South Arabian Clay Stamp from Bethel*, in *BASOR*, No. 151, October, 1958, pp. 9-16 and 4 illustrations, and A. Jamme and G. W. Van Beek, in *loc.cit.*, No. 163, October, 1961, pp. 15-18, 2 photographs and 2 tracings.

- 1 [. . . Ḥa-]
- 2 miyân, the de-
- 3 legatē.

family of] Waddum, accompanied¹ (5) their lord 'Il'add Yaluṭ, king of Ḥaḍramawt (6), son of 'Ammdahar,² when he proceeded to the fortress (7) 'Anwadum in order to sojourn³ and give titles.⁴

¹ Cf. E. Littmann, in *ZDMG*, CI (1951), p. 377.

² This king is contemporary of the Sabaean king Ṭa'rân Ya'ûb Yuhân'im (*RÉS* 4909).

³ *hmtll*: the translation "to be proclaimed" is excluded by the new text of Ingrams I (A. J. Drewes in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, XI [1954] pp. 93-94 and pl. III) cf. my paper, *L'inscription ḥaḍramoutique Ingrams I et la chasse rituelle sud-arabe*, in *Le Muséon*, LXIX (1956), pp. 99-100.

⁴ *hlqb*: A. F. L. Beeston hesitatingly translates "to assume his title" (Appendix, pp. 442-43); according to J. Ryckmans, this verb must be rendered in "to give [the king] the cognomen, the epithet" (*L'institution*, pp. 328-29). The latter opinion is excluded by the fact that both *hmtll* and *hlqb* have the same subject, the king. *lqb* designates the grant of coronation honors; cf. Arabic *lqb* and form "to entitle" (R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, II, p. 542).

24. A Qatabanian rock inscription discovered by Major M. D. Van Lessen in the Soames Hill near the Yemeni border in the vicinity of Mukérâs, with the name of a previously unknown name of a god, whose *scriptio plena*, 'lyn, may be graphically compared with the divine epitheton in the Old Testament, 'elyôn ('lywn; e.g., Dt 32:8). Jamme 889; A. Jamme, *Inscription rupestre et graffites qatabanites photographiées par le Major M. D. Van Lessen*, in *RSO*, xxxvii (1962), pp. 231-33 and tracing on p. 232.

- 1 Ḥazîyân¹ 'Ayizân
- 2 Laḥay has written to the honor of 'Aliyân,²
- 3 He of one hundred years.³

¹ To the left of lines 1-2, the monogram of Ḥazîyân.

² 'ln (also in Qatabanian Jamme 1951/3; to be published) = in *scriptio defectiva* 'lyn (e.g., in Qatabanian Jamme 1516; to be published).

³ *dm't/hryjtm*: it remains impossible at the present to figure out the exact value of this divine epitheton.

Addenda

Corrections and additions to the translations and notes of the second edition have been made at the appropriate places in the third edition wherever these changes fitted into the existing arrangement of lines and pages. However some important alterations would not fit into the text. They are given here with a reference to the quarter of the page on which they are to be read. An asterisk in the text or notes will alert the reader of the third edition to additional material in the Addenda. The Addenda has been included in the *Supplement to the Ancient Near East in Texts and Pictures* with the hope that in most instances the user may see, even without the asterisks, the line within the quarter of the page to which the additional material is relevant. Each column of the page is divided into two halves: the first column of the page into *a* and *b*; the second column, into *c* and *d*.

3a. The Pyramid Texts have been translated by S.A.B. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts in Translation and Commentary*, 4 vols. (New York, 1952), the present text translated in I, 253-54, commentary in III, 779-82, remarks on creation in IV, 60-65.

3c. For this section see T. G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead (OIP, LXXXII, Chicago, 1960)*, 88. A Middle Kingdom version in A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, IV (OIP 67, Chicago, 1951), 184-93.

7d. This text is now Spell 1130 in de Buck, *op.cit.*, VII (OIP, LXXXVII, Chicago, 1961), 461-65.

8c. Translated by A. Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (New York, 1955), 32.

10b. The 112th chapter translated in Allen, *op.cit.*, 186-87.

10d. Also Piankoff, *op.cit.*, 27-28.

12a. Also translated by Allen, *op.cit.*, 181-82, 186, 259(d).

14b. G. Lefebvre translates the story into French, *Romans et contes égyptiens* (Paris, 1949), 178-203; E. Brunner-Traut into German, *Altägyptische Märchen* (Düsseldorf-Köln, 1963), 93-107, notes on 271-75.

15d. On Seth as a fool, see H. Goedicke, *JEA*, XLVII (1961), 154.

18c. Several more ostraca are now known. The most significant recent commentary on the tale is by G. Posener, *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XIIIe dynastie* (Paris, 1956), 87-115, where it is argued that a genuine tomb autobiography may have been expanded to form a piece of propaganda for the ruling king.

19a. On Si-nuhe's route of flight, see H. Goedicke, *JEA*, XLIII (1957), 77-85.

21a. H. Goedicke, *JEA*, LI (1965), 29-47, has studied this letter of Si-nuhe.

23d. The first part translated by J. M. Plumley in *Documents from Old Testament Times*, ed. by D. W. Thomas (London, 1958), 168-71. In a version of Ptolemaic times Bata has become Seth: J. Vandier, *Le Papyrus Jumilhac* (Paris, [1961]), esp. pp. 97-111. V. Vikentiev cites parallels in Armenian in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Fouad I University*, XIV, II (1952), 97-107.

25d. Important improvements were made for the translation by Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), 306-13, not all of them incorporated into the present edition.

27d. Gardiner's translation (*op.cit.*, 310) is attractive: "And you stand chaffering over the Lebanon with Amün its lord."

27d. With J. Černý, *Egypt from the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-first Dynasty (Cambridge Ancient History, rev. ed., Cambridge, 1965)*, 39, read: "the foundations whom Amon has put in the north of his land."

28a. Instead of papyrus, Gardiner (*op.cit.*, 311), translates "plain mats, 500."

29c. Translated also by Lefebvre, *op.cit.*, 221-32; Brunner-Traut, *op.cit.*, 163-66; 293-94.

33a. For the Book of the Dead version, see Allen, *op.cit.*, 183-84.

34a. Translated by Allen, *op.cit.*, 196-207.

99c. As will be pointed out in the notes to Atrahasis this text is an integral part of that epic and is one of the earliest portions of the tale. It belongs to the first tablet of both the Old Babylonian and Assyrian versions. Our understanding of the content of the Old Babylonian version has been considerably improved by the recent study of W. von Soden, *Orientalia NS*, XXVI (1957), 306-15 which has necessitated a change in almost every line of the translation.

100d. For a recent study of incantations with introductions similar to this one see T. Jacobsen and B. Landsberger, *JNES*, XIV (1955), 14-21 and *JNES*, XVII (1958), 56-58.

101a. There have been no additions to our sources for the Adapa myth but two recent studies deserve special attention. One was published by F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl, "Die Mythe vom weisen Adapa" in *WO*, II (1954-59), 416-31 and note Plate XII on which is published photographs of fragments C and D. The other study is by G. Roux, "Adapa, Le Vent et l'Eau" in *RA*, LV (1961), 13-33. Concerning Adapa's role in tradition as the first sage and his identity with the Oannes of Berossos see W. G. Lambert, *JCS*, XVI (1962), 73-74 and J.J.A. van Dijk in *XVIII. vorläufiger Bericht über die von dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut und der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft aus Mitteln der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft unternom-*

menen Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka (Berlin, 1962), ed. H. J. Lenzen, 47-48. One should also note the statue of a man carrying fish published by L. Heuzy, *RA*, vi (1904), 56-58.

119a. The text belongs to a genre known as Poetic Autobiography on which see A. K. Grayson, *JCS*, xviii (1964), 8.

120a. A. Kammenhuber, *ZA*, LI (1955), 102-23; E. Laroche, *RHA*, LXXVII (1965), 73-78.

123a. but on earth hunger and death.

125c. 2nd ed. (1957), 139 f.; E. Laroche, *RHA*, LXXVII (1965), 65-72.

129a. For a bibliography of all important studies on these texts down to about 1960, see the bibliographies preceding the transliterations of Nos. 1-19 in Andrée Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939 (texte)*, 1963. Herdner's No. 13 is not included in pp. 129-55, and her Nos. 3 and 4 figure there in the reverse order. Each of Herdner's bibliographies is followed by an important new, annotated transliteration of the tablet in question. In the original Ugaritic script, the texts are published in the accompanying volume of the *Corpus*, which bears the same title as the other except that the parentheses at the end contain the words "figures et planches" instead of the word "texte." The *figures* are identical with the autographs which accompanied the *éditiones principes* and have not been corrected in the light of observations contained in the volume of "texte." The *planches* are photographic plates, on which the writing is probably as legible as it could be made.

162c. (requesting the delivery of his bride),

163. a *naptarum*

189b. but in case (she is) a woman, he shall give 3 minas of silver.

192c. an ox,

195c. 163: If anyone's free roaming (herd of) animals falls victim to a god-sent disease and he (the herdsman) treats them magically and drives them home, but allows them to join up with the animals belonging to (his) clan, he does not tell it, however, to his fellow (herdsman), and his fellow (herdsman) unwittingly drives his animals to be with (the treated animals) and they die therefrom—(then) replacement (is in order).

164: If anyone proceeds to take (animals) for the performance of feudal services and starts a quarrel . . . (165¹⁸) he shall give 1 sheep, 10 loaves of bread (and) 1 jug of strong beer and he shall resanctify his (the other man's) house. Till the year passes in (the course of) time, he shall let alone his (the other man's) house.

199a. A recent study of the treaty is by W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Aegyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1962), 224-31.

199b. Here and below Tili-Teshub or Tili-Teshup, following E. Edel in *JNES*, viii (1949), 44-45.

201a. On the name see Edel, *op.cit.*, 45-46.

201b. n. 17. For this context E. Edel, *ZAeS*, xc (1963), 31-35, gives: "the goddess of the field; the goddess of Nineveh";—which he believes was originally "Ishtar of the Field; Ishtar of Nineveh"—"the god Ninatta; the god Kulitta; the goddess

Khebat, the Queen of the Sky"; and then argues that "the gods, the lords of oaths" should have had a cuneiform original, the moon-god, "Sin, Lord of the Oath."

208d. Instead now read:

He who does not put up for sale a gift of the king upon which the name of the king is scratched, and puts up for sale in exactly the manner (here described) silver, gold, garments (or) implements of bronze,

208d. now read:

and (if) you celebrate the spring festival in the fall, but are used to celebrate the fall festival in the spring, of (if)

210d. E. von Schuler, *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen (AJO, Beiheft x, 1957)* 45-48.

212a. We are indebted to Prof. Klaus Baer for a photograph, collation, and new translation of this decree.

(1) The Horus: User-khau.

Royal decree (to) the Chief Prophet Hem-ur.

I do not permit that any man have the right to—take away any prophets (5) who are in the nome in which you are, for the corvée, as well as any construction work of the nome, except to do service for his god who is in the temple in which he is, and to conserve the temples in which they are;

levy the corvée for any construction work against any god's fields (15) on which there is priestly service by any prophets;

(17) take away any serfs who are thereon for the corvée, as well as any construction work of the nome.

(11) They are exempt in the length of eternity by command of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Nefer-iri-ka-Re. You have no title to them in any (kind of) service.

As for any man of the nome who shall take away (20) any prophets who are on god's fields on which they do priestly service in this nome, (26) or the serfs who are on god's fields—(22) for the corvée, as well as any construction work of the nome—you shall send him to the *law court*, he being placed . . . *labor* . . . plowing.

(28) Any official, royal intimate, or agricultural officer who shall act contrary to this which my majesty has decreed, which has been delivered to the law court, the house, fields, people, and everything that is in his possession shall be removed, he being put on any (kind of) corvée.

The royal person was present at the sealing. Second month of the third season, day 24+.

214a. See also R. O. Faulkner, *Egypt: from the Inception of the Nineteenth Dynasty to the Death of Ramesses III (Cambridge Ancient History, rev. ed., Cambridge, 1966)*, 32-33.

- 215d, n. 18. K. C. Seele believes that he was the fifth son of Ramses II: *Aegyptologische Studien*, herausg. v. O. Firchow ("Grapow Festschrift," Berlin, 1955), 307, 312-13.
- 227a. In general, see Helck, *op.cit.*, 5-42, for inscribed and unscribed material. The report of the name of Sahu-Re of the Fifth Dynasty in northeast Anatolia—Helck, *op.cit.*, 38; Mellaart, *Anatolia c. 4000-2300 B.C. (Cambridge Ancient History, rev. ed., Cambridge, 1962)*, 31, cannot be critically judged in the absence of adequate publication.
- 227b. The supposed First Dynasty Semer-khet is now regarded as a Third Dynasty Sekhem-khet: J. Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, Text (London, 1955), 53.
- 228c. Helck, *op.cit.*, 43-48, 68-89.
- 228d, n. 11. Helck, *op.cit.*, 18, believes that Carmel is too distant and tentatively suggests Mons Casios on the outer perimeter of Lake Bardawil. Surely this is too near.
- 229c. See also Helck, *Die Beziehungen Aegyptens zu Vorderasien* (Wiesbaden, 1962), 85-87, for Asiatics named in the Middle Kingdom inscriptions at the Sinai mines.
- 229d. Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 97, translates "color" wherever the present translation uses "skin"—not the danger of a sunburned complexion, but the proper appearance of turquoise in summer.
- 230d. Helck, *op.cit.*, 92-108.
- 231b, n. 2. For the argument that Avaris and the later city Ramses (255, n. 7) were located, not at Tanis, but further south in the eastern Delta, see L. Habachi, "Khata'ana-Qantir: Importance" in *ASAE*, LII (1954), 443-562, with 38 plates.
- 231c. Also translated by Lefebvre, *op.cit.*, 131-36, and Brunner-Traut, *op.cit.*, 145-47, 284-86.
- 232a. H. Goedicke, *ZAeS*, LXXXVIII (1963), 91-96, argues that the "hippopotamus canal" was not near Thebes, but in the eastern Delta, and that Apophis was demanding that Seqnen-Re remove himself from Egypt.
- 238b. See K. Baer, *JEA*, L (1964), 179-80.
- 238d, n. 2. According to Sidney Smith, *The Statue of Idri-mi* (London, 1949), 56, Tunip lay west of the Orontes, somewhere in the vicinity of Antioch.
- 239d, n. 11. Smith, *op.cit.*, 77-78, makes "Ullaza which is on the coast of Zaruna" twin cities on the north Phoenician coast.
- 240b, n. 18. Most commentators now place Ni further south and west. Smith, *op.cit.*, 48, locates the lake of Ni near modern Arudah, southeast of Aleppo. A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947), I, 158-68,* would place it in the marshy Ghab, east of the Orontes.
- 241b, n. 34. Smith, *op.cit.*, 56, tentatively places Takhsi in the Jebel Barisha, just east of the Orontes and west of Aleppo. Gardiner, *op.cit.*, I, 150-52*; II, 273*, suggests more generally in "north Syria."
- 242b. Detailed study of the lists in Helck, *op.cit.*, 269-322.
- 245d. However, Smith, *op.cit.*, 51, places "Shamshatuma" in northwest Syria, near Antioch. See also Y. Aharoni, *JNES*, XIX (1960), 177-83.
- 246b, n. 20. Smith, *op.cit.*, 53, has Tjerekh = Zalkhi near Jebel Aqra and Sheshrem = Shashruma near Latakia, both on the Phoenician coast; with Mendjet = Mansatu and Hetjra = Hezra'a inland toward the Orontes. He places (p. 54) Rebi = Labwa near the source of the Orontes.
- 246b, n. 24. However, E. Edel, *ZDPV*, LXIX (1953), 155, suggests a Tell Hashbeh, somewhat west of Baalbek.
- 247b, n. 42. Aharoni, *op.cit.*, 182, suggests "the vicinity of Megiddo."
- 248b, n. 59. See the new note to p. 241, n. 34 above.
- 249b. See also Helck, *op.cit.*, 480-514.
- 250b, n. 12. Helck, *op.cit.*, 483, 507, reads: "to Qedesh, to the (sacred) barque of Baal-Zaphon, to Sopdu, . . ."
- 250d, n. 22. Simpson has also written "Reshep in Egypt," *Orientalia*, XXIX (1960), 63-74. I.E.S. Edwards has an article on a depiction of Qedesh-Astarte-Anath in *JNES*, XIV (1955), 49-51.
- 255c. Two better possibilities for the reign of Ramses II are 1304-1237 or 1290-1223 B.C.: M. B. Rowton, *JNES*, XIX (1960), 15-22.
- 255d. See also R. O. Faulkner, *MDIK*, XVI (1958), 93-111; Sir Alan Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (Oxford, 1960); Helck, *op.cit.*, 204-19.
- 256, n. 8. An *iter* = about 10.5 kilometers. Most commentators agree in the tentative location of Shabtuna at Riblah, which is nearly 12 kilometers south of Kadesh.
- 258c. Translation and commentary by R. A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (Oxford, 1954), 108-13.
- 259a. Also Caminos, *op.cit.*, 293-96.
- 259c. Also Caminos, *op.cit.*, 255-58.
- 260a. J. von Beckerath, *Tanis und Theben* (Glückstadt-Hamburg, 1951), 76, suggests: "The land of Egypt had been overthrown from outside," which would accord with a foreign usurpation.
- 260b, n. 6. Helck, *op.cit.*, 247-48, 255, n. 44, believes that Arsu/Irsu is certainly a personal name; see the literature he cites. On the subject of Semitic officials in Egyptian service during the New Kingdom, see J.M.A. Janssen, *Chronique d'Égypte*, XXVI (1951), 50-62.
- 262d, n. 3. Further on the Peoples of the Sea, see Helck, *op.cit.*, 240-46, with his references to other studies.
- 263d. Helck, *op.cit.*, 480, points out that the text does not prove that Ptah had a temple at Ashkelon, since the woman might have been a singer of Ptah at Memphis and of the Prince of Ashkelon.
- 319a. *JCS*, X (1956), 94-97.
- 325b. A recent study in G. Roeder, *Kulte, Orakel und Naturverehrung im alten Aegypten* (Zürich und Stuttgart, 1960), 72-141.
- 326b, n. 2. A later, undatable scene of circumcision in the northeast temple within the enclosure of Mut at Karnak was published by M. Pillet in *ASAE*, LII (1954), 93-104.
- 326d, n. 1. The most imposing of these, the Metternich Stela, is presented by Nora E. Scott in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, April, 1951, 201-17.

328d. See also W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Aegyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1962), 49-68.

350d, n. 1. Rost's text offers considerably more before *KBo*, II, 3 begins.

355b. and duplicate *KUB*, xxxvi, 92, 93, 94.

359c. The king while standing drinks the two (gods), the Throne(-god) and the War-god. The king libates into the basin. Small *ISHTAR* instruments (are played), the *liturgists* sing. (20) The entertainer recites, the *psalmodist offers psalmodies*, the *kitas̄* calls.

367d. Perhaps another parallel: H. M. Stewart, *JEA*, XLIII (1957), 3-5.

369d. Translated also by R. J. Williams, in *Documents from Old Testament Times*, ed. by D. W. Thomas (London, 1958), 142-50.

373c. A. Herman, *ZAeS*, LXXXV (1960), 35-42, renders: "It's abundance when you come; it's abundance when you come, O Nile; it's abundance when you come! Come, to keep men and cattle alive with your plants. It's abundance when you come; it's abundance when you come, O Nile!"

378b, n. 15. Tekten may be related to the *suk̄k̄im*-warriors of II Chron. 12:3—A. H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II (Oxford, 1948), 81, n. 1.

381d. In the necropolis at Hermopolis in Middle Egypt a priest of Thoth named Petosiris constructed a tomb in the fourth century B.C. The following hymn is therein put into the mouth of his grandson.

Published by G. Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris* (Cairo, 1923-24), I, 104-05; II, 36-37; III, Pl. XVIII.

It is good to go upon the way of god.
Great things happen to him who puts it in his heart.
It is the monument upon earth of him who puts his way
into his heart.
He who is on the way of god,
He fulfills his span of life in joy of heart,
Richer than any peer of his.
He grows old in his own town;
He is in honor with his nome;
All of his body grows young as a child;
His many children before him are nobles of the villages,
Son following upon son.
His countenance appears like the sun-disk, when it
presents itself.
Awe of him is in the hearts of men,
Love of him in the hearts of women.
He reaches the necropolis in joy of heart,
With a good embalment of the work of Anubis,
While the children of his children are in his place.
When he has passed from life,
Those in his town say of him:
"He was a follower of the Foremost of the
Westerners¹
In whom god found no fault."²

¹ Osiris.

² Lefebvre cites several biblical parallels, notably Psalm 128.

405a. Two recent studies are a translation and commentary by R. O. Faulkner, *JEA*, XLII (1956), 21-50; and a review of the meaning of the text by R. J. Williams, *JEA*, XLVIII (1962), 49-56. Williams argues that it is no skeptical denial of after-life, but rather a protest against "costly and elaborate preparations for the preservation of the body after death."

406b. Perhaps here and in the third stanza, "the stench of vultures": A. M. Blackman, *Orientalia*, VII NS (1938), 67-68.

406d, n. 18. Faulkner, *op.cit.*, 28, renders: "(More than) a town belonging to the monarch(?) which mutters sedition when his back is turned."

406d, n. 19. Williams, *op.cit.*, 55, n.4, notes several "literary reminiscences" from the Admonitions of Ipu-wer (pp. 441-44 below), "which afford patent evidence of the priority" of Ipu-wer.

407b, n. 27. In the soul's final speech, Faulkner, *op.cit.*, 30, translates the first sentence with "complaint," rather than "mourning." Williams, *op.cit.*, 56, renders the following sentences: "You must make offering on the brazier, (or) cling to life, as you say. Desire that I (remain) here after you have rejected the West, or desire, rather, that you reach the West, your body be buried in the earth, and I alight after you have died. Then we shall make our abode together."

407c. Also translated by G. Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens* (Paris, 1949), 41-69.

407d, n. 1. The word here translated "peasant" ("field-dweller") might throughout be translated "oasis-dweller."

408a. E. F. Wente, *JNES*, XXIV (1965), 105-09, translates this sentence: "It is for its (i.e., the wisp's) price that I will buy back my donkey if you seize possession of it (15) for a (mere) filling of its mouth with a wisp of Upper Egyptian barley." The peasant offers to buy back a confiscated donkey for the cost of the damaged grain.

408b. W. K. Simpson, *JAOS*, LXXVIII (1958), 50-51, points out an allusion to this story on a Rameseside ostrakon: "I am killed, my donkeys are seized, and (even) the complaint is taken from my mouth!"

410b, n. 29. Lefebvre, *op.cit.*, 68, translates: "The complainant becomes a sufferer, and the sufferer will be a petitioner: (his) enemy is (his) murderer." All the peasant gained from his complaint was the prospect of being killed; he might as well appeal to Anubis.

412b. The text has been restudied by Z. Žába, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep* (Prague, 1956). J. Spiegel, *Das Werden der alt-ägyptischen Hochkultur* (Heidelberg, 1953), 455-91, feels that the difference between Ptah-hotep and most of the later instructions is that this document was directed toward a candidate for high office, rather than a relatively humble man. R. A. Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script* (Oxford, 1956), Pls. 28-30, offers tattered additions to British Museum 10509.

412d, n. 8. G. Fecht, *Der Habgierige und die Maat in der Lehre des Ptahhotep* (Glückstadt und Hamburg, 1958), 11-34, has an extended discussion of this maxim. For his translation he sees a parallel with the Instruction for King Meri-ka-Re, 54-56 (p. 415 below).

414b, n. 28. Spiegel, *op.cit.*, 348-49, treats this section in terms of the ancient psychology of education.

414d. A Volten, *Zwei altägyptische politische Schriften* (Kopenhagen, 1945), publishes the Papyrus Carlsberg VI. Caminos, *op.cit.*, Pls. 26-27, publishes additions to Papyrus Moscow 4658. G. Posener, *Littérature et politique* (Paris, 1956), 16, points out that "a talker is a troublemaker" in ll. 23 and 27 is a rejection of the encouragement to protest in the Peasant, the Prophecy of Neferti, and the Admonitions of Ipu-wer; it leans toward the loyalist advice of the Middle Kingdom.

415b, n. 1. W. C. Hayes, *The Middle Kingdom in Egypt* (*Cambridge Ancient History*, rev. ed.; Cambridge, 1961), 5 and back cover, makes Wah-ka-Re Khety III, rather than II; makes Wah-ankh Intef II, rather than I, and dates the latter to 2117-2069 B.C.

415c. This section and the following translated by T. W. Thacker in *Documents from Old Testament Times*, ed. by D. W. Thomas (London, 1958), 155-61. For a parallel to ll. 54-56, see the new note on p. 412 above.

417a. The word translated "dyke" may be the name of the XXIIInd nome of Upper Egypt—C. F. Nims, *Archiv Orientalní*, XX (1952), 343-46—perhaps: "APHRODITOPOLIS HAS BEEN TAKEN . . . it."

418b. R. Anthes, *JNES*, XVI (1957), 176-91; XVII (1958), 208-09, argues that the Instruction was composed by Amen-em-het, still living, when Sen-Usert was being installed as co-regent. G. Posener, *op.cit.*, 61-86, suggests that the text was a piece of political writing by the scribe Khety, commissioned on behalf of the new dynasty.

418d, n. 3. Anthes, *op.cit.*, 182: "He spoke in determining right for his son."

419a. Anthes' translation (*op.cit.*, 189) runs: "I awoke at some fighting and I was in control of my limbs. I found that it was a hand-to-hand conflict of the soldiers. Acting quickly I had the weapons in my(?) hand. I made the cowards retreat (and they disappeared?)." This accords with Anthes' belief that the attack was not fatal.

419d. Additional ostraca are now known: G. Posener, *Revue d'Égyptologie*, IX (1952), 109-17; J. Černý and A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, I (Oxford, 1957), Pl. IV, 3 and 5.

419d. The new ostraca permit a sounder translation:—

[He] said: "Keep yourself clean in your own view; guard against anybody else keeping you clean. If you are a man of standing, you should found your own household. Take to yourself a wife, a lady of heart, and a male child will be born to you.

"You should build your own house for your son, whereas (I) made for you the place where you are. Embellish your house of the necropolis, and enrich your place of the West. Accept, for death is debasing for us; accept, for life is exalting for us. The house of death is (destined) for life.

"Seek out for yourself *an extension of inundated land. . .*"

420b. This section has been translated by Sir Alan Gardiner in *JEA*, XLV (1959), 12-15: Man is advised to secure written evidence of his first offerings to the god. Sir Alan rendered the end: "The god does it to magnify his name, but man it is who

is inebriated." God rejoices in festivity and prostrations, whereas man has the chance to indulge in heavy drinking.

421c. In *JEA*, XLVII (1961), 100-06, R. J. Williams argues for the priority of the Egyptian text, and suggests a late New Kingdom date for the origin of the Instruction. W. K. Simpson summarizes the text in Adolf Erman, *The Ancient Egyptians. A Sourcebook of their Writings* (Harper Torchbooks, 1966), xii-xiv. Some portions translated by J. M. Plumley in *Documents from Old Testament Times*, ed. by D. W. Thomas (London, 1958), 172-86.

424a. In *ZAcS*, XC (1963), 98-102, G. Posener argues for the translation: "Do not falsify the oracle on the papyrus." He points to the publication by I.E.S. Edwards, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Fourth Series. Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom*, 2 vols. (London, 1960).

425a. G. Posener, *Revue d'Égyptologie*, VI (1951), 27-48, lists several more instructions, many of them fragmentary or present only in allusion.

The text on an ostrakon of early Nineteenth Dynasty date has more than 15 lines of advice similar to that in the Instruction of Amen-em-Opet:—A. H. Gardiner, *WZKM*, LIV (1957), 43-45.

In *JEA*, XLVIII (1962), 25-35, H. Goedicke published a stela of an overseer of priests, Mentu-hotep son of Hapi, of the Middle Kingdom, with moralizing phrases. Goedicke's translation, "My instruction to my children (is) as follows," was criticized by W. Schenkel in *JEA*, L (1964), 6-12, who translated, "(I am) an instructor of children in . . . speaking," and then took the ensuing "advice" as epithets of Mentu-hotep. There are still nuggets of advice: "Incline your heart. Do not be prejudiced against a petitioner until he has said what he came for. . . . The good character of a man is more to him than a thousand gifts in acts. The testimony of men lies in that statement in the mouth of commoners: 'A man's monument is his goodness. The wicked of character is a forgotten man.'"

Late books of wisdom in demotic are: A. Volten, *Kopenhagener Texte zum demotischen Weisheitsbuch* (Kopenhagen, 1940); *Das demotische Weisheitsbuch* (Kopenhagen, 1941), including Papyrus Insinger in translation; and S.R.K. Glanville, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum. II. The Instructions of Onchsheshonqy* (London, 1955). Glanville remarks that the demotic wisdom book is closely related in tone to the Instruction of Ani (pp. 420-21 here).

427d. Additional bibliography: P. Grelot, *RB*, LXVIII (1961), 178-94.

431a. G. Posener, *Littérature et politique* (Paris, 1956), 117-27, lists two papyri, a writing tablet, and about 20 ostraca, in addition to this stela. He characterizes the text as a "loyalist instruction," which, along with other documents, urged fidelity to the Twelfth Dynasty kings. H. Grapow, *ZAcS*, LXXIX (1954), 21-27, analyzes the verse style of the poem.

431d. Translated by W. K. Simpson, in A. Erman, *The Ancient Egyptians* (Harper Torchbooks, 1966), xvi-xvii. On the importance of the author Khety (iii 6 of this text), see Posener, *op.cit.*, 4-7.

432c. We now credit the author Khety with other compositions. See Posener, *op.cit.*, *passim*.

432d, n. 2. The *Kemit* or "Conclusion" or similar has now been identified as a Middle Kingdom practice manual for pro-

spective government clerks—G. Posener, in B. van de Walle, *La Transmission des textes littéraires égyptiens* (Bruxelles, 1948), 41-50; *Littérature et politique*, 4-5.

441b. A new translation by R. O. Faulkner in *JEA*, L1 (1965), 53-62, with his commentary in *JEA*, L (1964), 24-36.

441b. For an argument that the document applies to the situation in the late Thirteenth Dynasty, see J. Van Seters, *JEA*, L (1964), 12-23.

444b. The ostraca now number about 20. Translation by G. Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens* (Paris, 1949), 91-105. G. Posener, *Littérature et politique* (Paris, 1956), 145-57, deals with several sections of the text; in 21-60, he emphasizes its importance as propaganda for Amen-em-het I. See also G. Lanczkowski, *Altägyptischer Prophetismus* (Wiesbaden, 1960).

445b. Posener, *op.cit.*, 151, suggests that the attack by foreigners has crowded the fortresses where Egyptians might seek asylum, so that new refugees meet deaf ears.

445c. Posener, *op.cit.*, 151-52, translates: "One bursts into laughter at illness; one will not weep because of death. One will not spend the night fasting because of death, the heart of man being absorbed in himself."

445d. Posener, *op.cit.*, 157, translates in the sense: "Thus it is that a king will reveal himself to the south." He does not believe that the text necessitates a southern origin for Amen-em-het.

448c. Another example of a similar oracle given by C. F. Nims, *JNES*, VII (1948), 156-62.

467a. E. F. Wente, *JNES*, XXI (1962), 118-28, offers a commentary on harpers' songs shown in the tombs.

467d. There is comprehensive coverage by S. Schott, *Altägyptische Liebeslieder* (Zürich, 1950). Four of the songs below are also translated by J. M. Plumley in *Documents from Old Testament Times*, ed. by D. W. Thomas (London, 1958), 187-91.

469c. In *WZKM*, LIV (1957), 46-50, H. Goedicke translates the text simply as a call to the herd: "When the herdsman is in the water among the fish, he keeps talking with the shad and greets the oxyrhynchus fish: 'O our herdsman, O westerner(?), the herdsman of the west!'"

470c. Translated also by R. A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (Oxford, 1954), 37-40; 153-55.

470d, n. 1. In agreement with Hayes is L. Habachi, *ASAE*, LII (1954), 443-562.

471d, n. 18. But see Sir Alan Gardiner, *Revue d'Égyptologie*, X (1955), 30-31.

475b. The most significant new fragments were presented by R. A. Caminos, *JEA*, XLIV (1958), 3-4, Pls. II-VII. W. Helck deals with the geography of Syria in his *Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1962), 328-33.

476b. Another version (Caminos, *op.cit.*, Pl. II, l. 10) gives the name as Iry-iry.

477a. For Shawe, cf. "the mountain Saue, the mountain which abuts on the Lebanon proper" (p. 282 above). For "bears," see the article by G. Posener in *Orientalia* NS, XIII (1944), 193-204.

477c. The text of Caminos, *op.cit.*, III, l. 10, gives biblical Edrei.

495c. A. Volten, *Demotische Traumdeutung* (Kopenhagen, 1942), compares two demotic texts with the text here presented. On the general subject, see L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (Philadelphia, 1956).

653a. All the bibliographical references of the second edition of *ANET* have been retained for the record. Additional bibliographical information down to 1964 may be found in H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1962-64). Only some of Donner-Röllig's references have been repeated here. Further bibliographical help on individual points can be obtained from (C.-F. Jean and) J. Hoff-tijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest* (Leiden, 1965).

653d. S. Gevirtz, *VT*, XI (1961), p. 142 f.; A. Goetze, *JCS*, XVI (1962), pp. 48-58; Donner-Röllig, No. 26 (I, p. 5 f., II, pp. 35-43); S. Gevirtz, *JBL*, LXXXVII (1968), p. 272 f.

654d. S. Gevirtz, *VT*, XI (1961), p. 141 f.; Donner-Röllig, No. 24 (I, p. 4 f., II, pp. 30-34, III, pl. XXVII). On the vocalization of the name, cf. again O. Eissfeldt, *Kleine Schriften*, IV (Tübingen, 1968), 99-131.

655a. *ANEP*, No. 281; Donner-Röllig, No. 216 (I, p. 40, II, pp. 232-34, III, pl. XXXII); A. Dupont-Sommer, in F. Rosenthal (ed.), *An Aramaic Handbook* (Wiesbaden, 1967), I, p. 8.

655c. Levi Della Vida, *RSO*, XXXIX (1964), p. 312 f.

M. Black, in D. W. Thomas (ed.), *Documents from Old Testament Times* (London, 1958), pp. 239-41; Donner-Röllig, No. 201 (I, p. 37, II, p. 203 f.).

655d. I. N. Vinnikov, *Epigrafiika Vostoĭa*, X (1955), pp. 84-94; S. Gevirtz, *VT*, XI (1961), p. 144 f.; Donner-Röllig, No. 202 (I, p. 37, II, pp. 204-11, III, p. 85 and Pls. XIII and XIV); A. Dupont-Sommer, in *An Aramaic Handbook*, p. 1 f.; B. Uffenheimer, *Léonénu*, XXX (1966), pp. 163-74.

656a. M. Black, in D. W. Thomas (ed.), *Documents from Old Testament Times*, pp. 242-50.

656c. S. Gevirtz, *VT*, XI (1961), p. 145; Donner-Röllig, No. 10 (I, p. 2, II, pp. 11-15, III, Pl. VI).

656c. J.-G. Février, *JA*, CCXLIII (1955), pp. 50-52; *id.*, *Cahiers de Byrsa*, VIII (1958-59), pp. 35-43; Donner-Röllig, No. 69 (I, p. 15, II, pp. 83-87); A. van den Branden, *RSO*, XL (1965), pp. 107-30.

661c. I. N. Vinnikov, *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, 1952, 4, pp. 141-52; S. Gevirtz, *VT*, XI (1961), p. 146 f.; Donner-Röllig, No. 1 (I, p. 1, II, pp. 2-4, III, Pl. 1); G. Levi Della Vida, *RSO*, XXXIX (1964), p. 301.

661d. *ANEP*, No. 635; S. Gevirtz, *VT*, XI (1961), p. 147; Donner-Röllig, No. 226 (I, p. 45, II, p. 276, III, Pl. XXV); A. Dupont-Sommer, in *An Aramaic Handbook*, I, p. 9.

662a. S. Gevirtz, *VT*, XI (1961), p. 148 f.; Donner-Röllig, No. 13 (I, p. 2 f., II, pp. 17-19, III, Pl. V).

662b. *ANEP*, No. 283; J.-G. Février, *Semitica*, V (1955), p. 62; *id.*, *JA*, CCXLIII (1955), pp. 57-63; S. Gevirtz, *VT*, XI (1961), p. 149 f.; Donner-Röllig, No. 14 (I, p. 3, II, pp. 19-23, III, p. 83); K. Galling, *ZDPV*, LXXIX (1963), 140-51.

Abbreviations

- AAA* *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Liverpool, 1908-).
- AASOR* *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (New Haven, 1920-).
- ABL* *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection(s) of the British Museum*, by R. F. Harper (Chicago, 1892-1914).
- ABoT* *Ankara arkeoloji müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy tableteri* (Istanbul, 1948).
- ADD* C.H.W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (Cambridge, 1889-1923).
- AfK* *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung* (Berlin, 1923-1925).
- AfO* *Archiv für Orientforschung* (Berlin, Vols. III ff., 1926-).
- AHw* W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden, 1959-).
- AJA* *American Journal of Archaeology* (Concord, N.H. etc., 1885-).
- AJSL* *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (Chicago, 1884-1941).
- AKA* See King
- AKTRSch* *Die alphabetischen Keilschrifttexte von Ras Schamra*, by H. Bauer (Berlin, 1936).
- ANEP* James B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* (Princeton, 1954).
- AnSt* *Anatolian Studies* (London, 1951-).
- AO* *Der alte Orient* (Leipzig, 1900-).
- AOT* *Altorientalische Texte zum alten Testament*, 2nd edn., edited by H. Gressmann (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926).
- APAW* *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin, 1804-).
- AR* See Breasted, Luckenbill
- ARM* *Archives royales de Mari, TCL*, xxii- (Paris, 1941-).
- ARMT* *Archives royales de Mari* (Paris, 1950-).
- ArOr* *Archiv Orientalní* (Prague, 1953-).
- AS* *Assyriological Studies*, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago (Chicago, 1931-).
- ASAE* *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* (1899-).
- BA* *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1889-).
- BASOR (SS)* *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (1919-). (*Supplementary Studies* [1945].)
- Bauer, *Assurbanipal* Th. Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (Leipzig, 1933).
- BAWb.* See Meissner
- BE* *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts*, edited by H. V. Hilprecht (1893-1914).
- BG* *The Babylonian Genesis*, by A. Heidel (Chicago, 1942).
- BIFAO* *Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale* (Cairo, 1901-).
- BIN* *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies* (New Haven, 1918-).
- Bi.Or.* *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Leiden, 1943-).
- BoTU* *Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift* (Leipzig, 1922 ff.).
- Breasted, *AR* J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vols. I-V (Chicago, 1906-1907).
- BrM* British Museum
- BRM* A. T. Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* (New York, 1912-1923).
- BWL* W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, 1960).
- CAD* *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago 1956-).
- Camb.* See Strassmaier
- CH* Code of Hammurabi
- CIS* *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (Paris, 1881-).
- Cowley A. Cowley, editor. *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923). Citations are by number of the document unless otherwise indicated.
- CT* *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum* (London, 1896-).
- Cyr.* See Strassmaier
- Dar.* See Strassmaier
- Deimel, *ŠL* A. Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon* (Rome, 1925-1937).

ABBREVIATIONS

- Donner-Röllig H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1962-1964).
- Erman, *LAE* A. Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1927), a translation into English by A. M. Blackman of Erman's *Die Literatur der Aegypter* (Leipzig, 1923).
- GCCI *Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions* (New Haven, 1923-).
- GE A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (Chicago, 1946).
- GETh R. Campbell Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Oxford, 1930).
- GGA *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (Göttingen, 1826).
- HBS S. N. Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer* (New York, 1959).
- HG J. Kohler, *et al.*, *Hammurabi's Gesetz* (Leipzig, 1904-23).
- HGE F. M. Böhl, *Het Gilgamesj-Epos* (Amsterdam, 1941).
- HKL R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* (Berlin, 1967).
- HSS *Harvard Semitic Series* (Cambridge, Mass., 1912-).
- HT *Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1920).
- HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual* (Cincinnati, 1924-).
- IBoT *Istanbul arkeoloji müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy tableteri I and II* (Istanbul, 1944 and 1947).
- IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal* (Jerusalem, 1951-).
- JA *Journal asiatique* (Paris, 1822-).
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven, 1843-).
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- MIO *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* (Berlin, 1953-).

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- MVAG* *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1896-).
Nbk. See Strassmaier
Nbn. See Strassmaier
NF Neue Folge.
NRV *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden*, by M. San Nicolò and A. Ungnad, Vol. I (Leipzig, 1935).
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SPAW *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin, 1882-).
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 Thompson, *EG* R. Campbell Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (London, 1928).
TLZ *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (Berlin, 1876).

ABBREVIATIONS

- Donner-Röllig H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1962-1964).
- Erman, *LAE* A. Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1927), a translation into English by A. M. Blackman of Erman's *Die Literatur der Aegypter* (Leipzig, 1923).
- GCCI *Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions* (New Haven, 1923-).
- GE A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (Chicago, 1946).
- GETh R. Campbell Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Oxford, 1930).
- GGA *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (Göttingen, 1826).
- HBS S. N. Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer* (New York, 1959).
- HG J. Kohler, *et al.*, *Hammurabi's Gesetz* (Leipzig, 1904-23).
- HGE F. M. Böhl, *Het Gilgamesj-Epos* (Amsterdam, 1941).
- HKL R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* (Berlin, 1967).
- HSS *Harvard Semitic Series* (Cambridge, Mass., 1912-).
- HT *Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1920).
- HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual* (Cincinnati, 1924-).
- IBoT *Istanbul arkeoloji müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy tableteri I and II* (Istanbul, 1944 and 1947).
- IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal* (Jerusalem, 1951-).
- JA *Journal asiatique* (Paris, 1822-).
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven, 1843-).
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ABBREVIATIONS

- TRS *Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre*, by Henri de Genouillac (Musée du Louvre, *Textes cunéiformes*, xv-xvi [Paris, 1930]).
- TSBA *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (London 1872-1893).
- TuM *Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena* (Leipzig, 1937-).
- UCPSP *University of California Publications in Semitic Philology* (Berkeley, 1907).
- UET *Ur Excavations, Texts: I Royal Inscriptions*, by C. J. Gadd, L. Legrain, etc. (London, 1928).
- UM *University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Publications of the Babylonian Section* (Philadelphia, 1911-).
- Ungnad A. Ungnad, editor, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine* (Leipzig, 1911). Citations are by number of the document unless otherwise indicated.
- Untersuch.* *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens* (Leipzig, 1896-).
- UrK. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* (Leipzig, 1903-).
- UVB *Vorläufiger Bericht über die . . . Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka* (Berlin, 1930-).
- VA *Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Thontafelsammlung* (Berlin).
- VAB *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek* (Leipzig, 1907-1916).
- BVoT A. Götze, *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte* (Marburg, 1930).
- VS *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, Berlin, Staatliche Museen (Leipzig, 1907-).
- VT *Vetus Testamentum* (Leyden, 1951).
- WO *Die Welt des Orients* (Göttingen, 1947-).
- WVDOG *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Berlin (Leipzig, 1900-).
- WZKM *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Vienna, 1887-1940).
- YOS *Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts* (New Haven, 1915-).
- ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* (Leipzig, 1886-).
- ZaES *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Leipzig, 1863-).
- ZAW *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Berlin, Giessen, 1881-).
- ZBB D. O. Edzard, *Die "zweite Zwischenzeit" Babyloniens* (Wiesbaden, 1957).
- ZDMG *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig, 1847-).
- ZDPV *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins* (Leipzig, 1878-).

Indexes

Index of Biblical References

THE purpose of the following index is to suggest to the student of the Old Testament some significant points of interest in the translations of the texts from the ancient Near Eastern world. The index includes two types of references: first, there are those references to the books of the Old Testament which are listed in the introductions and footnotes to the translations; secondly, there is a listing of biblical analogues suggested by the various contributors to the volume. By the listings of the latter category neither the translators nor the editor venture any scientific opinion with regard to the relationship between the biblical reference and the text cited. Since the noting of these possible biblical parallels was a by-product of the main work of attempting to render accurately the principal texts into English, it is not to be expected that the list be comprehensive. It is intended to be suggestive rather than exhaustive. Scholars who approach this work from a primary concern for the

biblical material, it is to be hoped, will be able in subsequent years to enlarge greatly upon this list. This index should be used along with the index of names: many biblical names of persons and places will be found in the alphabetical listing there, rather than according to the chapter and verse of the Bible.

According to the system of reference used here each column of the page of this book is divided into two halves: the first column of the page, into *a* and *b*; the second column, into *c* and *d*. When the biblical reference does not actually appear printed in a footnote or in an introduction to a translation, the reader must read the entire quarter of the page of text or annotation in order to judge what portion of it is intended as a possible parallel to the biblical citation. The biblical references are listed according to the order and numbering of the Hebrew Bible. Numberings used in the English Bible have been given in parentheses.

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The simpler forms of the names (the spellings without diacritics) have been used in the index, even though the reference is to a more technical spelling in the footnotes, in the introductions, or within parentheses in the text proper. In most cases the preferences of individual translators in the spelling of proper names have been preserved in the alphabetical listings; the one ex-

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Identification of ancient place names should be sought in the footnotes or within the parentheses following the occurrence of the name in the translations, rather than in the index itself. This procedure will enable the reader to be more fully aware of the problems involved in some of the proposed identifications.

In the alphabetical arrangement of the list the 'aleph (') and the 'ayn (') have been disregarded for purposes of classification. Likewise the Arabic article, *el-*, either in this form, or when assimilated with the following consonant, does not generally figure in the arrangement of the names. In the transliteration of some names the Semitic 'ayn is transliterated by the 'aleph if the name is from a cuneiform text.

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