The Akkadian Great Hymns and Prayers

A Critical Edition of the Nabû and Ištar Prayers and a Study of the Corpus

Geraldina Rozzi

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Studi orientali 15
Antichistica 42

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Contents

Tables 1

Index of Subjects 1

p. ix.pdf 1

p. iv.pdf 1

Index of Subjects 1

p. vii.pdf 1

Index of Subjects 1

p. vii.pdf 1

Index of Subjects 1

p, v.pdf 1

Index of Subjects 1

Pagina vuota 5

Index of Subjects 14

11Abbreviations 16

1 3Introduction 24

1.1 Mesopotamian Hymns and Prayers 25

1.1.1 Definition of the Genres 25

1.1.2 Sumerian Background and Akkadian Tradition 30

1.2 The Great Hymns and Prayers: Definition of the Corpus 35

1.2.1 Previous Editions and Studies 35

1.2.2 Manuscript Tradition 38

1.2.3 Layout and Prosody 45

1.2.4 Language and Style 47

1.2.5 Content and Sitz im Leben 51

2 37The Great Prayer to Nabû 58

Contents (continued)

2.1 Manuscripts and Editions 58

2.2 Layout and Poetic Structure 59

2.2.1 Prosody 60

2.3 Language and Spelling Conventions 63

2.4 Structure and Content 67

2.4.1 Analysis of the Individual Sections: Topoi and Use of Verbal and Nominal Forms 68

2.5 The Wisdom Section: Content and Intertextual Perspectives 75

2.6 Edition 79

2.6.1 Text 79

2.6.2 Commentary 109

3 127The Great Prayer to Ištar 148

3.1 Manuscripts and Editions 148

3.2 Layout and Poetic Structure 151

3.2.1 Prosody 152

3.3 Language and Spelling Conventions 156

3.4 Structure and Content 159

3.4.1 Analysis of the Individual Sections: Topoi and Use of Verbal and Nominal Forms 160

3.5 Edition 168

3.5.1 Text 168

3.5.2 Commentary 188

4 215A Mosaic of Quotations: Intertextual Relationships in the Great Hymns and Pray. 236

4.1 The Great Hymns and Prayers and Literary Texts 239

4.1.1 Intratextual Relationships in the Great Hymns and Prayers 242

4.1.2 Intertextual Relationships with Other Literary and Technical Texts 244

4.1.3 Literary and Technical Intra- and Intertextuality: Conclusive Remarks 248

Contents (continued)

4.2 The Great Hymns and Prayers and the Lexicon 250

4.2.1 The Mesopotamian Lexical Lists and Their School Context 250

4.2.2 Lexicon and Literature: Previous Studies 252

4.2.3 The Great Hymns and Prayers and the Lexicon: Intertextual Connections 258

4.2.4 Lexical Interdependence 265

5 249Rhetorical Devices and Poetic Language of the Great Hymns and Prayers 270

5.1 Rhetoric in Ancient Mesopotamia 270

5.2 Rhetorical Devices in the Great Hymns and Prayers 275

5.2.1 Methodological Premise 275

5.2.2 The Great Hymns and Prayers: Religious Rhetoricand Rhetorical Figures 277

5.2.3 Phonological Figures in the Akkadian Sources 280

5.2.4 Syntactic Figures in the Akkadian Sources 285

5.2.5 Semantic Figures in the Akkadian Sources 294

5.2.6 Morphological figures in the Akkadian sources 307

5.3 Summary 309

5 291Conclusions 312

7 295Appendix 316

7.1 Poetry and Wisdom: Rhetorical Devices in Ludlul bēl nēmeqi and in the Babylonia. 316

7.1.1 Rhetorical Figures in Ludlul bēl nēmeqi 319

7.1.2 Rhetorical Figures in the Babylonian Theodicy 330

319Bibliography 340

341Glossary 362

The Akkadian Great Hymns and Prayers

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42 | 15

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Geraldina Rozzi

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The Akkadian Great Hymns and Prayers
A Critical Edition of the Nabû and Ištar Prayers
and a Study of the Corpus
Geraldina Rozzi

Abstract

This book focuses on a group of Akkadian literary compositions that modern scholars refer to as the *Great Hymns and Prayers*. They are characterised by elaborate style and language, and sometimes by philosophical content, which is reminiscent of Wisdom Literature. The present volume contains critical editions of two prayers from the corpus: the *Great Prayer to Nabû* and the *Great Prayer to Ištar*, updating previous works. The editions feature new interpretations and recently discovered fragments that allow for a more accurate reconstruction of the texts. Each edition is accompanied by an English translation and a comprehensive philological commentary. The volume goes beyond the philological study of the texts to provide an overview of the intertextual relationships between the *Great Hymns and Prayers* and other literary and non-literary compositions (including lexical texts). It also offers a thorough analysis of the poetics of the corpus under study. Finally, the appendix contains a brief study of the rhetorical devices observed in two famous Akkadian wisdom texts: *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* and the *Babylonian Theodicy*.

Keywords Mesopotamia. Akkadian. Sumerian. Hymns. Prayers. Literature. Language. Religion. Poetry. Intertextuality. Rhetoric. Wisdom.

Table of Contents

Abbreviations xi

1 Introduction 3

2 The Great Prayer to Nabû 37

3 The Great Prayer to Ištar 127

4 A Mosaic of Quotations: Intertextual Relationships in the Great Hymns and Prayers 215

5 Rhetorical Devices and Poetic Language of the Great Hymns and Prayers 249

6 Conclusions 291

7 Appendix 295

Bibliography 319

Glossary 341

Plates 361

Index of Subjects 367

Abbreviations

4R^2	Rawlinson, H.C.; Pinches, Th.G. (1981). *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia IV*. London.
Aa	The lexical series A a A = *nâqu*
AbB	Altbabylonische Briefe im Umschrift und Übersetzung (Leiden, 1964-)
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung (Wien, 1923-)
AfO Beih.	Archiv für Orientforschung Beihefte (Berlin, 1933-)
AHw	von Soden, W. (1965-81). *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Bde. I-III. Wiesbaden.
AMD	Ancient Magic and Divination (Groningen, 1999; Leiden, 2002-)
AMI	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, DAI Tehran 1-9 (Berlin 1929/30-1939). Fortsetzung: Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, NF (Berlin, 1968-)
An = *Anum VII-IX*	Akkadian synonym list, supposedly an appendix to the god list An = *Anum*. However, a recent manuscript from Nineveh may refute this hypothesis, representing the actual Tablet VII of the god list An = *Anum*. For further details see Lambert, Winters 2023, 27.
An = *Anum*	God list, cited after the edition by Lambert, Winters 2023. Cf. Litke 1998
ANEM	Ancient Near Eastern Monographs (Atlanta, 2008-)
Antagal	The lexical series an-ta-ĝál = *šaqû*
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia (Roma, 1931-)
AnŠ	The lexical series An = *šamû*

AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Kevelaer; Neukirchen-Vluyn; Münster, 1969-)
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen (Berlin 1974-)
AOS	American Oriental Series (New Haven, Con. 1925-)
ARM	Archives Royales de Mari. Traduction (Paris 1946/1950ff.)
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální* (Praha, 1929-)
AS	*Assyriological Studies* (Chicago, 1931-)
Ashm.	Ashmolean Museum (Oxford)
ASyll	von Soden, W.; Röllig, W. (1991[4]). *Das akkadische Syllabar*. Rome. Analecta Orientalia 42
ASJ	*Acta Sumerologica*, Japan (Hiroshima,1979-)
AuOrSup	*Aula Orientalis. Revista de estudios del Próximo Oriente Antiguo, Supplementa* (Barcelona)
BagM	Baghdader Mitteilungen (Berlin)
BAM	*Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen*. (Berlin, 1963-)
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (Chicago, 1921-)
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient (Berlin, 1982-)
BibMes	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica (Primary sources and interpretive analyses for the study of Mesopotamia civilization and its influences from late prehistory to the end of the cuneiform tradition). Malibu, 1975-
BM	Museum siglum of the British Museum, London
BMS	King, L.W. (1896). *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*. London.
BPOA	Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo (Madrid, 2006-)
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (Cambridge, 1940-)
BzA	*Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* (Berlin et al., 1990-)
CAD	von Oppenheim, A.L.; Reiner, E. (Hrsgg) (1956-2010). *The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago*, Bde. 1-21. Chicago.
CBS	Museum siglum of the University Museum in Philadelphia (Catalogue of the Babylonian Section)
CDLN	*Cuneiform Digital Library Notes* (`http://etana.org/node/6414`)
CM	Cuneiform Monographs (Groningen; Leiden, 1992-)
CCP	*Cuneiform Commentaries Project* (`http://ccp.yale.edu`)
*CMAWR*1	Abusch, T.; Schwemer, D. (2011). *Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Rituals*, vol. 1. Leiden
CRRAI	*Proceedings of the Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (1951-)
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum (London, 1896-)
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology (Bethesda, 2007)
Diri	The lexical series diri = (*w*)*atru*
DT	Museum siglum for British Museum, London (Daily Telegraph)
Ea	The lexical series Ea A = *nâqu*
eBL	*electronic Babylonian Library* (`https://www.ebl.lmu.de`)

eBL	*Electronic Babylonian Literature* project (`https://www.ebl.lmu.de`)
Enūma eliš	Akkadian epic poem about the creation of the world and the events that led to the supremacy of the god Marduk over the other gods. Cited after Lambert 2013, 3-144; cf. Heinrich 2021
Erimḫuš	The lexical series erim$_2$-ḫuš = *anantu*
eSAD	Streck, M.P.; Rudik, N.; Zomer, E.; Wende, J; Kouwenberg, N.J.C. (2013-). *The Electronic Supplement to the Akkadian Dictionaries*. `https://altorient.gko.uni-leipzig.de/etymd.html`
ETCSL	Black, J.A.; Cunningham, G.; Ebeling, J.; Flückiger-Hawker, E.; Robson, E.; Taylor, J.; Zólyomi, G. (1998-2006). *The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature.* Oxford. `https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/`
GAG	von Soden, W. (1955^3). *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*. Rome. AnOr 33
GBAO	Göttinger Beiträge zum Alten Orient (Göttingen, 2009-)
Gilgameš	Akkadian epic poem that tells the story of Gilgameš, the legendary king of Uruk, and his journey in search of immortality. Cited after George 2003; cf. George 2022.
GLH	Laroche, E. (1980). *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (= *Revue Hittite et Asiatique*, 36-37 [1976-77]).
GMTR	Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Records (Münster, 2005-)
Ḫg	The lexical series mur-gud = *imrû* = *ballu*
Ḫḫ	The lexical series Ura = *ḫubullu*
INFC	Incontri di filologia classica (Trieste, 2001-)
Igituḫ	The lexical series igi-du$_8$ = *tāmartu*
Izi	The lexical series izi = *išātu*
HANEM	History of the Ancient Near East (Padova, 1996-)
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik (Leiden, 1957-)
HSS	Harvard Semitic Series (Cambridge [MA], 1912-)
Iraq	*Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq* (London,1934-)
IM	Museum siglum of the Iraq Museum in Baghdad
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literatur*e (Philadelphia, 1890-)
JBVO	Jenaer Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient (Wiesbaden, 1999-)
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (New Haven; Boston, etc. 1947-)
JMC	*Journal des Médecines Cunéiformes* (Saint-Germain-en-Laye 2003-)
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago, 1942-)
JGPS	*Journal for General Philosophy of Science* (Wiesbaden, 1970-)
JSOTSup	*Journal for the study of the Old Testament. Supplement series* (Sheffield, 1976-)
K	Museum siglum of the British Museum in London (Kuyunjik collection)
KAR	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts I/II (= WVDOG 28, 1919; 34, 1923)
Kagal	The lexical series KÁ.GAL = *abullu*
KAL	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts (Heidelberg, 2007-)
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient (Paris, 1967-)

Lú	The lexical series lú = *ša*
Ludlul	Akkadian poem narrating the suffering of the pious Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan, who is eventually saved by the god Marduk. Cited after Hätinen 2022; cf. also Lambert 1960, 21-62 and Oshima 2014
LSJ	Liddell, H.G.; Scott, R.; Jones, H.S. (1996). *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford
Malku	The lexical series *malku* = *šarru*
*Marduk*1	Literary prayer to Marduk, edited by Lambert 1959-1960, 55-60 and Oshima 2011, 216-74
*Marduk*2	Literary hymn to Marduk, edited by Lambert 1959-1960, 61-8 and Oshima 2011, 216-74
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations (Winona Lake, 1989-)
MSL	Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon (1937-)
Nabnītu	The lexical series úlutin = *nabnītu*
NABU	*Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* (Paris, 1987-)
NIN	*Journal of Gender Studies in Antiquity* (Groningen, 2000-03)
NTM	*Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Wissenschaften, Technik und Medizin* (Leipzig, 1960-)
OBO	Orbis biblicus et Orientalis (Freiburg; Schweiz, 1973-)
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago 1924-)
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (Leuven, 1970-)
OPSNKF	Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund (Philadelphia, 1976-)
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike (Tübingen, 2009-)
OrNS	*Orientalia, Nova Series* (Rome, 1932-)
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (London, 1878-)
QuadSem	Quaderni di Semitistica (Firenze, 1971-)
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* (Paris, 1884-)
RIMA	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods (Toronto 1987-96)
RINAP	The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period (Winona Lake, IN, 2011-)
RlA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie* (Berlin, 1932-)
Rm	Museum siglum of the British Museum (Rassam)
SAA	State Archives of Assyria (Helsinki, 1987-)
SAAB	State Archives of Assyria Bulletin (Padova, 1987-)
SAACT	State Archives of Assyria. Cuneiform Texts (Helsinki, 1997-)
Sagig	Medical diagnostic series comprising 40 tablets, edited by Labat 1951 and more recently by Heeßel 2000
SANER	Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records (Berlin; Boston, 2012-)
SB	Standard Babylonian
SBH	Reisner, G. (1896). *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit*. Berlin. Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen X
Si	Field numbers of tablets excavated at Sippar in the collections of the Archaeological Museums (Istanbul)

Sm	Museum siglum of the British Museum in London (Smith)
SpTU	Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk (Mainz, 1976-98)
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica (Leiden, 1951-; Assen Van Gorcum, 1955-2006)
StS	Studi Semitici (Roma, 1958-)
Šurpu	Ritual and incantation series aimed at appeasing the gods' anger, first edited by Zimmern (1896-1901), and partially re-edited by Reiner 1975 and Borger 2000
Theodicy	Akkadian wisdom composition in the form of a dialogue that discusses human suffering and divine justice, composed by Saggil-kīnu-ubbib. Editions: cited after Heinrich 2022, cf. also Lambert 1960, 62-91 and Oshima 2014
TDP	Labat, R. (1951). *Traité Akkadien de Diagnostics et Pronostics Médicaux*. Paris; Leiden
Uruanna	The pharmaceutical lexical series URU.AN.NA = *maštakal*
Ugaritica	Ugaritica. Études relatives aux découvertes de Ras Shamra (Paris, 1939-78)
VAT	Museum siglum of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Tontafeln)
WaG	*Die Welt als Geschichte* (Heidelberg, 1935-63)
WdO	*Die Welt des Orients* (Göttingen, 1947-)
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969-)
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* (Leipzig; Berlin, 1886-)

Symbols and further abbreviations

šu[?]	uncertain reading
šu[!]	emended
šu[!](MA)	emended, against identifiable sign on tablet
x	undecipherable sign
[ ]	break
⌜*šu*⌝	partially broken sign(s)
[x]	lacuna of approximately x sign(s)
°*šu*°	sign(s) written over erasure
…	untranscribed and untranslated sign(s) and word(s)
+	joined
(+)	indirectly joined to
< >	sign(s) or word(s) to be added to the text
/	end of a line, if two or more lines in a given manuscript are edited on one line
||	metrical break (*caesura*)
|	metrical division between feet
//	paralleled by
col.	column
fem.	feminine
l., ll.	line(s)
LB	Late Babylonian
lex. sec.	lexical section
MA	Middle Assyrian
masc.	masculine
MB	Middle Babylonian
mng.	meaning
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
NA	Neo-Assyrian
NB	Neo-Babylonian
OA	Old Assyrian
OB	Old Babylonian
obv.	obverse
pl./pls	plates
pl.	plural
rev.	reverse
sg.	singular
unpubl.	unpublished

The Akkadian Great Hymns and Prayers

A Critical Edition of the Nabû and Ištar Prayers and a Study of the Corpus

Ai miei genitori,
Antonella e Renzo

1 Introduction

Summary 1.1 Mesopotamian Hymns and Prayers. – 1.1.1 Definition of the Genre. – 1.1.2 Sumerian Background and Akkadian Tradition. – 1.2 The *Great Hymns and Prayers*: Definition of the Corpus. – 1.2.1 Previous Editions and Studies. – 1.2.2 Manuscript Tradition. – 1.2.3 Layout and Prosody. – 1.2.4 Language and Style. – 1.2.5 Content and *Sitz im Leben*.

This study focuses on a group of Akkadian literary hymns and prayers commonly labelled by scholars as *Great Hymns and Prayers*. These texts share several characteristics: they are over 200 lines long,[1] feature numerous rhetorical figures and show a significant degree of similarity in their literary structure. Notably, none of these compositions provide a clear indication of the use, function or social context for which they were intended. The literary style of these texts suggests that they were primarily intended for a literary purpose, rather than being designed to be recited as part of religious practices. The hymns and prayers examined in this study deserve detailed study not solely because of their remarkable style and structure, but also for the complexity of the themes and ideas they occasionally convey. This study offers a comprehensive overview of the entire corpus, including descriptions of the form, language and content of the texts under examination (chapter 1). It also presents new critical

1 Scholars have suggested that these texts may originally all have been 200 lines long, but some were expanded over time (see, e.g. Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 162).

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editions of the *Great Prayer to Nabû* (chapter 2) and *Great Prayer to Ištar* (chapter 3), including transliteration, translation, transcription and philological commentary. Copies of the manuscripts preserving the *Great Prayer to Nabû* are also provided. Chapter 4 delves into the intertextual connections between the *Great Hymns and Prayers* and various texts, including lexical lists. Chapter 5 conducts a poetic analysis of the compositions, listing and explaining the numerous rhetorical devices employed in these texts. The appendix includes a poetical study of two wisdom compositions: the *Babylonian Theodicy* and *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*.

1.1 Mesopotamian Hymns and Prayers

1.1.1 Definition of the Genres

Taking as starting point the notion of literature in Mesopotamia provided by Röllig,[2] who considers literary only those texts, that may, with respect to their form and contents, be regarded as works of art, it is safe to affirm that the compositions under study are among the finest examples of Akkadian literary texts.

Not only are they literary, but they also qualify as poetic, being enriched with many rhetorical devices and figurative images.[3]

Yet, before describing the most prominent features of these compositions, it is necessary to linger briefly on the problem of literary genres in the Mesopotamian literature.

Vanstiphout has highlighted the difficulties in conducting a generic analysis for the Mesopotamian literature in his works on this

2 Röllig 1987-90. For a similar definition, see Livingstone 1989, XVI, according to whom, literary texts are "compositions exemplifying and expressing a creative effort, but not including functional genres such as rituals, incantations, or royal inscriptions, which follow a fixed tradition and format, nor the day to day religious literature". This concept of literature is vastly different from the one implied in the expression 'Stream of Tradition': coined by Oppenheim 1977, 13, this phrase indicates the Mesopotamian literature in the broadest sense, encompassing every work "that was maintained, controlled, and carefully kept alive by a tradition served by successive generations of learned and well-trained scribes", thus including, for example, lexical and grammatical texts, or omina. The tradition of scholarly and literary texts was, however, not as fluid and seamless as Oppenheim's phrase might suggest (on this see Robson 2011). For an overview of the different definitions of literature in Assyriology, see also Goodnick Westenholz 1999, 81-2.

3 Groneberg (1996) considers imagery as the most defining trait of poetic texts, because it produces a 'meta-level' of discourse, in which the expressed meaning transcends the immediate surface of the wording.

subject.[4] He mentioned six main obstacles, that can be summarised as follows: a) the fragmentary state of preservation of texts; b) the interruption of continuity in their transmission; c) the lack of a Mesopotamian *Ars Poetica*, that is, of a formal organisation of literature; d) the relative uniformity of the literary style, which prevents from distinguishing genres simply on the basis of the stylistic features of texts;[5] and e) the general lack of standard forms or structural schemes in many literary compositions.[6]

In addition, it is often impossible to determine the *Sitz im Leben* of texts: in most cases, scribal schools are the only social and cultural context to which literary compositions can be ascribed with certainty.[7]

Nevertheless, in spite of the above-mentioned difficulties, there are indications that the learned Mesopotamians perceived some generic differences between compositions. Indeed, although no formal native classification exists,[8] texts were occasionally labelled according to their function or to the way in which they were performed (e.g. the rubrics *zamāru* for hymns or epic poems, or ÉN for incantation and incantation prayers, see below).[9] In addition, ancient catalogues would list various compositions by their title, occasionally grouping texts with shared similarities.[10] These catalogues, being primarily 'genre-specific', provide valuable aid to modern scholars in better understanding the nature of the transmitted texts.[11] An indication

4 Vanstiphout 1986; 1999a; 1999b. Vanstiphout has further investigated the concept of the 'life-cycle' of texts, i.e. the evolution of literary compositions, a process which might bring about structural changes and shifts between different generic categories, see Vanstiphout 1999a; 1999b. Cf. also George 2007b.

5 Some stylistic poetic traits, for instance a distinctive layout or special grammatical features, can occur in texts normally classified as belonging to different genres, such as incantations and epic narratives, on this see Groneberg 1996.

6 Vanstiphout 1986, 2-6; on the problem of genres in Mesopotamian literature, cf. also Lenzi 2019, 37-8 with further references.

7 Vanstiphout 1986, 4; George 2003, 36-9; 2007, 5-7.

8 See Black 1998, 24-8 commenting on the lack of a Mesopotamian 'poetic'; cf. chapter 5 in the present work.

9 For different types of rubrics in hymnic texts, see Groneberg 2003, cf. also Metcalf 2015, 56-8 for rubrics in some Akkadian Old Babylonian Hymns; see also Geller 2000 for rubrics in incantations. Cf. also Vanstiphout 1999b, 81-3; Wasserman 2003, 176; George 2007b, 42-4. On the concepts of the 'critical genre', i.e. the modern classification, and the 'ethnic genre', i.e. the indigenous classification, as applied to the Mesopotamian literature, see Tinney 1996.

10 See the remarks by Vanstiphout on these 'catalogue texts', in Vanstiphout 1999b, 81-2. See also Groneberg 2003; Delnero 2010; cf. Steinert 2018 for catalogues of technical compendia (e.g. omina and medical texts); cf. Krecher 1976-80 for Akkadian literary catalogues.

11 On 'genre-specific' catalogues, cf. Delnero 2010, 41-9, and Steinert 2018, 7, with fn. 6.

of native genre-consciousness is offered, for instance, by the compilation tablets (*Sammeltafeln*) which contained several wisdom texts, a fact that suggests that these texts were perceived as belonging to a similar group and probably reflected a genre.[12] Collections of tablets compiling sets of hymns and prayers are likewise attested. For instance, there are *Sammeltafeln* which gather Old Babylonian adab-songs, or an Old Babylonian *Sammeltafel* which includes three hymns dedicated to Papulegara (*Papulegara* A-C). Notably, the latter is, together with a compilation tablet collecting two hymns to Mama (*Mama* A-B), the sole surviving *Sammeltafel* that preserves hymns in the Akkadian language.[13] Incantation prayers are occasionally also collected in compilation tablets, such as the first-millennium *Sammeltafel* comprising a group of *namburbi* prayers.[14] These examples of sorting and labelling, however, cannot be understood as a generic taxonomy in our modern sense.

Nevertheless, whereas one should not force western labels and categories on cuneiform texts, which should instead be considered in their *Eigenbegrifflichkeit*,[15] that is, in their own cultural autonomy, some classification is necessary. As explained by Erica Reiner in her essay on Akkadian literature, using terms borrowed from classical literature in order to identify Mesopotamian genres (i.e. the customary classification which employs terms such as hymns, prayer, epics, wisdom texts, etc.) can be justified by the fact that numerous Mesopotamian compositions share similar features, in matters of form and content, with texts of the classical western tradition.[16] Moreover, the use of modern or classical labels, however approximate, can enhance our understanding of Mesopotamian literature.[17]

12 On *Sammeltafeln* of wisdom texts see Cohen 2013, 13-14 and 60-2 and 2018, 43. Cf. more recently also Lenzi 2019, 37.

13 For compilation of Old Babylonian hymns in Sumerian, often composed on behalf of kings, see Metcalf 2015, 18-19. Cf. also the recent contribution by Streck and Wasserman (2023), where two so far unknown manuscripts of two Old Babylonian hymns (Papulegara and Ištar Louvre) are discussed.

14 Lenzi 2011, 40.

15 This term was first introduced by Landsberger (1965) who stressed the necessity of affirming the distinctiveness of the Mesopotamian civilisations. It was translated in English as 'Conceptual autonomy' (Landsberger 1976, transl. Jacobsen, Foster, von Siebenthal).

16 See Longman 1991, 12-13 for a brief clarification of the concept of generic similarity. Cf. Reiner 1992, 294: "There are enough similarities between Babylonian works and comparable genres of classical literatures, which determine our categories, to warrant a gross classification of Babylonian works into these categories familiar to the modern Western reader".

17 See Longman's remarks on the utility of an 'etic' approach, i.e. an approach which uses modern criteria of classification and identification for a generic analysis of Mesopotamian literature, in that "the meaning of a text is genre-bound", and therefore a proper genre identification helps in the textual interpretation (Longman 1991, 15-17).

For the purpose of this study, I will use therefore the terms 'hymn' and 'prayer' to define the texts under consideration.[18] In general, hymns and prayers, both in antiquity and in contemporary religious practice, share common formal and content features, and serve similar functions: both forms of discourse, in fact, have the purpose of securing divine favour, and both are mostly addressed to a supra-human addressee (a god, or other kinds of higher entities).[19] It can be safely asserted that the performance of hymns and prayers is a religious act and is therefore related to other aspects of religious worship, such as a specific spatial context (e.g. a temple, an altar), a certain type of gesture (the act of kneeling, joining hands) and behavior.[20] Defining the exact differences between hymns and prayers is difficult. Some scholars, especially with reference to ancient Greek texts, have pointed to alleged differences in style, suggesting that hymns would represent an 'embellished' form of prayers.[21] Others, on the other hand, have pointed to possible variations in recitation.[22]

Similar considerations have also been suggested with respect to Mesopotamian hymns and prayers. Indeed, Mesopotamians hymns and prayers share the aforementioned overall characteristics, appearing similar to each other to the point that they elude precise distinctions and strict definitions as well.[23] Possible distinctions between hymns and prayers in Mesopotamian literature have been drawn by various scholars, who attempted to highlight differences in terms of

Cf. also George 2007b, 38-9. Nevertheless, Lenzi (2019, 38) highlights the potential pitfalls of contemporary categorisations, which can lead to more confusion rather than to clarification. For example, different scholars may classify the same texts as belonging to distinct genres. This might happen because, for instance, some texts that we perceive as being of different genres sometimes share the same emic terminology (e.g. the term *zamāru* for both hymns and epics, cf. *infra*).

18 See Streck 2020 for a discussion on Old Babylonian hymns as a literary genre.

19 See Lenzi 2011, 2-8 on hymns and prayers in a broader, religious studies perspective; cf. Lenzi 2011, 8-24 for a narrower focus on Mesopotamian hymns and prayers. In the Mesopotamian context, the supra-human addressee could be, beside gods, protective spirits, or ghosts. In addition, there are cases where the addressee is a king or a deified object, see below in Sumerian hymns. See Lenzi 2011, 9 with previous bibliography.

20 Furley, Bremer 2001, 1-2.

21 Pulleyn (1997, 49-50), for instance, suggests that Greek hymns represent artistic creations, "an adornment for the gods to delight in", serving as votive offering in their own right; In this regard, she provides an example by citing a fragment from Pindar, in which the poet appears to refer to his own poetry as a θυσία, a votive offering. In other words, hymns are, according to Pulleyn, "negotiable commodities in a way that prayers are not". In contrast, prayers can be understood as requests made in exchange for a different, more concrete kind of offering (e.g. libation or sacrifice). Cf. also Furley, Bremer 2001, 4.

22 Furley, Bremer 2001, 3.

23 Cf. Streck 2020 for a brief overview of the differences between Old Babylonian hymns and prayers according to various scholars, and for a useful comparison between hymns and epic texts.

style, content and performance. For instance, Edzard suggested adopting the recitation style as a criterion for distinction. According to him, the delivery would be faster and more akin to vernacular language in prayers, while it would be slower or more solemn in hymns.[24]

However, although there is ample evidence to suggest that Mesopotamian hymns were accompanied by musical instruments,[25] we cannot ascertain the exact nature of their oral reception and transmission. Moreover, it seems that at least in some cases prayers were recited with a musical accompaniment as well.[26]

Other scholars focus on the context in which hymns and prayers were transmitted, assuming that the former were always recited in a public context (e.g. in cultic rites), while the latter were recited in a more private setting.[27] However in many cases the exact identification of a *Sitz im Leben*, whether private or public, whether related to the cult, to the court or to a more personal context, can prove difficult (cf. also below, § 1.3.5). In fact, while it is highly likely that most Sumerian and Akkadian hymns were recited in public ceremonies within temple settings, the same can be said of numerous prayers.[28] Additionally, it is plausible that texts initially performed in a private context could have been later recited in public.[29]

Another often overlooked aspect, which is of some importance in distinguishing literary genres, is the physical arrangement of the manuscripts. In certain cases, the material aspect of the tablet clearly indicates the type of text it contains, such as letters or lexical and administrative texts.[30] Indeed, a fairly common layout of tablets preserving Akkadian hymns involves the division into stanzas, sometimes

24 Edzard 1994, 20-1; cf. Streck 2020, 660.

25 Metcalf 2015, 19-20; cf. Shehata 2009, 250-62.

26 Shehata 2009, 245.

27 Streck 2020, 661; cf. Wasserman 2016, 20-1.

28 This applies in particular to prayers written in Sumerian (Gabbay 2013, 103-4); the majority of Akkadian prayers did have an individual character, and usually involved only a few people, such as the exorcist priest and the supplicant. There were, nevertheless, several prayers in Akkadian, that were performed in royal and temple rituals, see Lenzi 2011, 20-1.

29 On the distinction between public and private spheres in Mesopotamian contexts see Wasserman 2016, 20-1; note Wasserman's remark: "In principle, a text which at first was composed for, and presented at, some official ceremony, could later be used in a private context; inversely, a text whose origin was private could later be re-worked and used in an official setting" (2016, 21).

30 On this topic, see Taylor 2011; cf. also Hess 2015, who mostly focuses on the layout of epic texts of the Old Babylonian period. Hess concludes that indeed, even within the literary genre of epics, there is a high degree of variation and heterogeneity. However, in certain instances, the consistency in material aspects (format, layout, spacing) of the manuscript tradition also implies a deliberate preservation of poetic features, establishing a connection between form and content (Hess 2015, 273).

accompanied by horizontal rulings. These material traits, which are also present in numerous manuscripts of the *Great Hymns and Prayers*, are already attested in tablets of the Old Babylonian period, as can be seen, for instance, in the manuscripts of the hymns to Agušaya A and B.[31] However, this feature is not a reliable specific criterion for identifying the genre of hymns, since it is too inconsistently attested.[32]

Several scholars, such as von Soden,[33] Foster,[34] and Lenzi[35] distinguish hymns from prayers mostly on the basis of their content. As von Soden writes, a hymn

> preist die Gottheit, ihre Macht, ihre Eigenschaften und ihr Tun. Es gibt aber nur wenige Kompositionen, die sich auf diese Thematik beschränken; die meisten verbinden in verschiedener Weise Hymne und Gebet miteinander.[36]

Therefore, as summarised by Streck, a distinction between the two genres can only be achieved by examining the extent to which praise and prayer are developed within the text.[37]

Hence, in the scope of this investigation, I follow the latter criterion of distinction, that is, I call hymns, those compositions in which the praise to the deities takes the central place, and consider as prayers those texts, whose main purpose is the petition.

The developments and the main characteristics of the two genres will be illustrated in the next paragraph.

31 Hess 2015, 262.

32 Although more common in hymns, it is not always present and, moreover, is also found in some manuscripts preserving other literary genres, such es epic texts (e.g. *Atrahasīs*, see Hess 2015, 263).

33 Soden 1957-71; 1972-75.

34 Foster 2005, 38.

35 Lenzi 2011, 9.

36 Von Soden 1972-75, 544.

37 Cf. Streck 2020, 660.

1.1.2 Sumerian Background and Akkadian Tradition

Sumerian hymns are numerous and have come down to us from the Early Dynastic period,[38] yet Sumerian hymnic literature thrived in the Old Babylonian period.

Sumerian hymns are characterised by a descriptive style; occasionally, they include narrative episodes.[39] The Sumerian language does not have a specific term for 'hymn', although many Sumerian hymnic compositions end with the subscripts a d a b, or t i g i, which were types of songs. This corroborates the hypothesis that these texts were composed to be sung.[40] The doxology z à - m í 'praise' is also attested at the end of Sumerian hymns.[41]

Sumerian hymns can praise deities, kings, temples, cities and even sacred objects. Clear indications on the use and *Sitz im Leben* are lacking, although it is possible that the hymns praising the kings were employed in court ceremonies, while those addressed to deities could be used in a cultic context.[42] For example, Sumerian hymns of the third millennium BCE (e.g. the z à - m í hymns from Abu-Salabikh[43] or the so called 'Temple Hymns'[44] of Enheduanna) were very likely sung in the liturgy.[45] Sumerian hymns of the Old Babylonian period tend to offer more detailed contextual information, although they do not mention that they were intended for any specific historical setting or event, probably lending themselves to multiple performances. Possible occasions of recitation were, for example, new-year celebrations (as *Iddin-Dagan* A, a hymn to Inanna) or the delivery of divine statues in temples (as the hymn to Numušda known as *Sin-iqišam* A).[46]

38 I.e. a cycle of Sumerian hymns found at the site of Abu-Salabikh, see Biggs 1974, 45-56 and the recent work by Krebernik, Lisman 2021; cf. Hrůša 2015, 109.

39 Narrative episodes in Sumerian hymns are relatively rare, although they do occasionally include short passages which recount the elevation of the deities they address to. An example of a longer, narrative episode is found in the hymn labelled as Ninisina A (ll. 105-9). On this see Metcalf 2015, 29.

40 Metcalf 2015, 19-20; see Shehata 2009, 251-7 for an extensive treatment of the t i - g i and a d a b-songs, with an emphasis on how they were performed and accompanied by musical instruments.

41 Metcalf 2015, 17. The doxology z à - m í is not exclusively found at the end of hymns or compositions that predominantly contain praises to deities. Instead, it appears to be used in a more general sense, occasionally in conjunction with other markers. See Metcalf 2015, 17 fn. 7 with further references.

42 Wilcke 1972-75; Römer 1989.

43 Krebernik, Lisman 2021.

44 Zimmern 1930; Sjöberg, Bergmann 1969; cf. Wilcke 1972 and Krebernik, Lisman 2021, 19-20. For a recent translation of Enḫeduanna's hymns, see Helle 2023.

45 Krebernik, Lisman 2021, 20-1.

46 Metcalf 2015, 21, with further references.

Up to the Old Babylonian period, no corpus of texts that can be considered prayers in the strict sense, i.e. petitions directed to a superior entity and used in liturgy, has come down to us: Sumerian prayers in the third millennium only exist as encased in other types of texts, such as royal inscriptions or construction-hymns, which include a petition in the closing section (e.g. the Gudea cylinders).[47] Prayers in Sumerian were also embedded in literary texts, such as myths, epic narratives or city laments; literary prayers to kings are also attested. In addition, a special form of private prayer emerged, in which the addressee would directly communicate with the deities through a message in the form of a letter that functioned as a votive offering. These texts are the so-called letter-prayers, and can be dated back to the end of the third millennium.[48]

Various types of prayers written in Sumerian were developed during the Old Babylonian and Kassite periods: they were used in cultic practice, and were occasionally accompanied by musical instruments.[49] Some prayers bear the name of the instrument used in the cultic performance (e.g. the *balaĝ*, which denoted a type of stringed instrument or (later) drum, or the *eršemma*, which one could translate as 'lamentation (accompanied by the) š è m - d r u m'). Most types of Sumerian prayers of the second and first millennium were composed in the Emesal dialect.[50]

Most of the original Sumerian literary texts ceased to be produced at the end of the Old Babylonian period, giving way to Akkadian literature, which rose from the Sumerian background partially maintaining the Sumerian literary tradition, but also renewing and transforming previous models.[51]

47 Hymns which include mention of kings often end with a prayer, while hymns with no mention of a ruler usually exhibit a zà-mí formula at the end. As noted by Metcalf (2015, 31), the presence of prayer in hymns composed on behalf of kings probably constituted an integral aspect of the hymns themselves.

48 On letter-prayers see Borger 1957-71; Hallo 1968 and 1996, 232-6. See also Hrůša 2015, 208-9 and Lenzi 2019, 162 fn. 376 for further references.

49 These texts might have emerged in written form mostly from the Old Babylonian period, but the history of their transmission is much longer. Indeed, it is most likely that Sumerian lamentation prayers had been transmitted orally for a long time, through cultic performances, before they were put into writing (Gabbay 2019, esp. 205). On the context of performance of Sumerian prayers, see Gabbay 2013.

50 Falkenstein 1957-71; Römer 1989; cf. Hrůša 2015, 109-11. For the *balaĝ* prayers, see Cohen 1981; for the *eršemma* prayers, see Gabbay 2015, and cf. Gabbay 2014a for a study on all types of Sumerian prayers in Emesal. Cf. also Maul 1988 and Shehata 2009, 247-57.

51 Metcalf 2015, 50. While the composition of original Sumerian literature mostly declined from the second millennium BCE, Sumerian literary texts, including numerous *balaĝ* and *eršemma* prayers, continued to be copied and transmitted, some even up to the end of the first millennium (cf. Gabbay 2014b; Delnero 2020, 44-5). Other Sumerian literary texts whose transmission continued in late periods include, for example

Akkadian hymns and prayers display similar features in both their structure and content, to the point that the two genres might seem to overlap. There are, however, several differences by which they can be distinguished.

Akkadian hymns are lyrical compositions which glorify deities,[52] and are termed *zamāru* or *šēru* 'song', in Akkadian. Further subscripts of Akkadian hymns, attested at the beginning and at the end of an Old Babylonian *Sammeltafel*, are *pārum* and ŠÈR *tanittim* ('song of praise').[53] The term *pārum*, whose meaning is not clear, appears to be the only term of purely Akkadian origin, while the others are borrowings from Sumerian terminology.[54] Like Sumerian hymns, Akkadian hymns can also be found within literary texts of various genres, such as epic (e.g. in *Enūma eliš* VI-VII), wisdom texts (e.g. the hymnic opening in *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*), and royal inscriptions.[55]

Most scholars hypothesise that the context of Akkadian hymns, like that of hymns in Sumerian, was primarily cultic.[56] In some cases, explicit indications of the cultic context of hymns are found, such as the ritual text composed for the festival of the goddess Ištar in Mari, which lists a series of hymns to be recited during the ceremony,[57] or the mention of a festival in the Old Babylonian hymn to Ištar Agušaya (*Agušaya* A and B).[58]

Sumerian and Akkadian hymns share a tripartite structure, containing an opening section (*invocatio*), in which the addressed god is identified, followed by the central body of the text in which the praises of the divinity unfold (*laudes*); finally, they end with a petition for the well-being of the supplicant and occasionally with a salutation

compositions like The Curse of Agade, The Instructions of Šuruppak and Lugalbanda (see e.g Veldhuis 2010, 30-1).

52 Akkadian hymns usually praise deities, although several consist in praises to kings, e.g. the hymnic compositions addressed to the king of Larsa Gungunum (see Hunger, Groneberg 1978, 522), cf. also Groneberg 2003, 56.

53 The terms *pārum* and ŠÈR *tanittim* appear in the Old Babylonian *Sammeltafel* which preserves the hymns to Papulegara mentioned earlier (*Papulegara* A-C, see above in the previous paragraph). The rubric ŠÈR *kummi*, occurring only in one hymn to Adad, was probably based on the Sumerian ŠÈR-compounds, such as ŠÈR *tanittim*, see Metcalf 2015, 69; on the ŠÈR-compounds, see Shehata 2009, 262-88.

54 Metcalf 2015, 54-7.

55 Lenzi 2011, 56-7.

56 See Pohl 2022, 10-12, for a discussion of the context and use of Old Babylonian hymns, which were most probably delivered in temples as well. Pohl (2022, 11) also remarks that hymnic compositions in other cultures, such as the Hebrew psalms or the Egyptian hymns, were also very likely performed in the cult. On this see also Shehata 2009, 223-4; moreover, see Krebernik, Lisman 2021, 20-1 with respect to the *Sitz im Leben* of the zà-mí hymns, likely used for recitation in temples.

57 Ziegler 2007, 55-63.

58 Pohl 2022, 10, with further examples of hymns probably employed in cultic occasions.

(*preces*). The structural similarity between Akkadian and Sumerian hymns, which is mostly evident in the stock phrases and rhetorical devices occurring in the invocation, and in common motifs employed in the praises, clearly illustrates the strong stream of tradition, which runs between the Sumerian and Akkadian literatures.[59]

By contrast, the dominant element in prayers is the petition for the personal well-being of the worshipper. Various forms of Akkadian prayers are attested: prayer-like formulations appear in personal names, or might be encased in literary compositions; some prayers are part of commemorative inscriptions, and several royal prayers, that request welfare and long life for the king and his reign, are also preserved.[60] Furthermore, a large group of prayers, the so-called 'incantation prayers', were employed in liturgical or cultic contexts; they can be addressed, aside from deities, to the *materia magica* used in ritual practice, for instance tamarisk or salt.[61] Incantation prayers can bear the label ÉN 'incantation' at the beginning and TU$_6$/t e ÉN (or only ÉN) at the end, and the Sumerian introduction to rubrics k a i n-i m-m a ('wording'). The Mesopotamian scribes used these labels and rubrics to categorise and contextualise these compositions.[62]

In spite of their variety, Akkadian prayers often share the following elements: the hymnic introduction (*invocatio*, see above), the self-presentation of the worshipper, the description of his illness or troubles (the 'lament'), the plea for divine aid, and ultimately the promise to glorify the deity in the future.[63]

Both Akkadian hymns and prayers underwent structural and formal changes over time. Old Babylonian hymns differ from later hymns in structure and style, usually being shorter and characterised by self-contained lines. First-millennium hymns tend to be linguistically and stylistically more complex, and favour long series of subordinate

59 For hymns in Akkadian, see von Soden 1972-75 and Hecker 1989; cf. also Hrůša 2015, 111-12. I follow here the structure of Sumerian and Akkadian hymns provided by Metcalf 2015, 25.

60 Hecker 1989, 718-83; von Soden 1957-71.

61 Reiner 1992, 309-10.

62 For a study on incantation prayers see Mayer 1976; Zgoll 2003b; Frechette 2012; Jaques 2015. Cf. also Lenzi et al. 2011, 24-52; 2019, 161-7. Cf. also Hrůša 2015, 207-9 for further references. Some incantation prayers bear the rubric *diĝiršadabba* and are therefore known as *diĝiršadabba* prayers. Their scope was to appease an angry god and some scholars label them 'penitential prayers', cf. Lenzi 2019, 167.

63 This structure is particularly typical of some types of incantation-prayers, such as *šuilla*s or *namburbi*s, which may include the description of the actions of the supplicant. On the opposite, the *diĝiršadabba* prayers seem to display less structural homogeneity (on this see Jaques 2015, 134-91. Cf. Lenzi 2019a, 167).

clauses defining the attributes of the god being praised.[64]

Old-Babylonian Akkadian prayers, in the same way, display a terser and less elaborate language than later prayers, which, moreover, make greater use of rhetorical devices.[65]

These differences are, of course, tendencies rather than rigid aspects, and not significant enough to date the texts in an unequivocal manner. The *Great Hymns and Prayers*, in fact, generally align with these characteristics, being two hundred lines in length or more, and displaying a syntactic and linguistic complexity typical of first-millennium compositions. Nevertheless, we know that at least two texts belonging to the corpus under study (*Marduk*1 and *Anūna Prayer*) were composed during the Old Babylonian period.

1.2 The *Great Hymns and Prayers*: Definition of the Corpus

1.2.1 Previous Editions and Studies

I call the group of texts under study *Great Hymns and Prayers*, borrowing this label from Foster, who has treated these compositions in his anthology of Akkadian literature.[66] The corpus so far includes nine texts – five hymns and four prayers – [67]addressed to several deities:

64 Foster 2005, 21-2; 2007, 104-5. For a recent treatment of Akkadian Old Babylonian hymns, with a detailed analysis of stylistic and linguistic features, see Pohl 2022.

65 Reiner 1992, 310; Foster 2005, 40-1. The general tendency for a more elaborate style and a greater poetic complexity is a feature observable also in other genres beside hymns and prayers in the first millennium, see Foster 2007, 104-7; cf. also the study on the language of first-millennium incantations by Schwemer 2014.

66 See Foster 2005[3], 583-635 (also below in this paragraph), cf. also Foster 2007, 78-81. In Foster's anthology, however, the corpus is slightly different from the one presented here, as it includes an incantation prayer to Ištar (Foster 2005[3], 599-605, § III.27, "The Great Prayer to Ištar", see also Zgoll 2003a, "Ištar 2", 41-80) that I have excluded due to its differences from the other compositions, e.g. its length (105 lines) and its clearly ritual purpose. I excluded from the corpus, furthermore, another hymn to Ninurta (Mayer 1992; Mitto 2022a) and the so-called *Syncretistic Hymn to Ištar* (Lambert 2003; Földi 2021b) because they also do not entirely conform to the other *Great Hymns and Prayers*, with the first being only 55 verses long and the second, 36. Additionally, the group identified by Foster does not include the *Prayer to Anūna*, nor the *Syncretistic Hymn to Gula*. It is essential to specify, however, that the definition of this corpus, as well as the determination of literary genres and subgenres, is purely formal and not devoid of possible changes: this corpus is not a closed set, and it is quite possible, even likely, that new texts will be discovered in the future, exhibiting the same characteristics of the *Great Hymns and Prayers*. Further compositions which could also be included in the corpus are, for instance, the damaged and so far unpublished *Hymn to Ninisina* BM 38169, and the *Hymn in Praise of Babylon* (Fadhil, Jiménez forthcoming). Both were probably transmitted in series together with some of the other *Great Hymns and Prayers*. See *infra* in this chapter.

67 For the selection of the texts belonging to the corpus, I follow Lambert 1982, 173. Note that many scholars labelled all these texts as 'hymns', making no distinction

1. The *Great Šamaš Hymn* (*Šamaš Hymn*)
2. The *Gula Hymn of Bullussa-rabi* (*Gula Bullussa-rabi*)
3. The *Hymn to the Queen of Nippur* (to Ištar) (*Queen of Nippur*)
4. The *Great Prayer to Ištar* (*Ištar Prayer*)
5. The *Prayer to Anūna* (to Ištar of Babylon) (*Anūna Prayer*)
6. The *Great Prayer to Marduk* (*Marduk1*)
7. The *Great Hymn to Marduk* (*Marduk2*)
8. The *Great Prayer to Nabû* (*Nabû Prayer*)
9. The *Syncretistic Hymn to Gula* (*Gula Syncretistic*)

In most cases these literary hymns and prayers have been comprehensively edited only once, often accompanied by a translation and brief commentary. Typical examples are Lambert's critical editions of *Gula Bullussa-rabi* (1967), of the *Šamaš Hymn* (1960, 121-38), of *Marduk*1 and *Marduk*2 (1959-60, 55-66) and of the *Ištar Prayer* (1959-60, 50-5). The latter composition is edited here for the second time: the new edition includes a recently identified new fragment, previously published within the journal *KASKAL* in the series *Notes from the eBL Lab* (Jiménez, Rozzi 2022). The edition of *Queen of Nippur*, noticeable for its composite structure, has also been published by Lambert (1982). In addition, the same author edited the *Anūna Prayer* (Lambert 1989), which was recently re-edited by Lenzi in a digital format (Lenzi 2018). Von Soden (1971) published the first complete edition of the *Nabû Prayer*, and more recently Lenzi has published a digital edition of the same text on his project website (Lenzi 2021). Here a new edition of the *Nabû Prayer* is provided; it comprises a new fragment recently identified within the *eBL* project.

New fragments of the *Šamaš Hymn* have been published by Geller (1997) and George and Al-Rawi (1998); further newly discovered fragments recently appeared in the Assyriological journal *KASKAL*, within the series *Notes from the eBL Lab* (Rozzi 2021b; 2022; forthcoming). In the same series, Földi (2019b; 2020) provided editions of additional manuscripts of *Gula Bullussa-rabi* and of *Queen of Nippur*.

Several fragments of *Marduk*1, *Marduk*2 and the *Šamaš Hymn* were included in Gesche's study on the Babylonian scribal curriculum (Gesche 2001; see Oshima 2011, 86 and 89 for the list of fragments of these two compositions which appeared in Gesche's book). The first complete edition of *Gula Syncretistic* was recently published by Bennett (2022).[68]

between them, while others called 'hymns' those texts I here refer to as 'prayers', or *viceversa* (see Oshima 2011, 33 fn. 165). In the end, it is, as has been mentioned earlier in the discussion on genre (see above § 1.1.1), an approximate classification, which only serves to highlight the general tone characterising the texts, whether more 'hymnic' or rather more 'penitential'.

68 Few fragments of this text had been edited previously, see Bennett 2022, 186 for older bibliography.

The most recent comprehensive editions of *Marduk*1 and *Marduk*2 have been offered by Oshima (2011, 137-90 and 216-70) in his volume on Babylonian prayers to Marduk. An edition of a new manuscript of *Marduk*1 has been recently published by Fadhil, Jiménez (2019, 162-77).[69] In addition, new fragments of *Marduk*1 (nos. 137-90), *Marduk*2 (nos. 97-127), *Gula Bullussa-rabi* (nos. 57-62) and the *Šamaš Hymn* (nos. 128-42) appeared in George and Taniguchi's edition of Lambert's folios (2019).

Online editions of all the compositions here mentioned, except for *Marduk*1, *Marduk*2 and the *Anūna prayer*, have been prepared by the *electronic Babylonian Literature* (*eBL*) project, and are now available on the project's platform.[70]

In some cases, scholars discussed the formal elements of these poetic compositions: in their analysis of the *Šamaš Hymn*, for example, both Reiner (1985, 68-84) and Castellino (1976, 71-4) note the peculiar cyclical structure of the text and other poetic features (cf. chapter 5). Some formal characteristics of these compositions were also mentioned in several studies concerned with Mesopotamian poetic language and style. In that respect, Vogelzang referred to various forms of repetitions in the *Šamaš Hymn* and in *Gula Bullussa-rabi* in her study about repetition as an essential poetic device (Vogelzang 1996, cf. also chapter 5). Wasserman notes a few stylistic features in *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, *Marduk*1 and the *Anūna Prayer* in his analysis of the style and form of Old Babylonian literature (Wasserman 2003, 23, 67, 76 fn. 72, 85 fn. 111, 95, 124 fn. 143, 123, 125, 150). Furthermore, Groneberg included numerous examples from the *Great Hymns and Prayers* in her investigation of the language and style of Akkadian hymnic texts (Groneberg 1987). Recently, de Zorzi focused on the use of repetition and parallelism in the *Šamaš Hymn* (2019; 2022).

Among the authors who offered translations of these hymns,[71] Foster presents these texts as a unified group, setting them apart from other clearly devotional compositions, and naming them "Great Hymns and Prayers" (Foster 2005[3], 583-635).

69 A new edition of both *Marduk*1 and *Marduk*2 is being prepared by E. Jiménez (pers. communication).

70 The *eBL* project (2018-24; for information about the technical features of the project, see Simonjetz et al. 2024), supported by the Sofja Kovalevskaja Award from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, aims to provide reconstructions and digital editions of first-millennium Akkadian literary texts. The 'Fragmentarium' is the backbone of the project: it is an online searchable database, which contains thousands of transliterated cuneiform texts, and has already proved crucial for the restoration and identification of numerous cuneiform tablets. Thanks to the *eBL* project, and especially through the Fragmentarium, it has been possible to find numerous new manuscripts of the *Great Hymns and Prayers*.

71 Cf. Castellino 1976; Falkenstein, von Soden 1953; Seux 1976.

1.2.2 Manuscript Tradition

The following manuscripts preserve the *Great Hymns and Prayers*:

1. ***Šamaš Hymn***. Editions: Lambert 1960; George, Al-Rawi 1996; Rozzi 2021a (*eBL* edition); 2021b; 2022a; 2023b; Heinrich forthcoming; a new comprehensive edition of the text is being prepared by the Author and will be published in the next future (Rozzi forthcoming). Manuscripts edited by Lambert (the *Siglum* of the following manuscripts is borrowed from Lambert's edition): A = K.3182+ (new joined fragment: K.19835 edited in Rozzi 2022b); B = 3650, C = Sm.1033+, D = BM 98631, E = K.10866, F = BM 98732 (Nineveh, Neo-Assyrian); g = VAT 10174,[72] h = VAT 10071,[73] VAT 10756[74] (school tablets, Assur; Neo-Assyrian), i = Si 15 (school tablet, Sippar; Neo-Babylonian).
   Additional manuscript edited by George, Al-Rawi 1996 (the Siglum of the following manuscript follows George's and Al-Rawi's edition): k = IM 124633 (Sippar; Neo-Babylonian).
   Additional manuscripts published in Lambert, Taniguchi 2019, nos. 128-42: BM 37502 (school tablet, from Babylon or Borsippa; Late Babylonian); BM 37122 (school tablet, from Babylon or Borsippa; Late Babylonian); BM 35077 (Sp-II.613, school tablet, probably from Babylon; Late Babylonian); VAT 17553 (school tablet, Babylon; Late Babylonian); BM 36296+BM 38070 (school tablet, from Babylon or Borsippa; Late Babylonian); BM 74197 (probably from Sippar; Neo-Babylonian); BM 65472+ (probably from Sippar; Neo-Babylonian); Si 832 (probably from Sippar; Neo-Babylonian); BM 134517 (Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian); K.20637 (Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian); BM 42652 (school tablet, probably from Babylon; Late Babylonian); BM 40080 (school tablet, probably from Babylon; Late Babylonian); BM 33465+ (school tablet, probably from Babylon; Late Babylonian. A new fragment belonging to this manuscript has been recently identified by Zs. Földi and added to the *eBL* edition: BM 48914); BM 65461 (school tablet; Sippar; Neo-Babylonian).
   A Graeco-Babylonian fragment edited by Geller 1997: BM 33769 (school fragment; Babylon; Late Babylonian).
   A fragment only recently identified by T. Mitto, from Uruk: UrkLB1 (*eBL*) = IM 135964 (copy SpTU 1, no. 68), not available for collation, but incorporated in the *eBL* edition.

72 Recently republished in Maul, Manasterska 2023, 112-19.

73 Recently republished in Maul, Manasterska 2023, 100-3.

74 Recently republished in Maul, Manasterska 2023, 103-8.

Additional manuscripts edited by Rozzi 2021b; 2022a; 2023b (the *Siglum* of the following manuscripts is borrowed from Rozzi's edition on *eBL* [Rozzi 2021a], where all the manuscripts with their respective references can be found): BabLB1 = BM 38849 (Babylon; Neo-Babylonian);[75] BabLBSch7 = BM 38061; BabLBSch8 = BM 38167; BabLBSch14 = BM 37287; BabLBSch15 = BM 48214+BM 48226 (school tablets; Babylon; Late Babylonian);[76] BabNB2 = BM 39096 (Babylon; Neo Babylonian);[77] NinNA3c = K.19543 (Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian); SipNBSch3 = BM 55181; SipNBSch2 = BM 55080+BM 54856 (the latter was recently joined to BM 55080 by E. Jiménez and identified as a manuscript of the Šamaš Hymn by Zs. Földi; school tablet, Sippar; Neo-Babylonian) (school tablets; Sippar; Neo-Babylonian).[78] A previously unknown fragment was recently discovered within the *eBL* project, and will be published in Heinrich forthcoming: BM 40396 (school tablet, Babylon; Neo-Babylonian).

The hymn is also quoted in few commentaries: BabLBQuo1 = BM 40837 (Babylon; Neo-Babylonian), *Sagig* IV;[79] BabLBQuo2 = BM 92705 (Babylon; Neo-Babylonian),[80] *Iqqur īpuš*; SipNBQuo1 = BM 66965+BM 76508 (Sippar; Neo-Babylonian) (*Sagig* IV).[81]

2. ***Marduk*1**. Editions: Lambert 1959-60, 55-60; Oshima 2011, 137-90 (see Oshima 2011, 85 for prior editions); Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 162-75. Manuscripts published by Lambert 1959-60: A = A1 = K.3216+, A2 = K.8237, A3 = K.3175+, A4 = K.3158+, A5 = K.3186, A6 = K.9430; B = K.8003 (Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian); C = DT 239 (Nineveh; Neo-Babylonian).

   Additional manuscripts published by Oshima 2011: D = BM 78278 (Babylon; Old Babylonian); E = Ashm.1924.1820 (probably from Kish; Neo-Babylonian); F = BM 76492 (Sippar; Late

75 Cf. also Leichty, Finkel, Walker 2019, 404.

76 Leichty, Finkel, Walker 2019, 683.

77 Leichty, Finkel, Walker 2019, 410.

78 There is, moreover, a recently identified fragment from Sippar (see SipNB3c in *eBL*), which will be published by S. Adalı within the Istanbul-Sippar project Catalogue. Dr. Adalı has given me permission to include the transcription of this manuscript in the *eBL* online edition, for which I am most grateful. Another so far unedited Sippar fragment (SipNB2, IM 132673) will be published shortly by E. Jiménez and A. Fadhil. Again, I am grateful to Prof. Jiménez and Dr. Fadhil for their permission to use this text in the *eBL* transcription. A further known manuscript from Aššur (AššNA1 in *eBL*: IM 148526) has also been included in transcription in the *eBL* edition; an edition of this fragment by A. Fadhil will appear in the future.

79 Leichty, Finkel, Walker 2019, 459.

80 Leichty, Finkel, Walker 2019, 49.

81 See Frahm 2011, 106.

Babylonian); G = BM 66652 (now joined to additional fragments, see George, Taniguchi 2019, 5-6, nos. 83 and 87; probably from Sippar; Late Babylonian); H = BM 45618 (probably from Babylon; Late Babylonian); I = BM 34366 (Sp-I.483)(+) BM 45746 (81-7-6, 159) (Babylon, it has an Arsacid colophon and can be dated 35 BCE, see George, Taniguchi 2019, 5); J = BM 34218+ (probably from Babylon; Late Babylonian); k = VAT 14642 (school-tablet, Babylon; Late Babylonian), l = BM 33716 (school tablet, Babylon; Late Babylonian), m = BM 36676 (Babylon; Late Babylonian), n = BM 36437 (school tablet, from Babylon or Borsippa; Late Babylonian), o = BM 37571+BM 37931 (school tablet, from Babylon or Borsippa; Late Babylonian).
Additional manuscripts published in George, Taniguchi 2019, nos. 81-96: BM 72181 (probably from Sippar; Late Babylonian); BM 38343 (from Babylon or Borsippa; Neo-Babylonian); BM 54980; BM 38025; BM 36656 (all from Babylon or Borsippa; Late Babylonian).
Additional manuscript published by Fadhil, Jiménez 2019: IM 124504 (Sippar; Neo-Babylonian).

3. ***Marduk2***. Editions: Lambert 1959-60; Oshima 2011, 216-70 (see Oshima 2011, 89 for prior editions). Manuscripts published by Lambert: A = A1 (K.6906+), A2 (K.3183+), A3 (K.2872+), A4 = (K.10825), B = K.3459, C = K.9917+, E = E1 (K.9918), E2 (K.99178) (Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian); D = VAT 11152+VAT 11170 (Aššur, Neo-Assyrian; unedited fragment: VAT 10313, see George, Taniguchi 2019, 6).
Manuscripts published by Oshima (2011): F = K.17797 (Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian), G = K.18397 (Niniveh; Neo-Assyrian) H = BM 61649+ (probably from Sippar; Late Babylonian); I = BM 61635+ (Sippar; Late Babylonian.); J = 136878+ (probably from Sippar; Late Babylonian); K = Si 851 (probably from Sippar; Late Babylonian); L = BM 66558 (from Sippar; Late Babylonian); M = BM 62292 (Sippar; Late Babylonian), N = Ashm.1924.1420 (probably Kish; Neo-Babylonian); o = VAT 10174 (school tablet; Aššur. Neo-Assyrian); p = K.20949 (Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian); q = BM 66609 (school tablet; probably from Sippar; Late Babylonian); r = BM 66956; s = BM 87226 (unknown provenience, school tablet; Late Babylonian); t = BM 36726 (school tablet, from Babylon or Borsippa; Late Babylonian); u = BM 54203 (school tablet, probably from Sippar; Late Babylonian), v = BM 37959+ (school tablet, from Babylon or Borsippa; Late Babylonian), w = BM 77118, y = Ashm.1924.1807 (Babylon; Neo-Babylonian).
Manuscripts published in George, Taniguchi 2019, nos. 97-127: BM 41295 (probably from Babylon; Late Babylonian); HSM 6836 (probably from Babylon; Neo Babylonian); F4;

F5 (probably from Sippar; Late Babylonian); BM 35285 (Sp-II.854) (probably from Babylon; Late Babylonian); BM 37659 (from Babylon or Borsippa; Late Babylonian); BM 37354 (from Babylon or Borsippa; Late Babylonian); Sm.1751 (Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian); BM 55300 (school tablet, probably from Sippar; Late Babylonian); BM 37392 (school tablet, from Babylon or Borsippa; Late Babylonian); BM 33811 (school tablet, probably from Babylon; Late Babylonian); BM 37692 (school tablet, from Babylon or Borsippa; Late Babylonian); BM 55408 (school tablet, probably from Sippar; Late Babylonian); BM 37937+ (school tablet, from Babylon or Borsippa; Late Babylonian).

4. ***Ištar Prayer***. Editions: Lambert 1959-60; Jiménez, Rozzi 2022. Manuscript published by Lambert (1959-60): K.225+K.9962 (Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian). The online edition of this text was prepared by the Author within the *eBL* project (Rozzi 2023a), and a comprehensive edition is offered here in chapter 3. Both the online and the present edition include the recently discovered manuscript B = BM 35939+BM 35868+BM 35957 (Babylon; Late Babylonian).
5. ***Gula Bullussa-rabi***. Editions: Lambert 1967; Földi 2019b; 2021a (*eBL* edition); 2022c. Manuscripts published by Lambert (1959-60; the *Siglum* of the following manuscripts is borrowed from Lambert's edition): a = Ashm.1937.620 (Babylonian script; provenience unknown, 6th cent. BCE); b = BM 33849+ (Babylonia, Neo-Babylonian); c = BM 34655+ (Babylonia; Late Babylonian); d = 81-7-27,202 (Nineveh; Neo-Babylonian); E = K.3225+ K.6321; F = K.13320; G = K.7934; H = K.9258+17508; I = Sm.1420+, J = 128029 (Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian).
   Additional fragments edited by Földi (2019b; 2022b; the *Siglum* of the following manuscripts is borrowed from the *eBL* edition [Földi 2021a]): SipLB1 = BM 54801 (probably from Sippar; Late Babylonian; cf. the copy in George, Taniguchi 2019, 60); BabNB1 = BM 49157 (joined to BM 33849+, Babylon; Late Babylonian); BabLB2b = BM 36003+? BM 36236 (Babylonia; Late Babylonian; it probably belongs to Lambert's MS c); BM 38078; BM 38196; BM 39678 (Babylon; Neo-Babylonian); SipLB2 = BM 62744 (Sippar, Late Babylonian; cf. the copy in George, Taniguchi 2019, 58); SipLBSch1 = BM 99811 (school tablet, probably from Sippar; Late Babylonian; cf. the copy in George, Taniguchi 2019, 62). NinNA1c = K.10065 (Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian; cf. the copy in George, Taniguchi 2019, 61); NinNA2b = 83-1-18,430 (Niniveh; Neo-Assyrian, probably part of MS F; cf. the copy in George, Taniguchi 2019, 57); NinNA1b = Sm.1036 (Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian; it probably belongs to Lambert's MS E).

Moreover, this hymn appears quoted in several ancient commentaries and in the *Catalogue of Texts and Authors*,[82] see BabLBQuo1 (Babylon; Late Babylonian); BabNBQuo1 (Babylon; Neo-Babylonian), NinNAQuo1 (Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian), BorLBQuo1 (Borsippa; Late Babylonian) in Földi 2021a; 2022c.

6. ***Anūna Prayer***. Editions: Lambert 1989; Lenzi 2018 (digital edition): CBS 19842 (Nippur; Old Babylonian).
7. ***Nabû Prayer***. Previous edition: von Soden 1971: A = K.2361+, B_1 = K.15248, B_2 = K.21022 (Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian). This prayer is newly edited here in chapter 2 (cf. *eBL* edition: Rozzi 2022b).
8. ***Queen of Nippur***. Editions: Langdon 1923; Lambert 1982; Földi 2020; 2021c (*eBL* edition); 2023: A = Rm-II.164+79-7-8,56, B = 79-7-8,182, C = 79-7-8,181, D = K.9955+Rm.613 (new join K.17569 published by Földi 2020), E = K.2552, F = K.10725+89-4-26,105 (new join Sm.1856, published by Földi 2020), I = K.8697+Sm.1356, J = Rm.939, K = K.18129, L = K.10661+ (new join K.21889, published by Földi 2020), M = K.14194 (Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian), g = K.6100+ (Nineveh; Neo-Babylonian; new indirect joins: K.19108 and K.19352, published by Földi 2020 and Földi 2023 respectively), h = Si 9 (Sippar; Neo/Late Babylonian).
   Additional fragments edited by Földi (2020; 2023); the *Siglum* of the following manuscripts is borrowed from the *eBL* edition, Földi 2021c) NinNA4b = K.10725+?Sm.1856+89-4-26,105; NinNA2b = K.9955+?K.17569+Rm.613 (Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian). Further fragments have been recently identified within the *eBL* project and published by Földi 2023: BM 39432 (Babylon or Babylonia; Neo-Babylonian); K.19352 (Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian).
9. ***Gula Syncretistic***. Editions: Ebeling 1918, 49-52; 1953, 140-1; Bennett 2021 (*eBL* edition); 2022; 2023b: A = K.232+K.3371+K.13776 (Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian), B = VAT 9670+VAT 9931 (Aššur; Neo-Assyrian), a = BM 36333 (school tablet, Babylon; Neo-Babylonian), b = BM 34399 (Babylon; Late Babylonian), c = BM 37616 (Babylon; Neo-Babylonian), d = BM 75974, e = BM 76319, f = BM 68611 (Sippar; Neo-Babylonian); further fragments have been recently identified within the *eBL* project and published in Bennett 2023b: BM 44062 (BabNB2 in the *eBL* edition; Babylon; Neo-Babylonian); BM 40339 (BabNB3 in the *eBL* edition; Babylon; Neo-Babylonian); BM 40298 (BabNB4) in the *eBL* edition; Babylon; Neo-Babylonian).

82 Mitto 2022b.

The vast majority of the manuscripts available for the reconstruction of these hymns and prayers are first-millennium copies, many of them coming from the Ashurbanipal's library in Nineveh (seventh century BCE). Nevertheless, the corpus includes also two Old Babylonian copies: one exemplar of *Marduk*1, i.e. BM 78728 (MS D in Oshima's edition), can probably be dated to the time of Hammurapi;[83] and the Old Babylonian manuscript preserving the *Anūna Prayer*, which cannot be dated with certainty, but might go back to the early Cassite period.[84]

The date of composition of these texts is uncertain. Lambert has suggested a Cassite date for most of the *Great Hymns and Prayers*, because of their sophisticated vocabulary and other stylistic features (the hymno-epic dialect, see below § 1.2.4).[85] Furthermore, in his edition of the *Nabû Prayer*, von Soden proposed a first-millennium date for this text, on the basis of style as well, but also for reasons of spelling conventions of the main manuscript (cf. chapter 2 for a study of the language and style of the *Nabû Prayer*). The new manuscript is too small and fragmentary to provide any further indication.

The *Gula Syncretistic* was probably composed in the Middle-Babylonian period, considering the scholarly speculations and the learned explorations of divine names, which recall the list of the fifty names of Marduk in *Enūma eliš*: similar displays of erudition are found in literary texts composed at the end of the second millennium BCE.[86] A similar scholarly technique can be observed in *Gula Bullussa-rabi* and in *Queen of Nippur*. *Queen of Nippur*, moreover, has been compared by Lambert[87] to the *Šamaš Hymn* due to its 'pastiche' structure, which appears to be the result of a compilation of multiple texts (see *infra* in the next paragraph). In both hymns, it is possible that some sections are older than others. Lambert proposed this theory based on the use of certain terms in the central section of the *Šamaš Hymn* that are not attested beyond the Old Babylonian

83 Oshima 2011, 138-9; Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 162.

84 According to Lambert, the manuscript is probably not Old Babylonian. He observes that the name Anūna for the goddess Ištar was used only until the Middle Babylonian period. Furthermore, he thinks that the *Anūna Prayer* might have been originally written in Babylon, and be connected to *Marduk*1, which also probably comes from Babylon (Lambert 1989, 323-4).

85 Note that the name of the alleged author of *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, i.e. Bullussa-rabi, is attested in several Middle Babylonian sources. This would confirm Lambert's hypothesis, who argued that this composition might have been composed between the Cassite and Neo-Babylonian period. On this see Földi 2019a. It seems, furthermore, that Bullussa-rabi was mostly a female name in the Cassite times, and thus the author of the hymn might have been a woman (Földi 2019a).

86 Bennett 2022, 176-8.

87 Lambert 1982, 179.

period.[88] Consequently, despite the fact that, like other texts, the *Šamaš Hymn* has only survived in manuscripts from the first millennium, it may have an Old Babylonian core.

Hence, some stylistic traits and content characteristics might point to a late date of composition for most of the *Great Hymns and Prayers*, perhaps around the Cassite period or even later. However, the Old Babylonian manuscripts of *Marduk*1 and the *Anūna Prayer* prove that at least these two texts were composed earlier.[89]

Judging from the extant portions, none of these poems bears a label at the beginning, e.g. the Sumerian ÉN 'incantation', but in two cases a rubric is attested: *Marduk*1 closes with the rubric *unnīnu*, 'Prayer';[90] the *Ištar Prayer* also had a rubric, which is partially preserved, and allows us to reconstruct the number of lines and the incipit of the composition. Thanks to a recently identified fragment, moreover, we can assume that the *Ištar Prayer* was mentioned in the *Catalogues of Texts and Authors* (Mitto 2022b), and was thus a well-known work of literature within the scribal elite (see *infra* in chapter 3).

It is possible that the *Great Hymns and Prayers* were organised in a series. In fact, *Marduk*1 has a catch line, which is most likely the opening line of the *Šamaš Hymn*, and similarly, the *Šamaš Hymn* contains a catch line of an unidentified text.[91] In addition, one manuscript of the *Ištar Prayer* bears the phrase ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠÈ 'completed', which is found at the end of series.[92] Moreover, a manuscript of *Gula Bullussa-rabi* (BM 33849+BM 47756) also preserves a catch line, which corresponds to the beginning of *Gula Syncretistic* (see Földi forthcoming, correcting Földi 2022b). An additional fragment (BM 38169), now identified as a hymn to Ninisina, seems to contain the opening lines of the hymn to Gula in its catch line. The beginning of *Gula Bullussa-rabi* may also be preserved in the catch line of another fragment (BM 38674), probably a hymn to a goddess, and perhaps the hymn to Ninisina mentioned above. If this was the case, one could

88 Lambert 1960, 122.

89 For the Old-Babylonian forerunner of *Marduk*1 see Oshima 2011, 138; Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 162.

90 Oshima 2011, 138-9.

91 On the transmission in a series of *Marduk*1 and the *Šamaš Hymn*, see Oshima 2011, 141 and Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 171; cf. also George, Al-Rawi 1998, 203, who comment on the colophon in a Sippar manuscript of Šamaš, which contains the expression *ul qati* 'it is not finished', and therefore indicates that the hymn was probably followed by another composition. It is possible that the text following the *Šamaš Hymn* was the so-called "Hymn in Praise of Babylon" (Fadhil, Jiménez forthcoming; Jiménez personal communication).

92 See, e.g. the series of Maqlû, tablet viii (Abusch 2016, 272, 366, 391), and SB *Gilgameš* XII (George 2003, 737).

propose the existence of a series of hymns to goddesses with the sequence Ninisina, *Gula Bullussa-rabi* and *Gula Syncretistic*.[93]

The richness and the longevity of the tradition testify to how widespread and probably well-known these texts were. The fact that many manuscripts of these compositions were exercise tablets confirms their popularity in scribal circles.

1.2.3 Layout and Prosody

Even though the original format of some of the small fragments is impossible to reconstruct, the majority of sources of the compositions under study are full-text tablets with the standard four-column format.[94]

The *Great Hymns and Prayers* are characterised by a distinctive layout. In this regard, the following five compositions exhibit horizontal rulings after every two lines in most or all their manuscripts: the *Anūna Prayer*, the *Šamaš Hymn*, *Marduk*1, *Marduk*2 and the *Nabû Prayer*. The latter text also includes two sets of three verses (see chapter 2). In some cases, this formal arrangement seems to match the poetic structure. Some of these compositions contain the so-called 'lyrical repetition', that is, the identical repetition of a distich, which differs only by the delayed introduction of the name of the invoked god in the second set of lines (cf. chapter 2, § 2.2 for the use of this figure in the *Nabû Prayer*; see also chapter 5 sub 'Delayed introduction'). This structure follows the Sumerian hymnic model, and is also characteristic of Old Babylonian Akkadian hymns;[95] it is employed fairly consistently in the *Nabû Prayer*, in *Marduk*1, in the first part of *Marduk*2 (ll. 1-4) and in the *Šamaš Hymn* (ll. 1-4 and sparsely), but it does not appear in the *Anūna Prayer*. Nevertheless, this arrangement into couplets often appears as purely artificial, since the rulings marking the distichs can be put at the wrong places, see, e.g. in the *Šamaš Hymn*, ll. 174-5, which clearly belong together, but are instead split into two different couplets.[96]

The remaining three texts of this corpus are divided into strophes. The Assyrian manuscript of the *Prayer to Ištar* presents rulings every

93 On the serialisation of *Gula Bullussa-rabi* see also Földi 2022b.

94 Although also rarer formats are attested, such as the six-column format of a manuscript of *Gula Bullussa-rabi* (MS c), see Földi 2019b, 87.

95 Metcalf 2015, 22; 58-9 designates this as *a-a'* structure.

96 Lambert 1960, 123; 2013, 28; the same phenomenon is observed in *Marduk*1, see Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 162. This could be due to text modifications that occurred during transmission. Cf. also Groneberg 1996, 64-5 for some observations on the line-division markers in Akkadian literary texts.

tenth line, although it is clear that the text is structured into couplets; the manuscripts of *Gula Bullussa-rabi* divide the text into strophes of various lengths, which can include from 8 up to 14 lines. In this case as well, the line division does not always accord with the content of each section.[97] The manuscripts of *Gula Syncretistic*, despite preserving the text overall uniformly, show traces of rulings inconsistently.[98]

The *Queen of Nippur* is the longest of this corpus, containing more than 300 lines. It was compiled with materials from various sources: different texts were probably manipulated and combined to form a composition, in which different sections can be recognised. The end of each section is marked by horizontal rulings in some manuscripts; not all the manuscripts have markers of division, but those that do generally agree with each other. In addition, rulings are placed every 13 lines throughout the portions of the text that seem to be derived from a hymn in strophes; the hymn was probably entirely incorporated in the composition.[99] Lambert postulated a similar process of compilation for the *Šamaš Hymn*, which also displays a noticeable unevenness between its sections.[100]

The *Great Hymns and Prayers* can be scanned for the standard Akkadian metre, that is, the so-called *Vierheber* verse, which became the predominant metrical pattern from the latter part of the second millennium onward. In this metrical system, the line constitutes the basic metrical unit, and is divided into two hemistichs by a *caesura*. Each hemistich contains two feet, i.e. two smaller metrical units, and the last foot is usually trochaic or amphibrach. The trochaic ending is often the most regular part of the verse.[101]

According to the completely preserved or restored lines, the *Great Hymns and Prayers* tend to respect this standard prosodic structure. The majority of verses in the *Šamaš Hymn* display four metrical units and end with a trochee, although there also occur longer lines whose metrical rhythm is difficult to identify because they resemble prose (e.g. ll. 105, 118, 150).[102] *Marduk*1, *Marduk*2, the *Ištar Prayer* and the *Nabû Prayer* show overall a regular prosodic pattern, employing the

97 Lambert 1967, 103.

98 Bennett 2022, 188-9.

99 Lambert 1982, 175.

100 Lambert 1960, 122-3; 1982, 175 and 178.

101 On the Akkadian 2+2 metrical structure, Hecker 1974, 113, 130-5; West 1997a; George 2003, 162-5; Lambert 2013, 22-8; Jiménez 2017a, 72-6. For the trochaic ending (also known as *clausula accadica*), see Landsberger 1926-7, 371; Held 1961, 3 fn. 22; Groneberg 1971, 158; Knudsen 1980, 14; von Soden 1981, 170-2; Edzard 1993, 149; West 1997, 183-4; Hecker 2000, 265; Lambert 2013, 18-20; Jiménez 2017a, 74-5; Pohl 2022, 90-4. Cf. further in chapter 2, § 2.1.1.

102 See Lambert 1960, 122.

2+2 verse structure in most of the preserved text. Manuscript A of the *Nabû Prayer* is worthy of particular attention, as it contains a vertical ruling in the first column, that seems to represent the metrical *caesura* (for a detailed analysis of the *Great Prayers to Ištar* and *Nabû*, see chapters 2 and 3).

The *Queen of Nippur* also displays a fairly regular metrical structure, as far as can be seen from the extant text. In contrast, *Gula Bullussa-rabi* contains *Vierheber* verses, but also numerous exceptions, such as shorter lines containing only three or even two units (e.g. ll. 38, 45, 58-9, 72-3, 76), or longer lines, with a 3+2 structure (e.g. ll. 70 and 140). It includes also long verses, whose metrical pattern is difficult to identify (e.g. l. 71, perhaps to be analysed as follows: *rabâtu* | *pulḫāssu* | *eli ilī* || *kullat kalīšunu* | *nibīssu* | *šaḫṭū*, "His fear is great among the gods: every one of them reverences the name", Lambert 1967, 120-1).

The *Anūna Prayer* is too damaged to allow a metrical analysis, but judging from the extant lines, it does not respect the metrical pattern consistently: it includes 2+2 verses with a trochaic ending, but it also displays 2+1 lines (e.g. l. 108). In most lines, however, the metrical structure is too uncertain to be distinguished. The *Gula Syncretistic* displays an irregular metric structure and deviates from the *Vierheber* pattern for the majority of the lines, as can be observed in the opening section (approximately ll. 1-37).

1.2.4 Language and Style

The present compositions exhibit several features characteristic of the so-called 'hymno-epic dialect', a high-literary register also found in numerous other Akkadian hymns and epic narratives.[103] Its earliest attestations are found in Old Babylonian literary texts, but it

103 The term 'dialect' first coined by von Soden is in fact a misnomer, and many scholars have suggested different definition, such as 'idiom' (Lambert 1959-60, 49; 2013, 34) or 'style' (George 2003, 172), on this see Hess 2010, 102-3. Hess further interprets the hymno-epic dialect as comparable to the Homeric dialect, because it is a combination of archaic, foreign and artificial elements, i.e. a *Kunstsprache*, that is, both an 'artificial' and 'creative' language (Hess 2010, 114). Pohl (2022, 13) considers the hymno-epic dialect as related mostly to hymnic compositions, and suggests to treat it as a purely hymnic style, defining it as a "register". I have followed Pohl in adopting the term 'register' to define the hymno-epic dialect, as it pertains to a specific context of use. However, the term 'style' would not be incorrect; it would simply describe this language from a different perspective, focusing on its aesthetic qualities. As noted by Hess (2010, 104 fn. 9), function and aesthetics need not to be mutually exclusive. Cf. also the definition employed by Shehata (2019, 161), who understands register "in the linguistical and philological sense of Sprachstil, signifying a variant form of a language particular to a certain situation, such as a profession or an environment. It is distinct from 'dialect' which typically indicates a variant that is defined by geographical region or ethnic group". On the difference between style and register, see Biber, Conrad 2009.

probably continued to be used until the Late Babylonian period. The hymno-epic dialect involves both grammatical and lexical peculiarities, such as the following: shortened pronominal suffixes, rare verbal stems (e.g. ŠD-stem), inversion of the standard word order, adverbial endings (i.e. the locative suffix *-um*, terminative suffix *-iš* and their combined form *-uš*), third person singular feminine marker *ta-* in verbs, special forms of the *status constructus*, a special vocabulary. Within the *Great Hymns and Prayers* adverbial endings are often found, for instance:[104]

- *Marduk*2, l. 37'': *qātukka* 'to your hand'.
- *Marduk*1: l. 41 and l. 63 *uggukka* 'in your anger'; l. 67 *ṭīdiš* 'into mud'; l. 194 *rīštuk* 'in your celebration'.[105]
- *Ištar Prayer*: l. 140 *anukki* 'at your consent'; l. 183 *iṣṣūriš* 'like a bird' (cf. chapter 3).
- *Nabû Prayer*: l. 84 and 192 *qibītukka* 'at your command'; l. 90 *ištarāniš* 'to the goddess' (cf. chapter 2).
- *Šamaš Hymn*: l. 47 *ṣītukka* 'at your rising'.
- *Queen of Nippur*: col. iv, l. 5 *malkatuš* 'like a queen'.
- *Gula Bullussa-rabi*: l. 116, *apiš* 'like reed'; l. 178 *rūqiš* 'from afar'.
- *Anūna Prayer*: l. 139 *qudmukki* 'in your presence'.

Shortened pronominal suffixes also occur, for example:

- *Ištar Prayer*: l. 153 *iratuš* 'his chest'; l. 161 *kibsuš* 'his path' and *išdūš* 'his foundations' (cf. chapter 3).
- *Queen of Nippur*: col. iv, l. 48 *kabattuk* 'your reins'; col. iv, l. 49 *libbuk* 'your heart'.[106]
- *Marduk*1: ll. 5/7 *amāruk* 'your stare'.
- *Gula Syncretistic*: l. 55 *šīmass*[*un*] (*si vera lectio*).[107]

In addition, verbal forms with the feminine *ta-* prefix (*Ištar Prayer*: l. 177 *talli*, see chapter 3), ŠD-stem verbs (*Marduk*2, l. 89: *tušpaṭṭar*; *Šamaš Hymn*, ll. 1/3 *mušnammir*),[108] and cases of *status constructus* in *-u* (e.g. *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, l. 13 [*bē*]*lu abāri* 'possessor of might' (Ashm.1937.620); *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 138 *ētiqu puluḫti*, '(the caravan)

104 On the standard features of the hymno-epic dialect see von Soden 1931, 163-227; 1933, 90-183; Groneberg 1978, 15; Goodnick Westenholz 1997a, 25-6; Krebernik 2003-04, 11; Hess 2010, 102-22; Jiménez 2017a, 76-9. For further examples of hymno-epic traits in the compositions under study, cf. Groneberg 1987, vols 1 and 2, *passim*. Cf. also chapter 2, § 2.3.

105 On the form *riš-tuk* see Oshima 2011, 169, but cf. also Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 174 fn. 36, where a different interpretation is suggested.

106 Lambert 1982, 204. Cf. Groneberg 1987, 2: 3.

107 The *Gula Syncretistic* features very few traits of the hymno-epic dialect, see Bennett 2022, 171-2.

108 See Lambert 1959-60, 49 for further examples of ŠD-stem forms in *Marduk*2.

passing through danger'; *Nabû Prayer*, l. 175 *šēru rēṣūtīya* 'my morning aid', see chapter 2) are attested.

The vocabulary employed in the present texts is also remarkable, as it includes rare literary terms borrowed from lexical lists and *hapax legomena* (see chapter 2, § 2.3. and chapter 3, § 3.3 for the special vocabulary in the *Nabû* and *Ištar Prayer*s; cf. also chapter 5).

These texts often display deviations from the normal word order, placing the verbal forms in the penultimate position instead of in the final position. This feature is favoured in Akkadian hymnic poetry and epic (such as in the epic of Gilgameš),[109] but often appears in the 'elevated prose' as well. It can, in fact, already be found in the early stages of Mesopotamian literature, e.g. in some Old Akkadian monumental inscriptions, and is later frequently attested in the royal inscriptions of the first millennium.[110]

Šamaš Hymn: l. 9, *puzra sattakku* ***šūḫuzū*** *barīrūka*

Furthermore, the *Great Hymns and Prayers* often feature the verb at the beginning of a verse and, rarely, the inversion of the noun and its adjective.[111]

Fronting of the predicate:
Šamaš Hymn: l. 8, ***iriššūka*** *gimiršunu igīgū*[112]

Inversion of the adjective:
Queen of Nippur: col. iv, l. 19, ***rabûtu igīgū*** *iltanass*[*umū*][113]

The placement of the verb at the beginning of the verse is also a frequently occurring trait in incantation prayers, such as *šuillas*.[114]

109 See Groneberg 1987, 175-9 and Pohl 2022, 55-61 for the hymns; Hecker 1974, 1201-38 and George 2003, 433-4 for the epic.

110 See George 2003, 434 and 2013, 43, where the term 'elevated prose' is used to describe this literary style in non-poetic texts; see also George 2007c, 41; cf. Jiménez 2017, 86 for this phenomenon in the Akkadian Disputation Poems.

111 For the placing of predicates in the front, cf. the position of the verb in Old Babylonian hymns, Pohl 2022, 58-60. Interestingly, according to Pohl, in Old Babylonian hymns transitive verbs tend to be placed in ultimate position, while intransitive verbs generally occur at the beginning of the verses. This specific phenomenon is not observable in the corpus under study: the transitivity or lack thereof of the transposed verbs does not appear to be a consistent enough element to be deemed as significant. For the transposition of adjective and noun, see George 2003, 434 and Pohl 2022, 55-7. Cf. chapter 5 sub *Anastrophe*.

112 Lambert 1960, 126.

113 Lambert 1982, 202; cf. Földi 2021c.

114 Groneberg 1987, 176-7; see Schwemer 2014 for some examples of fronting in first-millennium Akkadian incantations.

These variations in syntactic order can occasionally be attributed to metrical reasons, i.e. to allow for the trochaic ending of the verse.[115] However, this explanation does not seem to apply to our texts. Rather, in some cases it seems that the unusual word order can be better explained by poetic reasons. In fact, the different syntactic structure facilitates certain rhetorical figures, such as sound figures or chiasms (see, e.g. ll. 13-14 of the Šamaš hymn: *tušpalki bābī ša kalîš* [*parakkī*] || *ša kullat igīgī nindabêšunu* [*tuštāšir*], "You open up the gates of every [sanctuary], | You [regulate] the food offerings of the Igigi-gods",[116] where the verbs are placed in a chiastic structure). A similar phenomenon was observed by Stein in Middle and Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions.[117]

A further noticeable aspect related to the style of the present compositions is the use of rhetorical devices: parallelism and repetition occur very often, along with various figures of sound, e.g. *homoioteleuta*, assonances and alliterations, which are employed both to enhance the rhythm of the verses, and to highlight structural elements. Furthermore, numerous metaphors and similes contribute to the rich figurative language of these texts, which are also characterised by wordplays and puns (cf. chapter 5).

Many of the manuscripts of the *Great Hymns and Prayers* display the typical spelling conventions of first-millennium texts, including, for instance, irregular case endings in nouns, dropping of final vowels and overhanging vowels in verbal forms. Mimation appears rarely and inconsistently.[118]

The irregularity in case endings was caused by the progressive loss of case distinction in nominal forms during the first millennium. Examples of aberrant word-final vowels are the following:

- Irregular nominative endings: *Nabû Prayer*, ll. 21/23 *gir-ri* (MS A); *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 118 *um-ma-ni* (MS i); *Marduk*2, ll. 2/4 *par-ri-ka* (MS B).
- Irregular accusative endings: *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 48 *ma-a-tum* (MS B); l. 132 *dum-qu* (MS A); *Marduk*1, l. 206 *nak-ru-ṭu* (MSS A and F); *Queen of Nippur*, col iii, l. 34 *e-pe-š*[*u*] (MS g).
- Irregular genitive endings: *Nabû Prayer*, ll. 54/56 *ina na-ri-iṭ-ṭu* (MS A); *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 127 *šá rug-gu-gu* (MS A); *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, l. 10 *mu-da-'i-iš za-'i-ru* (MS a).

115 Cf. Jiménez 2017, 75.

116 Rozzi 2021a; Lamber 1960, 126.

117 Stein 2000, 68: "Hier liegt offensichtlich eine poetische Versstruktur zugrunde".

118 On the phenomenon of the loss of final vowels, see Aro 1975; Streck 2014; Jiménez 2017a, 277. For other examples of irregular case endings in first-millennium manuscripts, see Schwemer 2017, 69-75.

The apocope of final vowels can be observed in substantives, verbs and stative forms, e.g. *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 62 *ina ḫu-bur* for *ina ḫuburi* (MS B); *Ištar Prayer*, l. 227 (MS A) [*na-a*]*k-ru-uṭ* for *nakruṭa*; *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, l. 183 (MS c) *ba-ra-ak*, *a-ši-pa-ak and ḫi-ṭa-ak* for *asâku*, *āšipāku*, *ḫīṭāku*.[119]

Overhanging vowels are also attested, see e.g. *Nabû Prayer* l. 88 *i-šá-bi for išâb* (MS A); *Queen of Nippur*, col. iv, l. 16 *i-ša-mi* for *išâm*.[120]

The manuscripts preserving *Gula Syncretistic* appear remarkably regular and coherent, respecting both case endings and verbal forms. I could find only one instance of the nominative case in *-i*, l. 105', MS d: ˹*qa*˺-˹*rit*˺-*ti* for *qarittu*.

The manuscript of the *Anūna Prayer* is the only tablet within the present corpus which displays exclusively (Late) Old Babylonian linguistic and orthographic traits (see Lambert 1989, 223; cf. George 2003, 160-1), besides some standard hymno-epic features, such as shortened suffixes and adverbial endings.[121]

1.2.5 Content and *Sitz im Leben*

In the *Great Hymns and Prayers*, several philosophical reflections dealing with human sorrow, sin and divine justice are skilfully interwoven between the standard elements of prayer and praise.

The Akkadian corpus of penitential prayers[122] also contains references to the themes of evil and guilt, which are in fact occasionally introduced already in the opening verses. Indeed, the *diĝiršadabba* prayers commonly begin with the standard question, 'My god, what have I done?', a formula that is also found in Old Babylonian onomastics and implies guilt on the part of the supplicant.[123] Penitential prayers provide a practical solution to the problem of suffering, since it was possible to atone for guilt and regain the favour of the deity by reciting the prayer and performing the related ritual.[124] On the contrary, a more philosophical and theoretical approach to the problem can be found in wisdom texts, which extensively explore the theme of theodicy, i.e. the problem of divine justice in relation to

119 On the irregular spelling of the first singular stative endings in *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, cf. also Jiménez 2017a, 225 fn. 636.

120 On overhanging vowels, see *GAG* § 18a, 82e and 104g. See also Cagni 1969, 146-9; Groneberg 1987, 1: 143-4, George 2003, 441-2; cf. Jiménez 2017a, 278 for further references.

121 See Lambert 1989, 323.

122 See Lenzi 2019, 165-7 for a brief overview of Akkadian prayers, inclusive of penitential prayers.

123 Jaques 2015, 321.

124 Jaques 2015, 320-1.

human suffering. These texts provide a representation of Mesopotamian ethics primarily linked to religious aspects, such as the respect for ritual practices and religious devotion, but they also reflect a human dimension, which involves following laws and societal conventions (see e.g. Földi 2022a).[125] The *Great Hymns and Prayers* tackle similar themes, sometimes hinting at them briefly to evoke the standard phrasing of penitential prayers, while at other times they develop more elaborately on ideas that resonate with wisdom literature.

The theme of theodicy, meant in the sense of the attempt to understand and explain human suffering and evil, is expressed, for example, in *Marduk*1, ll. 105-10. There the poet develops the idea that sin is inevitable, and often unknown: human beings are naturally prone to evil, and not even the ignorance of one's transgressions counts as a justification.[126]

105 *mannu ša ittaṣṣaru lā iršû ḫiṭītu*
106 *ajjû ša ittaḫḫid*[*u*] *gillatu lā ubla*
107 *lā īdânim-ma* [*šērēt*]*ūššina lā naṭlā*
108 *ša damqat u masqat ilu muškallim*
109 *ša īšû ilšu* [*ku*]*ššudā ḫiṭâtūšu*
110 *ša ilšu lā īšû ma'dū arnūšu*

105 Who was he, so watchful, so as not to bear crime?
106 Who was he, so care[ful], that he carried no sin?
107 (People) don't know, and they don't see their [fau]lts,
108 The god is the one who reveals what is good and what is fo[ul].
109 The one who has his god, his sins are [re]moved,
110 The one who does not have his god, his crimes are many.[127]

125 Jaques 2015, 321-2.

126 Cf. also the *eršaḫuĝa* prayer 6: LÚ-*u-tú* UGU SÍG SAĜ.DU-*šú an-nu-u-*[*šá ḫi-ṭa-tu-u-šá gíl-la-tu-u-šá*], translated by Jaques in her edition as follows: "L'humanité: ses péchés, [ses fautes, ses transgressions] sont (aussi nombreux) que les cheveux de sa tête". (Jaques 2015, 92), cf. also Lambert 1974. According to the Mesopotamian traditional outlook, every misfortune that befalls human beings can ultimately be ascribed to a divine punishment sent by an angry deity for the penitent's sins. To ignore one's sins does not mean to be innocent, because human beings are born sinners. This concept is abundantly developed, and occasionally questioned, in some first-millennium wisdom texts, which are considered by modern scholars as representative of a more 'critical' wisdom genre, the so-called 'negative' wisdom. Among these texts, one can mention, for example, *Ludlul* and the *Theodicy* (on this see Alster 2005, 30; 265-339, see Cohen 2013, 14-17; cf. also Lambert 1998, 36-42). The idea of the sinful nature of human beings is also attested in a Sumerian composition labelled by scholars *Man and His God* (see Kramer 1955. For a recent translation see Klein 1997). For a brief survey on the '*Theodicy* theme' in wisdom texts and the *Great Hymns and Prayers*, see Rozzi 2021b.

127 Translation by the Author. Oshima 2011, 165 translates differently: "Who was so on his guard so as not to bear sin? | Where is the one, who was so careful (and) carries no guilt? | Did not they lay their [faul]t on me? Are they invisible? | A god is the one who reveals what is good and what is [b]ad".

The only possible solution to the theodicy problem is faith. The pious will, in the end, be redeemed, in spite of their crimes.[128] Within the texts under consideration, deities are indeed depicted as both severe towards those who transgress, but merciful towards the righteous.

The twofold nature of divinities is stressed, for instance, in the opening lines of *Marduk*1 (ll. 9-12) and in *Marduk*2, l. 81: *urra napšurka šēz*[*uz*]*u ušpaššiḫ*(?)], "In the morning there is your forgiveness, the furious one relen[ts]";[129] see also *Queen of Nippur*, col. iii, ll. 19-22, and the *Ištar Prayer*, l. 74: *anūna k*[*u*]*llumat eṭēra īd*[*e*], "She sh[ow]s terror, (but) she kno[ws] how to save" (cf. the note on this line in the commentary in chapter 3).[130]

The *Nabû Prayer* contains the same motif of the deity being first wrathful and then compassionate, and further develops this concept using natural metaphors. Within ll. 177-85 a philosophical passage is found, in which a comparison between human suffering and some natural phenomena is implied, e.g. the ripening of the dates, in the sense that a negative beginning is the necessary condition for a positive development. This thought seems to be offered as an explanation for the seemingly unmerited misfortunes, and also represents a consolation to the theodicy problem, see, e.g. l. 177 *aḫrâtiš pisnuqiš lallāriš udašš*[*ap*], "For the future time, what has seemed pitiable, he will swe[eten] like syrup".[131] A similar concept appears to be developed in a passage from *Marduk*1, where the idea is expressed that reflection leads to counsel, and a wise decision is one that is not rushed, e.g. ll. 70-1: [*š*]*itūlu nēmelu mitluku kušī*[*ru*] | [*a*]*zāru uppû damiq ana ṭ*[*ēmi*], "[To r]eflect (brings) profit; to meditate, benef[it], [To for]give and to *spare* are valuable for the judgement".[132]

Among the *Great Hymns and Prayers*, the *Šamaš Hymn* contains the broadest wisdom section, which stretches for approximately 40 lines (ll. 83-127). In this portion of the text, a series of just or unjust behaviours is listed, together with their respective reward or

128 Cf. Lambert [1995] 1998, 32-3.

129 For the reconstruction of this verse, see the note on ll. 10/12 of the *Nabû Prayer* in the commentary (chapter 2). See also *Marduk*2, l. 68: *kī ītennu bēlu išta'al irēm ušpaššiḫ*, "once the lord has raged, he reflects, has mercy, and relents" (Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 173).

130 The topic of suffering followed by deliverance plays a central role in the poem of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* (for an updated edition, see Hätinen 2022), in which the long hymnic opening section praises Marduk for his being able to destroy, but then eventually to save. This composition bears numerous structural similarities with *Marduk*1, so much that it has been suggested that the former might be an expansion of the latter (see Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 156). For some remarks on the dual nature of Marduk in *Ludlul*, see also Sitzler 1985, 89. Cf. Piccin, Worthington 2015.

131 On the wisdom passage in the *Nabû Prayer* and its similarities with *Theodicy*, ll. 260-3, see the introduction to the text in chapter 2, § 2.5.

132 Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 168 and 170; cf. Oshima 2011,

punishment. The poetic technique used in this hymn is particularly noticeable. The opening hymnic section, in which the Sun-god is lyrically described in his daily journey as traversing the heavens and the mountains, gives way to a stringent depiction of just and wicked judges, honest and dishonest merchants, villains and pious men, all of them subjected to the verdict of Šamaš.[133]

This section perfectly illustrates what scholars define as 'the retribution principle', i.e. the belief that the god-fearing person, who acts honestly towards other people and shows their devotion to the deities, will be rewarded, while the wicked, who deceives others and neglects the religious duties, will be punished.[134]

The *Sitz im Leben* of the *Great Hymns and Prayers* is difficult to determine. As noted above, Sumerian and Akkadian hymns were probably mostly sung during temple liturgy, and prayers were recited in rituals. In many cases, we can assert that the primary context is the cultic and ritual performance, while the literary or 'textual-scribal' aspect of the texts that have been preserved takes on a secondary role.[135]

The *Great Hymns and Prayers*, however, seem to have been primarily perceived as written literary texts by the scribes who transmitted them. Indeed, the scribes often marked the manuscripts with rulings to visually indicate the poetic structure of the compositions, and in one case (MS A of the *Nabû Prayer*), there seem to be traces of the metrical break within the first column (see below in chapter 2).[136] In fact, the lack of a clear indication of a cultic or any other ritu-

133 The use of parallelism, especially antithetic parallelism, is particularly evident in the wisdom section of this hymn. For the meaning of antithetic parallelism in wisdom texts, see the Appendix.

134 For the concept of divine retribution in Assyriological studies, see Cohen 2013, 244-7 with references to previous literature, and cf. also Oshima 2018. It is precisely this principle that is put into doubt in the poem of the *Theodicy*, in which the sceptical sufferer laments the lack of divine justice, inasmuch that evil people often prosper, while the just ones suffer. The retribution system can be found in the Old Testament as well, and has been defined by the Biblical scholarship as the 'Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhang' (on this see the presentation of this concept with a concise history of research provided by Freuling 2008).

135 Note the remark of Gabbay (2019, 203) with respect to the Emesal prayers: "Emesal prayers are primarily compositions used in the liturgy of Mesopotamian temples [...], and only secondarily are they written texts". See also Shehata 2009, 223-4; cf. Pohl 2022, 10-12. This perspective stands in contrast to the earlier view held by many scholars regarding Mesopotamian hymns and prayers: traditionally, many considered the received texts as the finished form of the compositions, primarily serving scribal education and scholarly purposes. For example Kramer 1990, who considered the *eršemma* prayers as prevailingly used in education.

136 This does not preclude the possibility that these texts were also recited or sung with musical accompaniment. Indeed, the division into poetic strophes is present even in manuscripts of Old Babylonian hymns that were likely used in worship, such as the *Agušaya* or *Ištar Louvre hymns*, which were probably recited during cultic occasions (Pohl 2022, 10-11). Nevertheless, the consistency with which these material traits are

al context, the *recherché* vocabulary (which includes *hapax legomena* or extremely learned words taken from lexical lists), the hymno-epic features and the wisdom reflections led several scholars to assign a purely literary purpose to this group of compositions.[137]

This theory has also been applied to other Mesopotamian hymns and prayers, particularly those embedded within narrative or epic texts, which appear to be less suitable for liturgical use.[138]

The only context that we can confidently associate with the *Great Hymns and Prayers* is the school. This remains true even though not all the texts in the corpus are preserved in school manuscripts. While *Marduk*1, *Marduk*2 and the *Šamaš Hymn* are amply attested in school fragments, to the point where it can be assumed they were an integral part of syllabus,[139] i.e. a precise selection of texts copied within the scribal curriculum, other compositions in the group under study appear rarely or not at all in school texts. The reason for this imbalance is not clear: perhaps some of these texts were considered of particular value for the education of scribes, either because they focused more on wisdom and ethical themes (such as the *Šamaš Hymn*) or because they were connected to other popular texts of the

attested in the manuscripts of the *Great Hymns and Prayers* (such as the *Šamaš Hymn*) suggests a particular interest of the scribes in the poetic elements of the texts. A similar case can be found, for example, in the manuscripts of the *Theodicy*, which also display metric scanning. The acrostic structure, however, can only be observed by reading the manuscripts, which suggests that the written text was appreciated for its literary complexity, being as much a product of scholarship as of poetry. Nevertheless, oral recitation and attention to poetic structure are not mutually exclusive.

137 Von Soden 1971, 48; Reiner 1978, 190. But cf. Lambert 1982, who maintains that these texts must have been originally composed for a practical use in the cult. Recently Oshima (2011, 219) has suggested that *Marduk*2 might have been used during the *Akītu*-festival in the month of Kislīmu in Babylon, since the ritual instructions of that festival seem to mention part of the incipit of this text (see Çağırgan, Lambert 1991-93, 96). Nevertheless, there is no conclusive evidence ascertaining that the *šuilla* prayer attested in the ritual is really *Marduk*2.

138 On this see e.g. Halton, Svärd 2017, 52; Lenzi 2019, 162-3; Wilcke 1972-75, 544; Römer 1989, 646.

139 These three texts were among the most popular in the Babylonian scribal education of the first millennium, and were copied until the very end of the cuneiform culture. It is worth noting, in this regard, that an excerpt from the *Šamaš Hymn* is even preserved on a Graeco-Babyloniaca school exercise (BM 33769, see Rozzi 2021b). In first-millennium northern Babylonia, there seems to have been a 'Marduk Syllabus', that is, a group of texts focused on Marduk and particularly employed in the school curriculum. These texts were: *Ludlul*, *Marduk's Address*, *Enūma eliš*, *Marduk*1 and *Marduk*2 (on this see Heinrich-Jiménez 2021). Interestingly, the Šamaš hymn was also often copied among these compositions, together with the Aluzinnu text (Enrique Jiménez, private communication; cf. Fadhil, Jiménez forthcoming). This should not come as a surprise, since many attributes of Marduk and Šamaš have tended to overlap over the centuries, blurring the lines between the two deities. This is exemplified by the use of *balaĝ* prayers to Marduk in the Ebabbar temple in Neo-Babylonian Sippar (Gabbay 2013, 108-9); on some similarities between Marduk and Šamaš, see also Baragli 2022a, 113, 125.

curriculum (like *Marduk*1, which shares numerous similarities with *Ludlul*). It is also possible that there were more school manuscripts preserving other *Great Hymns and Prayers*, which have not come down to us. The reasons for the varying popularity of these texts remain unclear, and it cannot be entirely ruled out that at least some of them were employed in liturgy. Nonetheless, the fact that two of these texts are mentioned in commentaries (*Šamaš Hymn* and *Gula Bullussa-rabi*), and that one of them even received a specific commentary (*Marduk*2),[140] shows that at least some of the *Great Hymns and Prayers* were used in scholarly circles.

Whether their purpose was for recitation in religious ceremonies or if, on the other hand, they were primarily the subject of erudite study by a milieu of scholars, the *Great Hymns and Prayers* are undoubtedly highly sophisticated literary compositions, destined for a small intellectual elite only.

140 See Jiménez 2017c.

2 The Great Prayer to Nabû

Summary 2.1 Manuscripts and Editions. – 2.2 Layout and Poetic Structure. – 2.2.1 Prosody. – 2.3 Language and Spelling Conventions. – 2.4 Structure and Content. – 2.4.1 Analysis of the Individual Sections: Topoi and Use of Verbal and Nominal Forms. – 2.5 The "Wisdom Section": Content and Intertextual Perspectives. – 2.6 Edition. – 2.6.1 Text. – 2.6.2 Commentary.

2.1 Manuscripts and Editions

The so-called *Great Prayer to Nabû* is preserved in the large manuscript K.2361+K.3193+K.14033+K.18434+Sm.389+Sm.601 (MS A) and on two small fragments, K.15248 and K.21022 (MSS B_1 and B_2). All fragments come from the Nineveh palace libraries,[1] but no colophon is extant. Both manuscripts are written in Neo-Assyrian script and show horizontal rulings every two lines, thus marking the poetic couplets. MS A is a two-column tablet; the original format of MS B cannot be reconstructed.

The first edition of the text dates back to 1889, when Brünnow published copies of K.2361+K.3193+Sm.389.[2] Brünnow transliterated the

1 It is difficult to establish a more precise provenance. Manuscript A has low K numbers, and therefore comes probably from the South West Palace (cf. Reade 2000, 422, George 2003, 386). The findspot of manuscript B, though, is unknown.

2 Brünnow 1889, 236-42.

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text, but did not offer a translation. The first attempt at translating the *Nabû Prayer* was made by von Soden, who included this text in his *Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* edited with Falkenstein.[3] In 1954, von Soden collated the tablets in the British Museum and identified additional fragments belonging to MS A: K.14033, Sm.601 and K.11373. The latter, however, is not part of the prayer, and has been identified as belonging to a divinatory text.[4] Based on his collations, von Soden was able to restore some additional lines; he also discovered the fragment K.15248, which represents the only duplicate known so far (MS B). Recently, T. Mitto identified K.21022, a poorly preserved fragment which could potentially belong to the same manuscript as K.15248, even though the two fragments do not join directly. Finally, K.18434 was identified by E. Jiménez as part of the main manuscript (A).

In 1971, von Soden published a second comprehensive edition of the prayer,[5] with a transliteration, translation and philological commentary. Von Soden provided new copies of neither the published fragments, nor of the unpublished fragments. Seux offered a translation with philological notes in his anthology.[6] Foster translated the text as well, basing his readings and interpretations mostly on von Soden's previous edition.[7] An online edition of this text has been prepared by the author within the *eBL* project and is available on the *eBL* platform.[8] It includes an updated translation by B. Foster, but no philological commentary.

2.2 Layout and Poetic Structure

Both manuscripts share the same layout characterised by a ruling after every second line, which led scholars in the past to designate the *Great Hymns and Prayers* as 'hymns in paragraphs'.[9] This formal feature reflects the poetic structure of the texts that were subdivided into couplets and quatrains. The division into couplets agrees with the typical structure of Akkadian and Sumerian hymns and prayers:

3 Falkenstein, von Soden 1953.

4 This fragment seems to show parallels with the divinatory series *Šumma ālu*. Transliteration and photo of K.11373 is available on the *eBL* platform: `https://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/K.11373`.

5 Von Soden 1971, 44-71.

6 Seux 1976, 181-5.

7 Von Soden 2005, 621-6.

8 Rozzi 2022b.

9 See Lambert 1959-60, 48.

a succession of quatrains consisting of two couplets that are distinguished only through the delayed introduction of the deity's name:[10] In the first couplet, the deity is usually referred to by epithet (most commonly *bēlu* 'lord') or not named at all, whereas his or her proper name is introduced in the first line of the second couplet. This *variatio* is normally the only difference between the first and the second couplet. Despite the numerous *lacunae*, the extant text demonstrates that this type of alternation is consistently used throughout the first 56 lines of the *Nabû Prayer*, and then occasionally in the rest of the text.[11] The subdivision into couplets runs through the whole text, but is interrupted in ll. 175-80, where the ruling is placed after three lines rather than two. However, while ll. 175-7, though spread across three lines, maintain the structure of the couplet, ll. 178-80 form a tercet.

The scribe not only indicated couplets (and the tercet) in the layout of the tablet, but also indicated a division in the middle of the lines: in ll. 1-36 he left a *spatium* that subdivided each line into two halves. From l. 37 until the end of the first column, he marked two halves of the line with a fine, vertical ruling. These subdivisions of the line mark a metrical break, and each half-line may be considered a hemistich of a poetic line (or verse). Although an indication of the *caesura* is consistently present only in the first column, the poetic lines in the rest of the prayer probably had a similar structure. As far as we can see from the preserved lines, the indication of the metrical break in the layout was probably only executed where the limited length of the line left the scribe enough space to do so.

2.2.1 Prosody

Since many lines are only partially preserved, a comprehensive metrical analysis of the text is difficult. Based on the complete lines, the usage of the so-called *clausula accadica* is apparent.[12] We can observe this specific pattern, a *trochaeus* at the end of the line, in almost all complete or restorable poetic lines, as well as in the lines where at least the final word is extant (a total of 98 lines). The sole exceptions are the parallel ll. 25 and 27, which end in a long, closed syllable (*nekelmûk*).

The final trochee is also often found at the end of the first hemistich, immediately preceding the *caesura*. If we take into account all

10 As noted above (chapter 1, § 1.2.3), this feature is also known as 'lyrical repetition'. Cf. chapter 5, § 5.2.4.1.2 *sub* "Delayed Introduction".

11 Von Soden 1971, 47.

12 For several studies on the Akkadian metre, see above chapter 1, § 1.2.3.

lines that allow us to examine their first hemistich (103 lines),[13] we count 86 lines that end in a trochee before the metrical break. The exceptions are:

ll. 38, 40: *lipšaḫā*	l. 93, 101: *Nabû*	l. 121: *zakâ*
ll. 41, 43: *palkû*	l. 97: *imkû*	l. 210: *ṣuṣê*
l. 77: *šūṣû*	l. 104: *tattadi*	l. 211: *erbê*
l. 79: *amû*	l. 115: *šurdû*	ll. 221/223: *tanittaka*

Nevertheless, von Soden does not treat words with final ultraheavy vowels as exceptions to the *clausula accadica*, but instead suggests that they maintain the same accentuation of standard trochaic endings (e.g. *Nábû*).[14] Huehnergard and Knudsen,[15] on the other hand, analyse final ultraheavy vowels as containing two syllables, namely a long vowel which bears the *ictus* and a short unaccented vowel immediately following. Contract vowels are hence counted as 'virtual trochees'.[16] According to this reconstruction, a word such *Nabû* should be scanned as *nabūŭ*, and accented on the long, penultimate syllable.

Jiménez follows this second interpretation, and furthermore hypotheses that this accentuation might be due to a pseudo-archaising system of recitation.[17]

Overall, the poetic lines in the *Nabû Prayer* are structured according to the most common metrical pattern of Akkadian epic and hymnic texts: Four metrical units in each line are divided by a *caesura*, so that a single verse is characterised by a 2+2 structure.[18] Single words, genitive chains (simple: e.g. l. 176 *šuršurrū ḫinzurri*, or composed, e.g. l. 49 *ina gipiš edê*), and pairs of words (e.g. standard formulas such as 'heaven and earth', 'above and below', 'night and day', 'father and mother') are taken as one metrical unit.[19] Genitive chains and word pairs, however, seem to have a variable metrical length and probably should be considered *anceps*.[20] Some particles

13 The following lines are too damaged and have been excluded here: 95-6, 104-13; 130-71, 123-4, 127-8.

14 Von Soden states that the Babylonian metrical system was rhythmic; he takes into account not only words ending with ultraheavy vowels at the end of the last foot, but also those within the poetic line (von Soden 1981, 104-5).

15 Knudsen 1980, 14; Huehnergard 2011, 395. Cf. Helle 2014, 58.

16 Huehnergard 2011, 395.

17 Jiménez 2017a, 227.

18 Lambert 1960, 66; Hecker 1974, 113; West 1997, 176.

19 Lambert 2013, 23-5; cf. also West 1997, 175-87.

20 Lambert 2013, 25.

and prepositions do not count as one metrical unit (e.g. *ša*, *ana*, *ina*, *adi*, *kīma*).

To provide some examples: a poetic line like *ibli ina qê šibqī* || *ana parā'i lēmu* (l. 51) will be analysed as composed of two metrical units in the first hemistich (verb + preposition with genitive chain) and two metrical units in the second (preposition with infinitive + adjective), therefore resulting in a standard 2+2 structure. A hemistich like *balāṣa u utnēnšu* (l. 216) will be taken as composed of two metrical units, formed by two nouns connected by a particle. As mentioned above, the indication of the *caesura* in the layout, i.e. the interposed space or the vertical ruling in the middle of a line, is consistent only in the first column of the main manuscript. Where the manuscript lacks such a graphic indication, it is still possible to count the words according to the general rules, by scanning for four-unit lines. Taking into account only the lines that are complete or sufficiently preserved to allow an analysis (82 lines),[21] we count 66 lines of the 2+2 type. Two parallel lines seem to have a 3+1 structure:

37[*bēlu*] *rēštû nūḫ* || *ana surri*
[…]
39[*Na*]*bû rēštû nūḫ* || *ana surri*

In this couplet the vertical spacing representing the break was clearly inserted before *ana surri*, implying a single metrical unit in the second hemistich. It is not impossible, however, that the scribe placed the *caesura* in the wrong position. An incorrect division of the poetic line and a mechanical use of the vertical ruling between the hemistichs is a common phenomenon. It is attested both in epics and, in particular, in the *Great Hymns and Prayers*.[22] One could therefore move the *caesura* forward (after *rēštû*) and analyse the line as a standard 2+2. The subdivision in hemistichs in the present prayer not only follows formal criteria, but also takes into account the semantic structure of the line. It is, however, difficult to see why a subdivision "Supreme lord, be appeased || in an instant" would be preferable over "Supreme lord, || be appeased in an instant".

Some lines appear to show a hypermeter. Compare for instance the following two parallel lines (first and third line of a quatrain):

21 Restored lines have been excluded, unless the restorations were highly probable. Damaged lines have been considered only if preserved in such a way as to leave no doubt about the number of metrical units per hemistich.

22 Lambert 2013, 20 notices the occurrence of *caesurae* at the wrong place in *Enūma eliš* (I 19 and I 36), and the inconsistent division of couplets in the *Šamaš Hymn* (Lambert 1960, 123). Reiner 1985, 69 mentions the *Šamaš Hymn* on the same subject, and Oshima 2011, 220 observes similar incongruities in *Marduk*2.

[53]*aḫuz qāssu || lā immês*[23] *aradka*
[…]
[55d]*Nabû aḫuz qāssu || lā immês aradka*

We can recognise a 2+2 structure in the first line and a 3+2 in the second. In total, there are eight lines of the 3+2 type (ll. 55, 57-8, 175, 184, 189, 207, 214).[24] Ll. 183, 185 and 186 have a 3+3 structure.

2.3 Language and Spelling Conventions

Like the other Akkadian hymns and prayers under study, the *Nabû Prayer* presents some typical features of the so-called 'hymno-epic dialect' (see chapter 1, § 1.2.4). As noted above, von Soden and, in his footsteps, Groneberg,[25] identified the main phonological, morphological and lexical characteristics of this literary idiom as follows:

- Apocope and elision of vowels in enclitic personal pronouns
- Use of specific determinative (e.g. *šāt*, *šūt*), interrogative (*mannu*, *mīnû*) and indefinite pronouns (*ayyu*, *ayyum-ma*, *mamman* and *mimma*)
- Special forms of the noun in the *status constructus* (e.g. *status constructus* in *-u*)
- Use of the locative and terminative cases (*-um* and *-iš*; occasionally their combined form *-uš*).
- Shortened forms of the prepositions *ina*, *ana* and *eli*.
- Use of the prefix (*ta-*) to mark the singular feminine in the verb conjugation.
- Use of the ŠD-stem.
- Use of a high-register vocabulary (including *hapax legomena*)

Goodnick Westenholz[26] adds the inverted word order to these characteristics, and Krebernik[27] mentions the usage of uncontracted vowels. Only some of these features occur in the present prayer:

23 The spelling actually suggests a form *immessu* with overhanging vowel; see von Soden 1971, 63.

24 However, it is highly possible that there are other hypermetrical lines, for example, ll. 25/27 or 36, but a metric analysis is challenging because the beginnings of these lines are fragmented.

25 Von Soden 1931, 163-227 and 1933, 90-183; Groneberg 1978, 15; Hess 2010, 102-22. Cf. also Lambert 2013, 33-4, who investigated the usage of this literary style in the *Enūma eliš* and Jiménez 2017a, 76-9, who provided a study of the use of the hymno-epic dialect in the "Akkadian Disputations Poems".

26 Goodnick Westenholz 1997a, 26.

27 Krebernik 2003-04, 11.

Locative and terminative:

ll. 84 and 192 *qibītukka*; l. 90 *ištarāniš*; l. 124 *dāriš*; l. 178 *pisnuqiš* and *lallāriš*; l. 179 *daddariš*.

In ll. 118/120 and in l. 178 the word *aḫrâtaš* occurs. As noted by Lambert discussing this form in *Enūma eliš* (2013, 40-1), this form is probably the result of a scribal error, due to the misreading of the sign UR as *taš* instead of *tiš*$_2$. In fact, the form *aḫrâtaš* is only attested in first millennium manuscripts, and it can be assumed that the original form was *aḫrâtiš*. In the Old Babylonian period the form *aḫrêtiš* is indeed attested (see Lambert 2023, 40).

Apocope of personal pronouns:

ll. 21/23 [*šagi*]*mmuk* (*si vera lectio*) and *lā padûk*; ll. 25/27 *amā*] *ruk* (*si vera lectio*), *nekelmûk*; l. 49 *elīš*; l. 50 *nesīš*; l. 54 *šērtuš* and *šūlīš*; ll. 100/102 *baluk*; ll. 117/119 *nalbābuk*; ll. 118/120 *rašubbatuk*; l. 173 *illurtaš* (*si vera lectio*).

Use of the interrogative pronoun *mīnû*:

l. 79 *mīnâ*; l. 97 *a*[*na mīnâ i*]*mkû* (*si vera lectio*).

Rare words and *hapax legomena*:

ll. 21/23 *šagimmu* 'roar'; ll. 38/40 *tīrānu* 'mercy'; ll. 41/43 *mukkallu* 'priest' (mng. uncertain) and *ešeštu* 'knowledge(?)' (hapax); ll. 45/47 *šalbābu* 'furious'; l. 78 *taltaltu* 'pollen(?)' (hapax, mng. uncertain); ll. 91/93 *tele'û* 'capable'; ll. 92/94 *temēšu* 'forgiving'; ll. 104 and 149 *dušmû* 'servant'; l. 140 *kingallu* 'leader of the assembly'; l. 44 *zunzunu* 'locust(?)'; l. 149 *abdu* 'servant'; l. 173 *qunnabru* 'fetter'; l. 176 *šuršurru* 'fruit(?)', *ḫinzurru* 'apple-tree(?)'; l. 177 *meṣḫeru* 'young man(?)' (hapax), *šēdītu* 'maiden(?)' (hapax); l. 178 *lallāriš* 'like syrup' (hapax), *pisnuqiš* 'pitiable'; l. 180 *tadmīqu* 'high-quality date'; l. 181 *antu* 'ear of barley' (uncertain); l. 184 *šēzuzu* and *tayyāru* 'raging' and 'merciful'; l. 185 *aḫammu* 'especially'; ll. 207/209 *nakruṭu*, as infinitive from *karāṭu* N 'to have mercy';[28] l. 210 *šingu* 'village'; l. 217 *atnu* 'prayer'.

***Status constructus* ending in -u:**

l. 176 *šēru rēṣūtīya*.

28 See Mayer 2017a, 14; cf. also Hrůša 2010, 116 and 257.

Inverted word order, i.e. the placement of verbal forms in the penultimate position or in first position, e.g.:

> l. 115 *idāt lumni šurdû ušabraršuʾ pūt*[*aʾ*]; l. 128 […] … *bitrê unamgarū karṣ*[*ī*]; l. 175 *ana kal māti ummāti ušaḫlâ manīt*[*u*]; l. 187/189 (Nabû) *tasanniq aradka nappaša šu*[*pteʾ*].

In addition to these characteristics, the manuscripts of the *Nabu Prayer* display a remarkable inconsistency in the spelling of the case endings.[29]

Nouns in the nominative case mostly show the traditional case ending in *-u*, but may also end in *-a* or in *-i*. Nominative singular forms in *-a* are not often attested:

> ll. 45/47 *šal-ba-ba* (epithet; MS A); l. 82 *šà-sur-ra* (uncertain; MS A); l. 181 ŠE-*am* (subject in an intransitive clause; it should be considered a pseudo-logogram; MS A).

The nominative singular in *-i* occurs more frequently (all attestations are found in MS A):

> ll. 17/19 *na-ad-ri* (predicate nominal clause); ll. 21/23 *gir-ri* (predicate nominal clause); ll. 29/31 *ri-i-bi* (predicate nominal clause); ll. 37/39 *reš-ti-i* (epithet); l. 50 *kib-ri* (subject nominal clause); l. 129 *ṭa-*⌜*pulʾ-ti*⌝ (*si vera lectio*).

The genitive endings are irregular as well, and besides the usual *-i*, one finds also nouns in the genitive case that end in *-u:*

> ll. 30/32 *šá qin-nu* (uncertain; MS A); ll. 42/44 *šu-ka-a-mu* (*āšiš šukāmi*, epithet; MS A); l. 52 *ru-šum-du, ina na-ri-iṭ-ṭu* (MS A); ll. 54/56 *ina na-ri-iṭ-ṭu* (MS A); l. 57 *ina nap-la-qu* (MS A); l. 58 [*in*] *a pi-i le-ʾu-ú* (MS A); l. 115 *i-da-at lum-nu* (MSS A and B_1); l. 147 *a-na ka-ša-du* (MS A); l. 146 *a-na im-mu u mu-šu* (MS A); l. 176 *šur-šú-ru ḫi-in-zur-ru* (uncertain; MS A); ll. 213/215 [*ana kal*] *da-ad-mu* (MS A).

The accusative singular may end in *-u* (all MS A):

> ll. 30 *qin-nu* (uncertain, context broken); l. 18 *ta-na-aš-šar ḫi-iṣ-bu*; l. 164 *lum-n*[*u*] (uncertain); l. 80 *a-šu-uš-tu4 ni-is-sa-t*[*u4*]; l. 185 *ma-ru áš-ru*; l. 186 *ma-ru la áš-ru*; ll. 187/189 *nap-pa-šu*; in l. 205 *na*]*k-ru-uṭ* could also be interpreted as *naq-ru-tú*, for *naqruta*, see the commentary on this line.

29 Cf. von Soden 1971, 46.

Accusative singular in -i occurs too and can be found in three passages:

> l. 20 *ta-na-aš-šar ḫi-iṣ-bi* (MS A); l. 125 *ḫu-up-šú* (MS A); l. 182 *bil-ti* ⌜*ú*⌝-[*tar*?] (uncertain; MS A).

Also attested are special *status constructus* forms of the noun ending in *-a* and in *-i:*

> ll. 42-4 *a-ši-ši šu-ka-a-mu* (MS A); l. 174 *a-na da-na-na i-ri-a-ti* (MS A).

The mimation of case endings is normally not written explicitly in this text, with the exception of very few frozen or consciously archaising forms:

> ll. 91/93 *ti-le-é-a-um* (MS A, for *teleʾû*); l. 181 ŠE-*am* (MS A, pseudo-logogram for *û*).

Note also *an-nam* in ll. 79 and 85-6, in which NAM might stand for /*n*v/. The context here, however, is unclear.

Apart from these writings, we find attestations of the sign TUM in word-final position, employed in nominative and genitive singular feminine nouns, but apparently never in accusative. The majority of the attestations show the use of TUM in the nominative (all the following attestations are found in MS A):

> ll. 25/27 [*u*]*r-pa-tu*$_4$; l. 80 *a-šu-uš-tu*$_4$; l. 179 *a-la-mit-tu*$_4$.

There are three passages for the genitive:

> ll. 41/43 *muk-kal-li e-še-eš-tu*$_4$; l. 175 *a-na kal ma-*⌜*tu*$_4$⌝.

Lastly, the sign LUM in word-final position seems to be used, but only in *be-lu*$_4$ (*passim*).

With regard to the verbal forms, it should be noted that second-weak verbs in some cases show overhanging vowels (all attestations are in MS A):

> ll. 26/28 *tu-ka-ni for tukān*; l. 88 *i-šá-bi for išâb*; l. 207 [*re*]-⌜*e*⌝-*mì for rēm*.

In one case, a verb *ultimae infirmae* seems to present an unexpected final vowel:

> l. 109 *ir-ra-qu for irraqi* (uncertain).

The morphological and stylistic features, together with the lexical peculiarities, are typical of late manuscripts. The date of composition of this text is uncertain, although scholars have suggested the first millennium, or the Cassite period.[30] However, as with the *Šamaš Hymn* or *Marduk*1, it is possible that the present text is a reworking of an earlier version.

2.4 Structure and Content

The fragmentary state of the manuscript prevents a comprehensive interpretation of the prayer. It is nevertheless still possible to identify several thematic sections, which agree with the standard structure of Akkadian prayers:[31] the first eight lines are missing, but it is reasonable to suppose that the text opened with the conventional invocation, the hymnic opening in which the god was recognised and invoked with standard epithets and names ("Hymnic Introduction",[32] ll. 1-44). This first section also included the praises of the deity, which probably started from l. 9: in this part various divine aspects and prerogatives are listed. From l. 37, typical motifs of prayer appear: this portion of the text forms the second section, which is devoted to the lament ("Penitential Section", ll. 45-173). In fact, along with praises and occasional epithets, there are also lines including pleas for divine assistance (ll. 37, 39, 53, 55-6) and descriptions of the sufferer's condition (ll. 48-52). The lines that follow are too poorly preserved to allow a content analysis. However, we observe the return of a penitential tone from l. 91, where a special focus on the sufferer's sins (ll. 91-4) and on Nabû's mercy (ll. 99-102) is apparent. This was probably succeeded by the description of the misfortunes and sorrows that had befallen the sufferer, interspersed with new praises of Nabû (ll. 117-21; 174-7). In the lines following l. 140, other deities and demons are mentioned (e.g. ll. 143 and 145), and more symptoms of the penitent's disease are

30 Cf. Lambert 1959-60, 48; von Soden 1971, 47. On the manuscript tradition and the datation of the *Great Hymns and Prayers*, see chapter 1, § 1.2.2.

31 More specifically, incantation prayers. For the basic structure of Mesopotamian prayers, I follow von Soden 1957-71, 161, who identifies four sections: 1) "Der Lobpreis des Gottes" 2) "Die Klage" 3) "Die Bitte" 4) "Das Dankversprechen". Mayer, in his work on Akkadian *šuilla* prayers, includes yet another element, "Das Tun des Beters", namely the description of the supplicant's behaviour (Mayer 1976, 36-7). Cf. Oshima 2011, 14-19, who also provides a structure for Akkadian Prayers, basing his classification on von Soden's study. Cf. also Frechette *apud* Lenzi 2011, 27-9. The structure of Mesopotamian prayers partially overlaps with that of hymns. Metcalf (2015, 25), for example, divides Mesopotamian Hymns into three basic sections: *Invocatio*, *Preces*, *Salutatio*. The same terms are used by Pohl (2022) in her recent treatment of Old Babylonian hymns. Cf. also Zgoll 2003a, 30-1, who also employs a three-part structure in her analysis of *Šuillas*. For the differences between Akkadian hymns and prayers, see chapter 1, § 1.1.1.

32 For a more detailed analysis of each section, see below § 2.4.1.

listed. In ll. 178-86 lamentations give way to a short wisdom section ("Wisdom Section", ll. 174-86). With l. 187 a new section opens, characterised by pleas for the god's help expressed through a series of precatives in the second hemistich ("Plea", ll. 187-209). This final part of the text contains yet another section, namely the salutation to the deity ("Final Salutation", from l. 211): the author glorifies Nabû, stressing his pre-eminence among the other gods and proclaiming the importance of his worship among people (ll. 211-25).

The prayer can therefore be divided into five sections:

1. "Hymnic Introduction" (ll. 1-44): possible invocation, and praises of the god, description of his powers and characteristics.
2. "Penitential Section" (ll. 45-173): description of suffering and requests for aid. Hymnic break (ll. 117-77).
3. "Wisdom Section" (ll. 178-86).
4. "Plea": requests for pity and salvation (ll. 187-210).
5. "Final Salutation" (ll. 211-25).

2.4.1 Analysis of the Individual Sections: Topoi and Use of Verbal and Nominal Forms

In spite of the damaged state of the manuscript, the text seems to be generally homogeneous from a stylistic and linguistic point of view. Several typical formal features, however, are used in the different sections, helping the reader to recognise each part not only from the content, but also from the form.

The hymnic introduction (ll. 1-44) shows a clear paratactic structure and consists of numerous nominal phrases that are grammatically and semantically complete within each line. As is always the case in hymnic compositions, participles and nominal phrases prevail in the lines where invocations and praises are to be found. The usage of these forms aims to highlight the eternal nature of deities, whose attributes are unchangeable.[33]

Of the finite verbal forms occurring in these lines, almost all refer to the god, and are second person singular present tense verbs and imperative verbs:

ll. 18/20 *tanaššar*; ll. 22/24 *tabarri*; ll. 26/28 [*t*]*ukān*; ll. 37/39 *nūḫ*; ll. 38/40 *riši*.

Only one precative form is attested: ll. 38/40 *lipšaḫā*.

33 Metcalf 2015, 63; Metzler 2002, 728.

The present tense verbs in these lines are atemporal.[34]

The features and powers of Nabû are described in the opening section – particularly his ruthlessness in punishing those who have sinned, as well as his mercy towards those who have been forgiven. These two opposite aspects alternate with one another until l. 45, when the "Penitential Section" begins. In this way, the poet creates an antithetical structure, very similar to the one occurring in the first forty lines of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* and in *Marduk*1, both of which also show an alternation of opposite behaviours, namely, the contrast between the cruelty of the god and the punishments resulting from his anger on one hand, and the beneficial consequences of his benevolence on the other.[35] The syntactic dichotomy that can be observed in the first lines of the *Nabû Prayer* is used to express the two antithetical aspects of the god (ll. 17-22):

17[*bēlu ušumgallu*(?) *uzz*]*aka nīrka nadru*
18[*tukammar*(?) *ḫe*]*galla tanaššar ḫiṣba*
19[*Nabû ušumgall*]*u*(?) *uzzaka nīrka nadru*
20[*tukammar*(?) *ḫe*]*galla tanaššar ḫiṣba*
17[O Lord], your [ang]er is a [lion-dragon], your yoke is furious,
18[You provide ab]undance, you release the bountiful produce.
19[O Nabû], your anger is a [lion-drago]n, your yoke is furious,
20[You provide ab]undance, you release the bountiful produce.

As can be seen from these lines, the poet employs the 'lyrical repetition' (or *a-a'* structure), in which several couplets are repeated in an almost identical way: the 'delayed' name of the god – inserted only in the second couplet – is the only variation.

The introduction not only has the function of identifying and praising the deity who is being invoked, but also leads to the petitions of the following section. The introduction appeases the god, and disposes him to help the penitent. In the Mesopotamian prayers the epithets and the divine prerogatives which appear in the opening section seem to be the result of a conscious choice. The qualities mentioned are indeed usually related to the specific needs expressed by the petitioner, who can in this way better depict and finally actualise those aspects of the divine nature that might help him the most. By openly illustrating the prerogatives of the god, the supplicant emphasises the powers of addressee, and makes his prayers more effective: also, the god himself

34 For the use of present tense as 'extratemporalis' see *GAG* § 78 d, β.

35 Oshima 2011, 48. For the dual character of deities in *Ludlul* and in the *Great Hymns and Prayers*, see chapter 1, § 1.2.5.

is shown – and almost 'reminded of' – his ability to save the sufferer.[36]

The second section ("Penitential Section", ll. 45-173) includes the enumeration of the miseries afflicting the supplicant and his pleas for mercy. Despite this part of the prayer being severely damaged, it seems that the description of suffering accords with the standard motifs and phrases used in the Mesopotamian penitential prayers and in some wisdom compositions (e.g. *Theodicy*, *Ludlul*).[37] The specific nature of the illness is not openly mentioned, and the miseries described in this section seem to indicate a general condition of physical decay and mental distress. The sufferer is said to be afflicted by several feelings of discomfort: depletion and misery (ll. 46/48 *imṭû tānēḫu*), sorrow, wailing and bewilderment (l. 80 *ašuštu nissatu* [*u kūru* (?)]), and his terrible condition is expressed through the use of similes: he is depicted as being cast into deep water (ll. 49-50), a motif also to be found in the Sumerian tradition,[38] and stuck in the marshes (ll. 51-2, 54/56),[39] an expression often taken as a reference to death and the underworld.[40] Metaphors borrowed from the animal kingdom are also typical of Mesopotamian prayers, like the one in l. 57, by which the moaning of the supplicant is likened to that of a bull being slaughtered (for the similes and metaphors attested in the *Great Hymns and Prayers* cf. also chapter 5).[41]

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36 Mayer 1976, 44-5. Mayer in his division of the Akkadian *šuila* prayers calls this action the 'Vergegenwärtigung'; cf. Oshima 2011, 15. Cf. Hallo 1968, 77. Cf. also the remarks by Lenzi 2010, 309, regarding the invocation in *diĝiršadabba* prayers: he defines the hymnic introduction as "a protocol analogous to the ones that people used when addressing human authorities", in the sense that the petitioner, while invoking the deity, makes use of specific models, which resemble those used in certain human relationships.

37 Cf. Beaulieau 2007, 11: "The feelings expressed in the prayers are very much the same as the ones we find in compositions about pious sufferers, that is to say, praise of the deity, sense of guilt, ignorance of the fault committed, feelings of dejection, paranoia, abandonment, bodily ailments and disease, and especially a desperate longing for the deity to relent". On this see also the study on the similarities between the language of *Ludlul* and Akkadian prayers published by Lenzi 2015.

38 See for example the bilingual *diĝiršadabba* prayer no. 9, ll. 17-18: a-gin$_7$ ki al-ĝen-na-gu$_{10}$ nu-un-zu | ᵍⁱˢmá-gin$_7$ kar ab-ús ĝen-na-gu$_{10}$ nu-un-zu; Akkadian lines: *kīma mê ašar allāku ul īde* | *kīma eleppi ina kar innemmidu ul īde*, "Like water I do not know where I am going | like a boat I do not know at which quay I put in" (for the latest edition see Jaques 2015, 55. The translation used here is that of Lambert 1974, 291. Cf. Van der Toorn 1985, 65 and 191 fn. 152).

39 See for example the *diĝiršadabba* prayer no. 11, l. 100: *kīma ārid appari ina rušumdi nadâku*, "Like one who goes down in the marshes, I have fallen in the mud" (for the latest edition see Jaques 2015, 77. Here I use the translation provided by Lambert 1974, 279. Cf. Van der Toorn 1985, 65 and 190 fn. 149).

40 Van der Toorn 1985, 65.

41 See for example the *diĝiršadabba* prayer no. 11, l. 12: *adammum kīma summat mūši u urra*, "I moan like a dove night and day" (see the latest edition by Jaques 2015, 67. The translation here is by Lambert 1974, 275. Cf. also Van der Toorn 1985, 65 and 190 fn. 142 for more attestations of this motif also in Sumerian literature).

Further in this section, several damaged lines continue to describe physical suffering of the penitent: ll. 114-15 mention lice and an unknown disease called *šurdû*.

As far as is attested from the preserved parts of the text, the verb forms occurring in this second section are mostly finite: third person forms are used in reference to the penitent or to the miseries inflicted on him, especially in descriptions of his illness (ll. 45-58), e.g. l. 46 *ittabšû* 'have come upon him', but also first person singular verbs occasionally appear as precatives (see below). Numerous pleas for aid and forgiveness are also embedded in this part of the prayer, expressed through the following verbal forms:

Imperative verbs:

l. 53/55 *aḫuz*; ll. 54/56 *šutbi šērtuš* and *šūlīš*; l. 97 *mēš*; l. 98 *ukkiš*.

Precative verbs:

l. 76 *lubbabil*; l. 77 *lūšer*; l. 78 *luttaggiš*; ll. 117/118 [*ludl*]*ul*; l. 123 lukīn; l. 124 *luma''irū* and *lupīra* (uncertain).

Typical elements of Akkadian penitential prayers are direct questions to the gods, by which the penitent complains about his suffering and asks for the reasons of his punishment.[42]

The questions addressed to the deity are expressed through standard formulas, occurrences of which are found in the second section of the *Nabû Prayer*, in which a penitential nuance can be noticed.

Knowledge of these standard formulas allows restorations to be made, such as l. 97: *a*[*na minâ i*]*mkû mēš ara*[*nšu*], "I[n what respect has he been ne]gligent? Disregard his guilt!", and l. 116: *adi mati kala šatti ginâ lumnu*(?) *šumšu*(?), "How long, a whole year, *does any evil last*?".

The "Wisdom Section" (ll. 174-85) stands out from the rest of the prayer for its philosophical content, difficult vocabulary and poetic structure. In this section *hapax legomena* (e.g. l. 178 *lallāriš*) and rare words (e.g. l. 176 *šuršurrū*; l. 178 *pisnuqiš*; l. 180 *tadmīqša*; l. 181 *an*(*n*)*ātū*(*šu*); l. 184 *šēzuzu* and *tayy*[*ār*]; l. 185 *aḫammu*) appear. Parallels to other Mesopotamian texts are also frequently found (see section below, 2.3).

In addition, the broad use of *parallelismus membrorum* in these lines resembles the structure of the hymnic introduction, and a lyrical tone, similar to the one characterising the opening section, is observed. The similarity in the stylistic features is also emphasised by

42 Mayer 1976, 107.

the use of verbs. In fact, the wisdom section and the hymnic introduction both display an extensive occurrence of atemporal forms. In this respect, statives are most frequently to be noted in the wisdom section:

> l. 174 *bašim*; l. 179 *mā*[*r*]; l. 180 *damiq* and *nuḫā*[*š*] (uncertain); l. 184 *eklet*; *namrat*; *tayy*[*ār*].

In the same way as in the hymnic opening, the finite verbs are always in the present tense:

> l. 175 *ušaḫlâ*; l. 178 *udaššap*; l. 185 *ika*[*rrab*]; l. 181 *ikušša*; l. 186 *irrar*.

The non-finite verbal forms and the present tense verbs found in the hymnic introduction are to be understood as atemporal, because they describe the divine aspects of Nabû, whose nature cannot change, and can thus only be defined by timeless forms. In the same manner, the verbs of the third section fit its wisdom content: the aim of the poet was to present some philosophical thoughts, rendered by statives and present tense verbs in an atemporal sense.

Mesopotamian hymns and prayers usually end with petitions and, finally, with a salutation to the deity.[43] The last two sections of the *Nabû Prayer* accord with this standard feature: in the fourth section petitions for health and prosperity unfold (the "Plea" ll. 187-210), while the fifth section consists of the "Final Salutation" to the goddess (ll. 211-25).

The most frequent verbal form appearing in the fourth section is the precative. Third person singular precatives are used to prompt the god to help the sufferer, restoring him to a happy condition, and to show him mercy:

> l. 200 [*l*]*īpuš*; l. 201 [*l*]*īpuš*; l. 202 *lippaṭir*; l. 203 [*li*]*mmir*; ll. 204/206 *littarriṣā*; l. 208 *litūrā*, l. 209 *likūnā*.

Beside precatives, we find the occurrence of imperative forms emphasising the petition:

> l. 187 *šu*[*pte*]; l. 188 *idi* and *suḫḫira*; ll. 205/207 [*r*]*ēm* (uncertain) and *rišīšu*

The fifth and last section (the "Final Salutation") runs from l. 211 to the end of the text. It is characterised by a hymnic tone: in this part the pre-eminent role of Nabû among the other divinities is stressed;

43 Metcalf 2015, 22, 71-2; Mayer 1976, 307.

moreover, the petitioner expresses the wish that the whole pantheon of deities, together with the peoples, will glorify the god (on this concept, i.e. the 'public aspect' of praise, see *infra*). Precative forms are used:

l. 211 *limmir*; ll. 212/214 *lištammar*; ll. 213/215 *lištēpâ*; l. 217 *likūn*; l. 218 *līḫuzū*; l. 219 *liqbû*.

This section has been defined by von Soden as "Dankversprechen", implying that its scope is mainly to thank the invoked deity.[44] Indeed, while in the Akkadian language there is no exact word for 'to thank', one can nevertheless interpret this section as an expression of gratitude. The devotee formulates his thanksgiving not only by praising the deity, but also by performing specific symbolic gestures and by providing ritual offerings.[45] In this respect, we notice the following couplet in the *Nabû Prayer*:

216[*liq*]*e damāṣa balāṣa u utnēnšu*
217[*kīma qī*]*šāti*(?) *atnūš likūn taṣlissu*
216[Ta]ke the prostrating, the bowing and his prayer,
217[like *donati*]*ons* (take) his petition, may his prayer become true.

Praise has a 'public' aspect,[46] that is to say, it involves not only the individual, but also the whole of humanity, as well the divine world. This feature occurs in the closing section of the prayer: in ll. 213/215 the desire for all the inhabited lands to praise Nabû is formulated ([*ana kal*] *dadmī lištēpâ narbīka*, "To all the inhabited regions of the world, may he proclaim your greatness"), and the poet further implores the Igigi gods and the Laḫmu gods to advocate for the penitent:

218[*Igig*]*i gimrassunu līḫuzū abūssu*
219[*La*]*ḫmū iṣrassunu*(?) *liqbû dumuqšu,*
218May all the [Igigi g]ods take his side
219May the [Laḫmu-go]ds, their totality, put in a good word for him.

44 Von Soden 1957-71, 161, § 4. See also Mayer 1976, 356-7, who further analyses this aspect, maintaining that the praises occurring in the closing section have the function of actualising the glorification of the god. The petitioner promises or wishes to extol the deity in the future, because he is certain that, having diligently fulfilled his religious duty by following the proper worship practice, he will eventually receive the divine help he needs. Thus, he can already praise the deity with confident anticipation of his deliverance. Cf. Westermann 1965, 78.

45 Mayer 1976, 308.

46 I take this definition from Mayer 1976, 309. Mayer defines it as "Der forensische Charakter des Lobens". He borrows the term 'forensic' ("forensische") from Westermann, who uses it in the sense of 'public' and with respect to Biblical psalms, cf. Westermann 1965, 10 fn. 1a.

The very last lines of the prayer (ll. 220-5) comprise a doxology: the greatness of Nabû is praised one last time, both among the gods and the people:

220/222[*bēlu/Nabû in*]*a ilī šurbû narbûka*
221/223[*nišū*(?) *t*]*anittaka ušarriḫā ana ṣâti*
220/222[O Lord/Nabû amo]ng the gods your greatness is supreme,
221/223[The people] make magnificent your [pra]ise forever.

Hence the conclusion of the *Nabû Prayer* illustrates the new condition of the penitent, who has overcome suffering and isolation, and can glorify the deity who restored him to wholeness by proclaiming his power to the gods and to humanity.[47]

The vocabulary that appears in the fifth section exemplifies the standard vocabulary used in Akkadian prayers.[48] Verbs belonging to the semantic field of 'praising' and frequently found in penitential prayers are employed here as well. In almost all of the attestations, their objects are nouns in the accusative case, with a suffixed pronoun:

- *šamāru* with acc. + suffix: ll. 212/214 *lištammar ilūtka*; also in l. 225 [… *lišta*]*mmar*.
- *apû* with acc. + suffix (here Št-stem): ll. 213/215 *lištēpâ narbīka*.
- *qabû* with acc. + suffix: l. 219 *liqbû dumuqšu*.
- *rabû* with acc. + suffix (Š-stem): ll. 220/222 *šurbû narbûka*.
- *šarāḫu* with acc. + suffix: ll. 221/223 [*t*]*anittaka ušarriḫā*.

In addition, l. 212 shows a very common construction recurring in Akkadian prayers that consists in connecting a precative and an imperative in order to form a consecutive sentence:

212[*aḫu*]*z qāssu lištammar ilūtka*
212[Tak]e his hand, so that he may extol your divinity.[49]

The meaning of this formulation lies in two distinct yet intertwined aspects of worship: on the one hand, the praises are a direct consequence of the supplicant's prayers. Indeed, the petitioner knows that he must repay the god for his aid, and therefore promises to praise him in the future. This behaviour, however, should not be considered as a mere *do ut des*: the penitent's commitment to extolling the deity reinforces his prayer, and makes it more valuable.

47 Mayer 1976, 309.

48 Mayer 1976, 319-27

49 Cf. Mayer 1976, 312, and fn. 16.

On the other hand, however, not only does the supplicant need divine help to restore his health, but the deity also needs a living and healthy devotee, who can worship him through praise and offerings.[50]

The bijective relationship between divinities and human beings is clearly expressed, for example, in *Marduk*1, ll. 67-9:

67*ša ṭīṭiš īmû mīnû nēmelšu*
68*balṭum-ma ardu bēlāšu ipallaḫ*
69*epru mītu ana ili mīnâ uṣṣab*
67The one who turned into clay, what is his profit?
68Only a living servant can revere his master!
69Dead dust, what is its use to the god?[51]

2.5 The "Wisdom Section": Content and Intertextual Perspectives

In addition to stereotypical motifs, the *Nabû Prayer* also contains some original passages that deal with philosophical themes. Lines 178-86 of the wisdom section seem to develop the idea that there is an appointed time for everything, thus implying that it is wise to wait patiently for a negative beginning to end positively.

The natural world offers a basis for this theory, since often in nature things have a poor beginning, yet eventually prove to be good, making the wait worthwhile. The natural order appears to reflect the divine one, and to explain the human condition: although suffering is necessary, happiness will follow as a natural consequence. This idea suggests that the only possible course of action is to submit and wait patiently. Divine justice should not be questioned, because through patience and faith the pious sufferer will eventually prosper. In these lines a consolation for the inevitable hardship of human life is provided by the expectation of future relief:

178*aḫrâtaš pisnuqiš lallāriš udašš*[*ap*]
179*alamittu uḫenša daddariš m*[*ār*]
180*arka tadmīqša damiq per'u nuḫ*[*āš*(?)]
181*û ina ligimîšu immarḫā an*(*n*)*āt*[*ū*(*šu*)]
182*ikušša ina rabêšū-ma bilta u*[*târ*(?)]

50 On this aspect see Mayer 1976 (311, with fn. 114) who summarises these two aspects as follows: "a) Das Lobversprechen liegt in der Konsequenz der Bitte: der Betende weiss, dass er der Gottheit etwas schuldet; b) Das Lobversprechen unterstützt die Bitte: es motiviert die Gottheit zum Eingreifen; denn ihr liegt doch daran, geehrt, 'erhoht' zu weren".

51 Translation by the Author. Cf. Oshima 2011, 147-8; 162-3, and more recently Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 168 and 170. Cf. also Mayer 1976, 313-14.

178What has seemed pitiable, he will swe[eten] like syrup,
179The fresh date on the date palm is bitter like stinkwort,
180(but) later its fine date is good, the sprout is lu[xuriant.]
181The grain in its budding phase: [(its)] ea[rs] may rot,
182It lingers in its ripening, (but then) br[ings (abundant)] yield.

The dates still on the date palm are bitter, but they sweeten after their ripening, and the grain, which can sometimes be affected by diseases and rot in its spikes, requires a long time to fully mature for a successful harvest. The motif of a positive development coming from apparently negative circumstances finds a parallel in the *Theodicy*, ll. 260-3, where the same argument is presented by stating that the first-born is physically inferior to the second one:

260*littu būršu rēštû šapil-ma*
261*ligimûša arkû maṣi šittīnšu*
262*lillû māru pānâ i'allad*
263*le'û qardu ša šanî nibīssu*
260In the case of a cow, the first calf is lowly,
261The later offspring is twice as big.
262A first child is born a weakling,
263But the second is called a heroic warrior.[52]

The same concept of a good ending resulting from a difficult beginning is repeated in l. 184 of the *Nabû Prayer*:

184*ašar eklet namrat šēzuzu tayy*[*ār*]
184where it was darkness, there will be light, the ferocious one (will be) merciful.

As night is followed by daylight, similarly the anger of the god is followed by his mercy. The image associating divine pity with morning and the god's fury with night resembles l. 2 of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*:

2*ēziz mūši muppaššir urri*
2Furious in the night, pacified by day.[53]

In the same way we can read in *Marduk*2, l. 81:

52 Cited from Lambert 1960, 86-7. Cf. Heinrich 2022.

53 Translation by Foster *apud* Hätinen 2022; cf. Oshima 2014, 79.

[81]*urra napšurka šēz[uz]u ušpašš*[*iḫ*(?)]
[81]In the morning there is your forgiveness, the furious one relen[ts].[54]

The god puts the man to the test (l. 187: *tasanniq aradka*), but rewards his patience, like a father would do to help his obedient son (ll. 184-5). Divine help, like mercy, arrives at daylight (l. 176 *šēru rēṣūtīya*).[55] It is possible to find the same idea expressed in *Marduk*2, ll. 18 and 20:

[18]*adi ayyūti ṣ*[*īt Šamši lā i*]*llaka usātūka*
[…]
[20]*Marduk ana ṣīt* [*Šam*]*ši illika usātūka*
[18]By which s[un]r[ise] should [not] your help come?
[…]
[20]Marduk, by sunrise your help came.[56]

Similar motifs – i.e. suffering is necessary and patience is worthwhile, the help of the gods comes in the morning – occur also outside the Mesopotamian context, and Old Testament texts in particular offer many passages that are similar to the arguments made in the *Nabû Prayer*.

A comparative approach between Mesopotamian and biblical texts has been used since the first Akkadian texts were found and translated in the latter part of the nineteen century. The many similarities between Mesopotamian hymns and prayers and the biblical psalms even led some scholars to suggest a direct dependence of the latter on the Mesopotamian texts.[57] It is not my intention here to argue that the Mesopotamian sources had a direct influence on the biblical ones, as a direct contact between the two corpora seems difficult to postulate. However, the similar motifs, the formal structure and stock-phrases shared by the Akkadian compositions and the biblical texts constitute interesting parallels between the two literary traditions, in that both were informed by similar ideas and beliefs about the problem of unjust suffering and divine justice.

An example of a biblical passage that resembles the philosophical lines of the *Nabû Prayer* can be found in Ps. 126, in which the concept of suffering preceding happiness is expressed:

54 Translation by the Author and restoration from K.9917+K.17647, see below in the philological commentary, ll. 10/12.

55 The association between sunlight and joy is also a recurring theme in the Kiutu prayers, see Baragli 2022a, 117.

56 Oshima 2011, 223, 240-1.

57 Zernecke 2011a, 61-2 and 2014.

> Those who sow with tears
> will reap with songs of joy.
> Those who go out weeping,
> carrying seed to sow,
> will return with songs of joy,
> carrying sheaves with them.
> (Ps 126:5-6)

In addition, the wisdom book of Ecclesiastes shows an even more striking parallel:

> The end of a matter is better than its beginning,
> and patience is better than pride.
> (Eccles. 7:8-9)[58]

The motif that strictly connects divine help with the morning's light also occurs in the Old Testament. Light is a synonym for closeness to deity and salvation, while darkness is related to abandonment and death.[59] Examples of this association between morning and divine help are numerous, for example: Ps 5:3-4; 90:14; 143:8; 43:3; 46:6.

58 These Scripture quotations are taken from the Holy Bible, New International Version, 2011. For a biblical commentary of the mentioned passages, see Brown et al. 2002, 548 with respect to Ps. 126, and note the observation on v. 5: "The language of planting and growth in these verses suggests a reversal of situation, with tears turned into joy, in language drawn from agriculture"; for some observations on the quoted passage from Ecclesiastes, see Brown et al. 2002, 493 and Christianson 2007, 188.

59 Janowski 2013, 67. Cf. Janowski 1989.

2.6 Edition

2.6.1 Text

Content

This prayer is addressed to the scribal god Nabû, and attested in two fragmentary manuscripts (A and B). Manuscript A is a four column tablet written in Neo-Assyrian script; in both manuscripts, the text falls into couplets marked by horizontal rulings, as frequently occurs in Babylonian poetry, especially in manuscripts of the *Great Hymns and Prayers*.[60] Furthermore, the tablet retains the graphic indication of the metrical *caesura* in the first column, either represented by a blank space left between the hemistichs or by a vertical line drawn in the middle of verses (see ll. 57-8). Manuscript B is a small fragment and preserves very few lines of the prayer (ll. 115-17); it is not possible to define its format.

This 236 line long composition makes use of the so-called 'hymno-epic dialect', a high-register literary language characterised by uncommon grammatical traits, rare words borrowed from lexical lists and *hapax legomena*. Numerous rhetorical features enrich this prayer, which depicts a supplicant describing his pitiable state and asking the god for forgiveness and aid. The text also contains a wisdom section (ll. 178-86), in which philosophical reflections on suffering and the human condition are found.

Manuscripts

A	K.2361+K.3193+K.14033+K.18434 +Sm.389+Sm.601(+)	*ZA* 4, 252-5; *ZA* 4, 256-8; *eBL* (Rozzi 2022b)	pls 1-2	Two-column tablet, Neo-Assyrian script, 7th cent.	Nineveh, 'Ashurbanipal's Library', probably South-West Palace (Sm collection; Reade 2000, 422, George 2003, 386)
B_1	K.15248	*eBL* (Rozzi 2022b)	pl. 3	Neo-Assyrian script, 7th cent.	Nineveh, 'Ashurbanipal's Library'
B_2	K.21022	*eBL* (Rozzi 2022b)	pl. 3	Neo-Assyrian script, 7th cent.	Nineveh, 'Ashurbanipal's Library'

60 Fadhil-Jiménez 2019, 162.

Previous Editions

Brünnow, R.E. (1889). *ZA* , 4, 252-8 (transliteration of K.2361+K.3193+Sm.389).
von Soden, W. (1971). *ZA*, 61, 50-60 (transliteration and translation of A without K.18434).
Online edition: Rozzi, G. (2022b). "Great Prayer to Nabû". With Contributions by A.C. Heinrich, A. Hätinen, E. Jiménez and T.D.N. Mitto. Translated by B.R. Foster. *electronic Babylonian Library*. `https://doi.org/10.5282/ebl/l/3/5`.

Transliteration

(8 lines missing)

9	A obv. i 1'	[*bēlu* x x x x x]	*sa-bi-*[*'u* x x]
10	A obv. i 2'	[x x x x x x x]	*nap-šur-k*[*a* x x]
	A		

11	A obv. i 3'	[*Nabû* x x x x x]	*sa-bi-*⌜*'u*⌝ [x x]
12	A obv. i 4'	[x x x x x x x]	[*n*]*ap-šur-ka* [x x]
	A		

13	A obv. i 5'	[*bēlu* x x (x) *šu-ud-lu*]-*pa*	*ki-ma* [x x x]
14	A obv. i 6'	[x x x x x x x x (x)]-*ú*	*sa-ḫir* [*šērta*(?)]
	A		

15	A obv. i 7'	[*Nabû* x x (x) *šu-u*]*d-lu-pa*	*ki-ma* [x x x]
16	A obv. i 8'	[x x x x x x x (x)]-x-*ú*	*sa-ḫir* ⌜*šèr*?-*ti*?⌝
	A		

17	A obv. i 9'	[*bēlu ušumgallu*(?) *uz-za*]-*ka*	*nir-ka na-ad-ri*
18	A obv. i 10'	[*tukammar*(?) *ḫé-g*]*ál-la*	*ta-na-aš-šar ḫi-iṣ-bu*
	A		

19	A obv. i 11'	[*Nabû úʾ-šumʾ-galʾ-l*]*u uz-za-ka*	*nir-ka na-ad-ri*
20	A obv. i 12'	[*tukammar*(?) *ḫ*]*é-gál-la*	*ta-na-aš-šar ḫi-iṣ-bi*
	A		
21	A obv. i 13'	[*Adad*(?) *šá-gi*]*m-mu-uk*	*la pa-du-uk gir-ri*
22	A obv. i 14'	[x x x x x (x) DING]IR.DINGIR	*ta-bar-ri an-šár*
	A		
23	A obv. i 15'	[*Nabû Adad*(?) *šá-gi*]*m-mu-*˹*uk*˺	*la pa-du-uk gir-ri*
24	A obv. i 16'	[x x x x x (x) D]INGIR.DINGIR	*ta-bar-ri an-šár*
	A		
25	A obv. i 17'	[*šibbu*(?) *a-ma*]*-ru-uk*	˹*ur*˺*-pa-tu*$_4$ *né-*˹*kel*˺*-mu-uk*
26	A obv. i 18'	[*tuštešše*r(?)] ˹*i*˺*-šá-ri*	[*t*]*u-ka-ni iš-di-šú*
	A		
27	A obv. i 19'	[*Nabû šibbu*(?) *amāruk*	*ur*]*-*˹*pa-tu*$_4$˺ *né-kel-mu-uk*
28	A obv. i 20'	[*tuštešše*r(?) *išara*	*tu-k*]*a-ni iš-di-šú*
	A		
29	A obv. i 21'	[*bēlu*(?) x x x (x)	*e-de-e*]*d-ka ri-i-bi*
30	A obv. i 22'	[x x x x x (x)	*ša qin-n*]*u tam-ḫu*
	A		
31	A obv. i 23'	[*Nabû* x x x (x)]	*e-de-ed-ka* ˹*ri*˺*-i-bi*
32	A obv. i 24'	[x x x x x (x)]	*šá qin-nu tam-*˹*ḫu*˺
	A		
33	A obv. i 25'	[*bēlu*(?) x x x x	*ḫ*]*u-ḫu-um šá-ma-mi*
34	A obv. i 26'	[x x x x *kīma pāṭ*(?) *qinni*(?)	*k*]*a-mir i*[*š-di-ḫ*]*u*
	A		
35	A obv. i 27'	[*Nabû* x x] x x	˹*ḫu*˺*-ḫu-um šá-ma-mi*
36	A obv. i 28'	[x x x x *k*]*i-*˹*ma*˺ *paṭ qin-ni*	˹*ka*˺*-mir iš-di-ḫu*
	A		

37	A obv. i 29'	[*bēlu r*]*eš-ti-i nu-uḫ*	*a-na sur-ri*
38	A obv. i 30'	[*bu*ʾ*-n*]*u-ka lip-šá-*⌜*ḫa*⌝	⌜*ri*⌝*-ši ti-ra-a-ni*
	A		

39	A obv. i 31'	[^{d}A]G *reš-ti-i nu-uḫ*	*a-na sur-ri*
40	A obv. i 32'	[*bu*ʾ*-nu*]*-ka lip-šá-ḫa*	*ri-ši ti-ra-a-ni*
	A		

41	A obv. i 33'	*b*[*e-l*]*u*$_4$ *pal-ku-ú*	⌜*muk*⌝*-kal-li e-še-eš-tu*$_4$
42	A obv. i 34'	*rap-*⌜*šá*⌝ *uz-ni*	⌜*a*⌝*-ši-ši šu-ka-a-mu*
	A		

43	A obv. i 35'	^{d}AG ⌜*pal*⌝*-ku-ú*	*muk-kal-li e-še-eš-tu*$_4$
44	A obv. i 36'	*rap-šá uz-ni*	*a-ši-ši šu-ka-a-mu*
	A		

45	A obv. i 37'	*be-lu*$_4$ *šal-ba-ba ta-as-sa-*⌜*bu*⌝*-us*	UGU ÌR-*ka*
46	A obv. i 38'	*ṣe-riš it-tab-šu-ú*	⌜*im*⌝*-ṭu-ú ta-né-ḫu*
	A		

47	A obv. i 39'	^{d}AG *šal-ba-ba ta-as-sa-bu-us*	UGU ⌜ÌR⌝*-k*[*a*]
48	A obv. i 40'	*ṣe-riš it-tab-šu-ú*	*im-ṭu-ú t*[*a-né-ḫu*]
	A		

49	A obv. i 41'	*ina gi-piš e-de-e na-di-ma*	*a-gu-ú e-liš it-ta*[*k-kip*]
50	A obv. i 42'	*kib-ri ru-uq-šú*	*né-si-iš na-ba-l*[*u*]
	A		

51	A obv. i 43'	*ib-li ina qé-e šib-qí*	*a-na pa-ra-a*ʾ*-a le-e-m*[*u*]
52	A obv. i 44'	⌜*it*⌝*-ta-til ina na-ri-iṭ-ṭu*	*ka-li ina ru-šum-du*
	A		

53	A obv. i 45'	⌜*a*⌝*-ḫu-uz* ŠU^{II}*-su*	*la im-me-es-su* ÌR-*k*[*a*]
54	A obv. i 46'	⌜*šu*⌝*-ut-bi šèr-tuš*	*šu-liš ina na-ri-iṭ-ṭ*[*u*]
	A		

55	A obv. i 47'	⌜^{d}⌝AG *a-ḫu-uz* ŠU^{II}-*su*	*la im-me-es-su* ìR-*k*[*a*]
56	A obv. i 48'	⌜*šu*⌝-*ut-bi šèr-tuš*	*šu-liš ina na-ri-i*[*ṭ-ṭu*]
	A		

57	A obv. i 49'	[*k*]*i-ma le-e šá ina nap-la-qu pal-qu i-*⌜*ram-mu*⌝-*um ši-i*[*g-miš*]
58	A obv. i 50'	[*in*]*a* ⌜*pi-i*⌝ ⌜*le*⌝-*ʾu-ú da-ab-ru na-di-ma ú-gan-na-a*[*nʾ* x x x]
	A	

(end of A obv. i; first 16 lines of obv. ii missing)

75	A obv. ii 1'	ki ⌜tuʾ⌝ x x [x x x x x x x] x [x x x]
76	A obv. ii 2'	*na-si-ka-ku lu-ub-ba-bil* ⌜*lu*⌝-*u*[*pʾ-paʾ-ṭirʾ*]
	A	

77	A obv. ii 3'	*ki-i na-ak-mi šu-ṣu-ú lu-šèr* ⌜*a*⌝-[*ḫiʾ-taʾ*]
78	A obv. ii 4'	*ki-i tal-tal-ti lut-tag-giš i-na k*[*a-ma-a-ti*]
	A	

79	A obv. ii 5'	*an-nam mi-na-a a-mu-ú i-zi-za* [*elīya*(?)]
80	A obv. ii 6'	*id-da-a a-šu-uš-tu*$_4$ *ni-is-sa-t*[*u*$_4$ *u kūru*(?)]
	A	

81	A obv. ii 7'	*be-lu*$_4$ *at-ta-ma tam-bi* [*šumī*(?)]
82	A obv. ii 8'	*qí-bi-tuk-ka šà-sur-ra* ⌜*ú*⌝-[x x x]
	A	

83	A obv. ii 9'	^{d}AG *at-ta-ma tam-bi* [*šumī*(?)]
84	A obv. ii 10'	*qí-bi-tuk-ka šà-sur-ra* [x x x x]
	A	

85	A obv. ii 11'	*i-na an-nam a-bi* ⌜*iʾ*⌝-[*naʾ anna*(?) *ummi*(?)]
86	A obv. ii 12'	*an-nam* AD.MEŠ-*šú a*[*nʾ-namʾ ummātīšu*(?)]
	A	

87	A obv. ii 13'	⌜*ul*⌝ *i-*⌜*na*⌝(-)x [x x x x x x x x]
88	A obv. ii 14'	*i-šá-bi i-*⌜*ta*⌝-x [x x x x x x x]
	A	

89	A obv. ii 15'	*i-la a-bi-˹i˺ ka-a-ti mar-ṣi iš-˹tam-mar˺*
90	A obv. ii 16'	*gi-na-a mas-˹da˺-ri iš-ta-ra-niš i-˹qal˺*
	A	

91	A obv. ii 17'	*ti-le-é-˹a˺-um ˹be-lu$_4$˺ in-ni-ti pa-˹ṭarʾ˺*
92	A obv. ii 18'	*ti-mé-e-šú ˹gíl˺-la-t*[*i lā*] ˹*ṭa˺-ab-tú ˹tiʾ-giʾ˺*
	A	

93	A obv. ii 19'	*ti-˹le-é-a˺-u*[*m Nabû in-n*]*i-ti pa-ṭ*[*arʾ*]
94	A obv. ii 20'	*ti-m*[*é-e-šú gillatī lā ṭa-a*]*b-tú ˹tiʾ˺*-[*giʾ*]
	A	

95	A obv. ii 21'	*i-na* x [x x x x x x x k]u pa-x-[x]
96	A obv. ii 22'	*i-na* [x x x x x x(-)*r*]*i-bi ma-˹na-a-maʾ˺* [x (x)]
	A	

97	A obv. ii 23'	˹*a˺-n*[*a mīnâ i*]*m-ku-ú me-e-šú a-˹ra˺*-[*an-šú*]
98	A obv. ii 24'	[*mimma*(?) *mala*(?)] ˹*i˺-še-ṭu$_4$ uk-kiš ḫi-˹ipʾ˺* š[À*ʾ-šúʾ*]
	A	

99	A obv. ii 25'	[*ela k*]*a-a-ti be-lu$_4$ ul ib-ba-áš-˹ši˺* [*rēmu*(?)]
100	A obv. ii 26'	[*ina b*]*a-lu-˹uk˺ ˹in˺-ni-ti gíl-la-˹ti˺* [*ul*(?) *ippaṭṭar*(?)]
	A	

101	A obv. ii 27'	[*ela k*]*a-a-ti* ^{d}AG *ul ib-ba-˹áš˺*-[*ši rēmu*(?)]
102	A obv. ii 28'	[*ina ba-l*]*u-uk in-ni-ti gíl-la-t*[*i ul*(?) *ippaṭṭar*(?)]
	A	

103	A obv. ii 29'	[*tuʾ-šeʾ*]-*ṣaʾ-ma* ÌR-*ka ta-as-sa-˹kip˺* [x x x (x)]
104	A obv. ii 30'	[*ina r*]*itʾ-ti-ka ta-at-ta-di ˹du˺-u*[*šʾ-maʾ-kaʾ*]
	A	

105	A obv. ii 31'	[*aʾ-šamʾ*]-˹*šá˺-niš ḫal-lu-la-a-a* DINGIR *lem-ni ˹ta˺*-x [x x x x]
106	A obv. ii 32'	[x x-*tu*]*lʾ la-˹ga˺-mi du-tuš ta-bar-˹ri˺* x [x x]
	A	

107	A obv. ii 33'	[x x x]-⌜*liš*ʔ⌝ *uš-ḫa-ri-ir i-laq-*⌜*qé*⌝ x [x x x]
108	A obv. ii 34'	[x x x] ⌜*i*⌝*-ta-šar ig-*⌜*da-mar*⌝ [x x x x]
	A	
109	A obv. ii 35'	[x x] x-*šú ir-ra-qu kab-*⌜*ta*ʔ*-ta*ʔ⌝ [x x x]
110	A obv. ii 36'	[*ṭēnšu*(?) *it*ʔ*-t*]*a-kir-šú iḫ-ši-*⌜*iḫ*ʔ⌝ [x x x x]
	A	
111	A obv. ii 37'	[x x x] x *ig-ga-mir* x x [x x]
112	A obv. ii 38'	[x x] x ⌜*ip*⌝*-pa-ṭir* x x [x x x x]
	A	

(lower edge)

113	A rev. iii 1	*ši-in-šú i*[*p*ʔ-x x x] x x *pa-ri-*⌜*im*⌝ *a-a-*⌜*ba*ʔ⌝ (x)
114	A rev. iii 2	*mut-qu p*[*u-u*]*l-ḫu-šú ik-ta-*⌜*bit*⌝ ⌜UGU-*nu-šú*⌝
	A	
115	A rev. iii 3	*i-da-at l*[*um-n*]*u šúr-du-ú ú-šab-ra-ár-*⌜*šú*ʔ⌝ ⌜*pu*⌝*-t*[*u*ʔ]
	B1	*i-da-at lum-nu šú*[*r-du-ú* x x x x x x]
116	A rev. iii 4	⌜*a*⌝*-di ma-t*[*i k*]*a*ʔ*-la šat-ti gi-na-a lu-*⌜*mun*ʔ⌝ ⌜*šum-šú*ʔ⌝
	B2	*a-di ma-ti k*[*a-la* x x x x x x x x x x]
	A, B_1	
117	A rev. iii 5	[*lud*]-⌜*lul*⌝ *be-l*[u_4] *na-al-ba-bu-uk e-*⌜*ze-zu*⌝
	B_1 3'	*lud-lul* ⌜*be-*lu_4⌝ *n*[*a-al-ba-bu-uk* x x x]
118	A rev. iii 6	[*li*ʔ*-te*ʔ*-l*]*i*ʔ *r*[*a-šu*]*b-ba-tuk a-na* AN-*e aḫ-*⌜*ra*⌝*-t*[*aš*]
	B_1 3'	[*li*ʔ]-⌜*te*ʔ⌝-[*li*ʔ x x x x x x x x x x]
	A	
119	A rev. iii 7	[*ludlul* ᵈA]G *na-al-ba-bu-uk* ⌜*e*⌝*-ze-z*[*u*]
	B_2 1'	[x x x x x x x x x *e*]-⌜*ze*⌝*-z*[*u*]
120	A rev. iii 8	[*līteli*(?) *ra-š*]*ub-ba-tuk* ⌜*a-na*⌝ AN-*e aḫ-*⌜*ra*⌝*-t*[*taš*]
	B_2 2'	[x x x x x x x x x] ⌜*aḫ-ra*⌝*-ta*[*š*]
	A, B_2	
121	A rev. iii 9	[*bīt*(?) *ki*ʔ*-im*ʔ*-t*]*i-ia e-pir za-ka-a e-pir is-qu-q*[*u*]
	B_2 3'	[x x x x x x x x x x] ⌜*e*⌝*-pir is-qu-*⌜*qu*⌝
122	A rev. iii 10	[(x) A.ŠÀ.G]A *ab-bé-e-a ki-šub-bu-šá bi-lat kàs-p*[*u*]

	B_2 4'	[(x) x x x x x x x x x x *bi*]-⌜*lat*⌝ *kàs*-[*pi*]
	A, B_2	

123	A rev. iii 11	[x x x] *ku-nu-uk-ka sa-an-tak ki-na-a-ti ša* mu šú ⌜*lu-kin*⌝ ⌜*i*ʔ⌝-x (x)
	B_2 5'	[x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x] ⌜*lu-kin*⌝ ⌜*i*ʔ⌝-[x]
124	A rev. iii 12	[x x x] *lu-ma-aʾ-i-ru lu-pi-ra da-a-a-n*[*u*ʔ]
	B_2 6'	[x x x x x x x x x x *da*]-⌜*a*⌝-*a*-[*nu*]
	A, B_2	

125	A rev. iii 13	[x x] x-*ni ḫu-up-šú za-ma-ni ú-šam-q*[*at*ʔ]
126	A rev. iii 14	[x x] x-*ni ul i-né-eʾ-i i-na-as-sa-ḫu* ⌜*šaḫ-šaḫ*⌝-[(*ḫi*)]
	A	

127	A rev. iii 15	[x x]-⌜*ram*ʔ-*ma*ʔ⌝ *ki-i la lìb-bi* DINGIR *im-nu*-⌜*ú*⌝
128	A rev. iii 16	[x x x x-*s*]*u bit-re-e ú-nam-ga-ru kar-ṣ*[*i*ʔ]
	A	

129	A rev. iii 17	[x x x *i*]*š*ʔ-*pik-ke-e-a šá-ru-ti ṭa*-⌜*pul*ʔ-*ti*⌝
130	A rev. iii 18	[x x x x x-*p*]*il*ʔ im ḫu uz °*šá*° šá-x x x
	A	

131	A rev. iii 19	[x x x x x](-)⌜*a*⌝-*šá šu-bat nu-uḫ*-⌜*ši*⌝
132	A rev. iii 20	[x x x x x x] x ḫu *ṣi-in*-⌜*du*⌝
	A	

133	A rev. iii 21	[x x x x x] x ⌜KI⌝.2.KAM^{v} *šu-bat la-l*[*e*ʔ-*e*ʔ]
134	A rev. iii 22	[x x x x x x x x x (x)]-⌜*ú*⌝ x [x]
	A	

(manuscript A breaks off, 4 lines of rev. iii are missing)

138	A rev. iii 26	x [x x x x x x x x x x x (x x)]
139	A rev. iii 27	*li*-x [x x x x x x x x x (x x)]
140	A rev. iii 28	*kin-gal-lu t*[*i*ʔ-x x x x x x x x x]
	A	

141	A rev. iii 29	*uṣ-ṣi-iṣ-ma* AN.ZA.[GÀR x x x x x x (x x)] | *ul* x [...]
142	A rev. iii 30	^{d}*am-na ina bi-r*[*i* x x x x x x (x x)]
	A	

143	A rev. iii 31	*za-qí-qu ina šat* ˹*mu*˺*-š*[*i* x x x x x x (x)]
144	A rev. iii 32	*zu-un-zu-na* [x x x x x x x (x x)]
	A	

145	A rev. iii 33	^{d}*nin-gùn-nu a*-x(-)[x x x x x x (x x)]
146	A rev. iii 34	˹*a*˺*-na im-mu u mu-š*[*ú* x x x x x x x (x x)]
	A	

147	A rev. iii 35	*a-na ka-ša-du me*-x [x x x x x x x (x x)]
148	A rev. iii 36	*i-na bu-ul* ^{d}ŠA[KAN x x x x x x x (x x)]
	A	

149	A rev. iii 37	*du-uš-mu-ú-šú* ˹*i*˺-[x x x x x x x (x x)]
150	A rev. iii 38	*ab-du-ú-šú ip-pa*[*l* x x x x x x x x (x x)]
	A	

151	A rev. iii 39	*iḫ-ti-dam-m*[*a marṣatuš*(?) *ibakkīka*(?)]
152	A rev. iii 40	*na-an-gul lìb-*˹*ba*˺*-*[*šú-ma iḫtammaṭka*(?)]
	A	

153	A rev. iii 41	*uṣ-ṣar-ri-ip ka*-[*bat*$^{?}$*-ta*$^{?}$*-šú*$^{?}$ x x x x x (x)]
154	A rev. iii 42	*di-ma-šú ik-ta*-[*li*$^{?}$ x x x x x x x x (x)]
	A	

155	A rev. iii 43	*ma-ṣi be-lí* x [x x x x x x x x (x)]
156	A rev. iii 44	*a-ḫu-lap*$^{!}$(KID) *ti-me*[*š* x x x x x x x x (x)]
	A	

157	A rev. iii 45	*tu-šá-ma za-ma-nu-*˹*ú*˺ [x x x x x x (x)]
158	A rev. iii 46	*ù mu-de-e al-k*[*a-ka-ti* x x x x x x (x)]
	A	

159	A rev. iii 47	*a-bar-šá* É.Z[I.DA x x x x x x x (x)]
160	A rev. iii 48	*rag-ga la* ˹*i*˺-[*šá-ra*? x x x x x x x (x)]
	A	

161	A rev. iii 49	*el im*-[(x)] x [x x x x x x x (x)]
162	A rev. iii 50	*mìn-su* x [(x)] x (x) [x x x x x x x x (x)]
	A	

163	A rev. iii 51	*šá rag-gi u* x [x x x x x x x x (x)]
164	A rev. iii 52	[*š*]*u*?*-ut lum-n*[*u* x x x x x x x x (x)]
	A	

165	A rev. iii 53	[x x] x [x x x x x x x x (x)]

(In von Soden's edition, the lower part of column iii is represented by the fragment K.11373, that, however, is a manuscript of a divinatory text and duplicates K.6226. The end of column iii is thus broken, and has approximately 7 lines missing.)

173	A rev. iv 1	*pu-ṭur qu-un-nab-ra-šu ḫi-pi il-lu-u*[*r-taš*?]
174	A rev. iv 2	*a-na da-na-na i-ri-a-ti ba-šim du-*˹*ú*˺*-r*[*u*]
	A	

175	A rev. iv 3	*a-na kal ma-tu*$_4$ *um-ma-*˹*tu*$_4$˺ *ú-šaḫ-*^{la}*lá-a ma-ni-t*[*u*$_4$]
176	A rev. iv 4a	*še-e-ru re-ṣu-ti-ia šur-šú-ru ḫi-in-zur-ru*
177	A rev. iv 4b-5	*meṣ-ḫe-ri ši-d*[*i-tú*?] | *mar-tú ma-r*[*i*]
	A	

178	A rev. iv 6	*aḫ-ra-taš pi-is-nu-qiš làl-la-riš ú-da-áš-š*[*ap*]
179	A rev. iv 7	*a-la-mit-tu*$_4$ *ú-ḫe-en-šá da-da-riš ma-a-*[*ar*]
180	A rev. iv 8	*ar-ka ta-ad-mì-iq-šá da-mì-iq pe-er-'u nu-ḫ*[*áš*?]
	A	

181	A rev. iv 9	ŠE-*am i-na li-gi-mì-šú i-ma-ar-ḫa an-na-t*[*u*(-*šú*)]
182	A rev. iv 10	*i-kuš-šu i-na ra-bé-šú-ma bil-ti* ˹*ú*˺-[*tar*?]
	A	

183	A rev. iv 11	[*m*]*u-ú-ṣu šá lìb-bi ú-ru-la-ti-šú ik-kib* DINGIR.MEŠ *ka-la-ma ana* UN.MEŠ x [x]
184	A rev. iv 12	*a-šar ek-let nam-rat še-zu-zu ta-a-*˹*a*˺-[*ar*]
	A	

185 A rev. iv 13 *ma-ru áš-ru sa-an-qa a-ḫa-mu za-ra-šú i-ka*[*r-rab*]
186 A rev. iv 14 *ma-ru la áš-ru la* DIM$_4$ *a-di e-né-šú ir-ra-ár b*[*aʾ-niʾ-šúʾ*]
A

187 A rev. iv 15 *ta-sa-niq* ìR-*ka nap-pa-šu šu-u*[*pʾ-teʾ*]
188 A rev. iv 16 *i-di let-ka suḫ-ḫi-ra ki-š*[*ad-ka*]
A

189 A rev. iv 17 ^{d}AG *ta-sa-niq* ìR-*ka nap-pa-šu šu-*[*upʾ-teʾ*]
190 A rev. iv 18 *i-di let-ka suḫ-ḫi-ra ki-š*[*ad-ka*]
A

191 A rev. iv 19 *ul-li e-né-es-su* ˹*la-mas*˺*-su l*[*i-ir-ši*]
192 A rev. iv 20 ˹*qí*˺*-bi-tuk-ka* SIG$_5$.MEŠ x [x] x x [x]

(manuscript A breaks off, 7 lines of rev. iv are missing)

A

200 A rev. iv 28 [x x x x x *l*]*i-pu-uš ga-nu-un-*˹*šú*˺
201 A rev. iv 29 [x x x x x *l*]*i-pu-uš si-ma-ak-šú*
A

202 A rev. iv 30 [x x x x *šuʾ-u*]*sʾ-si líp-pa-ṭir zu-mur-šú*
203 A rev. iv 31 [x x x x x *li*]*m-mir ni-ṭil-šin*
A

204 A rev. iv 32 [*būnūka namrūtu li*]*t-tar-ri-ṣu e-li-šú*
205 A rev. iv 33 [*rēm*(?) *aradka na*]*k-ru-uṭ ri-ši-šú ti-ra-nu*
A

206 A rev. iv 34 [*Nabû*] ˹*bu-nu-ka*˺ ZÁLAG.MEŠ *lit-tar-ri-ṣu e-li-šú*
207 A rev. iv 35 [*re*]-˹*e*˺*-mì* ìR-*ka nak-ru-uṭ ri-ši-šú ti-ra-nu*
A

208 A rev. iv 36 [*ḫalʾ-qaʾ*]-*a-tu*$_4$ A.ŠÀ.MEŠ *li-tu-ra a-nu-*˹*míš*˺
209 A rev. iv 37 [x x x]-*a-ti* GIŠ.ŠUB.BA.MEŠ *li-ku-na a-na šá-a-šu*
A

210	A rev. iv 38	[*ina*(?) *š*]*i-in-gi ù ṣu-ṣe-e liš-te-šer at-man-šu*
211	A rev. iv 39	[*ina kibrāt e*]*r-bé-e lim-mir nu-par-šu*
	A	

212	A rev. iv 40	[*a-ḫu-u*]*z* ŠU-*su liš-tam-mar* DINGIR-*ut-ka*
213	A rev. iv 41	[*ana kal*] ˹*da*˺*-ad-mu liš-te-pá-a nar-bi-ka*
	A	

214	A rev. iv 42	[*Nabû*] ˹*a*˺*-ḫu-uz* ŠU-*su liš-tam-mar* DINGIR-*ut-ka*
215	A rev. iv 43	[*ana kal d*]*a-ad-mu liš-te-pá-a nar-bi-ka*
	A	

216	A rev. iv 44	[*li-q*]*é da-ma-ṣu ba-la-ṣu ù ut-nen-šú*
217	A rev. iv 45	[*kīma*(?) *qiʾ*]*-šá-a-ti at-nu-uš li-kun tés-lit-su*
	A	

218	A rev. iv 46	[^{d}*i-g*]*i-gu gim-rat-su-nu li-ḫu-zu a-bu-us-su*
219	A rev. iv 47	[^{d}*la*]*ḫ-mu iṣ-rat-su-nu liq-bu-ú* SIG$_5$*-šú*
	A	

220	A rev. iv 48	[*bēlu i-n*]*aʾ* DINGIR.MEŠ *šur-bu-ú nar-bu-ka*
221	A rev. iv 49	[*nišūʾ t*]*a-nit-ta-ka ú-šar-ri-ḫa ana ṣa-a-ti*
	A	

222	A rev. iv 50	[*Nabû ina* DINGIR.M]EŠ *šur-bu-ú nar-bu-ka*
223	A rev. iv 51	[*nišūʾ ta-ni*]*t-ta-ka ú-šar-ri-ḫa ana ṣa-a-ti*
	A	

224	A rev. iv 52	[x x x x x x (x)] x x ˹*lilʾ*˺*-lip-ka*
225	A rev. iv 53	[x x x x x x x x x (x) *lišʾ-ta*]*m-*˹*mar*˺

(manuscript A breaks off; no colophon preserved)

Bound Transcription

(8 lines missing)

9	[*bēlu* …]	*sābi*[*ʾu* …]
10	[…]	*napšurk*[*a* …]
11	[*Nabû* …]	*sābiʾu* […]
12	[…]	*napšurka* […]
13	[*bēlu* … *šudlu*]*pa*	*kīma* […]
14	[…] …	*saḫir* [*šerta*(?)]
15	[*Nabû* … *šu*]*dlupa*	*kīma* […]
16	[…] …	*saḫir šerta*(?)
17	[*bēlu ušumgallu*(?) *uzza*]*ka*	*nīrka nadru*
18	[*tukammar*(?) *ḫe*]*galla*	*tanaššar ḫiṣba*
19	[*Nabû ušumgall*]u(?) *uzzaka*	*nīrka nadru*
20	[*tukammar*(?) *ḫe*]*galla*	*tanaššar ḫiṣba*
21	[*Adad*(?) *šagi*]*mmuk*	*lā padûk girru*
22	[… *il*]*ī*	*tabarri Anšar*
23	[*Nabû Adad*(?) *šagi*]*mmuk*	*lā padûk girru*
24	[… *i*]*lī*	*tabarri Anšar*
25	[*šibbu*(?) *amā*]*ruk*	[*u*]*rpatu nekelmûk*
26	[*tuštešser*(?)] *išara*	[*t*]*ukān išdīšu*
27	[*Nabû šibbu*(?) *amāruk*	*ur*]*patu nekelmûk*
28	[*tuštešser*(?) *išara*	*tuk*]*ān išdīšu*
29	[*bēlu*(?) …	*edē*]*dka rību*
30	[…	*ša qinn*]*a tamḫu*

31[*Nabû* …]	*edēdka rību*
32[…]	*ša qinna tamḫu*

33[*bēlu*(?) …	*ḫ*]*uḫum*(?) *šamāmī*
34[… *kīma pāṭ*(?) *qinni*(?)	*k*]*āmir iš*[*diḫ*]*i*

35[*Nabû* …] …	*ḫuḫum*(?) *šamāmī*
36[… *k*]*īma pāṭ*(?) *qinni*(?)	*kāmir išdiḫi*

37[*bēlu r*]*ēštû nūḫ*	*ana surri*
38[*būn*]*ūka*(?) *lipšaḫā*	*riši tīrānī*

39[*Na*]*bû rēštû nūḫ*	*ana surri*
40[*būnū*]*ka*(?) *lipšaḫā*	*riši tīrānī*

41*b*[*ēl*]*u palkû*	*mukkalli ešešti*
42*rapša uznī*	*āšiš šukāmi*

43*Nabû palkû*	*mukkalli ešešti*
44*rapša uznī*	*āšiš šukāmi*

45*bēlu šalbābu tassabbus*	*eli ardīka*
46*ṣēriš ittabšû*	*imṭû tānēḫu*

47*Nabû šalbābu tassabbus*	*eli ardīk*[*a*]
48*ṣēriš ittabšû*	*imṭû t*[*ānēḫu*]

49*ina gipiš edê nadī-ma*	*agû elīš itta*[*kkip*]
50*kibru rūqšu*	*nesīš nābal*[*u*]

51*ibli ina qê šibqī*	*ana parā'i lēmu*
52*ittatīl ina nāriṭṭi*	*kali ina rušumti*

[53]*aḫuz qāssu*	*lā immês aradk*[*a*]
[54]*šutbi šērtuš*	*šūlīš ina nariṭṭ*[*i*]

[55]*Nabû aḫuz qāssu*	*lā immês aradk*[*a*]
[56][*š*]*utbi šērtuš*	*šūlīš ina nari*[*ṭṭi*]

[57][*k*]*īma lê ša ina naplāqi palqu*	*irammum ši*[*gmiš*]
[58][*in*]*a pī lē'î dabri nadī-ma*	*uganna*[*n* …]

(end of A obv. i; ll. 59-75 lost or too fragmentary for transcription)

[76]*nasīkāku lubbabil*	*lu*[*ppaṭir*(?)]

[77]*kī nakmu šūṣû*	*lūšer a*[*ḫīta*(?)]
[78]*kī taltalti*	*luttaggiš ina ka*[*mâti*]

[79]*anna mīnâ amû*	*izziza* [*elīya*(?)]
[80]*iddâ ašuštu*	*nissatu* [*u kūru*(?)]

[81]*bēlu attā-ma*	*tabbi* [*šumī*(?)]
[82]*qibītukka šassūru*	… […]

[83]*Nabû attā-ma*	*tabbi* [*šumī*(?)]
[84]*qibītukka šassūru*	[…]

[85]*ina anna abi*	*i*[*na anna*(?) *ummi*(?)]
[86]*anna abbēšu*	*a*[*nna*(?) *ummātīšu*(?)]

[87]*ul* … [	…	]
[88]*išâb* … [	…	]

[89]*ila abī kâti*	*marṣu*(?) *ištammar*
[90]*ginâ masdara*	*ištarāniš iqâl*

91*tele'û bēlu*	*ennētī paṭāra*(?)
92*temēšu gillat*[*ī*	*lā*] *ṭābta tīgi*(?)

93*tele'û* [*Nabû*	*enn*]*ētī pa*[*ṭāra*(?)]
94*tem*[*ēšu gillatī*	*lā ṭā*]*bta tī*[*gi*(?)]

95*ina* […	] … […]
96*ina* […	] … *manāma*(?) […]

97*a*[*na mīnâ i*]*mkû*	*mēš ara*[*nšu*]
98[*mimma*(?) *mala*(?)] *išēṭu*	*ukkiš ḫīp*(?) *li*[*bbīšu*(?)]

99[*ela k*]*âti bēlu*	*ul ibbašši* [*rēmu*(?)]
100[*ina b*]*aluk ennētī*	*gillatī* [*ul*(?) *ippaṭṭar*(?)]

101[*ela k*]*âti Nabû*	*ul ibbaš*[*ši rēmu*(?)]
102[*ina bal*]*uk ennētī*	*gillat*[*ī ul*(?) *ippaṭṭar*(?)]

103[*tušē*]*ṣâm-ma aradka*	*tassakip* […]
104[*ina r*]*ittīka*(?)	*tattadi du*[*šmâka*]

105[*ašam*]*šāniš ḫallulāya*	*ila lemna* … […]
106[…] … *lagā'a*(?) *dūtuš*	*tabarri* […]

107[…] … *ušḫarrir*	*ileqqe* […]
108[…] … *ītašar*	*igdamar* […]

109[…] … *irraqi*(?)	*kabtata*(?) […]
110[*ṭēnšu*(?) *itt*]*akiršu*	*iḫšiḫ* […]

111[…] … *iggamir* … […]	
112[…] … *ippaṭir* … […]	

113 *šinšu*(?) … […]	*pārim ayyābi*(?)
114 *mutqu p*[*u*]*lḫūšu*	*iktabit elēnuššu*
115 *idāt lumni šurdû*	*ušabraršu*(?) *pūt*[*a*ʾ]
116 *adi mati kala šatti*	*ginâ lumnu*(?) *šumšu*(?)
117 *ludlul bēla*	*nalbābuk ezēzu*
118 [*lī*]*te*[*l*]*i*(?) *r*[*ašu*]*bbatuk*	*ana šamê aḫrât*[*aš*]
119 [*ludlul Na*]*bû*	*nalbābuk ezēz*[*u*]
120 [*līteli*(?) *raš*]*ubbatuk*	*ana šamê aḫrâta*[*š*]
121 [*bīt*(?) *kimt*]*īya*(?) *epir zakâ*	*epir isqūqa*
122 [(…) *eqe*]*l*(?) *abbēya*	*kišubbûša bilat kasp*[*i*]
123 […] *kunukka santak kināti*	*ša … lukīn …*
124 […] *luma''ir*	*lūpira dayyān*[*a*]
125 […] … *ḫupša*	*zāmânī ušamq*[*at*(?)]
126 […] … *ul ine''i*	*inassaḫ*(?) *šaḫšaḫḫ*[*ī*]
127 […] … *kī lā libbi ili imnû*	
128 […] … *bitrê unamgarū karṣ*[*ī*]	
129 [… *i*]*špikkīya šarûti ṭapultu*(?)	
130 […] … *ša …*	
131 […] … *šubat nuḫši*	
132 […] … *ṣindu*	
133 […] … *šanû šubat lā*[*lê*(?)]	
134 […] … […]	

(ll. 135-9 lost or too fragmentary for transcription)

[140]*kingallu* … […]

[141]*uṣṣiṣ-ma Anza*[*gar*(?) …] *ul* … […]
[142]*Amna ina bīr*[*i* …]

[143]*Zāqīqu ina šāt mūš*[*i* …]
[144]*zunzunu* […]

[145]*Ningunnu* […]
[146]*ana immi u mūši* […]

[147]*ana kašādi* … […]
[148]*ina būl Šak*[*kan* …]

[149]*dušmûšu* … […]
[150]*abdūšu ippa*[*l* …]

[151]*iḫtidam-m*[*a marṣatuš ibakkīka* (?)]
[152]*nangul libba*[*šū-ma iḫtammaṭka* (?)]

[153]*uṣṣarrip ka*[*battašu*(?) …]
[154]*dimmašu ikta*[*li*(?) …]

[155]*maṣi bēlī* … […]
[156]*aḫulap temē*[*š* …]

[157]*tušāma zāmânû* […]
[158]*u mūdî alk*[*akāti* …]

[159]*abarša Ez*[*ida* …]
[160]*ragga lā i*[*šara* …]

[161]*el* … […]
[162]*minsu* … […] … […]

163 *ša raggi u* [	…	]
164 [*š*]*ūt*(?) *lumn*[*a*(?)	…	]

(manuscript A breaks off, approximately 7 lines missing)

173 *puṭur qunnabrašu*	*ḫipi illu*[*rtaš*(?)]
174 *ana danān iriyāti*	*bašim dūr*[*u*]

175 *ana kal māti ummāti ušaḫlâ manīt*[*u*]
176 *šēru rēṣūtīya šuršurrū ḫinzūri*
177 *meṣḫeru šīd*[*ītu*(?)] | *mārtu mār*[*u*]

178 *aḫrâtaš pisnuqiš*	*lallāriš udašš*[*ap*]
179 *alamittu uḫenša*	*daddariš mā*[*r*]
180 *arka tadmīqša damiq*	*per'u nuḫ*[*āš*(?)]

181 *û ina ligimîšu*	*immarḫā an*(*n*)*āt*[*ū*(*šu*)]
182 *ikušša ina rabêšū-ma*	*bilta u*[*tār*(?)]

183 [*m*]*ūṣu ša libbi urullātīšu*	*ikkib ilī kalāma ana nišī* … […]
184 *ašar eklet namrat*	*šēzuzu tayy*[*ār*]

185 *māru ašru sanqu*	*aḫammu zārâšu ika*[*rrab*]
186 *māru lā ašru lā sanqu*	*adi enêšu irrar b*[*ānīšu*(?)]

187 *tasanniq aradka*	*nappaša šup*[*te*]
188 *idi lētka*	*suḫḫira kiš*[*ādka*]

189 *Nabû tasanniq aradka*	*nappaša šu*[*pte*]
190 *idi lētka*	*suḫḫira kiš*[*ādka*]

191 *ulli ennessu*	*lamassa li*[*rši*]
192 *qibītukka damqātu*	… […] … […]

(ll. 193-9 missing)

200[…	*l]īpuš ganūnšu*
201[…	*l]īpuš simakšu*
202[… *šu]ssi*(?)	*lippaṭir zumuršu*
203[…	*li]mmir niṭilšu*
204[*būnūka namrūtu*	*lit]tarriṣā elīšu*
205[*rēm*(?) *aradka na]kruṭa*	*rišīšu tīrāna*
206[*Nabû*] *būnūka namrūtu*	*littarriṣū elīšu*
207[*r]ēm*(?) *aradka nakruṭa*	*rišīšu tīrāna*
208[*ḫalq]ātu*(?) *eqlētu*	*litūrā annummiš*
209[…] … *isqētu*	*likūnā ana šâšu*
210[*ina*(?) *š]ingi u ṣuṣê*	*lištēšer atmanšu*
211[*ina kibrāt er]bê*	*limmir nupāršu*
212[*aḫu]z qāssu*	*lištammar ilūtka*
213[*ana kal*] *dadmī*	*lištēpâ narbīka*
214[*Nabû*] *aḫuz qāssu*	*lištammar ilūtka*
215[*ana kal d]admī*	*lištēpâ narbīka*
216[*liq]e damāṣa*	*balāṣa u utnēnšu*
217[*kīma*(?) *qī]šāti*(?) *atnūš*	*likūn teslīssu*
218[*Ig]īgū gimrassunu*	*līḫuzū abbūssu*
219[*La]ḫmū iṣrassunu*(?)	*liqbû dumuqšu*
220[*bēlu in]a ilī*	*šurbû narbûka*
221[*nišū*(?) *t]anittaka*	*ušarriḫā ana ṣâti*

222[*Nabû ina il*]*ī*	*šurbû narbûka*
223[*nišū*(?) *tani*]*ttaka*	*ušarriḫā ana ṣâti*

224[	…	] … *lillipka*(?)
225[	…	*lišta*]*mmar*

(manuscript A breaks off; no colophon preserved)

Translation

(8 lines missing)

---

[9][O Lord …] who toss[es …]
[10][…] yo[ur] forgiveness […]

---

[11][O Nabû …] who tosses […]
[12][…] your forgiveness […]

---

[13][O Lord, who … the distres]sed like a […]
[14][…] … *bounded* [*by punishment*],

---

[15][O Nabû, who … the di]stressed like a […]
[16][…] … *bounded by punishment*.

---

[17][O Lord], your [ang]er is a [*lion-dragon*], your yoke is furious,
[18][You *provide* ab]undance, you release the bountiful produce.

---

[19][O Nabû], your anger is a [*lion-drago*]*n*, your yoke is furious,
[20][You *provide* ab]undance, you release the bountiful produce.

---

[21][O Lord, your *ro*]*ar* [is *Adad*], your ruthlessness is fire,
[22][… the g]ods, you behold Anšar.

---

[23][O Nabû, your *ro*]*ar* [is *Adad*], your ruthlessness is fire,
[24][… the g]ods, you behold Anšar.

---

[25][O Lord], your [gla]re is [a *serpent*], your frown a [dar]k cloud,
[26][You *make*] the just [*prosper*], [yo]u strengthen his foundations.

---

[27][O Nabû, your glare is a *serpent*], your frown a [dark clo]ud,
[28][You *make* the just *prosper*, you str]engthen his foundations.

---

[29][O Lord, …], your [char]ging is an earthquake,
[30][…], *who holds the family*.

---

[31][O Nabû, …], your charging is an earthquake,
[32][…], *who holds the family*.

---

[33][O Lord, …] … of the heavens,
[34][… *as the family circle*, who sup]plies the profit

---

[35][O Nabû, …] …, … of the heavens,
[36][…] *as the family circle*, who supplies the profit.

---

[37]O supreme L[ord], be appeased in an instant!
[38]May your [fac]e relent, have mercy.

---

[39]O supreme [Na]bû, be appeased in an instant!
[40]May your [face] relent, have mercy.

---

[41]O wise L[or]d, *mukkallu*-priest of *knowledge*,
[42]Of vast intelligence, who masters the scribal art.

---

[43]O wise Nabû, *mukkallu*-priest of *knowledge*,
[44]Of vast intelligence, who masters the scribal art.

---

[45]O raging Lord, you have become angry with your servant,
[46]Depletion and distress have come upon him.

---

[47]O raging Nabû, you have become angry with yo[ur] servant,
[48]Depletion and distress have come upon him.

---

[49]He is cast out into huge waves, so that the flood cras[hed] over him again and again,
[50]Far away from him is the shore, distant is the dry la[nd].

---

[51]He perishes in a web of deceptions, impossible to be cut.
[52]He lies in the marsh, he is stuck in the mire.

---

[53]Take his hand, may yo[ur] servant not be destroyed,
[54]Take away his punishment, raise him from the mar[sh]!

---

[55]O Nabû, take his hand, may yo[ur] servant not be destroyed,
[56][Ta]ke away his punishment, raise him from the ma[rsh]!

---

[57][L]ike a bull that is slaughtered with a butchering knife, he roars lo[udly],
[58]He is cast [in]to the jaws of a powerful force, and it *clo*[*ses tight around him*]

(end of A obv. i; ll. 59-75 lost or too fragmentary for translation)

[76]I am fallen, let me be carried, *let me be re*[*leased* …].

---

[77]Just as *pus* is removed, should I go ou[tside]?
[78]Like *the pollen of a date palm*, should I float around in the op[en country]?

---

[79]Yes, why has the one-handed man stepped [*on me*]?
[80]He cast sorrow, wailing [*and daze*] on me.

---

[81]O Lord, it is you, who called [*my name*],
[82]At your command, the womb … […].

---

[83]O Nabû, it is you, who you called [*my name*],
[84]At your command, the womb […].

---

[85]*From my father's 'yes'* *fr*[*om my mother's 'yes'*],
[86]*The 'yes!' of his forefathers*, *the* [*'yes' of his foremothers*],

---

[87]Not … […]
[88]He will sway, he will … […]

---

[89]O god, my father, the sick man extolled you over and over,
[90]Always, without cease, he attends to the (personal) goddess.

---

[91]O Lord, the one who is capable of *und*[*oing*] my sin!
[92]O forgiving one, *you can pardon* my [wick]ed crime!

---

[93]O [Nabû], the one who is capable of *und*[*oing*] my [si]n!
[94]O forg[iving one], *you can par*[*don* my wi]cked [crime]!

---

[95]With … […] … […]
[96]With […] … somebody […]

---

[97]I[n what respect has he been ne]gligent? Disregard [his] gui[lt]!
[98][*Whatever crime*] he has committed, drive away [*his*] *hea*[*rt*]*break*!

---

[99][Apart from y]ou, O Lord, there is no [mercy],
[100][With]out you, my sin (and) my punishment [will not be removed].

---

[101][Apart from y]ou, O Nabû, there i[s] no [mercy],
[102][With]out you, my sin (and) [my] punishment [will not be removed].

---

[103][You c]ast your servant out, you pushed (him) away
[104][*With*] your [*hand*] you throw down [your] sla[ve]!

---

[105][Like a wh]irlwind, the *Hallulāyu*-demon, the evil god you … […]
[106][…] … dirt, *his virility*: you observe … […]

---

[107][…] … he was silent, he takes […]
[108][…] *he mustered*, *he finished* […]

---

[109]His … […] *hid itself* the insides […]
[110][*His mind has become es*]*tranged* from him, he wanted […]

111[…] … was brought to an end … […]
112[…] … was loosened … […]

113His *tooth* […] … who slices the enemy,
114The headlice, h[is terro]r, has become burdensome for him,

---

115The sign of the [*šurdû*-dis]ease has flickered on (his) face,
116How long, a whole year, *does any evil last*?

117[Let me pr]aise the Lo[rd]: your anger is fu[ry],
118Your [aweso]meness […] to heaven fore[ver].

119[Let me praise Na]bû: your anger is fu[ry],
120Your aweso[meness …] to heaven fore[ver].

121[*The house of*] my [*famil*]*y* is well provided with clear beer, well provided with fine fl[our],
122[*The field*] of my fathers: (even) its waste ground is worth one talent of silver!

123[…] *the sealed document … the associates, continuously … may I establish …*
124[…] *may I send, may I provide for the* judge.

125[…] … the *rabble*, he overt[hrows] the enemies,
126[…] … he will not turn away, *he* will extirpate [my] slanderer.

127[…] … *they* recited against the will of the god,
128[…] … magnificent, *they denounce the cal*[*umnies*].

129[…] … *of my wealthy storehouse …insult.*
130[…] … of …

131[…] … a dwelling of abundanc[e],
132[…] … the binding,

133[…] … second, a dwelling of *de*[*light* …].

(ll. 134-9 lost or too fragmentary for translation)

140O Leader of the assembly … […]

141He asked *Anza*[*gar* …] | *did not* … […]
142Amna, through divinat[ion …]

143The Zaqiqu-spirit during the *ni*[*ght* …]
144The *locust* […]

145Ningunnu […]
146To daylight and night […]

147To arrive at … […]
148From the herd of Šak[kan …]

149His servant … […]
150His slave answe[rs …]

151He *mu*[*tters painfully and wails his woes to you*],
152With his he[art] *throbbing*, [*he burns for you*].

153[*His*] *ins*[*ides*] have been set ablaze, […]
154He dr[ied] his tears … […]

155It is enough, my Lord, […]
156Have Mercy, o Forg[iver! …]

157*As if it were the enemy* […]
158And he who knows the wa[ys …]

159Certainly Ez[ida …]
160The wicked, the *un*[*just* …]

[161]On … […]
[162]Why … […]

[163]Of the wicked and … […]
[164]Thos who […] evil […]

(manuscript A breaks off, approximately 7 lines missing)

[173]Loose his fetters, break [his] ma[nacle]!
[174]Against the hardship of cold wind, a w[all] is built,

[175]Upon the whole land a gentle bree[ze] *brings solace*,
[176]My morning aid, the fruits of the apple-tree,
[177]*youth* (*and*) *maid*[*en*] | daughter (and) so[n]

[178]With time, what (seemed) pitiable, he will swee[eten] like syrup,
[179]The early fruit of the date-palm is bit[ter] like stinkwort,
[180](But) later its fine date is good, the sprout is *lux*[*uriant*].

[181]The grain in its budding phase: [(*its*)] *ea*[*rs*] may rot,
[182]It lingers in its ripening, (but then) *b*[*rings* (*abundant*)] yield.

[183]The discharge of his foreskin is an abomination to all the gods and [*common*] to the people,
[184]Where it was dark, it will be bright, the raging one will be me[rciful],

[185]The obedient, disciplined son: his father giv[es] (him) a special blessing,
[186]The disobedient, undisciplined son: his *b*[*egetter*] curses (him) until he changes his ways.

[187]You test your servant: let a window o[pen] for him to breathe!
[188]Incline your face, turn yo[ur head] towards me!

[189]O Nabû, you test you servant:	let a window o[pen] for him to breathe!
[190]Incline your head,	turn yo[ur head] towards me!

[191]Remove his punishment!	May he ac[quire] health,
[192]At your command,	good … […] … […].

(ll. 193-9 missing)

[200][…	l]et him build his storeroom,
[201][…	l]et him build his sanctuary,

[202][…	… l]et his body be released,
[203][…	le]t the sight of his (eyes) be clear.

[204][May your radiant face	be tu]rned towards him,
[205][Have mercy on your servant,	have com]passion, have pity on him!

[206][O Nabû], may your radiant face	be turned towards him,
[207][Have mer]cy on you servant,	have compassion, have pity on him!

[208]May (his) [*uncultiv*]*ated* fields	be restored h[ere],
[209]May the […] fortunes	be firmly established for him.

[210][*In* the vil]lages and in the marshes,	may his sanctuary be in order,
[211][*In*] the four wo[rld regions],	may his heart become bright.

[212][Tak]e his hand,	so that he may he extol your divinity,
[213][To all] the inhabited regions of the world,	may he proclaim your greatness.

[214][O Nabû, tak]e his hand,	so that he may extol your divinity,
[215]To all the inhabited regions of the world,	may he proclaim your greatness.

[216][Acc]ept the prostrating,	the bowing and his prayer,
[217][like *donati*]*ons*, (take) his petition,	may his prayer become true.

218 May all the [Igigi g]ods take his side,
219 May the [*Laḫmu*-god]s, *their totality,* put in a good word for him.[61]

---

220 [O Lord amo]ng the gods your greatness is supreme,
221 [*The people*] *make* (lit. have made) magnificent your [pra]ise forever.

---

222 [O Nabû among the go]ds your greatness is supreme,
223 [*The people*] *make* (lit. have made) magnificent your [prais]e forever.

---

224 […] … *may he make prosper for you,*
225 [… may he glor]ify over ad over.

(Manuscript A breaks off; no colophon preserved)

61 Cf. The translation by Foster *apud* Rozzi 2022b: "May the very compass of the Laḫmu-gods speak in his favour".

2.6.2 Commentary

9/11 *sa-bi-ʾu*: the verb *sabāʾu* 'to toss, to bound' (*AHw* II 999; *CAD* S 2) is frequently associated with the tossing of the sea and with waves being agitated by storms or gods. The verb here seems to be a G-stem participle, probably to be taken as a divine attribute.[62] A poetic image connecting the god with massive waves can be supplied in this line, because it would match ll. 49-50, where the sufferer is said to be cast into the water and hit by waves. It is possible therefore that *sābiʾu* describes here the god churning and tossing like a threatening mass of water.

10/12 *nap-šur-ka*: an alternation between the two aspects of the god – his rage and his compassion – runs throughout the opening hymnic section (ll. 9-37). For this reason, we can hypothesise that *napšurka* was used to create an opposition between the god's anger – perhaps associated with the destructive power of floodwater in ll. 9/11 – and his mercy. Moreover, in *Marduk*2, ll. 80-1/82-3, we read:

> 81 *be-lu*$_4$ *ug-gu-uk-ka k*[*i*]*-i ga-pa-áš a-bu-*[*bi*]
> 82 [*ur-r*]*a nap-šur-ka še-z*[*u-z*]*u uš-pa-áš-ši*[*ḫ*]
> 81 Lord, your anger is [l]ike a massive delu[ge]
> 82 In the morning there is your forgiveness, the furious one relen[ts].[63]

A similar antithetic parallelism can be expected in the *Nabû Prayer*.[64]

14/16 The *caesura* prevents the reading *ú-sa-ḫir* suggested in the latest edition by von Soden.[65] The Ú sign does not seem to belong to the following word, as it is immediately followed by the metrical break.

---

62 Von Soden 1971, 62.

63 Translation by the Author and restoration from K.9917+K.17647, identified by Oshima as belonging to manuscript C of this text (see Oshima 2011, 88). He restores this line (2011, 229 and 245): [*ur-r*]*a nap-šur-ka še-z*[*u-z*]*u* [*m*]*u-ú-š*[*im*], and translates (246): "A day is your forgiveness, angry *by* night (i.e. a night is your anger)". However, the signs in the second half of the line suggested by Oshima do not fit the traces (photo collation, but cf. also the copy of the tablet recently published in George, Taniguchi 2019, 92, no. 104). Therefore, I offer the following restoration: [*ur-r*]*a nap-šur-ka še-z*[*u-z*]*u uš-pa-áš-ši*[*ḫ*]. Cf. also *Ludlul* I, l. 2: *e-ziz mu-ši mu-*˹*up*˺*-pa-šìr ur-r*[*i*], "raging at night, relenting at day", cf. George, Al-Rawi 1998, 92 and Oshima 2014, 78-9, 281.

64 For the classification of the various types of parallelism, see Bühlmann, Scherer 1994, 37-42; Wagner 2007, 15-16; Streck 2007, 170-5. Specifically for the definition of the antithetic parallelism, see Bühlmann, Scherer 1994, 40; Watson 1999, 170; Wagner 2007, 15-16; Berlin 1979, 13 and 1999, 154; Streck 2007, 171. I will discuss further the different types of parallelisms used in the *Nabû Prayer* and in the other *Great Hymns and Prayers* in chapter 5, § 5.2.4.1, where I provide examples of this literary device as it occurs in the compositions under study.

65 See von Soden 1971, 50.

The traces after *sa-ḫir* could be reconciled with *šèr-ti*. I suggest to take *sa-ḫir* as a stative, and read *saḫir šērta*, as referred to the sufferer, in the sense of being 'surrounded', 'bound' by the punishment.

17/19 [*ú*ʔ*-šum*ʔ*-gal*ʔ*-l*]*u uz-za-ka*: restored on the basis of *Marduk*2, l. 45: *ú-šum-gal-li uz-za-ka ta-kám-mi ṣe-e-ni*, "The *ušumgallu*-dragon is your rage, you overcome the malevolent".[66] The mythical dragon *ušumgallu*[67] is often used in reference to Marduk's anger, but is also an epithet of both Marduk and Nabû.[68] It occurs most often in Akkadian hymnic texts addressed to deities, but is also attested as an epithet of kings.[69]

18/20 These lines could represent another example of the *parallelismus membrorum* found so often in this prayer. A second person singular present tense verb (*tanaššar*), and its object (*ḫiṣbu*) are preserved after the break that occurs at the beginning of both lines, and right after the vertical line representing the *caesura*. The substantive *ḫegallu* ('abundance'), having a meaning very similar to that of *ḫiṣbu*, is preserved in the second hemistich. For this reason, a verb corresponding in meaning and form to *tanaššar* can be expected in the first hemistich as well. The result is a parallelism of the synonymous type.[70] *tu-da-áš-šá* would fit the given space. Indeed, a similar use of *dešû* is attested in other Akkadian prayers, see for example a *šuilla* prayer to *Marduk* (*Marduk*5), rev. 10: *mu-deš-šu-ú* ḪÉ.GÁL "The one who supplies abundance".[71] See *CAD* D 130 for other attestations. However, other verbs meaning 'you give, you provide, you bestow' and so forth are also possible, and another possible restoration could be, for instance, *tukammar*, from *kamāru* 'to heap up', also attested in similar contexts (cf. *CAD* K 114 mng. 4a, sub *kummuru*).

21/23 Restoration based on *Marduk*1, l. 87: ᵈIŠKUR *šá-gi-m*[*u*].[72] The substantive *šagīmu/šagimmu* (*AHw* II 1127; *CAD* Š/I 73, 'roar, cry') is mentioned in von Soden's study on the hymno-epic dialect[73] as an example of the high-register vocabulary that characterises this literary

66 Oshima 2011, 226, 242-3.

67 Landsberger 1934a, 55.

68 Tallqvist 1938, 34.

69 Cf. Seux 1967, 355; Oshima 2011, 314 and 335.

70 Cf. Bühlmann, Scherer 1994, 38-40; Watson 1999, 170; Wagner 2007, 16; Berlin 1979, 13-14 and 1999, 154-5; Streck 2007, 171. Cf. chapter 5, § 5.2.4.1.1.

71 Oshima 2011, 356-7. For a complete edition of this text see Mayer 1993, 313-37.

72 See Oshima 2011, 149, 162-3.

73 Von Soden 1933, 90-183.

style.[74] The same noun is also found in the *Prayer to Ištar*, l. 18: *šá-g*[*i*]-*muk*[75] (cf. the edition of this text in chapter 3).
The noun *girru* (fire) in the second half of the line is employed as a metaphor for the god's mercilessness. For this reason another natural phenomenon describing another aspect of the god can be expected in the first half of the line. In this way, the two nouns would form a chiastic structure within the line: the wind would parallel the fire, and the god's roar his ruthlessness. The line seems to display the structure AB||BA: ***ᵈiškur*** *šá-gim-mu-uk* || *la pa-du-uk* ***gir-ri***. This would be a 'synthetic' parallelism, in which the image expressed in the first part is amplified or completed in the second. In this case, we would have an amplification, describing two different aspects of the raging god – his roar and his ruthlessness.[76]
The restoration can be further corroborated by the common usage of the verb *šagāmu* as referred to Adad (for attestations see *CAD* Š/I 63-4).

23/25 For the restoration [*šibbu*(?) *a-ma*]-*ru-uk*, see *Marduk*1, ll. 5/7: *šá a-ma-ru-uk šib-bu ga-pa-áš a-bu-šin*.[77] Some scholars have read *a-ma-ru-uk* as a G-stem infinitive form of *amāru* 'to see', followed by the pronominal suffix for the second person singular,[78] whereas others[79] consider it to be a borrowing from Sumerian a-ma-ru, a-má-ru, a-má-ru$_{10}$, which corresponds to the Akkadian *abūbu* 'devastating flood' (*CAD* A/I 80), 'Sintflut, Wasserflut' (*AHw* I 8). The original Sumerian word passed into Akkadian directly as the rare noun *emaruk*(*ku*), taken by von Soden (*AHw* I 211) to refer to the mythological deluge-serpent ("Sintflutdrache"), but translated by Oshima and other scholars as an equivalent of *šibbu* and *abūbu*, therefore alluding more generally to a destructive rush of water (though the meaning 'flood-dragon' is not excluded).[80] Thus, Oshima bases his reading on the Sumerian antecedent, offering the following translation for ll. 5/7 of the *Marduk*1: "He who is the *deluge*, a *šibbu* dragon, a massive flood".[81] Given the learned and high-registered nature of the

74 Von Soden 1933, 168.

75 Lambert 1959-60, 50.

76 Bühlmann, Scherer 1994, 41; Streck 2007, 171.

77 Oshima 2011, 142, 158-9.

78 Lambert 1959-60, 55, translates it as "Your stare"; Mayer 1995, 172, offers: "Du, dessen Blicken eine šibbu-Schlange ist". *CAD* A/1, 93 sub *abušim*: "You, whose glance is a serpent, a massive…" See also Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 13 and 15: "[Who]se stare is a dragon, a flood overwhelming".

79 Oshima 2011, 171.

80 Oshima 2003, 110; 2011, 171-3.

81 Oshima 2011, 159.

Great Hymns and Prayers, it is not unlikely that in ll. 5/7 of *Marduk*1 both meanings, and indeed both interpretations of *a-ma-ru-uk* – be it G-stem infinitive of *amāru* with pronominal suffix or the Sumerian loan-word meaning 'Flood' or 'Flood-dragon' – are present as an intentional double entendre.[82]
Similarly, the restoration [*šibbu*(?) *a-ma*]-*ru-uk* in ll. 23/25 of the *Nabû Prayer* would allow a comparable pun, yet with a variation: here *a-ma-ru-uk*, if taken with the meaning of 'your glare', would pair with *ne-ke-el-mu-uk* 'your frown', in the second hemistich, thus creating a synonymous parallelism within the line. The resulting symmetry is both thematic and syntactic, involving the repetition of the same concept in both hemistichs, i.e. the threatening look in the eyes of Nabû, and of the same syntactic structure, i.e. a nominal phrase (substantive – substantive + pronominal suffix || substantive – substantive + pronominal suffix).
Furthermore, the usage of *amāruk* would allow a 'multi-layered' reading, as in *Marduk*1. Indeed, taking *a-ma-ru-uk* as 'your stare' is possible, because *amāruk* belongs to the same semantic field as *nekelmûk*, and would have the same syntactic function within the line. On the other hand, the allusion to the deluge or to the deluge-dragon suits the context as well, as 'the storm cloud' (*urpatu*) occurs in the next half of the line. The pair storm/flood is a common literary association in Mesopotamian literature, used to represent a devastating force in the description of, for instance, divine power, battles or catastrophes.[83]

26/28 As in ll. 18/20, a verbal form in the second-person singular seems likely, because it would parallel the same form in the second hemistich. I tentatively restore *tušteššer*, on the basis of l. 49 of *Marduk*2: *tu-uš-te-eš-šer i-šá-ra tu-šam-ṭa ra-ag-ga*, "You make the righteous man prosper, you diminish the malicious".[84] Cf. also the commentary on *Marduk*2, l. 44, which also shows the *-i* ending for the accusative *išara*: […] ˹*ma*˺-*lu-ú*: *tu-uš-te-šir i-šá-ri* [x x (x)], "[…] means 'to fill'. 'You make the righteous prosper' […]".[85]

82 Moreover, Goodnick Westenholz 1996, 197 fn. 57, quotes these lines of *Marduk*1 to observe the refined wordplay between the Sumerian etymology of Marduk's name and his personification as the flood. Lambert (*apud* Foster 2005, 682) had already suggested this explanation in relation to Marduk's prayer *BMS* 12, l. 7: "Deluge-weapon [hopeless] to combat, [whose onslaught] is furious". Here Lambert indicates a possible pun based on the exegesis of the name of Marduk, that was probably interpreted as the sum of the Sumerian word for deluge, a-ma-ru, and the word for 'weapon', tukul: the name would then be etymologised as (A)mar(u)tuku(l).

83 Cf. Goodnick Westenholz 1996, 197-8.

84 Oshima 2011, 226, 242-3.

85 Jiménez 2017, https://ccp.yale.edu/P461258.

[*t*]*u-ka-ni iš-di-šú*: the redundant vowel at the end of the verb could be the result of an 'enriched' *sandhi* spelling (CV-V structure).[86] However, it can also be an 'overhanging vowel', as suggested by von Soden in the previous edition of this text.[87] For a similar formulation cf. also l. 171 of the *Ištar Prayer*: *kib-su-uš du-un-ni-ni iš-du-uš k*[*in-ni*], "Strengthen his path, make his foundations st[able]!", *Marduk*2, l. 77: *issahhur-ma ša ušḫalṣû ukān išd*[*īšu*], "He turns towards the one, who …, he makes his foundations stable" (E. Jiménez forthcoming, personal communication), a literary hymn to Marduk, l. 14: *šá ki-i-ni pa-li-ḫi-ka tu-ka-an iš-di-*[*šu*], "(But) for the righteous, who reveres you, you strengthen his position",[88] and an acrostic hymn to Nabû, K.8204, l. 7': *ša*$_2$ *en-ši u dun-na-mi-i tu-kan i*[*š-di-šá*], "You strengthen the position of the weak and of the fool".[89] Cf. *CAD* I 237 sub *išdu*, 2.[90]

29/31 *e-de-ed-ka ri-bi*: K.11373, l. 1' preserves these signs. I understand *e-de-ed-ka* as an infinitive form of *edēdu* G 'to be/become pointed', with pronominal suffix; *ri-bi* could theoretically be *rību* I 'earthquake', *rību* II 'setting', *rību* III 'replacement', or even *rību* IV, a type of pot. Contextually 'earthquake'.
The phrase probably describes a divine quality, yet the metaphor expressed by it seems confusing, given the fact that an earthquake can hardly be comparable with the action of being or becoming pointed. This perplexing image can be clarified by comparison with *Ludlul* I, l. 19:

19 *id-du-ud-ma ri-ma-šu* (var.: -MU) *ú-gan-na* (var.: *-ni*)[91]

This line presents certain difficulties, and has been interpreted differently by various scholars. The verb *ú*-KAN-*na* is mostly analysed as *kannû* D 'to care for, to look after'.[92] Oshima,[93] however, reads *ú-gan-na*, taking this form as a third-person masculine singular from *gunnû*. The G-stem infinitive *genû* is attested in *Malku* IV 84, bearing the meaning of *nakāpu* 'to butt', and in *Malku* IV 86 the D-stem infinitive

86 Worthington 2012, 176.

87 Von Soden 1971, 62.

88 Mitto 2020, 256; cf. Jakob 2018, no. 13.

89 Strong 1895, 137.

90 Jiménez forthcoming.

91 Oshima 2014, 78 and 382.

92 Foster 2005, 395; George, Al-Rawi 1998, 195 and note to ll. 19-20; von Soden 1990, 115; Annus et al. 2010, 16.

93 Oshima 2014, 179-80.

gunnû is explained with *nukkupu*.[94] Piccin and Worthington,[95] too, follow this identification of the verb and translate *ú-gan-na* as 'he butts'. Different interpretations have been offered to explain *ri-ma-šu*/MU. George and Al-Rawi,[96] for example, suggest reading it as *ra'mu* 'beloved', a verbal adjective from *râmu* 'to love'. They translate the line as follows: "he hurries to treat his *darling* tenderly".[97] Piccin and Worthington, on the other hand, take *ri-ma*-MU as *ri-ma*-NÍŠ, postulating a syllabic value *niš*$_x$ for MU, derived from the equation m u = *nīšu* 'oath'. The final word, resulting from this 'Rebus-Schreibung', is then the expression *rimāniš* 'like a bull' (*AHw* II 985; *CAD* R 355),[98] a literary combination formed by the noun *rīmu* plus the adverbial suffix *-āniš* (see *GAG* § 67 c). The variant *ri-ma-šu* in the other manuscript is then a scribal mistake.[99]

Combining the readings *rīmāniš* and *ú*-GAN-*na* yields the final translation, with Piccin and Worthington, of the second hemistich as 'he butts like a bull'. The first hemistich, however, remains unexplained. The verbal form *id-du-ud-ma* has been mostly taken as deriving from *edēdu* G-stem, present, third person masculine singular, under the supposition that in this case the G-stem has the same meaning as the D-stem, 'to act quickly'. However, there are no attested cases of this meaning for *edēdu* G.

A different understanding of the verb is suggested by Oshima. He maintains the semantic distinction between the meaning of *edēdu* in the D- and G-stem, translating *id-du-ud* as "he becomes pointed". He adds, however, the additional (and otherwise unattested) semantic nuance of "becoming angry". Thus Oshima translates the line: "When he becomes pointed (i.e. becomes angry?) he butts his (var.: my) wild bull".[100] Piccin and Worthington are ambivalent about the D-stem/G-stem distinction, giving in their article two different translations of *id-du-ud-ma*: "He *hastens* to butt like a wild bull" (p. 115) and "He *looks sharp* and butts like a bull" (p. 122).

94 Hrůša 2010, 96-7, 243.

95 Piccin, Worthington 2015, 115.

96 George, Al-Rawi 1998, 195.

97 This reading has been accepted by Foster 2005, 395 ("He is impetuous to cherish the one he loves(?)") and Annus, Lenzi 2010, 16 ("He hastens to treat his beloved(?) kindly"). Von Soden 1990, 115, instead, takes this noun as *rēmu* 'womb' or 'pity, compassion', and translated: "Er eilt hin und pflegt ihren Mutterleib". A summary of other previous interpretations is offered in Oshima 2022, 47-9. In the same article, Oshima provides his own reading of *ri-ma*-MU, i.e. *ri-ma-šùm* for *rīmāšu*(*m*), where *-šu*(*m*) is understood as a terminative suffix. Oshima translates the form with "at a wild bull'.

98 Cf. also Mayer 1995, 170.

99 Already Foster 1981, 189, tentatively suggested this reading, though without providing an explanation.

100 Oshima 2014, 78.

Thus far, neither translation of *id-du-ud-ma* is satisfactory. It seems to me that *edēdu* in this context cannot simply mean 'to be or become pointy' or 'to hasten', but should instead express a nuance of greater violence – something equal to the aggressive movement described by *ú-gan-na* in the next half of the line. Moreover, most previous interpretations do not explain the usage of the same verb in the *Nabû Prayer*, in which the action warrants comparison with an earthquake. Foster's translation of *id-du-ud-ma* as "He charges forward (?)"[101] is an exception, though previously dismissed for lack of evidence.[102] The meaning of *edēdu* G-stem 'to charge', however, can now be corroborated by means of lexical lists. In Proto-*Izi* II 146 (MSL 13, 45) the Sumerian verb du_7-du_7 is glossed by the Gtn infinitive form of *edēdu*: du_7-$du_7^{a\text{-}ta\text{-}du\text{-}du}$. Since du_7 is equated, among other verbs, with *nakāpu* 'to butt',[103] one can assume that *edēdu* in Proto-*Izi* II 146 should have a similar meaning. Thus, *Ludlul* I, l. 19 can be translated: 'He charges forwards and butts like a bull'.
This interpretation also suits ll. 29/31 of the *Nabû Prayer*, in which an analogous use of *edēdu* as *verbum movendi*, and with the meaning 'to charge', can be suggested: in this way, *e-de-ed-ka* can be translated as 'your charging'. The metaphor probably depicts the god as a wild animal, likely a goring bull,[104] whose violent charge shakes the earth, thus producing the same effect as a powerful earthquake.

33/35 [… *ḫ*]*u-ḫu-um šá-ma-mi*: the first hemistich is lost, but a few signs are preserved after the break. The new fragment K.18434 confirms von Soden's reading *ḫu-ḫu-um*.[105] *ḫu-ḫu-um* seems to be an unknown word, but one would expect a noun in construct chain with *šamāmī*, perhaps an epithet of the god. This word is elsewhere unattested and its meaning remains obscure; compare, however, the term *gišhummu* 'bench', in *Malku* II 191, equated with *kippatu* 'circle'.[106]

101 Foster 1981, 189.

102 Moran 1983, 260.

103 See *CAD*/1 156-7 sub *nakāpu* A, lex. sec. The reduplication of the Sumerian verbal base expresses the iterative aspect corresponding to the Gtn-stem in Akkadian.

104 The bull was often used in similes and metaphors to represent an overpowering force. As Goodnick Westenholz points out, the wild bull used to symbolise "kinetic energy and power out of control" (Goodnick Westenholz 1996, 191). We can find this image for example in SB *Gilgameš* I, l. 30: *ri-i-mu mut-tak-pu* "butting wild bull" (George 2003, 538-9) or Tablet I, 212: *ù ki-⌜í⌝ rīmi*(AM) *ug-da-áš-šá-ru eli* (UGU) *eṭlūti* (GURUŠ.MEŠ), "and lords it over the menfolk like a wild bull" (550-1, cf. Goodnick Westenholz 1996, 192). The same association was used in reference to a king: *ri-mu-um ka-ad-ru-um mu-na-ak-ki-ip za-i-ri*, "goring bull, who attacks the enemies" CH col. iii, 8 (cf. Oshima 2014, 179).

105 See von Soden 1971, 50.

106 Hrůša 2010, 66-7, 219 and 347.

34/36 The visible traces before PAD can be reconciled with *ki-ma*. In his online edition, Lenzi (2021) reads SUR instead of PAD, providing the reading *sur-qin-ni*; the sign, however, seems more reconcilable with PAD. I tentatively read *pāṭ qinni*, in the sense of 'the family circle', although one would expect a spelling *pa-aṭ*. Nevertheless, one has to consider the possibility of a scribal mistake, as the scribe could have easily confused PAD and SUR. In that case, the reading offered by Lenzi would be possible. The reading remains uncertain. With respect to the second hemistich, von Soden reads NAG after *qin-ni*, providing the reconstruction *nag-mir iš-di-ḫu*.[107] The sign after NI, however, looks like KA, whence the reading *kāmir* 'provider'. The usual pair *be-lu* and ^{d}AG occurs in the couplet immediately following (ll. 37/39), therefore a different short appellative or epithet can be expected in the first half of ll. 34/36. An example of a tentative restoration could be *attā* because it would fit the available space in the break, expressing emphasis.

41/43 *muk-kal-li*: this substantive is attested in *Malku* IV 8-9, as a synonym of *apkallu* 'expert' (l. 8), *pašīšu* 'anointed' (l. 8a) and *āšipu* 'exorcist' (l. 9):[108]

8	*mu-kal-lu*$_4$	*ap-kal-lu*
8a	[*mu-kal-lu*$_4$]	[*p*]*a-ši-šu*
9	*mu-kal-lu*$_4$	*a-ši-pu*

Cf. also a 'Practical *Lú*-List' in MSL 12, 233, col. i 18: LÚ *mu-*⌜*kal*^{l}⌝*-lu*. It is generally translated as 'a priest or exorcist' (see *CAD* M/II 187; *AHw* II 670 offers: 'Ein Priester oder Gelehrter'). It comes from the Sumerian nun-gal, equated in *Lú* III 6'' to the word *apkallu* (MSL 12, 121). See also the group in *Erimḫuš* V 7-9: NUN$^{ab\text{-}gal}$.ME = *ap-kal-lum*, $^{i\text{-}ši\text{-}ib}$ME = *a-ši-pu*, ME^{MIN}-gal = *i-ši-gal-lu*$_4$ (MSL 17, 67). The same noun is also attested in a ritual text,[109] which, however, does not offer any further information about the specific role of the *mukkallu*-priest. *e-še-eš-tu*$_4$: this word is a *hapax*, and its exact meaning is obscure. It creates a wordplay with *a-ši-ši* in the succeeding lines (ll. 42/44), and could be a feminine nominal form derived from *ašāšu*/*ešēšu* (*AHw* I 79; *CAD* A/II 424-5) 'to catch'. It seems to be a PIRIST noun, possibly to be understood with a passive nuance, namely 'what is caught'. It is possible that this word yields a meaning corresponding to that of *iḫzu* 'knowledge', derived from *aḫāzu* 'to take', but also 'to understand, to learn' (*AHw* I 19; *CAD* A/I 177).

107 "Fülle auf den Gewinn!", cf. von Soden 1971, 50-1

108 Hrůša 2010, 92-3, 239, 379.

109 Falkenstein 1959, 40, l. 5'.

42/44 *rap-šá uz-ni*: this epithet is an example of the so-called *damqam-īnim* construction, i.e. a nominal construct chain formed by two components: an adjective or a substantive displaying the ending *-a*(*m*), and a noun, that can be either declined in the genitive or be in *status absolutus*. Our case represents the most common type of *D-ī.*, namely the compound that has an adjective as its first element.[110] This construction only occurs in literary texts, personal names or lexical lists, and is often attested in first-millennium Akkadian hymns in standard expressions, like: *našâ rēši* 'with the head held high', *rapša irti* 'strong'.[111]
a-ši-ši: I take *a-ši-ši* as a participle of *ašāšu* IV 'to catch' (*AHw* I 79; *CAD*/A II 424-5), in the broader sense of 'to gather', 'to collect'.[112] For this meaning of *ašāšu*, which is closer to the Sumerian u r$_4$ 'to gather', 'to collect', see the Commentary to *Theodicy* on l. 200: ˹*ka*˺-[*áš-šá*]-*a-tú*: *ḫa-am-ma-a-tú*: u r$_4$: *a-šá-šú*: u r$_4$: *ḫa-ma-mu* "'You embrace' means 'you encompass', (since) u r$_4$ means 'to catch' (and) u r$_4$ means 'to encompass'".[113]
šu-ka-a-mu: 'scribal skill' (*AHw* III 1202; *CAD* Š/III 213), cf. a *šuilla* prayer to Nabû (*Nabû Prayer* 4), l. 6: *er-šu pal-ku-ú ha-mi-im šu-ki-am-mu*, "wise, of wide knowledge, who masters the scribal art".[114] Another manuscript of the same prayer presents the variant *šu-ki-a-am*. Considering the two spellings *šu-ki-am-mu* and *šu-ki-a-am*, one could hypothesise a contraction of the diphthong and a development of *šukiāmu* into *šukâmu*.[115] The origin of this noun is unclear, but probably Semitic.[116] Cf. also *Theodicy*, l. 205, [… *ṭu*]*p-pa-ni ma-li šu-ka-mi*, "… tablets, filled with scribal skill".[117] See *CAD* Š/III 213 for more attestations of this noun.

45/47 *šal-ba-ba*: there are two meanings attested for this word (*AHw* II 1147; *CAD* Š/I 241). The first one is 'fierce', entered in AnŠ 44 as

110 Detailed studies on this topic have been offered various scholars, see for instance von Soden 1960, 163-71; Reiner 1966, 125-7; 1970, 274-303; 1984, 177-82; see also Wasserman 2003, 45-60, with further bibliography.

111 Groneberg 1987, 1: 89.

112 Cf. Lambert 1960, 303.

113 For the transliteration and translation of this line see the *Theodicy* Commentary edited online by Jiménez 2017b, at `https://ccp.yale.edu/P404917`. Cf. also Lambert 1960, 82; Oshima 2014, 454. For specific remarks on this line see Lambert 1960, 302.

114 Mayer 1990, 461.

115 Mayer 1990, 465. Cf. Beaulieu, Mayer 1997, 178.

116 For a more detailed discussion, see von Soden 1960, 166.

117 Translation by the Author. Cf. Oshima 2014, 160-1, 360.

a synonym of *qarrādu* 'warrior': *šal-ba-bu* = MIN(*qar-ra-du*).[118] The second meaning is 'wise', attested in the Commentary to *Theodicy*, l. 11': *šal-ba-ba* = *né-me-qa*.[119] See also Sm.463, rev. i 20' (CT 19, pl. 11): [n a m - k ù]- z u = *šal-ba-bu* 'wise = *šalbābu*' (Lanu B 20 according to *CAD* Š/1 241 *šalbābu* lex. sec.; restoration *ibid*.) The first meaning suits our line better, as *tassabus* 'you have become angry', follows in the second hemistich. However, it is quite possible that the scribe intentionally aimed to maintain ambiguity, especially when considering the preceding couplet in which the god is praised for his wisdom. This adjective is also found in *Marduk*1, ll. 192/4: *be-lu*$_4$ *šal-ba-bu li-nu-uḫ riš-tuk*, "May the furious Lord rest in your celebration".[120]

49/50 The same conventional image of the sufferer being cast into the flood can be found in *Marduk*2, l. 75: *šu-la-aš-šum-ma iš-tu* ŠÀ-*bi e-de-e ra-bu-t*[*e*] ZALÁG-[*k*]*a li-mur*, "Raise him from the midst of a massi[ve] flood, so that he can see [you]r light".[121] See, too, the restored passage in *Marduk*1, ll. 42/44 *qab-lu-uš ta-*⌜*ma-tú*⌝ *né-su*-[*ú na-ba-lu*], "in the midst of the seas, far away are [*the dry lands*]".[122]
In addition, another parallel is found in a penitential prayer to *Marduk*, l. 11: *ru-qa-an-ni* [*kib-ri*] *na-ba-lu né-sa-an-ni*, "[The beach] is far from me, the dry land is remote from me".[123]
This example confirms von Soden's hypothesis that interprets the pronominal suffixes in *ru-uq-šu* and *né-si-iš* (l. 50 of the *Nabû Prayer*) as accusatives of relation.[124]
e-liš can be interpreted as *elīšu* 'over him'. Von Soden suggests that the final vowel could have been dropped due to the following *i*-vowel in *itta*[*kkip*].[125]

51 Contrary to what was suggested by von Soden, I read *a-na pa-ra-aʾ-a le-e-mu*, and not *a-na pa-ra-aʾ a-le-e-mu*. I take *le-e-mu* as *lēmu*, which occurs in the lexical lists as *le-e-mu* and *le-em-ma*: *Erimḫuš* IV 95 (146): n u - š e = *le-e-mu* 'to disagree = he is unwilling' (MSL 17, 61); *Malku* V 154: *le-em-ma* = *la ma-ga-ru* 'he is unwilling =

118 Hrůša, Weiershäuser 2020, 214. Cf. also see *LTBA* II, 2, obv. i 44.

119 See Jiménez 2017b at https://ccp.yale.edu/P404917; cf. Lambert 1960, 82 and Oshima 2014, 455.

120 Oshima 2011, 168-9; cf. note for these lines, 189.

121 Translation by the Author. Cf. Oshima 2011, 244-5 and 75.

122 Oshima 2011, 160-1.

123 Van der Toorn 1985, 141 and 143; von Soden 1987, 71. Cf. Jaques 2015, 257.

124 Von Soden 1961, 156-62; 1971, 63.

125 Von Soden 1971, 63. Cf. Groneberg 1987, 1: 127.

not to approve'.[126] The word *lēmu* has led to different interpretations: *CAD* lists it under *lemû* (*lēmu*, *lemmu*) (*CAD* L 125-6), and analyses it as an adjectival form possibly derived from a defective verb *lemû*, exclusively attested in the stative (cf. *AHw* II 543 'Ungehorsamer').[127] According to Veenhof, however, *lēmu* is to be connected with the verb *mu'ā'u* 'to want', and is the compound of a finite form of this verb and the negative particle *lā*.[128] Veenhof suggests that the resulting word be treated as a 'pseudo-stative'. He explains the form *lemma* (see *CAD* L 126a) as *lēm* + vowel, namely a spelling variant of *lemmu*.
A passage in the *Gilgameš* Epic (SB IX, ll. 173-4) can clarify the grammatical category of *le-e-mu* in the *Nabû Prayer*:

173 *sāmtu*(na4GUG) *na-šá-at i-ni-ib-šá*
174 *is-ḫu-un-na-tu*$_4$ *ul-lu-la-at ana da-ga-la ḫi-pat*

173 A cornelian (tree) was in fruit,
174 Hung with bunches of grapes, lovely to behold.[129]

The syntactic structure of these lines corresponds to that of l. 51 in the *Nabû Prayer*, thus proving that *le-e-mu* within the present context must be taken as a stative, probably referring to *qû* (the web) – which is 'unwilling', that is, difficult to cut; *a-na pa-ra-a'-a* must be interpreted as *ana parā'i*.

52 The literary motif of the supplicant stuck in the swamp can be found also, for example, in the *diĝiršadabba* prayer no. 9, l. 27'-28': GIM *a-ri-id ap-pa-ri ina ru-šum-d*[*e*]-⌜*e*⌝ *na-da-ku*, "like one who goes down in the marshes, I have fallen in the mud",[130] in an Akkadian prayer to *Marduk*: *ki-i* GUD.MEŠ *na-da-ku ina ru-šu-un-tam-m*[*a*], "like oxen, I was cast into mud",[131] and in a *eršaḫuĝa* prayer: *i-na me-e ru-šum-di na-di qa-as-su ṣa-bat*, "he was cast into the mud, take his hand!".[132] The morass mentioned in these examples is to be interpreted as a metaphor for the underworld, which is often described as a mire in

126 Hrůša 2010, 118-19, 404.

127 See the remarks in *CAD* L 126. Cf. Hrůša 2010, 257-8.

128 Veenhof 1986, 241.

129 George 2003, 672-3. My thanks to I. Hrůša who kindly pointed out these lines to me.

130 Lambert 1974, 278-9, l. 100; cf. also Jacques 2015, 77, 100. Cf. Oshima 2011, 280, note to l. 15'.

131 Oshima 2011, 278-9, l. 15'

132 See Maul 1988, 240 and 243, l. 38 (rev.); cf. Van der Toorn 1985, 190 fn. 149.

the ancient near Eastern literary tradition.[133] Incidentally, we note that ll. 51-2 form a synthetic parallelism that pairs the metaphorical web (*qé-e šib-qi* 'a web of deception') and the marsh, both trapping the sufferer.

54/56 [*š*]*u-ut-bi šèr-tuš šu-liš ina na-ri-i*[*ṭ-ṭu*]: *Marduk*1, l. 154 has a similar passage: *šu-ut-bi-ma šer-tuk-ka ina na-ri-ṭi eṭ-ra-ás-sú*, "Remove your punishment, and from the morass, save him".[134]

58 [*in*]*a pi-i le-ʾu-ú da-ab-ru na-di-ma*: von Soden[135] hypothesises that *le-ʾu-ú da-ab-ru* might be some sort of demon, but the expression remains obscure. Similar expressions are found in *Marduk*1, ll. 13/15: *ti-de ina pi-i šèr-ti pa-na ba-ba-la*, "You know (how) to forgive in the *mouth* of punishment", and l. 153: *ina pi-i ka-ra-še-e na-di* ìR-*ka*, "Your slave is cast in the *mouth* of annihilation",[136] and in the *Prayer to Ištar*, l. 173: *pa-iš ka-ra-ši pi-di-šú*, "Save him from the mouth of annihilation".[137] While *ina pī šerti* is generally understood in a prepositional sense, and thus translated 'in the face of sin/guilt', the expression *ina pī karašê* has been taken as a metaphor for the open grave.[138] Due to the breaking, it is unclear whether the formulation in our line should be interpreted in a similar sense, that is to say metaphorically, or in a concrete sense – i.e. indicating the mouth of a demon or the like.
I have tentatively restored *ugann*[*an*] at the end of the line, from *kanānu*/*ganānu* 'to encircle' (*AHw* I 280; *CAD* G 40).

77 *na-ak-mi*: the precise meaning of this noun is uncertain; von Soden considers *nakmu,* and its variant *nakimtu,* as a verbal adjective from the root **nkm*, translating it as 'aufgehäuft' (*AHw* II 722 *nakmu* I; *CAD* N/I 189).With regard to the attestation of this term in our *Nabû Prayer,* von Soden proposes to take *nakmu* as some sort of disease ('etwas Krankhaftes am Leibe', *AHw* II 723 *nakmu* I, 2), and translates "das Ausgesammelte".[139] Farber, instead, considers *nakmu* and *nakimtu* as two variants meaning 'pus' or 'abscess', emphasising the frequent use of both nouns in connection with the verb *waṣû* in

133 Watson 1999, 187. Cf. Van der Toorn 1985, 65.

134 Oshima 2011, 166-7, 187; cf. Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 12 and 15.

135 Von Soden 1971, 64.

136 Oshima 2011, 166 e 186;

137 Lambert 1959-60, 53. Cf. chapter 3.

138 For a more detailed study on this expression see Oshima 2001, 14-19.

139 Von Soden 1971, 46, 77.

the Š-stem 'to release'. He translates *nakmu* as 'Angespeichertes'.[140] Cf. also *Malku* VIII 38: ˹*na*˺-AK-*ma* ˹*i-ni*˺ = *ṣu-uḫ-ḫ*[*u-tú*] "*Person mit einem bestimmten Augendefekt* = ausgepresst (= mit hervortretenden Augen?).[141] I follow this second interpretation.
a-[*ḫi-ta*]: the restoration fits the traces and provides a parallelism with *ina ka*[*mâti*] 'in the open country', in the next line.

78 *tal-tal-ti*: this *hapax* has been interpreted by von Soden as a loanword from the Targumic Aramaic *ṭlṭwl* 'migration, exile', derived from the root *ṭlṭl* 'to move, to shake'. Hence, von Soden suggests an Akkadian hapax *ṭalṭaltu*, taking it as a foreign word meaning 'homeless' (cf. *AHw* III 1379, 'Heimatlose'; *CAD* Ṭ 45, 'fugitive woman').[142] The etymology is, however, uncertain, and von Soden's interpretation can now be dismissed by a parallel passage, in which the same simile occurs. The fragment K.4953 (*eBL* transliteration), ll. 14-15 reads: x [(x)] ˹t a l˺-t a l-g i n$_7$ b a r-b a r-r a-t[a …-d a g-d a g] || [x (x) *ki-m*]*a* ˹*tal*˺-*tal-ti ina ka-ma*-[*a-ti it-ta-nam-gi-iš*? (…)]. The Sumerian term [(x)]-t a l-t a l implies that the Akkadian word meant here is a feminine form of *taltallu*, var. *taltallû*, namely the '(male) inflorescence of the date palm' (*AHw* III 1312; *CAD* T 104). This simile likely refers to the pollen being dispersed (*nagāšu* Gtn) and carried by the wind.[143] Such a hapax seems not improbable in our text, and could confirm the reading of similarly learned and rare words, such as *šīd*[*ītu*] in l. 176b.
The motif of the supplicant wandering around is well attested in literary texts. Often used to describe the suffering of the supplicant, this topos implies the abandonment from the gods, and a feeling of loneliness and despair.[144] See for example *Ludlul* I, ll. 49-50: *iš-šak-na-nim-ma i-da-at pi-rit-ti uš-te-ṣi* É-*ya ka-ma-a-ti ar-pu-*˹*ud*˺, "Fearful omens beset me, I am got out of my house and wander outside".[145]

79 *a-mu-ú i-zi-za*: for the meaning of *amû* 'einhändig', see *AHw* I 45b;[146] we note here the stereotypical motif of the supplicant complaining about being surpassed by weak or disabled individuals, also

140 Farber 1977, 83-5.

141 Hrůša 2010, 141, 273 and 423.

142 Cf. also Abraham, Sokoloff 2011, 55; Cohen, Klein 2014, 117-19.

143 I am grateful to Enrique Jiménez who pointed out this parallel to me and suggested this interpretation.

144 Cf. Barré 2001 for the usage of this topos in literary texts and even in letters to express despair. Cf. Rozzi 2019, 187.

145 The latest edition of *Ludlul* is by Oshima 2014; the translation used here is that of Lambert 1960, 33.

146 Von Soden 1971, 65.

attested for example in the *Theodicy*, l. 76: *il-an-nu ku-uṣ-ṣu-du pa-na-an-ni lil-li*, "A cripple surpasses me, a lunatic outstrips me",[147] and in a *šuilla* prayer to Ištar (no. 2), ll. 59-61: *a-di ma-ti* ^{d}GAŠAN-MU *lil-lu a-ku-ú i-ba-aʾ-an-ni*, "How long, my mistress, will imbeciles and weaklings surpass me?".[148]

80 *ni-is-sa-t*[u_4 *u kūru*(?)]: these two nouns are frequently found in penitential prayers.
They belong to the standard repertoire of expressions used in prayers to describe the difficult condition of the supplicant and form a fixed pair.[149] See for example a restored line in *Marduk*1, l. 124: [ ] x x *ni-is-sa-ta ù k*[*u-ri*], "[…] … wailing and daze";[150] a *šuilla* prayer to Nabû (no. 4), l. 12 (obv.): *ina ku-ú-ru u ni-*[*is-sa-ti* x x x *l*]*a-a-ni*, "With wailing and da[ze] … my [fig]ure";[151] a prayer to Šamaš (no. 18), l. 19, obv.: *i-na ku-ú-ri u ni-is-sa-ti ra-ma-ni ú-tan-niš*, "I have become weak for depression and wailing"[152] and also the *Theodicy*, l. 30: *ku-ù-ru u ni-is-sa-tu*$_4$ *ú-qát-ti-ru zi-mu-*[*ú-a*], "Depression and grief have blackened [my] appearance".[153] *kūru* and *nissatu* often occur in parallelism with *qūlu* 'silence, stupor' (see *CAD* Q 304).[154]

82/84 *qi-bi-tuk-ka*: this form is an example of the locative-adverbial case, a typical feature of the hymno-epic dialect.
šà-sur-ra: this word indicates the womb or the midwife but can be also a personification of the mother goddess. It is translated more generally as 'mother'; see *Malku* I 122-4: *ba-an-tu*, *a-ga-ri-in-nu*, *šá-*⌜*as*⌝*-su-ru* = *um-mu*[155] and *Antagal* B 85-8, where *šassurru* appears as an equivalent of the Sumerian a b - s í n ('furrow') and is listed in a group with *ummu*, *bāntu* and *agarinnu* (MSL 17, 192). This noun is also found in *Marduk*1, l. 103 *i-na bi-na-at šá-sur-*[*r*]*i*ʾ, "Among the creations of the womb/mother goddess",[156] cf. in *Theodicy*, l. 130 [*u*]*p-te-eḫ-ḫir šà-s*[*ur* …] (note that the other MS employs the divine determinative

147 Cf. Lambert 1960, 76-7; Oshima 2014, 154-5 and 448. I base the translation on l. 28 of the *Theodicy* Commentary, see Jiménez 2017b.

148 The latest edition is by Zgoll 2003, 42-59. The translation here is that offered by Foster 2005, 603.

149 Mayer 1976, 83.

150 Oshima 2011, 164.

151 Mayer 1976, 477.

152 Schollmeyer 1912, 97-8.

153 Oshima 2014, 150-1.

154 Cf. also Oshima 2014, 351.

155 Hrůša 2010, 310-11, 204.

156 Cf. Oshima 2011, 164 and 182-3.

before the word: [*up-ta*]*ḫ-ḫir* ^{d}*šà*-[*sur* …]), "The midwife is convened [at the bed of the woman in labor]" and l. 150 [*ib-bat-ta*]*q-ma šá-sur-ra* […], "The midwife cut [the umbilical cord …]".[157]
The end of the line is broken and makes it difficult to ascertain whether the word *šassūru* in the present context significates 'womb' or 'midwife'. The lack of a divine determinative might suggest that a personification of the mother goddess can be excluded, although, as can be seen in the above-mentioned passage in *Theodicy* (l. 130), the usage of the determinative sign seems quite flexible. In any case, the overall meaning of the line is clear: the god is the one who determines the birth of the child, who can be brought out of the womb only at the divine's command. For other attestations of *šassūru* in similar contexts, see *CAD* Š/II 146, meaning b.[158]
The visible sign before the break looks like Ú, and not GA, as read by von Soden[159] Several verbs meaning 'to create', 'to fashion' or to 'draw forth', 'take out' could be possible. Cf. the translation by Foster, *apud* Rozzi 2022b: "At your command the midwife [drew me out?]".

85-6 I follow here the interpretation offered by Foster (*apud* Rozzi 2022b), which takes *an-nam* at the beginning of l. 85 as *anna* 'yes' (*AHw* I 52; *CAD* A/2 125), and understands the line as a reference to the recognition of the child on the part of the father.[160] Cf. also the note on this line in Foster 2005, 623. The following line (86) seems to further develop this concept, extending it to the forefathers (*abbūšu*). This parallel couplet might express what follows the birth of the child, mentioned in the lines immediately preceding. The traces before the break in l. 85 are too poorly preserved to allow a reconstruction.

89-90 *i-la a-bi-i*: it is understood here as *ila abī* 'God, my father'. If the interpretation is correct, *ila abī* designates the personal god, commonly defined as 'father' or as 'god of the father' in Mesopotamian prayers and letter-prayers.[161] Cf. for instance an Old Babylonian letter-prayer, which opens as follows: ^{1}*a-na* DINGIR *a-bi-ya* ^{2}*qí-bi-ma*,

157 I follow here Heinrich 2022; cf. Oshima 2014, 156-7 and 456; Lambert 1960, 76-7.

158 Cf. also Ps. 22:9: "Yet you brought me out of the womb; you made me trust in you, even at my mother's breast", and Ps. 139:13: "For you created my inmost being; you knit me together in my mother's womb", translation taken from the Holy Bible, New International Version, 2011.

159 Von Soden 1971, 52.

160 "From my father's 'It's my child!' […] | "The 'It's my child!' of his ancestors", see Foster *apud* Rozzi 2022b.

161 See Streck 2003, 425; cf. Steinert 2012, 127. For the concept of personal gods as parental figures, see Bosworth 2015.

"Speak to the god, my father".[162] The personal god in this verse parallels with *ištarāniš* in the following line (l. 90). The plene writing in *a-bi-i* is, however, problematic and the reading remains uncertain.[163] The traces at the end of the line are compatible with *ištammar*, taken here as Gtn preterite of *šamārum* 'to praise', which parallels the present *iqâl* at the end of l. 90. In Akkadian literary texts, it is not uncommon to find a preterite followed by a present. In such contexts, the verbal form in the present usually expresses a durative action in the past, and may convey the idea of repetition.[164] In this case, indeed, the present *iqâl* is used to express the repetition of an action that took place in the past, cf. Foster's translation of l. 90 (*apud* Rozzi 2022b): "He unceasingly heeded (his) goddess".

91/93 *ti-le-é-a-um*: archaising writing for *tele'û* 'capable' (*AHw* III 1344; *CAD* T 327-8). The aleph sign is expressed through the sign A. Cf. also *rē'û* 'shepherd', occasionally spelled as *re-é-a-um* (*ASyll.*[4], 12*, 174c; cf. *AHw* II 976; *CAD* R 300).[165] The same spelling with A is attested in a Late Babylonian Manuscript of *Marduk*'s Address to the Demons (KAL 9, 35 A 8),[166] see *eSAD* s.v. "tele'û".[167]
pa-ṭar: the traces after PA are barely visibile, but there is space for one, perhaps two signs. I suggest to read TAR, and to restore the infinitive form *paṭāra*, cf. a similar line in *Marduk*1: *ti-di ina pi-i šèr-ti pa-na ba-ba-la* | *pa-ṭa-ra en-net-ta ina šap-šá-qi*, "[You kno]w how, in punishment, to extend forgiveness, [To absol]ve sin when in sorrow".[168] The state of preservation is, however, so poor, that the restoration remains uncertain. Cf. von Soden's restoration in his edition *pa-sat* (1971, 52-3, "meine Sünde ist ge[tilgt]"). However, this reconstruction does not appear to be appropriate for this particular section of the prayer. Here, the sufferer's lament is conveyed through supplication and cries for forgiveness, that is to say, his sin has not been forgiven yet.

162 Stol 1981, 88-9, no. 141.

163 On cases of plene spelling in Akkadian hymns, see Pohl 2022, 26-30, where cases of plene writings in Old Babylonian hymns are discussed, and interpreted as possible indications of musical performance. In the *Nabû Prayer* under study, however, there are no other attestations of similar spellings (case of overhanging vowels cannot be taken into account, since they are most probably late orthographic conventions and not linguistic features), and *a-bi-i* could thus be an isolated erroneous writing.

164 See Streck 1995, in particular 46-7.

165 See von Soden 1971, 65.

166 Jakob 2018, 75.

167 Streck et al. `https://altorient.gko.uni-leipzig.de/etymd.html`.

168 Oshima 2011, 148, 162-3.

92/94 The final visible sign appears to be TI, but the subsequent sign is uncertain. The reading proposed by von Soden in his edition, *an-nat* seems unlikely because the traces prior to the break are not consistent with KUR. They could be reconciled with GI.

97 Tentative restoration based on the *Ištar Prayer*, l. 168 *ana mi-na im-ku-ú tu-am-mé-šú an-n*[*a*ʾ-*šú*ʾ], "In what respect has he been negligent? *You can disregard his sin*".[169]

98 I owe the reconstruction of this line to E. Jiménez (private communication). [*mimma*(?) *mala*(?)] *i-še-ṭu*$_4$: in his edition, von Soden read […]-*i še-tum*, but a verbal form in the subjunctive seems more likely, as it would parallel *im*]*kû* in the preceding line. *ḫi-*⌜*ip*ʾ⌝ *libbi*: there are some visible traces after ḪI that can be reconciled with IP (*pace* von soden, who read *uk-kiš ḫi-*[*ṭi-su*]). On the illness of *hīp libbi*, interpreted by scholars as 'heartbreak' or depression, see Van Buylaere 2020, 204-7 with previous literature.

100/102 [*ina b*]*a-lu-uk*: I follow von Soden[170] in this restoration. The preposition *ina* would be pleonastic, as *baluk* is another example of the locative-adverbial ending followed by the shortened form of the pronominal suffix. However, such a pleonastic usage of the prepositions *ina* or *ana* with the locative case is often attested in Old Babylonian sources.[171]

103 [*tu-še*]-*ṣa-am-ma*: I owe this restoration to T. Mitto (private communication). The space at the beginning of the line suggests that three signs can be restored in the break; the last one, still partially visible, ends with four vertical wedges, and can be *ZA*. Compare the different interpretation provided by Mayer, who reads a broken UN, and reconstructs [*tēnu*]*n*,[172] preterite from *enēnu* (verbal root i/u), which is entered in *AHw* as *enēnu* II 'bestrafen' and III 'sündigen' (*AHw* I 217b and III 1553b), and in *CAD* E 194 as *enēnu* B 'to punish'. Mayer, however, provides a different translation of this verb, namely 'to rage', 'to let one feel one's wrath', taking *enēnu* as a synonym of other, more common intransitive verbs for 'to be furious' as *kamālu, agāgu* and *šalbāsu*.[173] *enēnu* often occurs in prayers and literary texts, see for example a *šuilla* prayer to *Marduk* (*Marduk*5), l. 41:

169 Translation, reading and restoration by the Author. Cf. Lambert 1959-60, 52.

170 Von Soden 1971, 57-8.

171 Mayer 1996, 434; *GAG* § 66, c.

172 Mayer 1993, 233 fn. 11.

173 Mayer 1993, 232-3 and 2016, 205-6.

šá i-nu-nu-šú DINGIR-*šú*, "He, whose god has let him feel his wrath", or *Ludlul* I, l. 41: *ištu ūm*(*i*) *bēlī i-ni-na-an-ni*, "On the day when my lord let me feel his wrath". The substantive *ennettu* is likely to be derived from this verb (see below the note on l. 103).
The sign before the break in the second hemistich shows two clear horizontal wedges, but the state of preservation of the tablet in this spot is too poor to allow a clear identification of the sign. Possible candidates for restoration are NAP, KIP or GU. I restore *tassakip* on the basis of *Marduk*1, ll. 41/43: *bēlu/Marduk uggukka tassakip aradka*.[174]

104 [*i-na*ʾ *r*]*it*ʾ*-ti-ka ta-at-ta-di du-u*[*š*ʾ*-ma*ʾ*-ka*ʾ]: the first part of the line is partially broken, but the partly visible sign at the beginning can be *rid/t*. I suggest restoring *dušmâka* at the end of the line, because it would parallel *aradka* in the immediately preceding line. The resulting couplet (ll. 103-4) then forms a synthetic parallelism, amplifying the previous image, and depicting the angry god who does not forgive the penitent, but keeps rejecting him.
The learned noun *dušmû* also appears in l. 149. It is attested – together with its feminine form *dušmētu* – in *Malku* I 177-8 as a synonym of the more common *ardu*.[175]

105 *a*ʾ*-šam*ʾ]-⌜*šá*⌝*-niš ḫal-lu-la-a-a*: there is space for one or at most two signs before *šá*. I restore the rare adverbial form *ašamšāniš* (*AHw* I 78; *CAD* A/2 411),[176] meaning 'like a storm', based on the first entry of the *Tašrītu* Hemerology, where the Hallulāja demon is attested together with the word *ašamšūtu* (*AHw* I 78; *CAD* A/2 411-13), a dust storm: U_4 1.KÁM ^{im}*a-šam-šu-ta ina* EDIN *la ú-ma-ḫar ḫa-lu-li-ia i-ḫar-šu*, "On the 1st (of *Tašrītu*), he should not face a dust devil in the desert, lest Ḫallulāya marry him".[177]
The ḫallulāja demon and *ilu lemnu* occur together also in *Erimḫuš* I 213-16 (MSL 17, 19):

[213]máškim$_2$ ĝi$_6$ lu$_2$ ḫar-ra-an = *ḫal-lu-la-a-a*
[214]máškim$_2$ gi$_4$ a-ri-a = *šá-niš* MIN
[215]diĝir ki-šu-tag-ga nu-tuku = DINGIR *lem-nu*
[216]diĝir [zà]-ĝar-ra = DINGIR *šá šu-ut-ti*

174 Oshima 2011, 146, 160-1, in which, however, this line is reconstructed differently. I owe this reconstruction to Enrique Jiménez (personal communication), who showed me his forthcoming edition of *Marduk*1.

175 Hrůša 2010, 313-14; cf. Lambert 1968, 130 and Caplice 1974, 349.

176 I owe this restoration to Aino Hätinen, who pointed out the line in the hemerology to me.

177 Jiménez 2018a, 323, with previous references.

As can be seen from the lexical excerpt cited above, it would be naturally tempting to seek a correspondence in the adverb *šanîš* attested in *Erimḫuš* I 214,[178] and speculate that the scribe of the *Nabû Prayer* could have misinterpreted the lexical source, taking *šá-niš* not as a gloss, but as part of the name of the *ḫallulāyu*-demon mentioned in the list. However, the fragmentary nature of our verse prevents a definitive solution and calls for caution. An integration with *ašamšāniš* or a similar adverb seems more plausible. In any case, the sequence of the two demons, attested one after the other in *Erimḫuš* as well, could suggest a relationship between the two sources.
While the term *ḫal-lu-la-a-a* can generally indicate the name of an insect,[179] the parallel with the lexical text – which clearly lists four demonic beings – proves that in our context *ḫal-lu-la-a-a* denotes the *ḫallulāyu*-demon, a female demon that enters houses and frightens young brides.[180] The spelling A-A found in *ḫal-lu-la-a-a* can be used in Akkadian to express the diphthong *ay-/ayy-* or *āy-/āyy-* with any following vowel.[181] In this case, this spelling could express the form *ḫallulāyu*, *ḫallulāya* or *ḫallulāyy.*
The last clearly visible sign of the line is TA, hence a second person singular verbal form may be expected. Since *ta-bar-ri* occurs in the succeeding line (106), we assume that a verb meaning 'to look at', 'to inspect' was used in l. 107 too. Nevertheless, the end of the line is too damaged to allow a restoration.

106 The interpretation of the line follows a suggestion by Enrique Jiménez (personal communication). If read correctly, the form *la-ga-mi* is derived from *lagāʾu* 'dirt' (*AHw* II 527; *CAD* L 37). For the shift of /ʾ/ to /m/, probably to be interpreted as a hypercorrection, see Jiménez 2017, 279 with previous literature. However, it is difficult to determine whether the final vowel in *la-ga-mi* is to be taken as an indication of a first-person singular suffix ('my dirt') or represents instead another example of erratic case ending. Considering that the preceding and succeeding verses include only third person singular forms, a first person form seems unlikely here, and *la-ga-mi* could be understood perhaps as *lagāʾa*, that is, accusative without suffix. Nevertheless, the poor state of preservation of the line prevents from

178 The use of *šá-niš* for the adverb *šanîš* 'again', 'similarly', is attested four times within the preserved manuscripts of *Erimḫuš*, and always introduces the sign MIN, indicating the exact repetition of the Akkadian entry occurring in the preceding line. For the use of *šanîš* in lexical lists, see Hrůša, Weiershäuser 2020, 9-10.

179 The term has been translated differently: Landsberger 1934a, 135, takes it as the mole cricket, Ebeling 1937, 69, thinks instead of an ant-lion, and finally Farber 1987, 102-3, suggests translating it as "Scolopender" (cf. also Weiershäuser, Hrůša 2018, 166).

180 Farber 1987, 103. See also *CAD* Ḫ 36 for the attestations of *ḫ.* as a demon.

181 Mayer 2003, 303; *GAG* § 22b.

a clear understanding, and the form remains uncertain. The term *du-tuš*, if correctly read, is derived from *dūtu* 'manliness', and seems to display what has been defined by Mayer a pseudo-adverbial locative ("Pseudo-Lokativadverbialis"), followed by the apocopated pronominal suffix. Indeed, considering the verb immediately following (*tabarri*), *dūtuš* might serve as an accusative.[182] Despite being severely damaged, the verse seems to display the theme of the loss of sexual potency, a common symptom of suffering in the Akkadian prayers. This motif can be found within the corpus under consideration as well, see e.g. the *Ištar Prayer* edited in the present study (l. 165). A similar passage occurs also in *Ludlul*, e.g. I, l. 47: [*i*]*n-né-ṭir ba-al-ti du-ú-tú ú-tam-mi*[*l*], "My vigor was taken away, my manliness lost self-confidence".[183]

109 The verbal form *ir-ra-qu* might be an irregular form from *raqû*, present N-stem; *kab-*˹*ta-ta*˺ is a poetical variant for the more common *kabattu*.[184] On these poetic forms displaying anaptyctic vowels, see Jiménez 2017, 77-8 and cf. George 2003, 431-2.

110 This line belongs to a severely broken set of verses (ll. 104-15) that probably deal with the distress of the supplicant, whose miseries are listed and described in this portion of the prayer (the "Penitential Section", ll. 44-173, see the Introduction to the *Nabû Prayer*, § 2.2.1). Therefore, I tentatively restore here [*ṭēnšu*(?) *it*ʾ*-t*]*a-kir-šú*, because this kind of suffering, i.e. mental confusion and unrest, is a recurring theme in Akkadian prayers;[185] see for example the *eršaḫuĝa* prayer 4*R*² 19 no. 3 (Maul 1988, 353-7), rev. ll. 15-16:

> 15 d i m m a n u - m u - u n - d a b n í - ĝ u$_{10}$ n u - m u - u š - t u k u - ĝ e n
> 16 *ṭè-e-mì ul ṣab-ta-ku ra-ma-ni ul ḫa-sa-ku*
> I didn't keep my reason, I forgot myself.[186]

For several attestations of *ṭēmu* with *nakāru*, see *CAD* N/I 163. A similar motif can also be found in other *Great Hymns and Prayers*, as in the *Ištar Literary Prayer*, l. 167: *ṭè-em-šú ul ḫa-sis ma-ši ra-ma*[*n-šú*], "He has lost his mind and forgets himself",[187] and in *Marduk*2, l. 12': *tu-ut-ter-ra-áš-šú ṭa-a-bi šá it-ru-ru ṭè-en-šú*, "You made healthy again

182 On the so-called Pseudo-lokative, see Mayer 1996.

183 Hätinen 2022; cf. Oshima 2014, 80-1, 385.

184 Von Soden 1971, 65.

185 Van der Toorn 1985, 65-6.

186 Maul 1988, 353-4.

187 Cf. Lambert 1959-60, 52.

the one, whose mind has trembled".[188] The expression that employs the words *ṭēmu* and *nakāru* to describe mental derangement occurs very often in medical texts.[189]

113 *ši-in-šú*: this word is taken as a *hapax* by von Soden (1971, 66), who suggests it may be a verbal noun deriving from *sanāšu*, "to insert, to infix". Another possible reading could be *šinnu* 'tooth'. Even though this word is fitting for the context, since the line under consideration occurs in a set of verses describing body parts, the expected form would be *šinnašu/ šinnīšu*. The reading remains therefore tentative. For the restoration at the end of the line, cf. a similar attestation in a hymn to Nabû, quoted in *CAD* P 161: *pa-ri-im na-pištú rag-gu*, "who cuts the throat of the wicked".[190]

115 *šu-ur-du-ú*: substantive form from the verb *redû* Š-stem, 'to flow out'. The meaning of this noun is uncertain, but is probably to be understood as a kind of disease, possibly an overflowing of bodily fluids (see *AHw* III 1283; *CAD* Š/III 343).

116 *a-di ma-ti*: this is a conventional expression, often to be found in Akkadian penitential prayers. After the symptoms of suffering have been described, similar formulations are used in rhetorical questions addressed to the deity, who is considered responsible for the penitent's pitiable condition.[191]
The restoration offered by von Soden *lu-⌜uq-qu⌝*[192] does not seem to fit the traces particularly well. I follow the suggestion by Foster (personal communication) and read *lu-⌜mun*?⌝ ⌜*šum-šú*?⌝, in the sense of 'any evil', although the expected form would be *lumnu*. The line is in any case so poorly preserved that the interpretation must remain hypothetical. Compare the similar verse in *Ludlul* II, l. 1, in which the time length of one entire year is mentioned as well: *šat-tam-ma a-na ba-laṭ a-dan-na i-te-eq*, "One whole year to the next, the predictable time passed by".[193]

118/120 The first visible traces after the break at the beginning of the line seem compatible with an oblique wedge followed by the heads

188 Translation by the Author. Cf. the last edition by Oshima 2011, 232, 246-7.

189 Arbøll 2019. Cf. Stol 2009.

190 Cf. the updated transliteration of this hymn available on the *eBL* platform, with further references: `https://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/BM.42768`.

191 Mayer 1976, 106-7. See also the Introduction to the *Nabû Prayer*, § 2.4.1.

192 Von Soden 1971, 66.

193 See Hätinen 2022, `https://doi.org/10.5282/ebl/l/2/2`; cf. Oshima 2014, 86-7 and 396; Lambert 1960, 38-9. I am thankful to B. Foster who pointed this verse to me.

of two vertical wedges, and could then be interpreted as a damaged LI. I offer therefore the tentative restoration *līteli*, cf. *CAD* E, 117 sub *elû*, *mng.* 1b for some examples of *elû* with *ana*.

121-2 [*bīt*(?) *ki*ʾ-*im*ʾ-*t*]*i-ia*: I follow Foster (2005, 626) in reconstructing *kimtīya.* For reasons of space, however, I also restore É at the beginning of the line. The restoration *bīt kimtīya* 'my family house', is made on the basis of *CAD* K 377, usage g.
[(x) A.ŠÀ.G]A *ab-bé-e-a*: the restoration *eqel abbēya* is tentative. The noun *kišubbû* 'fallow', 'uncultivated land' (see *AHw* II 493; *CAD* K 463-4) is commonly attested together with *eqlu* 'field', which here would parallel *bītu* in the previous line.
The sense of this couplet is uncertain: it could constitute a praise to the god, meaning that abundance and wealth are bestowed upon those who worship Nabû.

123 *sa-an-tak*: it stands for the adverb *santak* 'constantly' (*AHw* III 1023-24; *CAD* S 148-9), and *ki-na-a-ti* can be understood as a substantive for 'truth', derived from *kittu*. However, von Soden takes *ki-na-a-ti* as an adverbial form from *kittu* 'certainly' (*AHw* I 494-5, usage c); cf. *CAD* K 383-4 under *kinātu* usage c).[194] In addition, von Soden suggests two possible readings for šá mu šú, namely *ša mūši* 'of the night', or *šamūšu* 'second string' (*AHw* II 1160; *CAD* Š II 364). Both interpretations are doubtful. Furthermore, at the end of the line, von Soden reads *lu qi-i-t*[*ú*] as *lū qītu* "may be the end". After collation, however, it appears that the damaged sign after I is not UD. Unfortunately, I could not find a satisfying interpretation, and the overall meaning of the line remains difficult to clarify.

124 I follow von Soden in considering *lu-ma-aʾ-i-ru* as derived from (*w*)*âru*, D-stem 'to send' (*AHw* III 1472; *CAD* A/2 320, mng. 2). The succeeding word seems to be another precative, interpreted here as *lūpira* from *epēru* 'to provide'. The traces at the end of the line are compatible with the reading *da-a-a-n*[*u*ʾ], which I have taken as object of *lūpira*, hence *dayyāna.* While relying on the translation provided by Foster as cited *apud* Rozzi in 2022b, the meaning of the verse remains uncertain due to the fragmentary state of the context.

125 I suggest reading *ḫu*-UB-*šu*$_2$ as *ḫupšu* 'rabble' (*AHw* I 357; *CAD* Ḫ 241-2), because of the following *za-ma-ni* 'my enemy', *contra* von Soden 1971, 67. The term *ḫupšu* appears in the synonym list

194 Von Soden 1971, 66.

Rm.354+K.15293, where it is equated to *nišū* 'people'.[195] George and Al-Rawi point out that the term *ḫupšu*, while it can refer to a group of soldiers in a military context, can also have a broader definition as 'a labour gang engaged in public works', as used in a verse of the Neo-Babylonian version of Atramhasīs to describe the mutinous gods.[196] In any case, it seems clear that in our text *ḫupšu* yields a negative meaning comparabale to that of *zāmânû*. In fact, although the line is fragmented and difficult to reconstruct, it is highly probable that there is a parallelism between the two hemistichs. Hence, a verb with a meaning akin to that of *ušamqat* could occur in the first half of the line. The beginning of the line is broken, but the visible traces after the break look like ˹PA˺ NI. A form derived from *sapānu* 'to level', 'to devastate' (*AHw* III 1025-6; *CAD* S 158-60) could be a possible candidate for restoration. Cf. *CAD* S 158 for uses of this verb in similar contexts. For a similar verse see a literary hymn to Marduk (K.8612+), l. 8': *ta-kaš-šad lem-nu-ti a-a-bi tu-šam*-[*qat*], "You seize the wicked and overthrow the foe".[197]

126-9 This set of verses is heavily damaged and does not allow for a complete understanding of the text. It appears that there is the theme of slander, another recurring literary motif in penitential prayers and wisdom texts, where the sufferer laments being slandered or becoming the object of ridicule and scandal, see for example *Ludlul* I, ll. 57-8: *na-an-za-zu tas-li-tu uš-ta-˹na-ad˺-da-nu* UGU-MU | *paḫ-ru-ma ra-man-šu-nu ú-šaḫ-ḫa-˹zu˺ nu-ul-la-a-ti*, "Courtiers relentlessly relayed vile tattle about me, | They convened and urged themselves on with villainous talk".[198] The restoration ˹*šaḫ-šaḫ*˺-[*ḫi*] fits traces and context.[199] Compare, furthermore, the following passage in the lexical commentary Murgud from Uruk (SpTU3, 116), in which the lemma *šaḫšaḫḫu* occurs:

195 See Hrůša 2010, 290-1, who translates the word: "Angehöriger einer niederen Klasse, oft Soldaten"; Incidentally, this list had been erroneously joined to expl. *Malku* II by A. Kilmer, see Hrůša 2010, 288.

196 George, Al Rawi 1996, 185.

197 Mitto 2020, 256.

198 Hätinen 2022; cf. Oshima 2014 80-1 and 404; Lambert 1960, 32-3. For further remarks on this theme as it is found in prayers and in *Ludlul*, see Lenzi 2013, 78 and Noegel 2016, 633-4 with fn. 139, where more examples are provided. That a bad reputation was considered a serious consequence of divine anger or an evil eye cast by an enemy can also be inferred from incantation texts, where the evil tongue was a characteristic feature of the evil workings of witchcraft. On this see Abusch, Schwemer 2011, 6-7; cf. Noegel 2016, 633.

199 T. Mitto kindly suggested this restoration to me.

r iv 32' [lú] ⌜inim⌝ du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$ = *šaḫ-šaḫ-ḫu* = *da-ab-bi-bi*
r iv 33' [lú] inim-inim du$_{11}$-⌜du$_{11}$⌝ = *a-ma-nu-u*$_2$ = MIN
r iv 34' lú eme lul = *mu-nam-gi-ru* = *a-kil kar-ṣi*
one who speaks constantly = calumniator = slanderer
one who speaks a lot all the time = talkative person = slanderer
one who has a false tongue = calumniator = slanderer[200]

This lexical passage also includes the equation = *mu-nam-gi-ru* = *a-kil kar-ṣi*, upon which is based the restoration in l. 128, *ú-nam-ga-ru kar-ṣ*[*i*?]: the sign ṢI fits the traces at the end of the line, and *karṣu* 'calumny' (*AHw* I 450; *CAD* K 222-3) would be a possible object for *unamgarū*. A similar equation is also found in a commentary to *Ludlul*, BM 41286, which explains the difficult form *unaggaranni* (*Ludlul* I, l. 86), through the equation *nugguru* = *a-k*[*al karṣi*].[201] It is worth noticing that the structure found in our text, *unamgarū karṣ*[*ī*], if correctly read, constitutes a *pleonasmus*, i.e. a redundant repetition.[202] The rest of the verse is damaged and difficult to understand, but considering the word [… *i*]*špikkīya* in the following line (l. 129), *bit-re-e* here could be an adjective referring to something comparable, perhaps wealth or a vast estate. Regarding this, see Foster's interpretation in the online edition of the text (Foster *apud* Rozzi 2022b): [… *i*]*š*?*-pik-ke-e-a* is a tentative restoration and other words are also possible, for example *kisikkû* 'funerary offering' (*AHw* I 486; *CAD* K 421). The reading *ṭa-*⌜*pul*?*-ti*⌝ (as *ṭapultu* 'slander') at the end of the line fits the context better than *ṭa-ab-ti*, as offered by von Soden in his edition,[203] since it provides a parallelism with *šahšahhī* and *unamgarū karṣ*[*ī*] in the preceding lines.

141-50 *uṣ-ṣi-iṣ-ma* AN.ZA.[GÀR?]: this section of the hymn is severely damaged, though the context seems to hint at some divinatory practice (see l. 142, in which *bīru* 'divination' is found). The last visible signs of the line are AN and ZA, indicating perhaps the name of a god – e.g. as von Soden suggests, of *Zaqīqu*, who is mentioned further in l. 143.[204] However, there is no divine determinative preceding *Zaqīqu* in l. 143, hence a different reconstruction can be suggested for l. 141. In this regard, I tentatively restore *Anza*[*gar* …], following

200 Cf. von Weiher 1988; see the online edition in http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/; cf. https://cdli.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/artifacts/348714.

201 Frahm 2011, 106; cf. Oshima 2014, 2016.

202 Lanham 1991, 116, 191.

203 Van Soden 1971, 67.

204 See von Soden 1971, 68.

Lenzi's online edition of this text.[205] The minor deity Anzagar is attested in lexical lists and rituals as a dream god, although seems to be occasionally connected with ghosts and the Underworld as well, thus showing a 'demonic nature'.[206]
The conventional topos of the supplicant looking for the reasons for his suffering through divination and rituals – invoking several different deities and yet failing to receive an answer – seems to unfold in this part of the text (ll. 140-50).[207] A similar passage occurs in *Ludlul* I, ll. 49-54 or II, ll. 6-9,[208] and in other Akkadian prayers, see for example the *šuilla* prayer to Marduk no. 5, ll. 57-8: *lem-na ḫa-ṭa-a*/ Á.MEŠ-*ú-a* [*ter-r*]*e-tu-ú-a dal-ḫa-a-ma ul i-šá-a* EŠ.BAR *kit-ti*, "My signs are bad (and) faulty, the omina are so confused, that they have no firm verdict".[209]

142 z*a-qi-qu*: the term *zaqīqu/ziqīqu* has various nuances.[210] It derives from the verb *zâqu* 'to blow', and is found in lexical lists equated to words for wind (see *CAD* Z 58, lex. sec.).
Thus, it can denote a wind or a breeze. It can also refer to a category of wind demons or ghosts, who are said to dwell in the underworld, and it is also the name of the Mesopotamian Dream God. Moreover, *zaqīqu/ziqīqu* is often found in passages that describe a communication between deities and men.[211] In this regard, Butler, following Couprie,[212] suggests that the term under discussion might also indicate a ritual expert involved in the incubation of dreams. She notes the occurrence of *zaqīqu* in *Ludlul* II, l. 8 *za-qí-qu a-bal-ma ul ú-pat-ti uz-ni*, "I prayed to the *Zaqīqu*, but he did not instruct me!". She interprets the word as parallel to *šā'ilu* 'dream-interpreter', in the line immediately preceding (*Ludlul* II, l. 7).[213]
Within the present context, however, *zaqīqu* is probably to be taken as the god of dreams, as it seems to parallel Amna in the previous line.[214]

205 Lenzi 2021 at `http://akkpm.org/P394371.html`.

206 On the various attestations of the deity Anzagar, see Butler 1998, 83-5.

207 Cf. Mayer 1976, 104-6; Van der Toorn 1985, 60-1; 64-5.

208 Hätinen 2022; Oshima 2014, 80-1; 86-7.

209 Mayer 1993, 313-37.

210 Butler 1998, 79-81. Cf. Jacobsen 1989, 267-76.

211 See Oppenheim 1956, 234 and Oshima 2014, 229. See also *CAD* Z 60.

212 Couprie 1960, 86

213 Butler 1998, 81. Cf. Oshima 2014, 86-7, 396.

214 Butler 1998, 82.

143 *zu-un-zu-na*: the noun *zunzunu* is only attested in lexical lists, and indicates a type of locust, see *AHw* III 1538; *CAD* Z 163; cf. *Ḫg* A II 269: BURU$_5$ tur-tur = *zir-zir-rù* = *zu-un-zu-˹nu˺* (MSL 8/2, 45, 269). Even though this section of the prayer is too fragmentary to allow a clear understanding of the context, *zunzunu* seems to occur within a list of divine names (see ll. 142-5). Considering the mention of the *ḫallulāyu*-demon in l. 107, *zunzunu* might indicate here some sort of demon. The reading *zunzunna*[*tu*] 'shoe', offered by von Soden, appears less convincing within our context.[215]

144 ^{d}NIN.GÙN.NU: this is one of the names of Inanna/Ištar. It is also attested in several god lists, where also the variant ^{d}NIN.IGI.GÙN can be found.[216]

151-2 Lines restored on the basis of *Marduk*1, ll. 129-30: *iḫ-ti-dam-ma mar-ṣa-tuš i*-[*ba*]*k-ki-ka* | *kab-ta-as-su na-an-gul-lat-ma iḫ*-[*ta*]*m-maṭ-ka*, "He muttered as he wailed his woe to you, with his insides *throbbing*, he burns for you".[217] For a similar passage see also another composition belonging to the *Great Hymns and Prayers*, namely the *Anūna Prayer*, l. 83: *iḫ-ti-dam-ma al-ka-ta-šu i-b*[*a-ak-ki-ki-im*], "He has spoken forth, tearfully telling [you] his way of life".[218]
iḫ-ti-dam-ma: I follow Lambert's reading and take this form as derived from *ḫiʾādu* 'to speak', 'to utter' (*AHw* I 342; *CAD* Ḫ 128a), *contra* von Soden and Oshima who read *iḫ-ti-ṭam-ma*, from *ḫiāṭu* 'to watch', 'to inspect' (*AHw* I 342; *CAD* Ḫ 159-62). While verbs meaning 'to see' (e.g. *amāru*) do indeed occasionally occur with the substantive *maruštu* 'trouble', 'hardship' (cf. *AHw* II 618; *CAD* M/1 317-19) in the sense of 'experiencing trouble',[219] the topos of the supplicant confessing his sins and painfully describing his suffering is nevertheless a typical feature of Akkadian prayers,[220] see for example *Marduk*1, l. 133-4:

215 See von Soden 1971, 57 and 68.

216 For a more detailed discussion see Cavigneaux, Krebernik 1998.

217 Translation by the Author. Cf. Lambert 1959-60, 58 and Oshima 2011, 151, 164-5, 184-5.

218 Lambert 1989, 326 and 330.

219 Cf. Oshima 2011, 184.

220 The description of the symptoms belongs to the "Penitential Section", an element which is identified as "die Klage" by Mayer 1976, 35-7 and 67-118, following the structure of Akkadian prayers given by von Soden 1957-71, 161, § 4. See the Introduction of this prayer, § 2.4.1. For the confession of sins as a recurring topos, used in order to appease an angry god, see Oshima 2011, 16-17, Lenzi et. al. 2011, 42-5.

[133]*ki-i lal-la-ri qu-bé-e ú-šá-aṣ-rap*
[134]*du-lup-šú i-qab-bi ina te-ni-ni*
[133]Like a professional mourner he utters bitter cries,
[134]He speaks his lack of sleep in his prayer.[221]

This motif is also found in several wisdom texts, as in the Babylonian dialogue *Man and his God*, ll. 10-11:

[10]*be-li-iš-šu du-ul-li iḫ-bu-tu i-ma-an-nu*
[11]*in-ḫi i-na-ḫu-*⌜*ú*⌝ *i-pa-aš-ša-ar eṭ-lu-u*[*m*]
[10]He recounts to his lord the toil he has gone through,
[11]The man explains the suffering he is enduring.[222]

The verb *ḫi'ādu* is attested in lexical sources, together with its derivative *ḫittu* (a kind of utterance, perhaps 'riddle',[223] *CAD* Ḫ 208, under *ḫittu* C, lex. sec.), see *Izi* V, 30'-32' (MSL 13, 150):

[30']i-bi-lu = *ḫi-it-tu*
[31']i-bi-lu = *te-el-tu*
[32']i-bi-lu du$_{11}$-ga = *ḫi-a-du*
[30']i-bi-lu = utterance
[31']i-bi-lu = saying
[32']i-bi-lu du$_{11}$-ga = to speak

(Cf. also *Nabnītu* V 6-12: i-bi-lu = *ḫi-it-tì*, MSL 16, 95).
nangullat: the stative *nangul* is derived from the verb *nagālu* (see *AHw* II 709; *CAD* N/I 107) whose exact meaning remains doubtful, and which is attested mostly in the stative. Meissner interprets it as meaning 'to glow', 'to scintillate', 'to be bright', basing his translation on a variant gloss *nen-gu-la* = *nin-bu-ṭa* (see also *CAD* N/I 107, which leaves *nagālu* untranslated).[224] The verb is attested in the stative G-stem as referring to stars, hair of animals and, in one uncertain case,[225] to human skin (see *CAD* N/I 107 for the attestations).
The meaning 'to be bright' or 'to scintillate' can indeed easily be attributed to celestial bodies, and perhaps to the shimmering quality of hair or skin in a certain light. Furthermore, *na-gi-il* 'gleaming', is used once in the divination series *Šumma ālu* to describe the canopy

221 Oshima 2011, 152, 164-5.

222 Lambert 1987, 190.

223 Alster 1996, 7.

224 Meissner 1932, 47-8.

225 The attestation seems to occur in the Babylonian Love Lyrics (Lambert 1975, 105): *maš-ku nag-lat ki-ma di-q*[*a-ri*], which *CAD* leaves untranslated. Lambert, however, read *naq-lat* and translates the line: "Her skin was burnt, like a pot".

of a house, as opposite to *eṭû* 'dark'.[226] The translation suggested by Meissner, however, does not fit all the occurrences. In fact, the stative N-stem of *nagālu* also occurs as referred to *libbu* 'heart' and *kabattu* 'liver' (as in the text under consideration). *nagālu* seems also to be used in association with grieving and mourning, as in the *diĝiršadabba* prayer no. 11, l. 14: *na-an-gu-la-ku-ma a-bak-ki ṣar-piš*, translated by Jaques in her edition as "Je suis enfiévré et pleure amèrement" (cf. *CAD* N/1 107, usage b, 2'-3'),[227] or in an Old Babylonian love poem, rev. l. 10: *na-an-gu-la at-ku-la ku-a-ši-im sa-ap-da*, which Lambert translates as: "Women are in anguish, mourning and lamentation for you", yet leaving the form *nangulā* unexplained.[228] Moreover, in the literary text "the Fable of the Fox", the verbal adjective *uggulu*, derived from *nagālu*, describes a reed: [*am*]-*mi-*⌜*ni*⌝ *a-na ki-rim a-pi ug-gu-li ta-za-ar-ru nab-li*. Lambert translates this passage: "Why do you spread flame to the glowing reed…?".[229]

Contrary to previous translations, which evoke a supposed sense of 'burning' or 'glowing', I suggest a second possible meaning of *nagālu* N-stem, namely that of 'to tremble', 'to shake', or 'to throb', which might be applied to the human heart – or to the insides –, to someone sobbing in grief, or to a reed shaking in the wind. This meaning would parallel that of another Akkadian verb, (*w*)*amālu*, translated in the dictionaries as 'to be nervous', 'to be agitated' – if applied to *kabattu* –, but 'to scintillate' if denoting celestial bodies (see *AHw* III 1459; *CAD* U/W 401). The attestations of (*w*)*amālu* in the lexical lists, nevertheless, clarify the primary meaning of this verb: AnŠ 269-73 enters (*w*)*amālu* in D-stem among various synonyms for *raī'bu*, a kind of trembling, derived from the verb *ra'ābu* 'to tremble' (*AHw* II 444, 'Zittern-Krankheit'; *CAD* R 81: "Probably a disease characterised by trembling"). Hence, the equation *ummulu* = *ra'ību* in AnŠ 270 (*LTBA* II, 2 rev. I 56 and *LTBA* II, 3 rev. 6')[230] associates (*w*)*amālu* with a flickering movement, which may metaphorically describe an emotional state of agitation, as well as the glint of stars. It is therefore possible to hypothesise a similar double meaning also for *nagālu*, which would mean both 'to twitch' or 'to tremble', and 'to scintillate'.[231]

226 For this attestation see Freedman 1998, 110-11, l. 14.

227 Jaques 2015, 67 and 87.

228 Lambert 1966, 55-6.

229 Lambert 1960, 195 rev. l. 15. Lambert explains this form as a case of dropping of the *n*, which occurs also in other verbs I-n. See Lambert 1960, 335.

230 Hrůša, Weiershäuser 2020, 225 and 245.

231 Incidentally, the same double nuance is found in Latin in the verb *micāre* 'to quiver, dart, flicker', see *OLD* s.v. *micō*, 1108, mng. 1, usage b: "(of the heart, pulse) to throb, palpitate", and mng. 2: "(of a heavenly body, fire, etc.) to emit light suddenly or spasmodically, flash, gleam"; and in the Greek noun, *LSJ* s.v. παλμός, 1294: "a quivering

153 *uṣ-ṣar-ri-ip ka-*[*bat*ʔ*-ta*ʔ*-šú*ʔ]: for other attestations of *ṣarāpu* with *kabattu* see *CAD* Ṣ 102, mng. 2.

154 *di-ma-šú ik-ta-*[*li*ʔ: on the use of the verb *kalû* for 'to stop crying', see Gabbay 2004, 181.

156 For the restoration *ti-me*[*š*, understood here as vocative of the adjective *temēšu* 'forgiving', also occurring at ll. 92/94, I am grateful to E. Jiménez (personal communication).

157 *tu-šá-ma za-ma-nu-*⌜*ú*⌝: the adverb *tušāma* is the lengthened form of *tuša*, the function of which was to express *irrealis*. *tuša* appears moreover to convey a nuance of subjectivity, and it is indeed in two instances attested together with adverbial forms as *ina tašīmātīya* '(as if) in my judgement', or *ana īnīšu* 'to his eyes'.[232] It is difficult to ascertain its etymology, but it could be related to the noun *tuššu* 'hostile talk'.[233] For similar passages in literary texts, cf. for example *Ludlul* I, l. 83: *tu-šá-ma nak-ra-ti na-an-dur-ti ma-a-ti*, "As if it were enemies, my land is furious"[234] or in the narrative *Sargon the Conquering Hero, tu-ša ge-ri-ma qí-iš-tum ig-re-e-šu*, "As if it was an enemy, the forest had become hostile towards him".[235]

164 Cf. l. 124 of the *Šamaš Hymn*: *šu-ut lum-nu i-pu-šú* NUMUN-*šú-nu u*[*l da*ʔ*-ri*ʔ], "The seed of evildoers sha[ll not abide]".[236]

173 For a very similar phraseology see *Marduk*1, l. 61: *ru-um-me il-lu-ur-ta-šú pu-ṭur ma-ak-*[*si-šú*], "Release his manacles, loosen his bonds",[237] and l. 155 *ḫi-pi qu-un-nab-ra-šú il-lu-ur-ta-šú pu-ṭur ma-ak-si-šú*, "Break his fetters, his bonds, loosen his manacles".[238] The representation of the sufferer as constricted or imprisoned is a well-known image in the Mesopotamian prayers, see for example the *diĝiršadabba* prayer no. 9, ll. 15'-16': *bi-ti ana É dim-ma-tì i-tur-ma i-li ana-ku ka-ma-ak-šu ina libbi-šú tu-še-ši-b*[*a-an-ni*], "My house has become a house of weeping, my God, I am its prisoner, you made [me]

motion", cf. usage 2: (of natural phenomena) "vibration, rapid movement", and usage 3: "internal vibration of bodies".

232 Krebernik, Streck 2001, 67.

233 Krebernik, Streck 2001, 68.

234 After Krebernik, Streck 2001, 72; cf. Hätinen 2022; Oshima 2014, 82-3.

235 After Krebernik, Streck 2001, 71; cf. Goodnick Westenholz 1997a, 70, l. 59.

236 Lambert 1960, 134; cf. Rozzi 2021a; translation by Foster *apud* Rozzi 2021a.

237 Oshima 2011, 147, 160-1.

238 Traslation by the Author. See Oshima 2011, 154, 166-7.

dwell in it",[239] and *Ludlul* II, l. 96: *a-na ki-suk-ki-ia i-tu-ra bi-tu*, "Home turned into my jailhouse".[240]

175 ⌜*ú*⌝-*šaḫ*-[la]*lá-a*: *CAD* M/I interprets this verbal form as a present Š-stem from *alālu*/*ḫalālu* 'to suspend', 'to hang'. The expected form, however, would be *ušaḫlal*; the final *a*-vowel might be explained as a ventive suffix, but the use of the sign LA before LAL would still pose a problem. It is more likely that the verb derives from *ḫelû* 'to be bright', as reads l. 87 in *Marduk*2 (Enrique Jiménez, private communication):[241] *ašar anqullu isḫupu tušaḫla ūma*, "In the place shrouded in haze, you clear the day". On the normalisation of the last word as *manītu*, instead of the *mānitu*, as defined in the dictionaries, see Mayer 1992b, 39-40. The verb in our line can thus be interpreted as *ušaḫlâ*, and the sign LA before LAL is to be taken as a gloss.
This line parallels the preceding one, describing the god through a metaphor: Nabû is first compared to a wall which protects against the cold of winter (l. 174), and then to a gentle breeze which alleviates the heat of summer.[242]

176-7 *še-e-ru re-ṣu-ti-ia šur-šú-ru ḫi-in-zur-ru meṣ-ḫe-ri ši-d*[*i-tú*?] | *mar-tú ma-r*[*i*]: it is difficult to ascertain the meaning of this line, as it lacks verbal forms and, moreover, shows rare words borrowed from lexical lists. *šur-šú-ru ḫi-in-zur-ru*: the word *šuršurru* is attested exclusively in *Malku* II 128B, as a variant of *šuršašmu*/*šuršašnu*, and equated with *nurmû* 'pomegranate' (*AHw* II 804-5; *CAD* N/II 345-7, mng. 2);[243] the word *ḫinzūru* – derived from the Hurrian *ḫinzuri* 'apple' – is also entered in *Malku* II 129[244] and esp. *Malku* III 210 as a synonym of *ḫašḫūru* 'apple-tree/apple' (see *AHw* I 333-4; *CAD* Ḫ 139-40; cf. *GLH* 106).[245] It is worth noticing that the two words *šuršurru* and *ḫinzūru* occur in immediate succession in *Malku*, as well as in our text. Furthermore, the noun *marratu* 'the bitter one' (following *AHw* II 612 "Das Bittere", a name of a date-palm) is found in the following line of *Malku* (*Malku* II 130),[246] and *alamittu* 'a palm-tree' (see *AHw* I 35;

239 Jaques 2015, 53-60.

240 See Hätinen 2022; cf. Oshima 2014, 90-1, 408 and Lambert 1960, 44-5.

241 I am thankful to E. Jiménez who showed me his forthcoming edition of the text.

242 Incidentally, cf. Isa. 25:4: "You have been a refuge for the poor, a refuge for the needy in their distress, a shelter from the storm and a shade from the heat", translation taken by the New International Version 2011.

243 Hrůša 2010, 60-1, 341.

244 Hrůša 2010, 60-1, 341.

245 Hrůša 2010, 182-3, 452.

246 Hrůša 2010, 60-1, 341

CAD A/I 333) follows in the next line (*Malku* II 131).[247] L. 179 of the *Nabû Prayer* reads: *a-la-mit-tu*$_4$ *ú-ḫe-en-šá da-da-riš ma-a*-[*ar*]. Hence, the vocabulary in ll. 176-7 and 179 of the *Nabû Prayer* seems to be informed by *Malku* II 128-31, and could indicate a conscious use of the lexical list by the author of the prayer, or viceversa, could suggest that the prayer was used as a source of inspiration for this lexical passage.[248]

meṣ-ḫe-ri ši-d[*i-tú*?]: I take *meṣ-ḫe-ri* as the elsewhere unattested word *meṣḫeru*, probably a nominal form derived from the root *ṣḫr* 'small'. It could be a literary noun indicating a boy or a young man (cf. the well attested *meṣḫeriš* 'in childhood' and *meṣḫerūtu* 'childhood', see *AHw* II 648; *CAD* M/II 36).

The restoration *ši-d*[*i-tú*?] fits the traces and the space at the end of the line. I interpret it as the feminine form of *šedû*/*šēdu* 'offshoot', as in AnŠ 198: *še-e-du* = ŠE-*im*[249] and in *Ḫḫ* III 195: ĝiš^{ĝiš}Ši e - d ù - a = ŠU-*ú* (*šedû*). The term *šīdītu* would parallel *meṣḫeru*, representing its feminine counterpart, possibly indicating a girl or a young woman.

Both these poetical nouns form a *parallelismus* with *mārtu* and *māru* occurring in the same line.

L. 176 of the *Nabû Prayer* lists words and word-pairs referring to the god and his work.[250] The initial expression *še-e-ru re-ṣu-ti-ia* 'my morning aid', is probably to be taken as a metaphor for Nabû, whose compassion is compared to daylight (cf. l. 184, see also the Introduction of the *Nabû Prayer*, § 2.3). Moreover, the mention of fruits and fruit-producing trees evokes images connected with fertility: the 'apple', or the pomegranate – Akkadian *ḫinzūru* (in our text), or its synonym *ḫašḫūru* – is often used in figurative language in Akkadian poetry as a symbol of sexual potency.[251] The common term for 'fruit' in Akkadian, *inbu*, can indeed be interpreted as 'offspring', 'child' (see *AHw* I 381, mng. 6; *CAD* I 144-7, mng. 2). In this line, the metaphorical expressions are further clarified through the chiastic combination of word-pairs: *meṣḫeru šīd*[*ītu*(?)] | *mārtu māru* "the boy and the girl, the daughter and the son". The resulting synonymous parallelism amplifies the same thought, namely that of fertility and progeny: the god is the one who can ensure descendants for the pious worshipper.

247 Hrůša 2010, 60-1, 341

248 A comparable 'vertical' quotation from *Malku* can be found in the commentary on the *Babylonian Theodicy*, see BM 66882+, l. 16, cf. Jiménez 2018b, 126 with fn. 11.

249 Hrůša, Weiershäuser 2020, 221. Cf. *LTBA* II, 2, obv. iii 198.

250 The line can of course be understood also as a nominal phrase, so Foster *apud* Rozzi 2022b: "The dawning of my rescue was a (luscious) pomegranate, an apple".

251 Lambert 1987, 27-31. The translation 'apple' for *ḫašḫuru* and its Sumerian antecedent ḫašḫur is uncertain. For a detailed discussion see Lambert 1987, 30-1.

178 Cf. the verse ˹*ár*˺-*ka-ti b*[*u-un*]-*na-ka ú-dáš-šap* [*lal-la-riš* (?)], "In the future I will sweeten your f[a]ce [like honey]", occurring in a wisdom monologue recently published in Jiménez 2022, 82-3, l. 49'.

180 *nu-ḫ*[*áš*?]: there is room for one or maybe two signs at the end of the line. The sign before the break shows traces of two horizontals and a Winkelhaken, and looks like ZIG. I suggest to read *nuḫāš* as a stative from the rare adjective *nuḫāšu* 'prosperous' (*AHw* II 800; *CAD* N/II 313), which appears in personal names and derives from *naḫāšu* 'to prosper' (*AHw* II 713; *CAD* N/I 133-4). The phonetic value *ḫáš* for ZIG is rare, though it is not uncommon to find rarely used sign values within the corpus of *Great Hymns and Prayers*, see for example the *Ištar Prayer*, l. 156: *làl-la-ru-šú kim-ta-šu i-ḫáš*-[*šá-šú*], "his mourners gathe[r] his family", in which the form *i-ḫáš*-[*šá-šú*] also displays the sign ZIG with the value *ḫáš*,[252] or within our *Nabû Prayer*, l. 116 *šúr-du-ú*, which shows the rare value *šúr* for DÙL, otherwise only attested in Old Akkadian.[253]

181 Considering the space on the tablet, at most one sign is missing at the end of the line, broken at the end of the second hemistich. The signs AN NA T[U are clearly visible but challenging to reconcile with a satisfactory reading. The only word that could be suitable for the current context is *antu*, meaning 'ear of barley' (*CAD* A/1 146 A). However, it is difficult to explain the form that occurs in our text, perhaps a plural, although the plural form we would expect is *anātu*(*m*), and it remains unattested elsewhere. I tentatively restore *an-na-t*[*u*(-*šú*)], '[(*its*)] *ear*[*s*]'. Concerning the first hemistich, if ŠE-*am* is really a nominative, the present line seems to display a case of casus pendens (*GAG* § 183a), as can be observed in ll. 185-6 in the same text (see *infra*).

182 *i-kuš-šu*: I interpret this verb as a present G-stem derived from *kâšu* 'to delay' (*AHw* I 463; *CAD* K 394-5 under *kâšu* A). The final *u*-vowel should possibly be considered a ventive in -*u*. The use of the ventive form in -*u* instead of in -*a*(*m*) is a consequence of the confusion between *u* and *a* progressively spreading in first-millennium Akkadian.[254]
˹*ú*˺-[*tar*?]: I suggest this restoration following Foster's translation,[255] *contra* von Soden, who restores instead ˹*ú*˺-[*ma-aṭ-ṭa*], which is unlikely, especially since there is space for one sign, two at most, at the end of the line. The meaning of this verse is that there is a right

252 See von Soden 1971, 49. Cf. chapter 2.

253 Cf. von Soden 1971, 66, and *AkkSyll.*[4], 34, no. 179

254 See Schwemer 2017, 77 for other examples of ventives in -*u*.

255 Foster 2005, 624.

time for everything, and grain too needs time to mature to provide a good harvest. For more on this wisdom thought, see the Introduction to the *Nabû Prayer*, § 2.3 and chapter 1, § 1.2.5.

183 The tablet shows traces of a vertical wedge before the break. The space in the break suggests that two signs are missing at the end of the line. Due to context, one might hypothesise the line to mean that something abhorrent to the gods – such as a bodily discharge – is indeed common among men. The physical imperfection of human beings would be then compared with and opposed to the perfection of deities. This line seems to suggest the same idea found in the *Theodicy* (ll. 276-80)[256] and in other Mesopotamian literary and religious compositions, namely that men are impure and sinful by nature.[257] For similar wisdom themes in the *Great Hymns and Prayers*, cf. also chapter 1, § 1.2.5.
Nevertheless, another interpretation could be that the discharge of the male genitals, abhorred by the gods, is, on the contrary, positive for men, because it represents semen. In this sense, *mu-ú-ṣu* could metaphorically mean 'semen'. For this understanding, see the translation by Foster *apud* Rozzi 2022b: "If the putrid flux of the manly gland is abhorrent to all the gods, it is the [*good seed sown*] for the people".
However, the exact phrase *mūṣu ša libbi urullātīšu*, whose technical aspect seems to contrast with the poetic context, is found in lexical sources, where it seemingly indicates an infection: In the commentary mur-gud = *imrû* = *ballu* (see HgD to Ura = *ḫubullu* XV, 36' (75) in Weiershäuser-Hrůša 2018, 214; cf. MSL 9, 77-89, MS B_8)[258] and in *Uruanna* III 171; MSL 10, 70, 32 (but cf. also *Uruanna* III 161 in Weiershäuser, Hrůša 2020, 37-3: ^{na4}*mu-ṣu* NÍTA = ^{na4}*mu-ṣu šá* ŠÀ GIŠ). Moreover, it occurs in a ritual against depression, see Abusch, Schwemer 2011, 153, l. 28 and 158, cf. also *CAD* U 270-1 sub *urullātu*. The lexical parallels might corroborate the idea that the formulation *mūṣu ša libbi urullātīšu* in our text refers to an illness and is not a metaphor for the human semen, although the damaged state of the line, and the difficult philosophical meaning of this portion of the text, do not allow for a conclusive answer. Compare chapter 4, § 4.3.1 for the intertextuality between the *Nabû Prayer* and the lexical lists. On the word *mūṣu* as 'bilharzia' or ^{na4}*mūṣu* as 'calculus', see Kinnier Wilson 1968, 245-6 and Herrero 1975, 49-50; cf. also Steinert 2013 fn. 11.

256 See Lambert 1960, 88-9. Cf. Oshima 2014, 164-5 and 462.

257 For this interpretation see also Foster 2005, 625.

258 Transliteration available on the *eBL* platform: `https://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/K.13602`.

184 *ek-let nam-rat*: this is a recurring apodosis in omens. It is explained in a commentary to *Šumma ālu* 22-3 (BM 129092, l. 17) as a reference to a 'humble man' (*a-na muš-ke-ni qa-bi*), who supposedly rises in society.[259] It appears that the author of the *Nabû Prayer* knew this idiomatic phrase and used it for arguing that a negative beginning has a positive outcome. The author reinforces this idea in the second half of the line: *še-zu-zu ta-a-*[*a-ar*], "the raging one will be merciful". The concept of the angry god who eventually relents is often found in the apodoses of omens, cf. for example the following Old Babylonian omen:

> DIŠ LÚ *it-ti ra-ma-ni-šu-ma qú-lum i*[*m*]*-qú-us-sú*
> *e-ze-ez i-lim ta-ia-ar-tam i-šu*
> If silence falls upon a man without any reason,
> the wrath of deity will change into mercy.[260]

This theme finds numerous parallels in the wisdom genre, see above the Introduction to the *Nabû Prayer*, § 1.2.3.

185-6 *CAD* A/1 169 considers *za-ra-šú* as the subject of the sentence and *ma-ru* the object, thus translating l. 184: "The father gives a special blessing to a humble, obedient son", an interpretation followed by Seux (1976, 184). On the contrary, von Soden takes *ma-ru* as nominative case and *za-ra-šú* as accusative, therefore inverting the subject and the object. He translates: "Der demütige, disziplinierte Sohn segnet besonders noch seinen Erzeuger; der nicht demütige, disziplinlose Sohn verflucht […] [seinen Vater]".[261] Von Soden's translation better agrees with the grammar, though it seems less convincing. I take *ma-ru* in both lines as a nominative absolute (*casus pendens*, cf. *GAG* § 183a) and understand ll. 185-6 as follows: "(As for) the humble, obedient son: his father giv[es] (him) a special blessing | (As for) the disobedient, undisciplined son: his b[egetter] curses (him) until he changes".
a-di e-né-šú: probably derived from *enû* 'to change', see von Soden 1971, 70.
a-ḫa-mu: it stands for *aḫammu*, a variant of the adverb *aḫamma* (*AHw* I 18; *CAD* A/1 168-9), see *Malku* III 90, which equates *aḫamma* to what appears to be a derivative from the adverb (*w*)*arku* 'afterwards' (*AHw* III 1470): *a-ḫa-am-mu* = *ár-k*[*a*].[262]

259 See the "Commentary on Ālu 22-3 (*CCP* 3.5.22.A.a)" edited online by Jiménez 2015, at `https://ccp.yale.edu/P461301`.

260 Köcher, Oppenheim 1957-58, 64, ll. 29-30. Cf. also Rahmouni, Lev 2016, 239.

261 Von Soden 1971, 59.

262 Hrůša 2010, 80-1, 233, 365.

191 *e-né-es-su*: von Soden[263] takes this noun as derived from the feminine form of *ēnû* 'substitute' (*AHw* I 221; *CAD* E 180). The word would denote here someone to suffer in place of the supplicant. This interpretation is followed by Foster[264] and Seux.[265] However, I read this word as *ennētu* (var. *ennettu*, *e/innintu*, see *AHw* I 219; *CAD* E 169-70). This substantive derives from the verb *enēnu* 'to rage', 'to let one feel one's rage' (l. 103 within this text), cf. Mayer 2016, 205-6, who translates *ennētu* with "gegen jem. gerichtete(r) Zorn/Zornesäußerung". The broader meaning provided by *CAD,* namely 'divine punishment', also seems possible (see *CAD* E 169b and 170a); *ennettu/ennētu* is a nominal form of the PARRĀST pattern (cf. Mayer 2016, 206 and *GAG* § 55 o N.). For a similar formulation see, for example, the kiutu prayer *Bīt rimki* IV, l. 30 (Baragli 2022a, 494): šul-a-lum-bi ḫé-du-du nam-tag-ga-bi ḫé-zi-zi | *en-ne-es-su lip-pa-ṭi-ir a-ra-an-šu li-in-na-siḫ*, "May his punishment be loosened, may his sin be eradicated".

205/207 The restoration is based on *Marduk*1, l. 206 *ri-ši-šú re-*[*e*]*-mu nak-ru-ṭu a-na* ÌR-*ka*, "Have mercy on him, (have) pity on your servant!".[266] The form *nakruṭu* is to be analysed as an infinitive N-stem from *karāṭu* 'to have mercy' (*AHw* I 448; *CAD* N/I 195-6 sub *nakruṭu*. Cf. also Mayer 2017a, 139).[267] *nakruṭu* is listed in *Malku* and equated, together with *tirānu*, with *rēmu* 'compassion', see *Malku* V 80: *nak-ru-ṭu* = *re-*˹*e*˺*-mu*.[268] Cf. also the word group in *Erimḫuš*, ll. 12-14: *na-ás-ḫu-ru, ti-ra-nu, e-pe-qu* (MSL 17, 81).[269] *nak-ru-ṭu* is also attested in the Commentary to *Theodicy*, l. 17: *na-ak-*˹*ru*˺-[*ṭu*: x x x (x x)]: x x x (x x)]: MIN: *na-as-ḫu-ri*, "'Mer[cy' means […], *ditto* means 'favour'".[270]
The form [*re*]-˹*e*˺-*mì* in the *Nabû Prayer* is probably a spelling for *rēm* with an overhanging vowel. The writing *nak-ru-uṭ* seems to be a

263 Von Soden 1971, 70.

264 Foster 2005, 625.

265 Seux 1976, 184.

266 Oshima 2011, 157, 170-1.

267 The conjugated forms of the verb *karāṭu* are rarely attested, and occasionally written as **qrt*. Indeed the two variant radicals *qrt and *krṭ tend to oscillate, sometimes alternating within the same manuscript. On this see Jiménez, Adalı 2015, 178-9 who postulate a root *qrṭ, on the basis of an attestation of this verb in a line of the "Prostration Hemerology", which has *ig*-GÀR-*rit*. The writing GÀR is used more often to express the value *qar* than *kàr*.

268 Hrůša 2010, 114-15, 401.

269 Hrůša 2010, 255.

270 Jiménez 2017b, at `https://ccp.yale.edu/P404917`.

defective spelling for the accusative singular *nakruṭa*, with the dropping of the final short vowel.[271]

208-9 The couplet belongs to the final section of the prayer, devoted to petitions (see the Introduction to the *Nabû Prayer*, § 2.4.1). Within this line, a request is made that supplicant's financial losses be recovered. I tentatively restore [*ḫal*ʾ-*qa*ʾ]-*a-tu*$_4$, from *ḫalqu*. For the use of this adjective in similar contexts see *AHw* I 312, usage 4; *CAD* Ḫ 50, usage 3).

217 [*kīma*(?) *qi*ʾ]-*šá-a-ti*: restoration based on *Marduk*2, l. 25'': *ki-ma qí-šá-a-ti ik-ri-b*[*u-ú la-ba*]*n ap-pu*, "Like donations, pray[ers and the gestu]re of respect".[272]
at-nu-uš: the substantive *atnu* is a learned word for 'prayer', only attested in lexical lists: *Malku* V 66[273] and *An* VIII 76 share the same equation: *at-nu* = *ik-ri-bu*, cf. also *An* IX 90: [*at*]-*nu* = *šu-ke-nu*. See *CAD* A/2 499 lex. sec.

219 The expression *iṣ/s-rat-su-nu* is uncertain. The meaning 'their plan' (from *iṣratu* 'plan, design' *AHw* I 389; *CAD* I 206) yields little sense within the present context.
In l. 1 of tablet VII of *Enūma eliš*, *iṣ/sratu* occurs in *parallelismus* with *mēreštu* 'cultivation' (*AHw* II 645; *CAD* M/2, 24-5): ᵈ*asar-re šá-rik mé-reš-ti šá* IS-*ra-ta ú-kin-nu*, "Asarre, the giver of arable land who established plough-land".[274] Moreover, on the fragment K.13866, l. 6', identified as a commentary to *Enūma eliš*, *iṣ/sratu* is explained as a synonym of *tamirtu* '(arable) land' (*AHw* III 1341; *CAD* T 119-22): IS-*ra-tu*$_4$ = *ta-mir-tú* (this equation is also mentioned in *AHw* I 389).[275]
The same word is found in the *E-sagil* commentary:

[9][é-sa$_4$-ki].⌜il⌝ *bītu na-bu-ú nap-ḫar is-ra-a-t*[*i*]
[10]sa$_4$ *na-bu-ú* ki-il *nap-ḫa-ru ša* IS-*ra-a-ti*
[9]E-sagil House which calls into being all meadows(?)
[10][*sa*] = call *ki-il* = all *ša* = meadows(?)[276]

271 If, however, one follows the reconstruction offered by Jiménez, Adalı 2015, 178-9 (see fn. 275 above) and consider a root *qrt instead of *krṭ for this verb, the present form could be read as *naq-ru-tú*, thus presenting no drop of final vowel, but a *-u* ending for the accusative case (cf. Jiménez, Adalı 2015, 178).

272 Translation by the Author. Cf. Oshima 2011, 238, 250-1.

273 Hrůša 2010, 114-15, 255, 400.

274 Lambert 2013, 124-5.

275 Lambert 2013, 482 (pl. 38).

276 See George 1992, 80-1 and 387. According to George, the equation with the Sumerian ša is otherwise unattested.

iṣ/sratu also appears in the Fable of Nissaba and the Wheat in broken context, l. 7: IS-*ra-tu*$_4$ *u* [...].[277]
The meaning 'cultivated land', however, does not fit our context. The reading remains therefore uncertain, though the *parallellismus* with *gimrassunu* in the previous line suggests understanding *iṣrassunu* 'their plan', as 'their totality' *vel sim.*

224 ˹*lil*?˺-*lip-ka*: von Soden restored here ˹*qu*?˺-*lup-ka*.[278] The substantive *qulpu* is listed in *Ḫḫ* XXIV 144 as a type of barley: [še DÌM.BAR?] = *qul-pu*.[279] According to Deller, however,[280] the word in the lexical sources should be read as *zir-pu*, and the lemma *qulpu* as 'a type of barley' (so *CAD* I/J 151; Q 301, š/1 248; cf. also *AHw* I 219, 927 and 1148) should be in fact deleted. I follow E. Jiménez (personal communication) and restore *lillipka*, precative from *elēpu* 'may he increase [...] for you'.
The restoration *l*[*u*]*d-lul-ka* offered by Oshima cannot be not reconciled with the extant traces, as the preserved sign before LUL cannot be DUG.[281]
There are few traces preserved in the line before QU, but the tablet is too damaged to allow a reconstruction.

225 The final lines of the prayer probably correspond to the typical closing section of Akkadian prayers, defined by von Soden "Das Dankversprechen" and by Mayer "Gebetsschluss".[282] Final petitions are normally found in this part, followed by praises of the deities. This ending reflects the public character of praise within Mesopotamian prayers (see above, § 2.3.1): the supplicant extols the addressed god before all the other deities, and before all of humanity as well, thus showing his gratitude, in anticipation of future salvation.[283]
I accept the restoration offered by von Soden, who further suggests that a first person precative could also be a possible reconstruction. A third-person form is nevertheless more likely, if one considers the third person singular suffixes occurring in the preceding lines (ll. 216-17), which all refer to the penitent. The verb *šamāru* Gtn is

277 Lambert 1960, 169. Cf. the note on this word in the latest study on the fable: Jiménez 2017a, 67.

278 Von Soden 1971, 71.

279 Weiershauser, Hrůša 2018, 205-6.

280 Deller, Mayer, Oelsner 1989, 274.

281 Oshima 2011, 19.

282 Soden 1957-71, 161; Mayer 1976, 307. For the structure of this prayer see the introduction, § 2.1.1.

283 Mayer 1976, 309.

often found in the "Final Salutation", together with other verbs meaning 'to praise', 'to commend', for example *karābu* Gtn, *dalālu*, *nâdu* Dtn.[284] The verbal forms are often followed by the object of praise, namely a noun in the accusative case. The nouns that commonly appear in this final section are *ilūtu* 'divinity', *dalīlu* 'praise', *narbû* 'greatness', *qurdu* 'strength'.[285]

284 Mayer 1976, 319.

285 Mayer 1976, 320.

3 The Great Prayer to Ištar

Summary 3.1 Manuscripts and Editions;3.2 Layout and Poetic Structure. – 3.2.1 Prosody. – 3.3 Language and Spelling Conventions. – 3.4 Structure and Content. – 3.4.1 Analysis of the Individual Sections: Topoi and Use of Verbal and Nominal Forms. – 3.5 Edition. – 3.5.1 Text. –3.5.1.1 Content. – 3.5.1.2 Manuscripts. – 3.5.1.3 Previous Editions. – 3.5.1.4 Transliteration. – 3.5.1.5 Translation. –3.5.2 Commentary.

3.1 Manuscripts and Editions

The *Great Prayer to Ištar* is preserved in two manuscripts: K.225+K.9962 (MS A) and BM 35868+BM 35939+BM 35948+BM 35957 [Sp-III.400+Sp-III.475+Sp-III.484+Sp-III.493] (MS B). MS A contains the largest number of lines, was written in Neo-Assyrian script, and was found in the Nineveh palace library. The low K number of the fragments suggests the find-spot were rooms 40-1 of the Southwest Palace.[1]

MS A is arranged in a two-column format. The columns are divided by two vertical lines, which mark the beginning and the end of each line on the right and on the left side. The manuscript is partially defaced on column I. Although no colophon is preserved, there is a trace between two division-lines at the end of column IV. Unfortunately,

1 Reade 2007, 422; George 2003, 386.

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this is too damaged to allow a complete reconstruction, but must have constituted the rubric of the prayer.

Several 'firing holes' are visible on both the obverse and the reverse side of the manuscript: five holes are positioned in vertical order on the upper part of the obverse side, in the empty space between the two columns, while four more holes appear on the first column in the middle of the text. The second column shows a single hole in the third strophe. On the reverse, one hole is placed on column III in a large gap between words at the end of the third strophe. The purpose of these holes is uncertain. Judging from their position, it does not seem likely that they were employed as decorations, nor were they likely used to prevent textual changes in the empty spaces, where alterations could have been made.[2] There are many blank portions that do not display any hole (see the last strophe on column IV).

MS B is a large Babylonian manuscript which has been recently identified within the *eBL* project.[3] Part of the right side on the obverse is preserved, and the format can be reconstructed as a standard two column tablet. It belongs to the Babylonian collection of the British Museum (Sp-III), and probably comes from Babylon. The fragment can be dated approximately to the Hellenistic period. It is written in Neo-Babylonian script: the obverse contains the opening section of the prayer, while the reverse duplicates the end of the text, also allowing the restoration of several broken lines. It also includes a colophon, in which the common technical expression ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠÈ (completed) is found, a fact that proves that the prayer was composed by one tablet only; the term MU.BI.IM (its lines are) is also visible on the fragment.[4] This expression is preceded by the total number of lines in the text, namely, 247 (˹4˺-*šu* 7.˹ÀM˺). It is therefore now possible to correct the number of verses previously reconstructed by Lambert,

2 The theory that maintains that firing holes were made for preventing tablets from bursting while being baked has been dismissed (see Walker 1987, 24). More recent theories suggest that holes might have been employed to fill empty gaps on the tablets, in order to avoid additional writing to be inserted (Jeyes 2000, 371; Fincke 2003, 126 fn. 124), or that they had a decorative use (Robson 2008, 191). It seems that firing holes progressively became a traditional feature in the copying process, and several manuscripts of literary compositions even show holes in the same position (Walker 1987, 24; Fincke 2003, 126 fn. 124). Cf. Taylor 2011, 16 and Panayotov 2016, 1. Incidentally, a research project on the function and use of firing holes has also been a subject of study within the project *The King's Librarians at Work. Applying Machine Learning and Computer Vision to the Study of Scribal Marks on Cuneiform Tablets*, conducted by prof. Paola Corò at Ca' Foscari University of Venice (2020-22). In general, the focus of the study in LIBER has been on the material characteristics of the cuneiform tablets preserved in the Library of Nineveh. On firing holes, see also Corò, Ermidoro 2020.

3 The fragments were identified by E. Jiménez and T. Mitto.

4 For more attestations of the term ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠÈ in colophons see Hunger 1968, 181; cf. also Schmidchen 2018, 152. For the term MU.BI.IM cf. the remark by Proust 2012, 127 fn. 17.

who maintained that the *Ištar Prayer* was composed by 237 lines. The colophon, moreover, provides the first line of the composition, hitherto lost: *enet narbâk adallal*. This incipit is confirmed by the Babylonian version of the *Catalogue of Texts and Authors*, only recently discovered.[5] The Babylonian manuscript of the *Catalogue* attributes the *Ištar Prayer* to a scholar called Aba-ninnu-dari, also labelled as 'king' in the same manuscript, even though no king bearing such a name is known so far. Lines 9'-10' of the Babylonian *Catalogue* read: [*e*]-*né-et na*[*r-ba-a*]*k-*˹*ka*ʔ˺ *a-dal-lal* | [*š*]*á pi-i* ᵐ*a-b*[*a*ʔ*-ninnu*ʔ]-˹*da*ʔ˺*-ri* LU-GAL, "*O Priestess, may I praise your greatness*, by Aba-ninnu-dari, the king".[6] The name Aba-ninnu-dari, used for a family ancestor, is further attested in a few archival sources from the Achaemenid period,[7] and in the so-called *Name Book*, K.4426+ (*5R*, 44), a Nineveh tablet which lists the names of several scholars from the Kassite period.[8] Several texts from Nippur that can be dated to this period, moreover, mention this name. It seems therefore possible to postulate that our scribe, Aba-ninnu-dari, lived during the Middle Babylonian period. Nevertheless, a scholar named Aba-ninnu-dari appears in the *Uruk List of Kings and Sages* as well, where he is identified as the chief scholar at the court of the king Esarhaddon.[9] In the same text, he is also said to have an Aramaic name, that of Aḫiqar. However, the association of Aba-ninnu-dari with the famous Aramaic author of wisdom texts Aḫiqar seems to be an isolated case, occurring exclusively in the *Uruk List*.[10] While there is little information regarding the identity of Aba-ninnu-dari, we know for certain that he was the author of another composition, a bilingual *šuilla* prayer to Ninlil.[11]

The prayer was first edited in *AfO* 19 (1959-60) by W.G. Lambert, who published K.225 (MS A), offering a transliteration and translation of the text. Copies of the fragments were also included in Lambert's edition (pls VIII-XXIII). In the same article, the author provided the first edition of the *Marduk*1 and 2. The *Ištar Prayer* – together with the two *Marduk* compositions – was identified already in Lambert's

5 This manuscript, BM 34487 (Sp 611)(+)BM 35205 (Sp-II.762), was identified by T. Mitto within the *eBL* project. Moreover, Mitto provided a new edition of the *Catalogue of Texts and Authors*, first published by Lambert 1957, comprehensive of a transliteration, transcription, translation and copy of the new manuscript (see Mitto 2022b).

6 Mitto 2022b, 106.

7 Mitto 2022b, 133-4.

8 For an edition of this text see Cooley 2022, cf. Helle 2018, 369-71.

9 Lenzi 2008, 141.

10 For a more detailed discussion regarding Aba-ninnu-dari, allegedly Ahiqar in Aramaic, the sources attesting this name and his likely origin in the Kassite period, see Mitto 2023.

11 K.2757 (*BMS* 35), cf. Lambert 1957, 6 fn. 23a; cf. Mitto 2023.

article as belonging to the loose category of the *Great Hymns and Prayers*. The first edition and copy of BM 35868+BM 35939+BM 35948+BM 35957 (MS B) was recently prepared within the *eBL* project and published by E. Jiménez and G. Rozzi.[12] Here I provide a complete edition of the *Ištar Prayer*, including both MS A and B.[13]

More recent translations of the *Ištar Prayer* were provided by Seux in his anthology of Akkadian hymns and prayers),[14] and in Foster's collection of Akkadian literary texts.[15]

3.2 Layout and Poetic Structure

While most of the manuscripts preserving the *Great Hymns and Prayers* are arranged into couplets by rulings, thus displaying a distinctive layout which even helped scholars to identify them, the principal manuscript (MS A) of the *Ištar Prayer* is divided into what has originally been interpreted by Lambert as poetical strophes, marked by a horizontal ruling after every tenth line.[16]

The layout of the tablet, however, does not match the ten line units throughout the whole text. Indeed it is clear that despite the ten line markings, the text is written in couplets and not in ten line strophes.[17] The strophes do not always correspond to the semantic units. On the contrary, thematically related verses can belong to different units. The ruling occasionally splits parallel couplets, thus disrupting semantic structures (e.g. ll. 150-1, 210-11) and this suggests a mechanical text division. While the artificial division of texts through rulings is common among first-millennium literary compositions, and is also found within the *Great Hymns and Prayers*,[18] the lack of correspondence between the ten line strophes and the sense of the verses can be explained by considering the ten line rulings not as poetical dividers, but instead as librarian marks: the ten line division often occurs in Akkadian literary texts, expressed through the wedge for 'ten' placed every tenth line. Such decimal mark can be found, for example, in some manuscripts of the OB Akkadian version

12 Jiménez, Rozzi 2022.

13 An electronic edition of the prayer has been published on the *eBL* platform by the Author (Rozzi 2023a).

14 Seux 1976.

15 Foster 2005³.

16 Lambert 1959-60, 48.

17 Lambert 1959-60, 48.

18 Groneberg 1996, 66; Lambert 1960, 124.

of Innin-šà-gur$_4$-ra,[19] and also among epic compositions and wisdom texts (e.g. *Ludlul*, *Anzû*, *Atramḫasīs*, and in the Old Babylonian composition *Man and His God*).[20]

In addition, the extant text does not display the typical poetic pattern of Mesopotamian hymns and prayers, namely the almost literal repetition of two distichs, only diversified by the postponed introduction of the divine name ('lyrical repetition', cf. chapter 2, § 5.2.4.1.2 and chapter 5, sub "Repetition").[21]

Unlike the *Nabû Prayer*, there is no clear graphic indication of a metrical *caesura* within the *Ištar Prayer*. Whereas spacing within the lines commonly occurs, it does not seem connected with rhythm or metre. Empty spaces are inserted between words sparsely, and while they do occasionally appear to match the presumed metric division (e.g. l. 87 or the parallel couplet formed by ll. 232-3), more often they seem to respond to a merely aesthetic criterion, namely the physical justification of the text.[22] Such layout involves stretching the words across the tablet so that they fill the entire line: l. 84, for example, is written *a-nu-na*(space) *k*[*u*]*l-*⌜*lu*⌝*-mat*(space) *e-ṭe-ra*(space) *i-d*[*i*]. Moreover, spacing might occur even within a single word: e.g. l. 234 *ur-šá-nu-*(space)*tú*. The inconsistent use of spaces throughout the text makes it difficult to establish the number of the missing signs in the breaks.

Examples of this arrangement are also found in other Akkadian literary texts, as in OB *Gilgameš* II, l. 237,[23] in which spacing occurs within the name of the goddess Ninsun, written ^{d}*Nin-sún-*(space)*na*. This arrangement makes the word long enough to reach the right edge of the column.[24]

3.2.1 Prosody

The fragmentary state of the manuscript makes the analysis of meter uncertain. Nevertheless, it seems that the *clausula accadica* was

19 Groneberg 1996, 65-6, and fn. 43.

20 Hess 2015, 263; cf. Lambert 1987, 189. See also George 2007a, 59 for decimal marks in a fragment containing a passage of *Gilgameš*. With regard to this aspect, George observes: "The use of such marks speaks for the serious intentions of the writer to produce a permanent copy fit for consultation" (2007a, 59).

21 Lambert 1959-60, 48; Vogelzang 1996, 71; Metcalf 2015, 22-3; 59-60.

22 Hess 2015, 268-9.

23 For the edition of the text see George 2003, 180.

24 More examples of this practice are provided by Hess 2015, 267-70. Hess suggests that such spacings between words or even syllables might not be due to poetic, but could be a choice dictated by purely aesthetic reasons (Hess 2015, 268).

generally respected.[25] Out of a total of 115 analysed lines, it is possible to count 36 lines that end in a trochee, and 67 that contain an amphibrach in the last foot.[26] The only exception seems to be represented by one line. However, even this is in doubt, as it is partially restored in the second foot: l. 163 *itg*[*urat*].

Judging from the extant text, it appears that the standard *Vierheber* line, namely the 2+2 structure also used in epic compositions,[27] is most commonly employed within the prayer (69 out of 78 analysed lines).[28] Indeed the preserved lines mostly contain four words, and it is therefore possible to look for the standard four units in each line (for the Akkadian metre see chapter 1, § 1.2.3 and the *Nabû Prayer* in chapter 2, § 2.2.1). Such an analysis indicates that the text usually respects the supposed *caesura* – even though, as has been said, the metrical break is not explicitly marked – because most preserved lines can be easily divided into two halves, according to both grammar and sense. Closely related words, for example construct chains or nouns with adjectives, do not appear in the second or third place within the verses.[29]

Nevertheless, there are several exceptions, and lines with an irregular metrical structure are also present. Indeed, some of the extant lines only contain three metrical units, and do not allow a four unit scansion. These irregular lines are: 1, 78, 87, 156, 174-5, 177, 178 and 238.

L. 78 seems to use two metrical units in the first hemistich and only one in the second, hence resulting in a 2+1 pattern:

l. 78 *kalîšin ḫiṭātūa u gillātū*[*a*].

In this case, the *caesura* must be put after *ḫiṭātūa*, as *kalîšin* is in apposition to it.[30] While *kalîšin* probably refers to both nouns, in the

25 For some references on the *clausula accadica* see chapter 2, § 2.2.1.

26 My analysis was conducted by examining entirely preserved lines or lines that can be restored with a high degree of probability. More specifically, the count of the *clausula accadica* kept into consideration only those lines whose second hemistich is complete or sufficiently restored. Hence, the metrical scansion included the following lines: 1, 5-7, 9-16, 18, 20-32, 35-6, 42, 47-52, 57-61, 74-88, 92, 112-13, 155-65, 167-72, 174, 178, 184-5, 207-12, 215-47.

27 Lambert 1960, 66; Hecker 1974, 113; West 1997, 176; Jiménez 2017a, 73.

28 With respect to the line pattern, I examined lines preserved in both hemistichs, and lines whose metrical structure can be clearly identified, in spite of possible reconstructions. The analysed lines are the following: 1, 5-7, 9-16, 18, 21, 75-88, 92, 94, 96, 100, 155-65, 167-75, 177-9, 181, 184-6, 210, 216-17, 219-20, 222-3, 228, 236-46.

29 Cf. Lambert 2013, 21-2.

30 Words in apposition are considered as strictly connected in the metrical analysis, cf. Lambert 2013, 22.

metric analysis it belongs with the first substantive only.[31] The final *ictus* falls on the second-last syllable, thus producing a regular trochaic ending.

Not only grammatical, but also logical criteria can help determine the position of the metrical break when it is not graphically marked on the tablet. One line displays what appears to be a 2+1 structure:

l. 87 *ummad pāliḫša* || *ina t*[*esp*]*ī*[*ti*]

The verb and its object are probably to be taken as belonging to the same metrical unit, whereas *ina tespīti* could form the second half of the line.

Occasionally, however, there is no clear grammatical or logical reason for coupling the units in one way or another, and it is difficult to decide where the *caesura* must fall. In some cases, for example, the line might be 1+2 or 2+1:

l. 156 *lallarīšu kimtašu iḫa*[*ššaš*(?)]

If the restoration of this passage is correct,[32] this line is made up of three metrical units; its metrical structure is, however, difficult to analyse.

A similar case is represented by ll. 174-5, which consist of a parallel couplet with a chiastic structure. Each line displays three units, since the negative particles *ai* and *lā* do not represent metrical units and should not be considered in the count:[33]

174 *lā uqatti* | *ensû* | *sir*[*qīšu*]
175 *taqqāti* | *mār bārî* | *ai ī*[*kul*(?)]

The first verbal form appears at the beginning of the verse and parallels the verb in the second line, which, in contrast, appears on the end. It is uncertain where the metrical break should be put.

An ambiguous metrical division is also found at ll. 177-8: l. 177 is damaged in the second hemistich, but judging from the space on the tablet and from the context, it seems to share the same structure with the line immediately following. Hence, the two lines seem to form a parallel couplet:

31 The word *kalûm* is normally found after the substantive to which it refers, but in poetry the order can often be inverted. Cf. *GAG* § 134 h.

32 Own restoration. A different reconstruction was offered by von Soden 1971, 49. See further in the commentary on l. 146.

33 Lambert 2013, 23, cf. chapter 2, § 2.2.1.

177*ai uzabbil napištašu i*[*rtuššu*(?)]
178*ai ibā' ša lā kâti u*[*ruḫšu*]

From this reconstruction, it appears that only three metrical units are contained in each line. Just like the negative particles *ai* and *lā*, the relative particle *ša* must not be counted in the metrical scansion.[34] Theoretically both lines could be of the 1+2 or the 2+1 type, yet the grammatical correspondence between the first hemistich in both lines, which displays a verb, together with the seeming chiasmus occurring in the second half of the lines hints towards a 1+2 division. The *caesura*, therefore, should probably be put after the verbal forms (l. 177 *ai uzabbil* and l. 178 *ai ibā'*).

L. 238, although partially reconstructed, seems to display a 1+2 structure:

238[*ku*]*nšāšī-ma*(?) || *rišâ lamassa*

Some lines can be scanned in various ways, because they contain units that might be considered as *ancipites*.[35] For example, construct-chains can be scanned as one or two metrical units:

161*ina lā ṭābi šār ili maḫḫūtiš tab*[*la*(?)]

If one considers the phrase *šār ili* as composed of two distinct units, the line would be a 3+2; however, since our text tends to respect the 2+2 pattern, I take *šār ili* as a singular foot, and scan this line as a standard 2+2.[36]

One line seems to consist of five metrical units (if correctly restored) and might be scanned as a 3+2:

92*ul irši aba ema* || [*umma*(?) *emēta*(?)]

Noticeably, the last line of the text has a 1+1 structure: 247*ištar* || *aḫulapki*.

From the comprehensive analysis of the preserved lines, the second hemistich appears to be the most regular part of the verse. It displays standard metrical units formed from entire words and not

34 Lambert 2013, 23, cf. chapter 2, § 2.2.1.

35 Lambert 2013, 23-5; cf. also Jiménez 2017a, 226.

36 Construct chains can count as one or two metrical feet, as confirmed by the metrical analysis of *Enūma eliš* provided by Lambert. The same ambiguity is also found in some manuscripts of *Theodicy*. See Lambert 2013, 25; Jiménez 2017a, 226 fn. 238. Cf. chapter 2, § 2.2.1 and chapter 1, § 1.2.3.

from phrases (construct chains, word pairs),[37] prepositions or particles, which are normally found instead in the first halves of the lines (e.g. l. 88, l. 119, l. 157, l. 159, l. 161). The general regularity of the second hemistich is a typical characteristic of the Akkadian metre.[38]

Although numerous lines are broken, it is clear that synonymous parallelism is used extensively throughout the whole text. Clearly parallel couplets are ll. 6-7, 10-11, 12-13, 14-15, 16-17, 18-19, 77-8, 79-80, 81-2, 83-4, 85-6, 87-8, 89-90, 91-2, 99-100, 112-13, 156-7, 166-7, 174-5, 177-8, 182-3, 184-5, 210-11, 216-17, 218-19, 222-3, 224-5, 226-7, 237-8, 239-40, 242-3, 244-5.

3.3 Language and Spelling Conventions

The composition is written in an elevated style and clearly draws from the Mesopotamian literary tradition, being characterised by the stock phrases and themes typically found in Sumerian and Akkadian hymns and penitential prayers. In addition, the text occasionally displays traits of the so-called 'hymno-epic dialect' (cf. chapter 1, § 1.2.4, and see also chapter 2, § 2.3 for the attestations of these features in the *Nabû Prayer*):[39]

- Adverbial endings (locative and terminative cases):
  l. 7 *išduk*; l. 18 *šagīmuk*; l. 91 *abdukki*; l. 96 *manûššu* (uncertain); l. 104 *summeš*; l. 107 *sīqiš*, *kasîš*; l. 108 *ezziš*; l. 112 *ištariš*; l. 113 *ullîš*; l. 150 *anukki*; l. 151 *qībukki*; l. 161 *maḫḫûtiš*; l. 163 *iratuš*; l. 173 *pâiš*; l. 180 *turturreš* (*si vera lectio*); l. 193 *iṣṣūriš*; l. 197 *lē'îš*; l. 198 *lemniš*; l. 209 *rigmuški*; l. 211 *ṣītiš*; l. 212 *ina nâluš* (uncertain); l. 231 *šadûššin*; ll. 232, 233 *ēdiš*.
- Apocopated possessive pronouns:
  l. 6 *šinnatuk*; l. 7 *išduk*, l. 18 *šagīmuk*; l. 24 *kubukkuk*; l. 149 *libbuk*; l. 163 *iratuš*; l. 171 *kibsuš*, *išdūš*; l. 179 *arkatuš*; l. 231 *šadûššin*; l. 237 *nišīšin*; l. 240 *zībīkin*, l. 245 *rēšīš*.
- Use of the interrogative pronoun *mīnû*
  l. 168 *ana mīnâ*
- Rare words and *hapax legomena*:
  l. 18 *šagīmuk*, from *šagīmu* + locative and pronominal suffix, 'your roar'; l. 82 *mikītu* 'negligence' (*hapax*); l. 84 *anūna* 'terror'; l. 87 *ina tespīti*, from *tespītu* 'with petition', l. 90 *rubbu* 'anger'; l. 91 *abdukki*, from *abdu* + locative and pronominal suffix, 'your servant'; l. 98 *se'â-ma*, from *se'û* 'bowed down'; l. 113 *qadmīšu*, from

37 Following Lambert's definition of 'phrases', Lambert 2013, 23.

38 Lambert 2013, 25; Jiménez 2017a, 73.

39 Von Soden 1931, 163-227 and 1933, 90-183; Groneberg 1978, 15; Hess 2010, 102-22. Cf. Jiménez 2017a, 76-9.

qadmu + pronominal suffix, 'his god'; l. 149 *rabbu* 'soft'; l. 154 *elilūšu*, from *elilu* + pronominal suffix, 'his song'; l. 158 *ūtakkak* from *ekēku*, 'he scratches himself' and *inaḫḫis*, from *naḫāsu* 'he weeps'; l. 157 *nubêšu*, from *nubû* + pronominal suffix, 'lamentation for him'; l. 161 *maḫḫûtiš*, from *maḫḫûtu* + terminative suffix, '(he is driven) to madness'; l. 163 *ittaḫbaš* from *ḫabāšu* 'he has been shattered'. The N-stem of this verb is elsewhere unattested; l. 169 *ina karri u malî*, from *karru* and *malû*, 'in the mourning garment and (with) unkempt hair'; l. 173 *pâiš karāši* (*pî karāši* + terminative suffix, 'from the mouth of destruction'; l. 174 *ensû* 'diviner'; l. 175 *taqqāti*, from *tanqītu* 'libations'; l. 176 *neʾellîšu*, from *neʾellû* 'come to his help'; l. 216 *kīšīya*, from *kīšu* 'my pains'; l. 224 *enēnša*, from *enēnu* + pronominal suffix, 'her compassion'; 225 *napšurša* from *napšuru* + pronominal suffix, 'her forgiveness'; l. 234 *uršānūtu* 'heroism'; l. 236 *azāra*, from *azāru* 'to aid'; l. 236 *kâša*, from *kâšu* 'to help'.

- *Status constructus* ending in *-u*: l. 82 *m*[*iʾ-imʾ-m*]*uʾ-ú* for *mimmû*.
- Inversion of standard word order:
  e.g. l. 157 *ana nubêšu marṣūti ipḫura salā*[*ssu*]; l. 159 *ina ṣērīšu itkušū rēmu unnī*[*ni*] (verbs in penultimate position); 163 *ittaḫbaš iratuš lišānšu itg*[*urat*(?)] (fronting of the verb, which creates a chiastic structure).
- Archaising third person feminine with *ta*-prefix:
  l. 184 *taqbi* (*si vera lectio*); l. 187 *talli*.
- Nominal form PARSAT of feminine nouns:
  l. 102 *napšassu*; l. 148 *kabta*[*tki*(?)] (*si vera lectio*);[40] l.163 *iratuš*

Contrary to what has been observed in the *Nabû Prayer* (see chapter 2, § 2.3), the main manuscript preserving the *Ištar Prayer* generally respects the standard triptotic declination: the extant text presents very few variations in the case endings.

Besides the regular ending in *-a*, there are three attestations for the accusative singular in *-u* (MS A):

l. 21 *né-ʾu-u*; l. 185 *taš-ši-tú* for *taššīta*; l. 242 *e-ṭe-ru* for *eṭēra*.

The accusative singular in *-i* is twice attested (MS A):

l. 76 *e-ʾe-li* for *eʾʾēla*; l. 92 *a-bi* and *ʾe-e-mi* for *aba and ema*.

Two lines seem to display the genitive singular in *-u*:

40 George 2003, 431-2; cf. also Jiménez 2017a, 77.

l. 16 *ina šá-áš*]-*mu* (MS B); l. 82 *m*[*iʾ-imʾ-m*]*uʾ-ú mi-ki-tú* for *m*[*imm*] *ê*(?) *mekīti*. (MS A)

Irregular endings may also appear in plural forms, and indeed, two occurrences of the accusative plural in *-ū* are found (MS A):

l. 81 [*kaʾ-l*]*aʾ an-nu-ú-a* for *kala annīya*; l. 82 *ma-la-a gíl-la-tu-ú-*⌜*a*⌝ for *mala gillatīya*.

The nominative singular is apparently respected throughout the manuscript, while one line presents two nominative plural endings in *-ī* (MS A):

l. 230 [… *su*]*kʾ-ki* for *sukkū* (if correctly restored) and ⌜*pa*⌝*-rak-ki* for *parakkū*.

Occasionally MS A seems to show the apocope of final vowels:

l. 163 *iratuš* for *iratuššu*; l. 220 [… *buʾ-ulʾ-l*]*uṭʾ* (*si vera lectio*, substativised infinitive), for *bulluṭa*.

Two examples of a paragogic vowel are found (MS A): l. 27 *pa-ni* for *pān*; l. 172 *si-qí* for *sīq*.

The mimation of case endings is not attested within the two manuscripts, except for the rare use of TUM in three cases, all in MS A: l. 29 *erʾ-bétʾ-t*]u_4 (for *erbetti*, genitive) and *ra-bu-tu*$_4$ (for *rabûtu*, nominative[?], context broken); l. 223: [*ṣi-bit-t*]u_4 (*si vera lectio*).

The witness texts also display apparent scribal mistakes. Cases of aberrant spelling result in nonexistent forms:

l. 168 *tu-am-mé-šú* for *temešší* (*si vera lectio*); l. 214 *lis-su-pa-ʾi-i*, uncertain, perhaps a form from *wapû* Š-stem.

Four Assyrianisms are found (all MS A):

l. 49 *šá-ma-me* for *šamāmī*;[41] l. 77 *i-šeṭ* for *ešēṭ*;[42] l. 101 *ta-pat-t*[*e*…] for *tepette*;[43] l. 195 *še-la-a-ti* for *šilâti*.

One line shows an error of syllable inversion (MS A): l. 169 *i-tab-nak-*[*kiʾ*] for *ibtanakki*.[44]

41 Cf. Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 78-9; Huehnergard 2011, 600.

42 See Parpola 1993, 48.

43 Cf. Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 157.

44 For a description of this type of error and for other occurrences of this phenomenon, see Worthington 2012, 111-12.

An error of sign incompleteness is found in l. 185 (MS A), where the scribe wrote MA *ši-na-a-ti* for *lā šināti*.[45]

3.4 Structure and Content

Overall this literary composition addressed to Ištar follows the standard structure of Akkadian prayers, only occasionally altering the conventional sequence.[46] The composition displays the typical motifs and formulas found in penitential prayers.

The first portion of the text can now be recovered through the newly discovered Babylonian manuscript, which allows the partial reconstruction of lines 1-20 and improves the restoration of the end of the composition (ll. 236-47). It is now possible to observe that the opening section contains the traditional hymnic introduction, characterised by a brief invocation, praises of the deity and a standard catalogue of Ištar's prerogatives (ca. ll. 1-50).[47] Although the text is fragmentary even in this first part, it is likely to contain a number of comparative phrases: the goddess, in her divine attributes, is compared to other important deities of the Mesopotamian pantheon (ll. 10-11, 14-15, 17-19). A temple of the goddess, named Duku, is also attested in this part of the prayer (l. 12).

From ca. l. 50 on, a description of the supplicant's suffering seems to follow (the "Penitential Section").[48] This passage occupies most of the composition, apparently unfolding until the end of the third column, and possibly beyond (l. 199, where the composition breaks off). Within the "Penitential Section", a short portion of praise also occurs, thus interrupting the description of illnesses and symptoms of despair (ll. 81-90). The "Penitential Section" of the text is followed by the conventional pleas:[49] between ll. 207-20 there various petitions to the goddess are attested, who is asked to show mercy and to save the penitent. This portion is characterised by the use of precatives and imperatives.

The closing section represents the "Final Salutation" and expresses thanksgiving to the deity.[50] It runs from l. 221 to l. 247 and shares some traits with the hymnic opening, in that in this last passage the divine qualities of Ištar are described. Further in this section, the

45 Worthington 2012, 106-10.

46 For the conventional structure of Akkadian prayers see chapter 1, § 1.1.2, chapter 2, § 2.4, esp. fn. 81, and § 2.4.1. For a detailed description of each section see below, § 3.4.1.

47 Cf. Mayer 1976, 39-45; Metcalf 2015, 22 and 59.

48 Cf. Mayer 1976, 67-118.

49 Cf. Mayer 1976, 210-306.

50 Cf. Mayer 1976, 307-62; Metcalf 2015, 22, 72-3.

supplicant asks all the gods and all the people to glorify the goddess.

Hence, it is possible to divide the prayer into four sections:

1. "Hymnic Introduction" (ca. ll. 1-50)
2. "Penitential Section" (ca. ll. 51-199)
3. "Plea" (ll. 207-20)
4. "Final Salutation" (ll. 221-47)

3.4.1 Analysis of the Individual Sections: Topoi and Use of Verbal and Nominal Forms

The *Ištar Prayer* is written in a consistent style, showing the conventional formal traits of the so-called 'hymno-epic dialect'. In addition, the author of the prayer makes use of numerous topoi and formulas borrowed from other prayers and literary texts.

The very first lines are lost or too broken to allow a complete analysis, yet the extant text shows some elements that are typical of the opening section of prayers, i.e. the hymnic introduction,[51] which contains the invocation of the deity and the description of the divine prerogatives. This section serves to identify the deity to whom the prayer is addressed: the supplicant invokes the deity directly via second person singular forms. Indeed two second person singular verbs in the present tense are found in the first portion of the *Ištar Prayer*:

> l. 12 *tarmî*; l. 13 *tanaddinī*; l. 23 [*tu*]*ḫaṣṣiṣī* (if correctly reconstructed); l. 31 *taba''ī*.

Present tense verbs commonly occur in the hymnic opening, together with statives and nominal sentences, and are connoted with an atemporal nuance, which aims to convey the everlasting value of the divine qualities. One can assume that the verbal forms appearing in the initial part of our prayer bear the same 'atemporal' meaning.[52]

Moreover, the opening part of the present text displays the use of the second person in nominal forms as well. This can be seen in the following substantives, which are all followed by a second person pronominal suffix:

> l. 6 *šinnatuk*; l. 7 *išduk*; l. 11 *šipraki*; l. 18 *šagīmuk*; l. 22 *qûki*; l. 25 *šēpīki*; l. 32 *anūnki*; l. 35 *malāki*.

51 For a more detailed analysis of each section, see below § 3.4.1.

52 Metcalf 2015, 63; Metzler 2002, 728. See *GAG* § 78 d, β for present tense as 'extratemporalis' and cf. the same usage of this tense in the hymnic section of the *Nabû Prayer*, chapter 2, § 2.4.1.

The conventional hymnic opening of Akkadian prayers contains epithets, attributes and specific poetic structures, known as 'lyrical repetition', a poetic device also used in Sumerian prayers (see above § 3.2). The divine attributes described in this part often relate to the specific petitions and wishes further expressed in the "Plea" section, and are therefore purposefully selected by the supplicant to render the prayer more effective for his personal needs. In this regard, commonly occurring topoi are the deity's benevolence and forgiveness.[53] Praises, moreover, might also stress the importance of the deity among the other gods in the pantheon, and his or her relevance to humanity. Indeed, deities are praised not only for their divine powers, but also for their capacity to bestow prosperity on people, providing them with abundance and general well-being.[54] Praises are often hyperbolic, and emphasise the uniqueness of the deity to whom the prayer is directed.[55]

The text under study seems to contain the aforementioned typical motifs. The words preserved in the first portion of the *Prayer to Ištar* contain several elements that evoke the divine might of the goddess:

> l. 18 *šagīmuk* 'in your roar'; l. 20 *meṭl*[*ū*]*ti* 'excellence'; l. 22 *šadid qûki* 'your thread is stretched'; l. 24 *kubukkuk* 'your strength'.

Compare also ll. 10-11, 14-15, and 16-18, which, despite being partially reconstructed, clearly depict the goddess's qualities and her primary prerogatives. For example, line 17 emphasises the warrior nature of the goddess. The attributes of Ishtar described in these verses are compared with those of other important deities in a series of comparative phrases, indirectly legitimising Ishtar's role. In l. 35 the adverbial phrase *malāki* 'as much as you', might be interpreted as an expression used to underline the preeminence of the goddess among the other deities. For the attestation of this topos in the text, see for example l. 85, in which *malāki* is also used with this sense: *ayyû ina ilī imṣa malāk*[*i*], "Who, among the gods, is as powerful as yo[u]?".

The hymnic introduction is followed by the second and longest section of the text, namely the "Penitential" section. This part contains

53 Cf. Mayer 1976, 44-5; Oshima 2011, 15; Hallo 1968, 77. See chapter 2, § 2.4.1.

54 These topoi – i.e. the eminence of the deity in the Pantheon and the deity's role as provider of life and well-being – are typically found in Mesopotamian hymns, frequently amplified in the section defined by Metcalf as the *laudes* section (Metcalf 2015, 22; more specifically for Sumerian sources: 31-49; 73-8 for Akkadian sources). They are, nevertheless, not exclusive to purely hymnic compositions and appear also in prayers. For various examples of prayers in which these motifs are attested see some of the first-millennium Akkadian prayers included by Foster in his anthology (Foster 2005): to Ea 643, ll. 1-11; to Ištar 674, ll. 1-20; to Marduk 686, ll. 1-9, 688-9, 693, ll. 1-9; to Nabû 695, ll. 1-8; to Ninurta as Sirius 715, ll. 1-7.

55 Metcalf 2015, 40-1, 76-7.

the lament of the supplicant, who lists the symptoms of his suffering and also confesses his own sins. It appears clear from the extant text that the negligent conduct of the penitent is identified as the cause of his misfortunes.

As has already been remarked with regard to the "Penitential Section" in the *Nabû Prayer*, the images and themes appearing in this portion of the *Ištar Prayer* can also be ascribed to the traditional representation of suffering in the Mesopotamian penitential prayers, and occur in several wisdom texts in which the figure of the 'righteous sufferer' is found.[56] In fact, conventional descriptions of physical and mental illness appear in our text, together with references to other kinds of misfortunes, namely social isolation and divine abandonment.

Typical symptoms of physical illness which are found in the present text are paralysis (ll. 59, 96), debility (ll. 97, 162, 164, 186), convulsions (ll. 162, 165, 186) inability to speak or to hear (ll. 74-5, 163), breathing difficulty (l. 164) and impotence (l. 165). Among the signs of mental distress, insomnia and panic are listed (ll. 158, 192, 194). In addition, the penitent is said to feel constricted and confused (ll. 166-7), and is further described as severely depressed (ll. 154-5, 169). His condition is so critical that his family calls the hired mourners to wail for him, as if he were already dead (ll. 156-7). This particular motif, i.e. the preparation of the funeral of the supplicant in anticipation of his death also occurs in *Ludlul* (II, ll. 114-15), and in the prayer to Marduk labelled by modern scholars as Ugaritica 5, no. 162 ll. 9'-12'.[57]

The images of physical and mental suffering are occasionally rendered through commonly attested motifs, e.g. the sufferer is described as moaning 'like a dove' (l. 104). Similar metaphors and similes inspired by the natural world and the animal kingdom often occur in Mesopotamian prayers.[58]

Besides illness, social adversity (e.g. isolation or sudden hostility from friends and family) was perceived by Mesopotamians as a possible consequence of divine wrath and often used as a topos in penitential prayers.[59] Examples of the petitioner experiencing social

56 See chapter 2, § 2.4.1.

57 For the passage in *Ludlul* see the latest edition by Oshima 2014, 92-3; for the editions of Ugaritica 5, 162 see Oshima 2011, 205-15 and Cohen 2013, 165-75. Cf. Oshima 2011, 188.

58 For further examples of similar metaphors, cf- Chapter 5, § 5.2.5.

59 See for example the *eršaḫuĝa* prayer no. 16, ll. 35-7: [35]*aštane''ēma mamman qātī ul iṣabbat* [36]*abkī-ma itatēya ul iṭḫu* [37]*qubê aqabbi mamman ul išemmanni*, "I would constantly seek (for help), but no one would help me | I cried, but they did not approach me | I would give a lament, but no one would hear me" (edition by Maul 1988, 236-46, the translation used here is taken from Zernecke 2011b, 283); cf. Van der Toorn 1985, 63-4.

isolation can be seen in l. 92 *ul irši aba ema* [*umma*(?) *emēta*(?)], "He has no father, (no) *father in law*,[(*no*) *mother*, (*no*) *mother in law*]" and in l. 181 *ištīssu tappû ru'û uš*[*širūšu*(?)], "Companions and friends *le*[*ft him*] alone". The same topos of orphanship also appears in the *Theodicy*, ll. 9-11,[60] while *Ludlul* provides more examples of social adversities affecting the sufferer, who is slandered and abandoned by his friends, see for example *Ludlul* I, ll. 79-98.[61]

Divine abandonment is another standard theme that characterises Mesopotamian prayers and compositions of 'pious sufferers'. It is expressed through typical images, such as the perplexity of the experts – unable to discern the illness of the petitioner and to find the cause of his troubles – bad or confused omens, and frightening dreams.[62] In our *Ištar Prayer* there are some references to these conventional scenes (see for example ll. 174-5 and l. 179) in which the unsuccessful divinatory practices and the lack of clear omens are mentioned.

The "Penitential Section" combines first, second, and third person verbs. First person singular verbs reflect the voice of the petitioner, who speaks of his suffering and confesses his sins. The confession of guilt makes use of the standard vocabulary found in the Akkadian penitential prayers. In this respect, the sequence of verbal forms found in l. 77 follows the conventional enumeration in prayers: *ēgi aḫṭi ešēṭ ugalli*[*l*], "I have been negligent, I have sinned, I have done wrong, I have commit[ted sacrilege]". Furthermore, the substantives appearing in the following line (l. 78) form a fixed pair: *kalîšin ḫiṭātūa u gillātū*[*a*], "All my sins and my crimes!".[63]

The sufferer speaks again in the first person in a short passage at the end of this section, in which another confession appears (ll. 184-7).

From l. 81 to l. 183, the third person singular is mostly used: third person finite verbs either refer to the sufferer or to the adversities striking him. Occasionally, third person singular finite verbs are used in reference to the goddess. This can be seen in the brief hymnic passage that interrupts the lament (ll. 81-90), in which Ištar is extolled for her mercy and ability to save the supplicant (e.g. l. 81 *ukabba*[*s*]; l. 83 *ile''i*; l. 84 *īd*[*e*]).[64]

60 See Oshima 2014, 150-1.

61 See Oshima 2014, 84-5.

62 See for example *Ludlul* I, ll. 51-3 (Oshima 2014, 80-1) and *Ludlul* II, ll. 109-11 (Oshima 2014, 92-3). For attestations of these theme in prayers, see Mayer 1976, 104-6; cf. Van der Toorn 1985, 65-5.

63 See Mayer 1976, 111-16 for examples of passages in penitential prayers, in which the stereotyped usage of these verbs and terms can be noticed. The *šigû*-prayers (Mayer 1976, 112) especially display similarities with our text.

64 If the restoration in l. 79 is correct, the imperative form *piqdī* would be the only exception.

Second person verbs rarely appear in the "Penitential Section", and always refer to Ištar:

l. 91 *tamšî;* l. 168 *temeššī* (uncertain).

Besides finite verbs, numerous statives appear in this portion of the prayer, the majority of which refer to the supplicant and to his body parts, stricken by illness and evil agents (e.g. l. 75 *lamâni*; l. 97 *muqqā*; l. 98 *se'â-ma*).

Laments in form of questions are also found in this part of the text:

l. 96 *manûššu ana mīni mangu* [*iṣbassu*(?)], "In his bed, why [*has*] paralysis [*seized him*]?";
l. 168 *ana minâ imkû temeššī*(?) *ann*[*ašu*(?)], "In what respect has he been negligent? *You can disregard* [*his*] *gui*[*lt*]".

This rhetorical construction often occurs in *dinĝiršadabba* prayers.[65]

The "Penitential Section" serves as an introduction to the third section, the "Plea", which runs approximately from l. 207 to l. 220, and is devoted to the pleas of the supplicant. The petitions found in this part of the extant text accord with the typical phrases present in the Akkadian prayers, which include, among other things, requests for the deity's attention and appeals for mercy.[66] In this prayer these two particular motifs are expressed through standard formulas, which make use of imperative and precative verbs:

l. 216 [*leqî unn*]*īnī*(?) *puššiḫī kišīya*; l. 217 [*muḫrī*(?) *kadr*]*êa kâši ludlulki*; l. 219 *rišî rēma*.

Moreover, l. 217 – if correctly restored – represents a typical formulation of Akkadian prayers, already found in the *Nabû Prayer* (chapter 2, § 2.3.1). This phrase consists in the use of an imperative-precative sequence, that expresses a logical chain of events, and can be translated with a consecutive phrase: "[*accept*] my [*prese*]*nts*, so that I may praise you!".[67]

65 Mayer 1976, 92. For examples of similar expressions, see *e.g.* the *diĝiršadabba* prayer no. 11 in Jaques 2015, 60-108, l. 1, *Ea Šamaš u Marduk minû annīya*, "Ea, Šamaš and Marduk, what are my sins?" (Jaques 2015, 60 and 87).

66 Mayer 1976, 210-306.

67 Mayer defines this specific conventional formulation, which is characterised by the use of the first person, as "Lobversprechen", meaning that the supplicant promises that he himself will glorify the addressee (Mayer 1976, 310).

By this formula, the supplicant means to repay the deity for their aid by promising future praises. Furthermore, a second thought is implied, namely that the god needs a healthy devotee to be properly worshipped.[68]

The last section of the text, the "Final Salutation", seemingly unfolds from l. 221 to the end of the text, and mostly employs imperative and precative verbs. This closing section has the purpose of showing gratitude and faith to Ištar by extolling her qualities and powers.[69] The tablet is partially damaged at this point, but some passages can still be reconstructed: the extant text contains praises to the goddess and wishes for her to be glorified in the future.[70]

The desire for future praising is a typical motif of Mesopotamian hymns and prayers, and is related to the 'forensic' character of praising in Akkadian prayers, that is the public manifestation of devotion.[71] This particular aspect has already been observed in the *Nabû Prayer* (cf. chapter 2, § 2.4.1), and is characterised by the use of stock phrases and formulations which engage, beside the supplicant himself (see above l. 217 in the "Plea" section: *ludlulki*, "I want to praise you"), other entities: the petitioner shows his own faith by praising – or promising to praise – the addressee in front of all gods and people,[72] and wishing for everyone to glorify the deity as well. In the extant text, numerous plural imperatives and one precative (l. 227) express this public engagement:

> l. 226 *šukennāši*; l. 227 [*a*]*ppakina libnāši*; l. 229 *kitrabāši*; l. 237 *dullā*; l. 238 [*ku*]*nšāšī-ma*; l. 240 *ē taklāši*: l. 241 [*k*]*urbā*, *šuqqâ*; l. 244 *qud*]*dišā*, *mussâ*; l. 245 *kinnā rēšiš killā*.

Since the final portion of the present text shows numerous lacunas, it is difficult to ascertain to whom precisely these verbs refer; nevertheless, in some cases the use of pronominal suffixes can offer a clue: numerous pronouns appearing in these lines are second or third plural feminine, and must thus refer to feminine plural subjects.

68 For more on the meaning of the imperative-precative structure, see chapter 2, § 2.4.1. Cf. also Huehnergard 2011, 147.

69 Praises in this part of the prayer are considered by Mayer as expressions of gratitude from the petitioner, and also as a way to actualise what has been promised and anticipated in the prayer, namely the future glorification (Mayer 1976, 356-7). For more on the meaning of praises in the last section of prayers see chapter 2, § 2.4.1.

70 Whereas the"Lobversprechen" (see above, § 2.4.1) involves the supplicant himself, and only employs first person forms, the wish for other entities to extol the deity is expressed through third person forms and defined by Mayer as "Lobwunsch" (Mayer 1976, 310).

71 Mayer 1976, 309.

72 Cf. chapter 2, § 2.4.1.

Possible feminine subjects might be a group of goddesses, or also groups of people, indicated by feminine substantives such as *nišū*, or by its poetic variant *tenēšētu*.[73]

In *Queen of Nippur*, the goddess Ištar is said to be venerated by goddesses, who pray to her and kneel in front of her (col. iv, ll. 21-2):

21*kam-sa-ši kul-lat-sin* ^{d}*iš-tar*^{me} *ni-ši-i-ma*
22*ut-nin-na-ši mit-ḫa-riš šá-pal-šá ka-am-sa*
21All the goddesses of the peoples bow down to her,
22They pray to her without exception and bow beneath her.[74]

The mention of the people can occur at the end of prayers as well,[75] see for example the *Nabû Prayer*, ll. 220-3 (cf. above, the philological commentary on these lines in chapter 2):

220/222[*be-lu*$_4$/ ^{d}AG *i-n*]*a* DINGIR.MEŠ *šur-bu-ú nar-bu-ka*
221/223[*nišū*? *t*]*a-nit-ta-ka ú-šar-ri-ḫa ana ṣa-a-ti*
220/222[O Lord/Nabû amo]ng the gods your greatness is supreme,
221/223[The people] make magnificent your [pra]ise forever.

Another element which commonly appears in similar passages is the land itself, occasionally paired with the heavens.[76] The mention of mountains in l. 231 (*šadûššin* 'In their mountains') suggests that the subject of this line might indeed be *mātātu* or another feminine substantive for 'land'.

The numerous praises occurring in this section contain some of the stock phrases that have been identified and listed by Mayer in his study on Akkadian penitential prayers.[77]

Final praises can be distinguished into three types. The first type follows a Sumerian model, and is called by Mayer the *kûmma/u*-type. It consists of presenting one or more prerogatives of the addressee through the usage of the adjective *kû*(*m*). In our text, for example, this type of formula occurs in l. 246: [*su*]*ppû sullû šutēmuqu kûm-ma Ištar*, "[Su]pplication, petition, prayer are yours, o Ištar!".[78]

The second and third type involve the presentation of the divine attributes as well: they both describe the divine being, but differ

73 Cf. Foster 2005, 606 and 609 fn. 4, who maintains instead that the text might address a group of women devotees.

74 Lambert 1982, 202-3.

75 Mayer 1976, 327, "Typ 1".

76 Mayer 1976, 327, "Typ 1" and "Typ 3".

77 Mayer 1976, 250-5.

78 Cf. Mayer 1976, 351.

from each other by the use of grammatical forms. The former uses second person singular verbs, and addresses the deity directly (the "Du-bist"-type). In contrast, the latter uses third person singular verbs (the "Gott x ist/kann"-type).

Examples of the type 3 occurring in our text are the following:

> l. 220 [*mīta*(?) *bul*]*luṭ*(*a*)(?) *puššuḫa ile''i*, "(She can) [*rev*]*ive* [*the dead*], she can soothe"; l. 222 [*ṣabta umaššir k*]*asâ urammi*, "[*She frees the captive*], she releases the *ma*[*n in bonds*]"; l. 223 [*ana ša bīt ṣibitt*]*i ukallam nūra,* "[*To the one who is in pris*]*on* she shows light"; l. 232 *ēdiš ṣīrat,* "She is supreme"; l. 233 *ēdiš gašrat,* "She is powerful".

Another common motif that can be noticed in the closing section of the present text is the *elatio*.[79] This rhetorical strategy is a typical trait of Mesopotamian hymns, but can also characterise hymnic passages in prayers. It is employed to explain the origin of the divine attributes mentioned and praised in the composition. Indeed, the qualities by which the god is extolled are often said to have been given by other gods:

> 242[*uṣ*]*bašši Enlil šūzuba eṭēra*
> 243[*gam*]*āla n*[*ê*]*ša u napšura išīmši šalaš*
> 242Enlil [*granted her*] (the power) to save and rescue,
> 243Šalaš decreed for her to spare, to [he]al and to f[or]give.

The qualities of the goddess are celebrated not only through praises, but also through physical acts of devotion: besides a verbal aspect, Mesopotamian prayers often contain descriptions of physical actions, i.e. ritual gestures and offerings, which were also part of the praying. The present text shows elements that illustrate similar expressions of worship practices, e.g.:[80]

> l. 226 *šukennāši* "bow down to her!"; l. 227 [*a*]*ppakina libnāši,* "pa]y homage to her!" (*lit*. "*str*]*oke your nose* for her!"); l. 238 [*ku*]*nšāšī-ma* "Kneel to her"; l. 240 *ē taklāši kadrê zībīkin* "Do not withhold from her your food offerings as a gift!"; l. 244 *qud*]*dišā, mussâ* "Wipe her lip(s), wash her arm(s)!"; l. 245 [*š*]*ubat išta*[*r ku*]*nnîš kinnā rēšīš killā,* "Establish with care the abode of Ištar, provide for it!".

79 This definition is taken from Metcalf 2015, 37. For a discussion of this subject, see Metcalf 2015, 37-40 (in relation to Sumerian sources); 57-8 and 75-6 (for Akkadian sources).

80 Cf. chapter 2, § 2.4.1 for similar elements in the *Nabû Prayer*.

3.5 Edition

3.5.1 Text

3.5.1.1 Content

The *Ištar Prayer* is known from two manuscripts: K.225+K.9962 (MS A) and BM 35868+ (MS B). MS A is a two-column tablet, coming from Ashurbanipal's library in Nineveh and written in Neo-Assyrian script. This manuscript is arranged in sections of 10 lines, marked by horizontal rulings. A rubric appears at the end of the last section, immediately below the division line.

MS B is a Late Babylonian source, probably coming from Babylon. It is written in Late Babylonian script and partially preserves the opening lines (col. i, ll. 3-20) of the composition on the obverse side, and the last lines (col. iv, ll. 236-47) on the reverse. MS B is marked by two division lines at the end of the prayer, and ends with a colophon; it was, as MS A, a two column tablet.

The composition is 247 lines long and shows the typical formal features of the *Great Hymns and Prayers*. The text deals with a sufferer who laments his condition and addresses the goddess Ištar in prayer.

3.5.1.2 Manuscripts

A	K.225+K.9962	*AfO* 19, pls 8-9eBL (Rozzi 2023a)	Two-column tablet, Neo-Assyrian script, 7th cent.	Nineveh, 'Ashurbanipal's Library', probably South-West Palace (Reade 2000, 422; George 2003, 386)
B	BM 35868+	*eBL* (Rozzi 2023a); Jiménez, Rozzi 2022	Late Babylonian script, 4th cent.	Babylon (?), Spartali collection (Sp-III.400+Sp-III.475+ Sp-III.484+ Sp-III.493, see Leichty-Finkel-Walker 2020 305, 307).

3.5.1.3 Previous Editions

Lambert, W. G. (1959-60). "Three literary prayers of the Babylonians". *AfO*, 19, 47-66 (50-5) (transliteration, translation and copy of K.225+K.9962).

Jiménez, E.; Rozzi, G. (2022). "A Babylonian Manuscript of the Great Hymn to Ištar". *KASKAL*, 19, 169-76.

Online edition: Rozzi, G. (2023a). "Hymn to Ištar ('Ištar 2'). With Contributions by E. Jiménez. Transl. by G. Rozzi. *electronic Babylonian Library*. https://doi.org/10.5282/ebl/l/3/9.

3.5.1.4 Transliteration

1 [*enet narbâk adallal*]

(1 line missing)

3	B obv. i 1'	[ ] x [x x x x]
4	B obv. i 2'	[ ] ˹*ú*˺-*ṣa*-˹*ar*˺-x [x]
5	B obv. i 3'	[ ] *a-a-ú* ˹*ma*˺-*ḫ*[*ir-ki*]
6	B obv. i 4'	[x x *š*]*in-na*-˹*tuk*˺ [(x)] *maš-šu-ú ṣi*-˹*mit*˺-[x]
7	B obv. i 5'	[x x x] *la a-šib* [(x)] ˹*iš*˺-*dúk la a-n*[*é-eḫ*]
8	B obv. i 6'	[x x] x-˹*paḫ-ri*˺ *ù su-lum*-[*mu-ú*ʔ]
9	B obv. i 7'	[x x] x *mi-iṣ*-˹*ra-ki*˺ ˹*la*˺ *na-bu-ú* ˹*zi*˺-*k*[*ir*ʔ*-ki/šú*]
10	B obv. i 8'	[x x *qí*]-˹*bit*ʔ˺ ᵈ*a-nim* ˹*ma*˺-*ṣa-at a-mat*-[*ki*]
11	B obv. i 9'	[x x] ˹ᵈ˺+[*e*]*n-líl ma*-˹*li-ki*˺ *šip*-˹*ra*˺-*ki ṣi-i*-[*ru*]
12	B obv. i 10'	[x x (x)] ˹*a*˺-*na* DU₆.KÙ *tar-mi-i šu-b*[*at-ki*]
13	B obv. i 11'	[*mi-il-k*]*a ta*-˹*na-ad*˺-*di-ni* ˹*it-ti*˺ ˹ᵈ˺IDIM ˹ᵈ˺[*nin-ši-kù*]
14	B obv. i 12'	[*na-šá*]-˹*a*˺-*ti šá-ru-ri* ˹*ki-ma*˺ ˹ᵈ˺30 *a*-[*bi-ki*]
15	B obv. i 13'	[*uz-na-k*]*i* ˹*rit*˺-*pa-šá ki*-˹*i*˺ ˹ᵈ˺UTU *t*[*a-li-mi-ki*]
16	B obv. i 14'	[*ina šá-áš*]-*mu* ˹MÈ˺ ˹*qab-li*˺ *u t*[*u*]-˹*qu-un*˺-[*ti*ʔ]
	A obv. i 1'	[*ina šašmi tāḫāzi qabli tu-qu-un*]-*t*[*i*]
17	B obv. i 15'	[*ki-ma* ᵈ*nin-ur*]*ta ur-šá-an* DINGIR.<DINGIR> *tar*-[x x x x (x x)]
	A obv. i 2'	[x x x x x x x x x x x] x-*tú*
18	B obv. i 16'	[(x x) x x] ˹ᵈ*ad-di*˺ x [*šagīmuk*]
	A obv. i 3'	[x x x x x x x x x x] ˹*šá-gi*˺-*muk*
19	B obv. i 17'	[(x x) x x] ᵈ*gíra* [x x x x *nanduq*]
	A obv. i 4'	[x x x x x x x]-˹*ki*ʔ˺ ˹*na-an*˺-*duq*
20	B obv. i 18'	[x x (x x)] x *du-un*-˹*na*˺(-)[x x x x *meṭlūti*]
	A obv. i 5'	[x x x x x x (x)] x *ù* ˹*mé*˺-*eṭ-l*[*u*]-˹*ti*˺
	A	———

21	A obv. i 6'	[*šušqâ šušpula*(?)] ˹*šá*˺-*da-da ù né*-ʾ*u-u*
22	A obv. i 7'	[ ] *šá*-˹*di*˺-*id qu-u-ki*
23	A obv. i 8'	[*kīma qanê*(?) *tu*]-*ḫaṣ-ṣi-ṣi* KUR.MEŠ *bi-ru-ti*
24	A obv. i 9'	[ ] *ku*-˹*bu*˺-*uk-ku-uk*
25	A obv. i 10'	[ ] *a-na ši*-˹*kin*˺ *še-pi-ki*
26	A obv. i 11'	[*petê idīki*(?) *šu*]-*bé*-ʾ*e-i* IM I
27	A obv. i 12'	[*pīt purīdīki*(?)] *pa-ni* IM II
28	A obv. i 13'	[IM III IM IV(?)] IM *i-da-a-ti*
29	A obv. i 14'	[*šār*(?) *er*ʔ-*bé t*ʔ-*t*]u_4 *me-ḫu-u ra-bu-tu*$_4$
30	A obv. i 15'	[…] x-*lat* ˹*ṣer*˺-*ret-su-un*
	A	———

31	A obv. i 16'	[ ] x na k[a]ʔ x *ta-ba-ʾi*
32	A obv. i 17'	[ ] x x [x (x)] x *a-nun-ki*
33	A obv. i 18'	[ ] x-*da-ti*
34	A obv. i 19'	]-˹*riʔ*˺-*ši-in*
35	A obv. i 20'	[ ] ˹*ma*˺-*la-ki*
36	A obv. i 21'	[ ] ˹ᵈ⁺˺*en-líl*
37	A obv. i 22'	-*d*]*u-uš*
38	A obv. i 23'	] x-*us*
39	A obv. i 24'	] x
40	A obv. i 25'	] x x
	A	

41	A obv. i 26'	]-*ku-ú-šú*
42	A obv. i 27'	] *re-míš*
43	A obv. i 28'	]-˹*ášʔ*˺-*ki*
44	A obv. i 29'	]-˹*uš*˺-*šu*
45	A obv. i 30'	]-*áš-ši*
46	A obv. i 31'	] ˹*aʔ*˺-*tap*-˹*pu*˺
47	A obv. i 32'	] x u_4-*um-šú*
48	A obv. i 33'	] x *ba-aš-mu*-˹*ma*˺
49	A obv. i 34'	] *šá-ma-me*
50	A obv. i 35'	] x [*z*]*u*-˹*un-na*˺
	A	

51	A obv. i 36'	[*ušʔ*]-˹*nam*˺-*mar*
52	A obv. i 37'	] *di*-˹*pa*˺-[*ruʔ*]
53	A obv. i 38'	] x x [x x]
54	A obv. i 39'	] x
55	A obv. i 40'	]-*di*
56	A obv. i 41'	] x-*ma*
57	A obv. i 42'	] x *a-na-ku*
58	A obv. i 43'	[*is*]-*ḫu-up la-a-ni*
59	A obv. i 44'	[x x x *mangu*(?) *iṣʔ-baʔ-a*]*tʔ i-di-ia*
60	A obv. i 45'	[ ] x *ik-la-an-ni*
	A	

61	A obv. i 46'	[ ] *pu-ú*-˹*ti*˺
62	A obv. i 47'	] x ˹kurʔ˺ x
63	A obv. i 48'	[ ]
64	A obv. i 49'	[d]i sur-ru x [x x]
65	A obv. i 50'	[ ] ˹*ù*˺ bu [x x x]
66	A obv. i 51'	[ ] paʔ *i-red-du-n*[*im-maʔ*]
67	A obv. i 52'	[ ] x ba x x [x x x]

(ll. 68-9 missing. MS A breaks off, end of obv. i; first lines of obv. ii lost)

70	A obv. ii 1'	[ ] x x x [ ]
71	A obv. ii 2'	[ ] x ta a [x] x x [x x x]
72	A obv. ii 3'	[ ] šá ma šá a ti il lu [x x]
73	A obv. ii 4'	[x x x x x] ˹*ap*˺-*pi-ia ṣé-na-ti ú*-˹*ba*˺-[*ṭa*ʔ]
74	A obv. ii 5'	[ ] x ˹*at*˺-*me-e pi-ia it-ta-aṣ-b*[*at*]
75	A obv. ii 6'	[ ] *uz-na-a-a a-mi-ru la-ma-a-ni*
76	A obv. ii 7'	[*šap*ʔ-*ti*ʔ]-*ki ti-iṣ-ba-ri ṭùr-di e-*ʾ*e-li*
77	A obv. ii 8'	˹*e*˺-*gi aḫ-ṭi i-šeṭ ú-gal-li*[*l*]
78	A obv. ii 9'	*ka-li-ši-in ḫi-ṭa-tu-ú-a ù gíl-la-tu-ú-*[*a*]
79	A obv. ii 10'	*em-te-eš ul i-di ši-par-ra-ki e-te-e*[*q*]
80	A obv. ii 11'	[*ap*]-˹*ru*˺-*uṣ sam*^{am}-*na-ki me-e-ki ul aṣ-ṣu*[*r*]
	A	
81	A obv. ii 12'	[*ka*ʔ-*l*]*a*ʔ *an-nu-ú-a ina qaq-qa-ri ú-kab-ba-a*[*s*]
82	A obv. ii 13'	*m*[*im*ʔ-*m*]*u*ʔ-*ú mé-ki-tú ma-la-a gíl-la-tu-ú-*˹*a*˺
83	A obv. ii 14'	˹^{d}*iš-tar ina*˺ *pu-uš-qí šu-zu-ba i-le-e*ʾ-˹*i*˺
84	A obv. ii 15'	*a-nu-na k*[*u*]*l*-˹*lu*˺-*mat e-ṭe-ra i-d*[*i*]
85	A obv. ii 16'	*a-a-ú ina* ˹DINGIR˺.MEŠ ˹*im*˺-*ṣa-a ma-la-k*[*i*]
86	A obv. ii 17'	*la am-ra ki-ma ka-a-ti* ˹*ma-ḫír te*˺-*es-li-t*[*i*]
87	A obv. ii 18'	*um-mad pa-liḫ-šá ina te*-[*es-p*]*i*-[*ti*]
88	A obv. ii 19'	*a-na še-e-di na-ṣi-*˹*ri*˺ *šá-a-šú* [*piq-di*]-*šu*-[*ma*]
89	A obv. ii 20'	*ul uḫ-ḫur-ši bul-lu-ṭu* [ ]
90	A obv. ii 21'	*ru-ub-bu ana sul-lu-mi* ˹*qé-ru*˺-[*ub* x x x]
	A	
91	A obv. ii 22'	*ul-tu ab-duk-ki tam-ši-i* [ ]
92	A obv. ii 23'	˹*ul*˺ *ir-ši a-bi* ʾ*e-e-mi* [*umma emēta*(?)]
93	A obv. ii 24'	*ka-tim-šú-ma te-šu-ú* [ ]
94	A obv. ii 25'	*gal-lu-ú la a-di-ru r*[*a*ʔ-*bi*ʔ-*iṣ*ʔ *ittīšu*(?)]
95	A obv. ii 26'	*ṣa-bit-su ḫur-ba-šú i-x* [ ]
96	A obv. ii 27'	*ma-nu-šú a-na mi-ni man-gu* [*iṣbassu*(?)]
97	A obv. ii 28'	*muq-qa kin-ṣa-a-šú* ˹*kit*˺-*mu-s*[*a*ʔ *birkāšu*(?)]
98	A obv. ii 29'	*se-*ʾ*a-ma ki-šá-da-šú* x x [ ]
99	A obv. ii 30'	*ul kun-na iš-da-*˹*a*˺-*š*[*ú*]
100	A obv. ii 31'	*ki-ma i-*˹*ga*˺-*ri šá i-qu-up-*˹*pu*˺ [*i*ʾ*abbat*(?)]
	A	
101	A obv. ii 32'	*ta-nu-*˹*ni-šú-ma*˺ *ta-pat-t*[*e nappaša*(?)]
102	A obv. ii 33'	*nap-šat-su* x x x x ˹*i*ʔ˺-[ ]
103	A obv. ii 34'	*i-di-šú* ˹*lit*ʔ˺ x [x]-*t*]*a*-˹*aṣ*˺-x [ ]
104	A obv. ii 35'	*su-um-meš* ˹*id*ʔ-*da*ʔ-*nam-mu*˺-*ma* x [ ]
105	A obv. ii 36'	˹*li*ʔ-*id*ʔ˺-*din-šú* x x-[*t*]*a-šú* [ ]
106	A obv. ii 37'	pu [x] x *a-a* x x uk i [ ]
107	A obv. ii 38'	*si-qiš ka-siš* x x *ina* [ ]

108	A obv. ii 39'	*e-zi-iš e*-x [x x] x-˹*ki*˺[	]
109	A obv. ii 40'	*a-a im*-˹*mes*˺-*ma* x [	]
110	A obv. ii 41'	*li-zi*-˹*qa*˺-*šú ma*-˹*ni-ta*˺-*k*[*i*	]
	A		

111	A obv. ii 42'	˹*šum-ma*˺ *ki-šad-su* x x šá ku x x x m[aʔ(x)]
112	A obv. ii 43'	*ša gab-ra-a ik-šu-d*[*u i*]*š*-˹*ta*˺-*riš ú-taq*-[*qí*]
113	A obv. ii 44'	*ul-liš qàd-mi-šu s*[*u-pu*]-˹*ú*˺ *šá-kin-ma*
114	A obv. ii 45'	*ina* ˹*qaʔ-li*˺ ˹*ù*˺ *š*[*uʔ*]-˹*ta-miʔ-i*˺ ˹*ḫiʔ* ˺-*ṭ*[*uʔ ipʔ*]-*pa-as-sa-as*
115	A obv. ii 46'	x [x x] x bu ra ti b[u x x] x x [x x x]
116	A obv. ii 47'	[x x x] x x ˹qa˺ la ti x [ ]
117	A obv. ii 48'	˹*e*˺-*zib* x x x x x ˹baʔ˺ x [ ]
118	A obv. ii 49'	*an-na-a*-˹*ti ina lìb-bi*˺ x [ ]
119	A obv. ii 50'	*a-na la a-ḫi*-˹*iz*˺ *ri*[*dʔ-diʔ*]
120	A obv. ii 51'	*u ú-si šá la sa*-[*an-qu*]
	A	

121	A obv. ii 52'	*ul i-de* GAŠAN x [	]
122	A obv. ii 53'	*ki-i* ik d[uʔ	]
123	A obv. ii 54'	^{d}*iš-ta*[*r*	]
124	A obv. ii 55'	*ina* IGI^{II}-*i*[*a*	]
125	A obv. ii 56'	*ul* x [	]
126	A obv. ii 57'	*ù*-[	]
127	A obv. ii 58'	*i*-x [	]
128	A obv. ii 59'	*i*[*š*-	]

(MS breaks off, ll. 129-41 lost)

142	A rev. iii 1'	x [	]
143	A rev. iii 2'	la [	]
144	A rev. iii 3'	*up-p*[*i*	]
145	A rev. iii 4'	*ba-la-a*[*nʔ-guʔ*	]
146	A rev. iii 5'	*na-da-tíš* x [	]
147	A rev. iii 6'	*pi-rit-tum* x [	]
148	A rev. iii 7'	*lib-la kab-ta*-[*atʔ-kiʔ*	]
149	A rev. iii 8'	*lib-bu-uk rab-b*[*u*	]
150	A rev. iii 9'	*a-nu-uk-ki a*-[	]
	A		

151	A rev. iii 10'	*qí-bu-uk-ki i-na* [ ]
152	A rev. iii 11'	*šá-lum-mat-ki šá t*[*aʔ*]
153	A rev. iii 12'	*i-tar-rak na-piš-t*[*a-šu*]
154	A rev. iii 13'	*e-li-lu-šú ṣur-ru-pu* x [ ]
155	A rev. iii 14'	*bu-ul-lul ina di-ma-ti i*-˹*bak*˺-*k*[*i ṣarpišʔ*]
156	A rev. iii 15'	*làl-la-ru-šú kim-ta-šu i-ḫá*[*š-šáʔ-ašʔ*]
157	A rev. iii 16'	*ana nu-bé-e-šú mar-ṣu-ti ip-ḫu-ra sa-la*[*t-su*]

158	A rev. iii 17'	*ur-ra ú-tak-ka-ak mu-šá i-na-aḫ-ḫi-*[*is*]
159	A rev. iii 18'	*ina ṣe-ri-šú it-ku-šú re-e-mu* ⌜*un-ni*⌝-[*ni*]
160	A rev. iii 19'	*ṣur-ru-up šu-us-suk a-ri-*⌜*im ka*⌝*-la-a-*[*šú*]
	A	
161	A rev. iii 20'	*ina la ṭa-a-bi* IM AN *ma-ḫu-tíš tab-*[*la*ʔ]
162	A rev. iii 21'	*l*[*i*]*l-*⌜*la*⌝ GÌR-*šú i-ra-*ʾ*u-ú-bá qa-t*[*a-a-šú*]
163	A rev. iii 22'	*it-taḫ-ba-áš i-ra-tuš li-šá-an-šú it-g*[*u*ʔ*-rat*ʔ]
164	A rev. iii 23'	*i-siq ik-ri it-ta-at-ba-ka i-da-*[*a-šú*]
165	A rev. iii 24'	*am-lat ka-bat-ta-šú du-us-su eṭ-r*[*e-et*]
166	A rev. iii 25'	*tab-ka uz-na-a-šú ul* ʾ*u-a-di-ma* x [x]
167	A rev. iii 26'	*ṭè-em-šú ul ḫa-sis ma-ši ra-ma*[*n-šú*]
168	A rev. iii 27'	*ana mi-na-a im-ku-ú tu-am-mé-šú an-n*[*a-šú*]
169	A rev. iii 28'	*ina kar-ri u ma-li-i šu-um-ki i-tab-nak-*[*ki*ʔ]
170	A rev. iii 29'	*aḫ-zi qat-su a-a iš-šá-al* ì[R*-ki*ʔ]
	A	
171	A rev. iii 30'	*kib-su-uš du-un-ni-ni iš-du-uš k*[*in-ni*]
172	A rev. iii 31'	*si-qí en-šu lip-ta-aṭ-ṭi-ra mi-*[*na*ʔ*-ti*ʔ*-šú*ʔ]
173	A rev. iii 32'	*pa-iš ka-ra-ši pi-di-šú a-*⌜*a*⌝ [*innadi*(?)]
174	A rev. iii 33'	*la ú-qa-at-ti en-su-ú sír-*[*qi-šú*]
175	A rev. iii 34'	*ta-qà-a-ti* DUMU LÚ.ḪAL *a-a* ⌜*i*⌝-[*ku*ʔ*-ul*ʔ]
176	A rev. iii 35'	*a-na šat-ti né-*ʾ*e-li-šú* [ ]
177	A rev. iii 36'	*a-a ú-zab-bil na-piš-ta-šú i*[*r*!*-tuš-šú*]
178	A rev. iii 37'	*a-a i-ba-a*ʾ *ša la ka-a-ti* ⌜*ú*⌝-[*ru-uḫ-šu*]
179	A rev. iii 38'	*i-par-ra-as-ma ar-ka-tuš i-na*[*m-mir ittīšu*(?)]
180	A rev. iii 39'	*i-mu-ma tur-tur-re-eš i-pa-*[x x x]
	A	
181	A rev. iii 40'	*iš-ti-is-su tap-pu-u ru-ù-*ʾ*i-i uš-*[*ši*ʔ*-ru*ʔ*-šú*ʔ]
182	A rev. iii 41'	*id-din-šu-ma uz-za-za* [x x x x]
183	A rev. iii 42'	*id-din-šu-ma i-da-mu i-šá-a*[*b* x x x]
184	A rev. iii 43'	*pi-qa-ma šap-ti taq-bi-i ma-a*[*g-ra-ti*]
185	A rev. iii 44'	*taš-ši-tú az-za-kir la*¹(MA) *ši-na-a-ti a*[*q*ʔ*-bi*ʔ]
186	A rev. iii 45'	*ši-i-ri iš-ta-ḫi-iṭ lu-*ʾ*u-t*[*ú*ʔ *iṣbatanni*(?)]
187	A rev. iii 46'	*i-ni tal-li ki-ma lip-p*[*u*ʔ]
188	A rev. iii 47'	*iš-tu ib-na-ma il-l*[*a-*]
189	A rev. iii 48'	*i-na ṭa-a-bi ma-a-a-l*[*i*ʔ]
190	A rev. iii 49'	[ ] x x [ ] x x [ ] x x [ ]
	A	
191	A rev. iii 50'	[ ] *la il-l*[*a*]*-ku* [ ]
192	A rev. iii 51'	[*ṭēmī*(?) *ut*ʔ]*-tak-kàr ḫi-pi líb-bi* x [ ]
193	A rev. iii 52'	[ ]⌜ud⌝ ra ki *iṣ-ṣu-riš* x [ ]
194	A rev. iii 53'	[x *ni*ʔ*-ki*ʔ*-i*]*t*ʔ*-ti ar-ši-ma na-dúr a-*[ ]
195	A rev. iii 54'	[*šērta*(?) *n*]*a*ʔ*-šá-ku-ma ni-ir še-la-a-ti* [*šaddāku*(?)]

196	A rev. iii 55'	[ ] *x-it-ma* ᵈ*iš-tar* ˹*ul*˺ x [ ]
197	A rev. iii 56'	[ ] uš šá šá *le-ʾi-iš* [ ]
198	A rev. iii 57'	[ ] *lem-niš uš-ta-a*[*tʾ*]
199	A rev. iii 58'	[*l*]*ìb-ba-šá i-du*-[*ú*]

(end of column iii; MS breaks off, ll. 200-5 lost)

206	A rev. iv 1'	[ ] x x [ ]
207	A rev. iv 2'	[-*š*]*uʾ* ˹*li-is-saḫ-ḫur*˺
208	A rev. iv 3'	[ ]-x-*di lu-um-mid*
209	A rev. iv 4'	[ ] MEŠ *su-us-su-li rig-muš-ki*
210	A rev. iv 5'	[*dalāt*(?) AN*ʾ*]-˹*eʾ*˺ *pi-te-e šu-pal-ki-ma*
	A	
211	A rev. iv 6'	[*kīma*(?) ᵈUTU*ʾ*]-˹*šiʾ*˺ *šu-uḫ-li-i ṣi-ti-iš*
212	A rev. iv 7'	[x x x x]-*ia ina na-lu-uš ra-ma-ni-ia*
213	A rev. iv 8'	[x x x] x *i-dal-lu šá-a-la ur-tas-sa*
214	A rev. iv 9'	[x x x *ina kib-ra*]-*a-ti* LIMMU *lis-su-pa-ʾi-i*
215	A rev. iv 10'	[x x x x] *šá-se-e šu-e-ti* ᵈ*a-nun-na*
216	A rev. iv 11'	[*liqê*(?) *unʾ-n*]*iʾ-ni pu-uš-ši-ḫi ki-ši-ia*
217	A rev. iv 12'	[*muḫrī*(?) *kàdʾ-r*]*e-e-a ka-a-ši lud-lul-ki*
218	A rev. iv 13'	[x x x x] *ki-ma* AD *a-li-di-ia*
219	A rev. iv 14'	[*kīma ummi a-lit*]-*ti-ia ri-ši-i re-e-ma*
220	A rev. iv 15'	[*mīta*(?) *buʾ-ulʾ-l*]*uṭʾ pu-uš-šu-ḫa i-le-ʾi*
	A	
221	A rev. iv 16'	[*zikir ma-ra*]*t* ᵈ30 *ana da-la-li ṭa-a-bu*
222	A rev. iv 17'	[*ṣabta*(?) *umaššir*(?) *k*]*a-sa-a ú-*˹*ram*˺*-mi*
223	A rev, iv 18'	[*ša*(?) *bīt ṣi-bit-tu*]*m ú-kal-lam nu-ú-ra*
224	A rev. iv 19'	[x x x x] x *qé-ru-ub e-nen-šá*
225	A rev. iv 20'	[x x x *šeʾ-e*]*rʾ-ta-šá a-ru-uḫ nap-šur-šá*
226	A rev. iv 21'	[x x x x-*š*]*iʾ* DINGIR.MEŠ *šu-ki-na-ši*
227	A rev. iv 22'	[*a*]*p-pa-ki-na líb-na-ši*
228	A rev. iv 23'	[*iš-tu ṣi-it*] ˹ᵈ˺UTU-*ši ana šá-la-mu* ᵈUTU-*ši*
229	A rev. iv 24'	[x x x]-*ma-ši kit-ra-ba-ši* ˹*ša*˺*-a-ši*
230	A rev. iv 25'	[*epšū*(?) *su*]*kʾ-ki ud-du-*˹*ú pa*˺*-rak-ki*
	A	
231	A rev. iv 26'	[x x x] x ˹*šu-mu*˺ *šá-du-ši-in zak-ru*
232	A rev. iv 27'	[ ] *e-diš ṣi-rat*
233	A rev. iv 28'	[ ] *e-diš gaš-rat*
234	A rev. iv 29'	[ ] *ur-šá-nu-tú*
235	A rev. iv 30'	[ ] *a-šá-re-du-tú*
236	A rev. iv 31'	[x x x x *pidâ k*]*a-a-šá a-za-ra*
	B rev. iv 1'	[x (x)] x-˹*a*˺ ˹*pi*˺-[*d*]*a*-[*a kâša azāra*]
237	A rev. iv 32'	[*qurdi ištar na-a*]*k-ru-uṭ ni-ši-ši-in dul-la*

	B rev. iv 2'	[*qu*]*r-*⌜*di*⌝ ^{d}*iš-tar nak-ru-u*[*ṭ nišīšin dullā*]
238	A rev. iv 33'	[*kunšāšī-ma*] *ri-šá-a la-mas-sa*
	B rev. iv 3'	[*ku*ʾ*-u*]*n-šá-ši-ma ri-šá-a* [*lamassa*]
239	A rev. iv 34'	[*pirḫa u ze-r*]*a* ⌜*qa-tuš*⌝ *muḫ-ra-ni*
	B rev. iv 4'	[*pi-ir*]-⌜*ḫa*⌝ *ù ze-ra qa-*[*tuš muhrāni*]
240	A rev. iv 35'	[(...) *ē taklāši k*]*àd-re-e zi-bi-ki-in*
	B rev. iv 5'	⌜*e*ʾ⌝ *tak*ʾ*-la-ši kád-re-e* [*zībīkin*]
	A	———
241	A rev. iv 36'	[*kurbā el-let-k*]*i-na šuq-qa-a ḫu-us-sa-ši*
	B rev. iv 6'	[*ku*]-⌜*ur-ba*⌝ *el-*⌜*let-ki-na*⌝ *š*[*uq-qa-a ḫussāši*]
242	A rev. iv 37'	[*uṣbašši* ^{d}]*en-líl šu-zu-ba e-ṭe-ru*
	B rev. iv 7'	[*u*]*ṣ-ba-*⌜*áš*⌝-[*ši enlil šūzuba eṭēra*]
243	A rev. iv 38'	[*gamāla né-e*]*-šá u nap-šu-ra i-šim-ši* ^{d}*šá-la-aš*
	B rev. iv 8'	[*ga-m*]*a-la n*[*é-e-šá u napšura išīmši šalaš*]
244	A rev. iv 39'	[*quddišā šap*]*-ta-šá mu-us-sa-a i-da-a-šá*
	B rev. iv 9'	[*qud-d*]*i-šá ša*[*p-ta-šá mussâ idīša*]
245	A rev. iv 40'	[*šubat ištar ku-u*]*n-niš ki-na re-ši-iš kil-la*
	B rev. iv 10'	[*š*]*u*ʾ*-bat* ^{d}⌜*iš*⌝*-ta*[*r kunnîš kinnā*] ⌜*re*⌝*-ši-iš* ⌜*kil-la*⌝
246	A rev. iv 50'	[*suppû su-u*]*l-lu-u šu-te-mu-qu ku-um-ma* ^{d}*iš-tar*
	B rev. iv 11'	[*s*]*u-up-pu-ú su-*⌜*ul*⌝*-l*[*u-u šu-te-m*]*u-qu ku-um-ma* ^{d}*iš-tar*
247	A rev. iv 51'	[*Ištar*] *a-ḫu-lap-ki*
	B rev. iv 12'	⌜*d*⌝*iš-tar* [*a*]-⌜*ḫu*⌝*-lap-ki*
	A	———

MS A ends with a rubric:

	A rev. iv 52'	[ ] *ša* ^{d}*iš-tar*

MS B ends with a colophon:

		———
		———
	B rev. 13'	[D]UB.1.KAM *e-né-*⌜*et*⌝ *n*[*a*]*r-ba-ak* ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.⌜ŠÈ⌝
	B rev. 14'	⌜4⌝ ŠU 7.⌜ÀM⌝ ⌜MU.BI.IM⌝
	B rev. 15	[*ki-i p*]*i* DUB GABA.⌜RI⌝ ⌜TIN⌝.T[IR^{ki} …]
	B rev. 16	[X (X)] A$^{?}$ […]

Bound Transcription

1[*enet narbâk adallal*]

(ll. 2-4 lost or too fragmentary for transcription)

5[…] *ayyû māḫ*[*irki*(?)]
6[… *ali*?] *šinnatuk maššû* … […]
7[*šēpuk*?] *lā āšib išduk lā ān*[*eḫ*]
8[…] … *u sulum*[*mû*?]
9[…] … *miṣraki lā nabû zi*[*kirki*(?)]
10[*kīma qi*]*bīt*(?) *Āni maṣât amāt*[*ki*]

11[*kīma*? *E*]*llil māliki šipraki ṣī*[*ru*]
12[…] *ana Duku tarmî šuba*[*tki*]
13[*milk*]*a tanaddinī itti Ea* [*ninšīku*]
14[*naš*]*âti šarūrī kīma Sîn a*[*bīki*]
15[*uznāk*]*i*(?) *ritpašā kī Šamaš t*[*alīmīki*(?)]
16[*ina šaš*]*mi tāḫāzi qabli u t*[*u*]*qunt*[*i*]
17[*kīma*(?) *Ninur*]*ta uršān il<ī>* … […] …
18[*kīma*(?)] *Adad* … […] *šagīmuk*
19[*kīma*(?)] *Girri* … […]-*ki nanduq*
20[…] *dunna*? [(…)] … *u meṭl*[*ū*]*ti*

21[*šušqâ šušpula*(?)] *šadāda u nê'a*
22[…] *šadid qûki*
23[*kīma qanê*(?) *tu*]*ḫaṣṣiṣī šadî birūti*
24[…] *kubukkuk*
25[…] *ana šikin šēpīki*
26[*petê idīki*(?) *šu*]*be'ê*(?) *Šūti*
27[*pīt purīdīki*(?)] *pān Iltāni*
28[*šadû Amurru*(?)] *šār idāti*
29[*šārū erbett*]*i*(?) *meḫû rabûtu*
30[…] … *ṣerressun*

31[…] … *taba''ī*
32[…] … *anūnki*

(ll. 33-4 too fragmentary for transcription)

35[…] *malāki*
36[…] *Ellil*

(ll. 37-41 too fragmentary for transcription)

42[…] … *rēmiš*

(ll. 43-6 too fragmentary for transcription)

46[ ] … *atappu*(?)
47[…] … *ūmšu*
48[…] … *bašmum-ma*
49[…] … *šamāmī*
50[…] … [*z*]*unna*

51[… *uš*]*nammar*(?)
52[…] *dipā*[*ru*(?)]

(ll. 53-6 too fragmentary for transcription)

57[…] … *anāku*
58[… *is*]*ḫup lānī*
59[… *mangu*(?) *iṣba*]*t*(?) *idīya*
60[…] *iklanni*

61[…] *pūtī*(?)

(ll. 62-3 too fragmentary for transcription)

64[… *a*]*di surri*(?) … […]

(l. 65 too fragmentary for transcription)

66[…] … *reddû*[*nimma*(?)]

(ll. 67-72 lost or too fragmentary for transcription)

73[…] *appīya ṣenâti ubā*[*ṭa*(?)]
74[…] … *atmê pīya ittaṣb*[*at*]
75[…] *uznāya amīra lamâni*
76[*šaptī*]*ki tiṣbarī ṭurdī e*ʾʾ*ēla*
77*ēgi aḫṭi ešēṭ ugalli*[*l*]
78*kalîšin ḫiṭātūa u gillātū*[*a*]
79*emtēš ul īdi šiparraki ēte*[*q*]
80[*ap*]*ruṣ samnaki mêki ul aṣṣu*[*r*]

81[*kal*]*a*(?) *annīya ina qaqqari ukabba*[*s*]
82*m*[*imm*]*ê*(?) *mekīti mala gillatīya*

---

[83]*Ištar ina pušqi šūzuba ile''i*
[84]*anūna k*[*u*]*llumat eṭēra īd*[*e*]
[85]*ayyû ina ilī imṣa malāki*
[86]*lā amra kīma kâti māḫir teslīt*[*i*]
[87]*ummad pāliḫša ina t*[*esp*]*ī*[*ti*]
[88]*ana šēdi nāṣiri šâšu* [*piqdī*]*šū*[*ma*(?)]
[89]*ul uḫḫurši bulluṭu* […]
[90]*rubbu ana sullumi qer*[*ub* …]

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[91]*ultu abdukki tamšî* […]
[92]*ul irši aba ema* [*umma*(?) *emēta*(?)]
[93]*katimšū-ma tēšû* […]
[94]*gallû lā ādiru r*[*abiṣ ittīšu*]
[95]*ṣabissu ḫurbāšu* … […]
[96]*manûššu ana mīni mangu* [*iṣbassu*(?)]
[97]*muqqā kinṣāšu kitmus*[*ā birkāšu*(?)]
[98]*se'â-ma kišādāšu* … […]
[99]*ul kunnā išdāš*[*u* …]
[100]*kīma igāri ša iquppu* [*i'abbat*(?)]

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[101]*tānunīšū-ma tapatt*[*î nappaša*(?)]
[102]*napšassu* … […]
[103]*idīšu* … […] … […]
[104]*summeš iddanammum-ma* … […]
[105]*liddinšu* … […]
[106]… […] … *ai* … […]
[107]*sīqiš kasîš* … […]
[108]*ezziš* … […] … […]
[109]*ai immês-ma* … […]
[110]*lizīqaššu mānitak*[*i* …]

---

[111]*šumma kišassu* … […] … […]
[112]*ša gabrâ ikšud*[*u i*]*štariš utaq*[*qi*]
[113]*ullîš qadmīšu s*[*up*]*û šakinma*
[114]*ina qâli u š*[*ū*]*tamî ḫīṭ*[*u*(?) *ip*]*passas*(?)

(ll. 115-16 too fragmentary for transcription)

[117]*ezib* […] … […]
[118]*annâti ina libbi* … […]
[119]*ana lā aḫiz ri*[*ddi*(?) …]

---

[120]*u ūsu ša lā sa*[*nqu*(?) ...]

---

[121]*ul īde bēltī* [...]
[122]*kī* [...]
[123]*Išta*[*r* ...]
[124]*ina īnīy*[*a* ...]
[125]*ul*... [...]

(ll. 126-43 lost or or too fragmentary for transcription)

[144]*upp*[*u* ...]
[145]*bala*[*ngu* ...]
[146]*nadâtiš*(?) ... [...]
[147]*pirittu* ... [...]
[148]*libla kabta*[*tki*(?) ...]
[149]*libbuk rabb*[*u* ...]
[150]*annukki* ... [...]

---

[151]*qībukki* ... [...]
[152]*šalummatki ša* ... [...]
[153]*itarrak napišt*[*ašu* ...]
[154]*elilūšu ṣurrupū* ... [...]
[155]*bullul ina dimāti ibakk*[*i ṣarpiš*(?)]
[156]*lallarīšu kimtašu iḫa*[*ššaš*(?)]
[157]*ana nubêšu marṣūti ipḫura salā*[*ssu*]
[158]*urra ūtakkak mūša inaḫḫ*[*is*]
[159]*ina ṣērīšu itkušū rēmu unnī*[*ni*]
[160]*ṣurrup šussuk arim kalā*[*šu*]

---

[161]*ina lā ṭābi šār ili maḫḫûtiš tab*[*la*(?)]
[162]*l*[*i*]*llā šēpāšu ira''ubā qāt*[*āšu*]
[163]*ittaḫbaš iratuš lišānšu itg*[*urat*(?)]
[164]*isīq ikri ittatbakā idā*[*šu*]
[165]*amlat kabattašu dūssu eṭr*[*et*]
[166]*tabkā uznāšu ul u'addī-ma*(?) ... [...]
[167]*ṭēmšu ul ḫasis maši ramā*[*nšu*]
[168]*ana minâ imkû temeššī*(?) *ann*[*ašu*(?)]
[169]*ina karri u malî šumki ibtanak*[*ki*(?)]
[170]*aḫzī qāssu ai iššâl ara*[*dki*(?)]

---

[171]*kibsuš dunninī išdūš k*[*innī*]
[172]*sīq enšu liptaṭṭirā mi*[*nātīšu*(?)]

173*pāiš karāši pidīšu ai* [*innadi*(?)]
174*lā uqatti ensû sir*[*qīšu*]
175*taqqāti mār barî ai ī*[*kul*(?)]
176*ana šatti ne'ellîšu* […]
177*ai uzabbil napištašu ir*[*tuššu*(?)]
178*ai ibā' ša lā kâti u*[*ruḫšu*]
179*iparras-ma arkatuš ina*[*mmir*(?) *ittīšu*(?)]
180*īmū-ma turturreš* … […]

181*ištīssu tappû ru'û uš*[*širūšu*(?)]
182*iddinšum-ma uzzaza* […]
183*iddinšum-ma idammu išâ*[*b* …]
184*pīqāma šaptī taqbi ma*[*grâti*]
185*taššīta azzakir lā*(?) *šināti a*[*qbi*(?)]
186*šīrī ištaḫiṭ lu't*[*u* (?) *iṣbatanni*(?)]
187*īnī talli kīma lipp*[*i*(?) …]
188*ištu ibnâm-ma* … […]
189*ina ṭābi mayyāl*[*i*(?) …]

(l. 190 too fragmentary for transcription)

191[…] *lā ill*[*a*]*kū* […]
192[*ṭēmī*(?) *ut*]*takkar*(?) *ḫīpi libbi* … […]
193[…] … *iṣṣūriš* … […]
194[… *niki*]*tta*(?) *arší-ma nadur* … [...]
195[*šerta*(?) *n*]*ašākū-ma*(?) *nīr šilâti*(?) [*šaddāku*(?)]
196[…] … *Ištar ul* … […]
197[…] … *lē'îš* […]
198[…] *lemniš* … […]
199[… *l*]*ibbaša id*[*û*(?) …]

(MS A breaks off, ll. 200-6 lost or too fragmentary for transcription)

207[…] … *lissaḫḫur*
208[…] … *lummid*
209[…] … *sussulli rigmuški*
210[*dalāt šam*]*ê*(?) *pitê šupalkî-ma*

211[*kīma*(?) *Šam*]*ši šuḫlî ṣītiš*
212[…] … *ina nâluš ramānīya*
213[…] … *idallu* …
214[… *ina kibr*]*āti erbetti* …
215[…] *šasê šu'ēti Anunna*

216[*liqê unn*]*īnī*(?) *puššiḫī kīšīya*
217[*muḫrī*(?) *kadr*]*êa kâši ludlulki*
218[…] *kīma abi ālidīya*
219[*kīma ummi ālit*]*tīya rišî rēma*
220[*mīta*(?) *bul*]*luṭ*(*a*)(?) *puššuḫa ile’’i*

221[*zikir māra*]*t Sîn ana dalāli ṭābu*
222[*ṣabta umaššir k*]*asâ urammi*
223[*ana ša bīt ṣibitt*]*i ukallam nūra*
224[…] … *qerub enēnša*
225[… *šē*]*rtaša*(?) *aruḫ napšurša*
226[…]-*ši ilī šukennāši*
227[… *a*]*ppakina libnāši*
228[*ištu ṣīt Šam*]*ši ana šalāmu Šamši*
229[…]-*ši kitrabāši šâši*
230[*epšū*(?) *su*]*kkī*(?) *uddû parakkī*

231[…] … *šumu šadûššin zakru*
232[…] *ēdiš ṣīrat*
233[…] *ēdiš gašrat*
234[…] *uršānūtu*
235[…] *ašarēdūtu*
236[…] … *pe*[*d*]*â kâša azāra*
237[*qu*]*rdi Ištar nakruṭ nīšīšin dullā*
238[*ku*]*nšāšī-ma rišâ lamassa*
239[*pir*]*’a u zerā qātuš muḫrāni*
240[(…)] *ē taklāši*(?) *kadrê zībīkin*

241[*k*]*urbā elletkina*(?) *šuqqâ ḫussāši*
242[*uṣ*]*bašši Ellil šūzuba eṭēra*
243[*gam*]*āla n*[*ê*]*ša u napšura išīmši Šalaš*
244[*qud*]*dišā*? *šaptīša mussâ idīša*
245[*š*]*ubat Išta*[*r ku*]*nnîš kinnā rēšīš killā*
246[*su*]*ppû sullû šutēmuqu kûm-ma Ištar*
247 *Ištar aḫulapki*

3.5.1.5 Translation

[1][O priestess, I will praise your greatness],

(ll. 2-4 lost or too fragmentary for translation)

[5][…] … who is your adversary?
[6][Where] is your rival, leader … […]?
[7]Tireless are [your feet], indefatigable your legs,
[8][…] … and *pea*[*ce*].
[9][…] … your limit, [your/his] *na*[*me*] cannot be invoked,
[10]Your command is as great [as] Anu(’s),

---

[11][Like] (those of) Enlil, the counsellor, your achievements are glorious.
[12][…] to Duku, you took up [your] residence,
[13]You provide [advice] together with [prince] Ea.
[14]You are endowed with radiance like [your] father Sîn,
[15]Your [understanding] is as wide as (that of) your [brother] Šamaš.
[16][In combat], fight, onslaught and strife,
[17]You … [like Ninurta], the champion of the gods.
[18]Like] Adad … […] your roar,.
[19][Like] Girru your … […] is arrayed in [fire]
[20][…] … might […] … and vigor..

---

[21][*To exalt, to bring down*,] to pull and to turn back,
[22][…] your thread is stretched.
[23][*Like reeds* you] cut the distant mountains.
[24][…] your strength,
[25][…] at the setting of your foot.
[26][*The spreading of your wings is the ru*]*sh* of the South wind,
[27][*The opening of your legs is*] the face of the North wind,
[28][*the East wind, the West wind*], the side wind,
[29][*the fo*]*ur* [*winds*], the great storms,
[30][…] … their lead-rope.

---

[31][…] … you walk …
[32][…] … *your fear* …

(ll. 33-4 too fragmentary for translation)

[35][…] *as you.*
[36][… *E*]*nlil*

(ll. 37-41 too fragmentary for translation)

42[…] … *mercifully*
43[…] … *canal,*

(ll. 44-6 too fragmentary for translation)

47[…] … *heat*,
48[…] … a viper indeed!
49[…] … the heavens,
50[…] … the rain.

51[… *you en*]*lighten*
52[…] *the tor*[*ch*]

(ll. 53-6 too fragmentary for translation)

57[…] … *am I*,
58[…] covered my body,
59[*paralysis seiz*]*ed* my arms.
60[…] … held me back.

61[ ] *my forehead*

(ll. 62-3 too fragmentary for translation)

64[*s*]*oon* … […]

(ll. 65 too fragmentary for translation)

66[…] … pursue *m*[*e indeed*],

(ll. 67-72 lost or too fragmentary for translation)

73[…] my nose *heaped up with mu*[*cus*],
74[…] … the utterance of my mouth has been sei[zed],
75[…] my ears are *obstructed* (lit. encircled) with a stoppage.
76*Move* your [*lips*], chase away the binder-demon!
77I have been negligent, I have sinned, I have done wrong, I have commit[ted sacrilege].
78All my sins and [my] crimes!
79I have unknowingly disregarded (*you*), I have ignor[ed] your *instructions* (lit. instruction),
80[I br]oke an oath in your name, I have not obey[ed] your rites.

---

[81]She can trample [*al*]*l* my sins to the ground,
[82]*A*[*n*]*y neglect*, all my misdeeds.
[83]Išta[r] can rescue from distress,
[84]She sh[ow]s terror, (but) she kno[ws] how to save.
[85]Who, among the gods, is as powerful as yo[u]?
[86]There has never been seen someone who accepts praye[r] like you.
[87]She *sustains* who reveres her with plea,
[88] [*Assign*] him to the guardian *šēdu*-spirit!
[89]Healing is not delayed for her […]
[90]Anger is *clo*[*se*] to reconciling […]

---

[91]After you forgot about your slave […]
[92]He has no father, (no) *father-in-law*, [*(no) mother*, *(no) mother-in-law*]
[93]Confusion overcomes him … […]
[94]A fearless demon *li*[*es in wait for him*]
[95]Chill seizes him, … […]
[96]In his bed, why [*has*] paralysis [*seized him*]?
[97]His shins are sluggish, [*his knees*] *are be*[*nt*],
[98]His neck is bowed down … […]
[99][His] foundations are unstable […]
[100]Like a tottering wall [*he will fall down*].

---

[101]*You have punished him*, but (now) you ope[n *a window*]
[102]His life … […]
[103]His arms … […] … […]
[104]Like a dove *he moans ceaselessly* … […]
[105]*May she give him* … […]
[106]… […] … *not* … […]
[107]Tightly, constrainedly … […]
[108]Furiously … […] … […]
[109]May he not be destroyed … […]
[110]May yo[ur] breeze blow on him, […]

---

[111]… his neck … […]
[112]He who overwhelm[ed] the enemy was attent[ive] to the goddess,
[113](His) pr[aye]r was set before his god.
[114] By *being mindful and considerate*, (his) *gui*[*lt will be*] cancelled.

(ll. 115-16 too fragmentary for translation)

[117]*Disregard* … […]
[118]*These things, among* … […]
[119]To the one who does not unde[rstand the proper behaviour …]

---

[120]And the path that is not *pru*[*dent* …]

---

[121]He did not know, O Lady, … […]
[122]Like … […]
[123]Išta[r …]
[124]From [m]y eyes […]
[125]not … […]

(ll. 126-43 lost or too fragmentary for translation)

[144]The *uppu*-dru[m …]
[145]The *balan*[*gu*-instrument …]
[146]*To the nadītu women* … […]
[147]Fear … […]
[148]May [*your* mi]nd be set *towards him* […]
[149]In your soft heart […]
[150]At your consent … […]

---

[151]At your command … […]
[152]Your awesome radiance that … […]
[153][His th]roat throbs […]
[154]His joyous songs are grievous … […]
[155]Stained with tears, he weeps [bitterly].
[156]His family *gathe*[*rs*] his mourners,
[157]His kin assembled for a grievous wailing on him.
[158] By day he *scratches himself*, at night he sobs,
[159]Pity and pra[yer] have moved away from him.
[160]He is burnt, thrown down, completely overwhelmed.

---

[161]By an evil wind of a god he is *dri*[*ven*] to madness,
[162]His feet are [*we*]*ak,* [his] ha[nds] shake,
[163]He is shattered in his chest, his tongue is *twi*[*sted*].
[164]He had difficulty breathing, [his] ar[ms] became limp,
[165]His insides are trembling, his manliness is tak[en away],
[166]His reason is powerless, he does not *recognise* … […]
[167]He does not understand his mind, he forgets him[self],
[168]In what respect has he been negligent? *You can disregard* [*his*] *gui*[*lt*].
[169]In the mourning cloth and with dishevelled hair, he *wee*[*ps continuously*] *(invoking)* your name.
[170]Take his hand, may [*your*] *sla*[*ve*] not be *destroyed*!

---

[171]Strengthen his path, make his foundations st[able]!

172The weak one is constricted, may [his] lim[bs] be loosened.
173Save him from the mouth of annihilation, may he not be [*thrown away*].
174The dream interpreter must not use up his offer[ings],
175The diviner must not [*consume*] the libations.
176Therefore *turn favourably towards him!* […]
177May his life not fade [*in his bre*]*ast*,
178May he not walk on [his] *pa*[*th*] without you!
179That he will find the cause of his trouble, [*his omens*] *will become cl*[*ear*].
180*They* have turned into *dust* … […]

181Companions and friends *le*[*ft him*] alone.
182He let himself become furious … […]
183He let himself have convulsions, *sha*[*ke* …]
184"Once my lips have spoken blas[phemous words],
185I pronounced insults, I *utte*[*red*] *improper words*.
186My flesh twitched, *debi*[*lity seized me*].
187My *eyes* (lit. eye) rolled up like a *wrap*[*ping* …]
188After he made … […]
189In a sweet restin[g place …]

(l. 190 too fragmentary for translation)

191[…] *do not g*[*o* …]
192[*my mind is ch*]*anged*, anxiety … […]
193[…] … like a bird … […]
194[…] I became [*afr*]*aid*, [*my*] … became obscured […]
195I [*b*]*ear* [*a punishment*], [*I pull*] a yoke of *negligences*,
196[…] … Ištar does not … […]
197[…] … mightily […]
198[…] badly … […]
199[…] her [he]art … […]

(ll. 190-206 lost or too fragmentary for translation)

207[…] … may he turn around,
208[…] … may I set,
209[…] the basket-[*carriers*] at your cry,
210Open wide the [*doors of heave*]*ns*!

211[*Like the su*]*n*, shed light from the east!
212[…] … in *my lying down*,
213[…] … he *roams about*, …

[214][*In* the] four [world re]gions …
[215][…] *calling* the Lady of the Anunna-gods,
[216][*accept*] *my* [*pra*]*yer*, release my bonds!
[217][*Receive*] my [*prese*]*nts*, so that I may praise you!
[218][…] like the father who begot me,
[219][like the mother who gave bi]rth to me, have pity on me!
[220][(*She can*) *rev*]*ive* [*the dead*], she can soothe.

---

[221][The *word* of the daught]er of Sîn is sweet to praise!
[222][She frees the captive], she releases the ma[n in bonds],
[223][To the one who is in pris]on she shows light,
[224][…] … close is her mercy,
[225][*slow is her punish*]*ment*, swift her compassion,
[226][…] … gods, bow down to her!
[227][… pa]y homage to her!
[228][From the rising of the] sun to the setting of the sun,
[229][…] … keep blessing her,
[230][*chap*]*els* [*are built*], shrines are established.

---

[231][…] the name is praised in their mountains,
[232][…] she alone is supreme,
[233][…] she alone is powerful,
[234][…] heroism,
[235][…] pre-eminence,
[236][…] … me[rcy], help and aid,
[237]Extol the [va]lor of Ištar, the mercy of their people!
[238][Kne]el to her, and you will gain fortune!
[239]Receive from her hand [de]scendant(s) and progeny!
[240][(…)] Do not withhold from her your food offerings as a gift!
[241][Gre]et (her), all of you, praise and heed her!
[242]Enlil [gr]anted her (the right) to save and to rescue,
[243]Šalaš decreed for her to [spa]re, to h[e]al, and to forgive.
[244][Wi]pe her lip(s), wash her arm(s)!
[245][Es]tablish with care the [a]bode of Išta[r], provide for it!
[246][Su]pplication, petition, and prayer are yours, O Ištar!
[247]Ištar, have mercy!

MS A ends with a rubric:

[…] of Ištar.

MS B ends with a colophon:

First tablet of "O priestess, (I will praise) your greatness". Completed. Its lines are 247. (According) to a tablet from Babylon, […] son of […].

3.5.2 Commentary

5-6 This couplet contains rhetorical questions, through which hyperbolic praise to the addressed deity is expressed. *a-a-ú* ˹*ma*?˺-*ḫ*[*ir*?-*ki*?]: although the break prevents a clear restoration, a form such as *māḫirki* 'your equal' can be expected (cf. *AHw* II 577-80; *CAD* M/1 99-101), since it would parallel *šinnatuk* in the line immediaty following. For similar formulations see l. 85 within the prayer under analysis (*ayyû ina ilī imṣa malāk*[*i*], "Who among the gods is as powerful as you?"), or a *šuilla* prayer to Ištar, l. 11: *šum-ma i-na* ^{d}*Í-gì-gì a-a-ú ma-ḫir-ki*, "Who is your rival among the gods of Heaven?".[81] For hyperbolic formulations in Mesopotamian hymns, see Metcalf 2015, 42-9 with regard to Sumerian sources, and 76-7 for some examples in Akkadian texts.
maš-šu-ú: this is a byform of *massû* 'leader' (*AHw* I 619; *CAD* M/1 327). From lexical sources, however, we know that this term used to have a second meaning as well, not connected with a military context, but related to the semantic field of wisdom (see *Malku* I 61-2, where *maššû* is equated with both *ašarēdu* 'leader', and *rapša uzni* 'wise', cf. Hrůša 2010, 200). In the present context, however, the former meaning seems more likely. The last visible traces after ṢI are too damaged to be reconstructed. A tempting restoration would be *ṣi-r*[*i*], since *maššû ṣīri* is a divine epithet (see Tallqvist 1938, 130, and cf. the attestations in *CAD* M/1 327 sub *massû*, mng. a; cf. also *AHw* II 619), but it seems that there is enough space for more than one sign a the end of the line, thus the reading remains unclear.

7 *iš-dúk*: while the sign TUK for *dúk* is not commonly used, it can be found in some literary hymn manuscripts as a rare reading of the signs (cf. von Soden 1971, 49). For the metaphorical use of *išdu* in the sense of 'legs', well attested in literary texts especially in the dual case, see Mayer 2010, 327. In this context, it is probably used as a pseudo-locative (Mayer 1996).
lā āšib … lā ān[*eḫ*]: the reconstruction of the verse is based on a similar parallel found in the *šu'ila Ištar 2*, l. 29 *aḫulapki bēltu ul aniḫā* GÌR^{II}-*ki lāsimā birkāki*, "Have mercy, O lady, your feet are tireless, swift are your legs!";[82] the same sequence occurs in the lexical commentary *Ḫg* B VI 51 (MSL 11, 41): [^{mul}i]m-šu-rin-na nu-kúš-ù-e-ne = *la a-ši-bu* = *la a-ni-ḫu*. It is noteworthy that the celestial body

81 Cf. Zgoll 2003a, 193, the translation used here is that of Sperling 1981, 11.

82 Zgoll 2003, 43.

[^{mul}i]m-šu-rin-na nu-kúš-ù-e-ne is identified as Venus, traditionally associated with the goddess Ištar, in the astrological text labelled by scholars as the "Great Star List" (see Koch-Westenholz 1995, 187-205 with previous references). Following this equation in the list are additional names of stars that are equated with the goddess Ištar:

29[^{mu}]^{l}im-šu-rin-na-nu-kúš-ù = ^{d}dil-bat
30^{mul}dil-bat = ^{d}*iš-tar be-let* KUR.KUR
31^{mul}a-nu-ni-tu$_4$ = ^{d}*iš-tar* MIN
32^{mul}a-ri-tu$_4$ = ^{d}*iš-tar* MIN
33^{mul}iš-ḫa-ra = ^{d}*iš-tar* MIN
29The Widows' Oven = Venus
30Venus = Ištar, queen of all lands
31Annunitu = Ištar, *ditto*
32The Shield-bearer = Ištar, *ditto*
33Išḫara = Ištar, *ditto*[83]

This suggests that the formulation referring to the restlessness of Ištar is related to her astrological aspect, associated with Venus.[84] Cf. also VAT 9427, which includes a part of the Giskim-Text and a commentary on the "Great Star List". L. 29 is explained as following:

30DIŠ ^{mul}im-šu-rin-na nu-kúš-ù-e-ne = ⌜^{d}⌝[dili-bat]
31(space) ^{mul}im-šu-rin-na-nu-kúš-ù-e-ne
32(space) *kakkab* (MUL) *tinūri* (NININDU) *almanāti* (NU-KÚŠ-Ù-meš)
30Widows' Oven (means) Venus
31^{mul}im-šu-rin-na-nu-kúš-ù-e-ne (means)
32The Star of the Widows' Oven[85]

The explanation of ^{mul}im-šu-rin-na-nu-kúš-ù-e-ne as *kakkab tinūri almanāti* comes from *Ḫḫ* XXII, as attested in the Uruk manuscript SpTU 114a, 112; SpTU 114b, V I2'-I4': ^{mul}im-šu-rin-na-nu-kúš-ù-e-ne = *kak-kab ti-nu-ri al-ma-na-a-ti*. VAT 9427 uses a logographic writing for the same equation.[86]
For a phrase similar to *lā āšib … lā ān*[*eḫ*], see also *Lugal-e* 114: nu-kúš-ù la-ba-tuš á-bé a-má-uru$_{10}$ du || *la a-ni-ḫu la a-š*[*i-b*] *u ina i-di-šú a-bu-bu il-lak*, "Tireless, restless, the storm walks at his side" (al Rawi 1995, 210). For a commentary on this line, see also Jiménez, Rozzi 2022, 174.

83 Koch-Westenholz 1995, 187.

84 For another example of a prayer to Ištar as Venus, see the Old Babylonian literary prayer MS 2698/3 in George 2009, 76-7 (CUSAS 10).

85 For the edition of VAT 9427, see Hätinen 2020, 136-50.

86 See Hätinen 2020, 150.

8 *sulum*[*mû*ʾ]: this restoration is tentative. Other words might be possible, for example, *suḫummu*, a rare lemma whose exact meaning is uncertain, but which seems to be 'heat', according to the lexical sources (see *Malku* III 208-10a;[87] cf. *AHw* II 1054; *CAD* S 350).

10 See Jiménez, Rozzi 2022, 175: "Cf. *Exaltation of Ištar* IVb 26[88] (Hruška 1969, 489, spoken by Enlil): dug$_4$-ga-ĝu$_{10}$-gin$_7$ dug$_4$-ga-zu ḫé-en-gu-la || *kīma qibītīya qibītki limṣi*, "Let your command be as great as mine".

11 See Jiménez, Rozzi 2022, 175: "The form *šip-*˹*ra*˺*-ki* displays an epenthetic *-a* (see also l. 9 *miṣraki*). The use of epenthetic vowels in the pronominal state of segolate nouns is a literary feature, already observed in Old Babylonian literary texts (on this see Fadhil, Jiménez 2022, 248 with previous literature; cf. also Pohl 2022, 47-8 for further examples in Old Babylonian hymns). A reading of the second sign as SAG (*me-*˹*reš*˺*-ki* 'your wisdom') seems less likely, but cannot be ruled out".

12 See Jiménez, Rozzi 2022, 175: "At the beginning one may restore *tērubī* 'you entered', or perhaps *kīma marūtuk* 'like Marduk', although the space does not seem enough to accommodate the latter. DU$_6$.KÙ 'holy mountain', is normally the name of an underworld region (Lambert 2013, 304 f.; Tsukimoto 1985, 212-17). In the present context, it may refer to the é-du$_6$-kù temple of Ištar (cf. Bennett 2021, 231; George 1993, 17 and 77). Duku also occurs as a sanctuary probably connected with Ištar (*Syncretistic Hymn to Gula* 5'' [Bennett 2021, 220 and 321])".

13 The end of the line is broken, but there is space for approximately four signs, and ^{d}[*nin-ši-kù*] is a good candidate for restoration; *nišší̄ku* is a common epithet for the god Ea. For some remarks regarding this title, see Lambert, Millard 1969, 148-9.

16 See Jiménez, Rozzi 2022, 175: "Compare the parallel passage in the *Series of Ox and Horse* E+2:[89] [… *tāḫāz*]*i*ʾ *qabli u tuq*[*umti*. The nouns are grouped together in *Malku* III 2-5 (Hrůša 2010, 75, 359)".

18 ˹*šá-gi*˺*-muk*: *šagīmu* is a rare noun also attested in its variant form *šagimmu* (see *AHw* II 1127; *CAD* Š/I 73, 'roar, cry'). Derived from the

87 Hrůša 2010, 90-1 and 374-5.

88 The corresponding line number in the forthcoming edition of the text is IV c+17 (F. Müller, personal communication).

89 See the latest edition on the text uploaded in the *eBL* online corpus: `https://www.ebl.lmu.de/corpus/L/2/9`.

verb *šagāmu* 'to roar', which is often used in relation with the god Adad (*AHw* III 1125-6; *CAD* Š/I 63-5); *šagīmu/immu* is mostly employed in literary texts: within the corpus of the Great Hymns and Prayer, it occurs in the *Marduk*1, l. 87: ᵈIŠKUR *šá-gi-m*[*u*],[90] and in the *Nabû Prayer*, ll. 21-3, [ᵈIŠKUR *šá-gi*]*m*ˀ*-mu-uk* (if correctly restored).
The form *šagīmuk* in the present text contains the locative suffix *-um*, and displays the apocope of the final vowel in the pronominal suffix *-ki*. Since the line is incomplete, it is impossible to confirm whether the form denotes an authentic locative case, meaning 'in your roar', or if this is a pseudo-adverbial locative and the form *šá-gi-muk* represents a different grammatical case. Both the locative and the apocopated suffix are typical traits of the hymno-epic dialect. See the Introduction of the *Ištar Prayer*, § 3.3.
On this line, see also Jiménez, Rozzi 2022, 175: "Compare *kīma addi ana šagimmīšu ittarrarū šadû* 'As when Adad bellows, the mountains tremble'" (*Tukulti-Ninurta Epic* Ia 14, see Chang 1979, 89). Compare, furthermore, in the *Nabû Prayer*, l. 21: [*adad* (?) *šag*]*immuk lā padûk girru*, "Your [ro]ar [is Adad], your lack of mercy is fire".

19 ⌜*na-an*⌝*-duq*: this form is a third person masculine singular stative from *edēqu* N-stem, 'to be clothed, to be clad' (*AHw* I 186; *CAD* E 29). The verb *edēqu* in the N-stem is found in literary texts, especially in hymnic passages, where it is used in the description of deities, and often refers to divine garments or weapons (see *CAD* E 29 mng. a3' and b for this usage). In addition, *edēqu* has the same meaning as the verb *labāšu* (*AHw* I 523-4; *CAD* L 17-22), which is commonly employed in divine epithets (see *CAD* L mng. 4b), see for example the Old-Babylonian Hymn to Ištar, ll. 5-7: *ša-at me-li-ṣi-im ru-à-ma-am la-ab-ša-at*, "The one of joy, clad in seductiveness".[91] In a Middle Assyrian proverb the two verbs occur in a parallel couplet, used as synonyms: *na-an-duq er-šú ṣu-bat bal-ti/ nuʾu-ú ú-lap da-me la-biš*, "The wise man is girded with a loin cloth. The fool is clad with a scarlet cloth".[92]
Hence, even though the damaged state of the line does not allow a clear reconstruction of the context, one can hypothesise that *nanduq* here describes a part of the body of Ištar, or perhaps another attribute of the goddess, as probably already anticipated in l. 14 ([*naš*]*âti šarūrī kīma Sîn a*[*bīki*]).

20 ⌜*mé*⌝*-eṭ-l*[*u*]*-ti*: the primary meaning of *meṭlūtu* is 'manhood' (*AHw* II 650; *CAD* M/2 45). This word derives from *eṭlu* 'man', and is the

90 See Oshima 2011, 162-3.

91 Translation by the Author. For the edition of the text, see Thureau-Dangin 1925, 169-77 and Groneberg 1997, 3-54.

92 Lambert 1960, 228 and 232.

antonym of *meṣḫerūtu* 'childhood' (*AHw* II 648; *CAD* M/2 36-7). It is to be distinguished from *mētellūtu* 'power, rulership' (*AHw* II 649; *CAD* M/2 43), derived from *etellu* 'ruler';[93] *meṭlūtu*, *meṣḫerūtu* and *mētellūtu* all belong to the literary language, and are built on the MAPRAS-pattern with the suffix *-ūtu* used to form *abstracta*.[94]
The masculine aspect of Ištar is attested already in 2500 BCE, and symbolises the warlike nature and the virile strength of the goddess. In iconographic sources, Ištar is occasionally represented with a beard to express this masculine trait.[95] Cf., for example, the *Agušaya* Hymn A (rev. iv, ll. 5-6): *id-di-iš-ši eṭ-lu-ta-am* | *na-ar-bi-a-am da-na-na-am*, "(Ea) has given to (Ištar) manliness, greatness, might".[96]

21 Restoration based on the *Exaltation of Ištar*, IV c+16: dumu-ĝu$_{10}$ ki za-ra du$_{10}$-ga an-šè lá ki-šè lá tu-lu gíd-da-bi | *mar-ti ana e-ma ṭa-bu-ki šu-uš-qu-ú šu-uš-pu-la šá-da-da u né-eʾ-ú* (variant manuscript: *né-*⌜ʾ⌝*u*⌝, courtesy of F. Müller), "My daughter, wherever it is pleasing to you to extend upwards, to extend downwards, to pull taut or to loosen".[97] Cf. Also *Enūma eliš* IV, 8: *šu-uš-qu-ú ù šu-uš-pu-lu ši-i lu-ú qat-ka*, "It is in your power to exalt and abase".[98]

23 [*kīma qanê*(?) *tu*]-*ḫaṣ-ṣi-ṣi*: the image involving a god or king cutting the mountains is a well-attested motif in literary texts. This topos usually employs the substantive *qû* 'thread, cord', with verbs meaning 'to cut' or 'to split', for example *salātu* (*AHw* II 1014*; CAD* S 94-5, see mng. 3b), see, e.g. the Tukulti Ninurta Inscription (RIMA 1, 276, l. 31): *hur-šá-ni be-ru-ti šá* KUR.KUR *na-i-ri ki-ma qe-e lu-se-lit*, "I cut through the distant mountains of the lands of Nairi like a string"; see *CAD* S 95, mng. 2' b for further attestations of this topos. Cf. also the

93 In a bilingual composition, however, *meṭlūtu* is improperly used as a variant of *mētellūtu*, corresponding to the Sumerian nam-nir 'supremacy', that in fact represents the Sumerian rendering of *mētellūtu*, see *SBH* 38, rev. ll. 7-10, šìr-re nam-nir-ra mu-un-na-an-du$_{12}$-du$_{12}$-a | *za-ma-ri mi-iṭ-lu-ti i-za-am-mu-ru*, "They sing a song in praise of excellence" (the translation follows *CAD* M/2 45, lex. sec.). This occurrence has been considered by von Soden (1951, 155) as a Late Babylonian scribal mistake. Borger, however, maintains that *metlūtu* could be a shortened form of *mētellūtu* (Borger 1957-58, 416). Since this alleged byform of *mētellūtu* is very uncertain, I understand the noun in the present text as *meṭlūtu*.

94 Von Soden 1951, 154-6.

95 On the gender duplicity of Ištar, see Groneberg 1986, 25-46.

96 Groneberg 1997, 77. The translation used here is by Metcalf 2015, 69. Cf. the new edition of the Agušaya Hymn by Pohl 2022, 124-54.

97 Hruška 1969, 489 and 493. Translation taken from the online edition of the text provided by Foxvog 2013.

98 Lambert 2013, 86-7; cf. also the online *eBL* edition: Heinrich 2021.

verb *nakāsu* for a similar usage (*AHw* II 720-1; *CAD* N/1 171-80, see 174 mng. 1c). In the present text, however, the verb *ḫaṣāṣu* 'to snap off' (*AHw* I 331; *CAD* Ḫ 130-1) is used, therefore I suggest to restore the term *qanû* 'reed', since it often occurs with this verb in literary contexts, see for example Esarhaddon's Monument A: [32] *kul-lat la ma-<gi>-re-e-šú mal-ki la kan-šú-ti-šú* ˹GIM˺ GI *a-pi* [33]*ú-ḫa-ṣi-iṣ-ma*, "he broke all of those disobedient to him (and) rulers unsubmissive to him like a reed in the swamp".[99] The form *tuḫaṣṣiṣī*, preterite, can be understood here also in a gnomic sense, and translated as a durative, because it belongs to the permanent qualities and powers of the goddess (cf. the Introduction of the text; see also Mayer 1992a).

26-9 The restoration of ll. 26-7 is based on ll. 28-9 of a syncretistic hymn to Ištar:

> [28]^{kúr}*pe-te-e i-di-ki <šu>-bé-ʾe-i* ^{im}U$_{18.}$LU ^{d}MÙŠ-UNUG^{ki}
> [29]*pi-it pu-ri-di-ki pa-an* ^{im}SI.SÁ ^{d}MÙŠ-A.GA.DÈ^{ki}
> [28]The spreading of your wings is the rush of the south wind – Ištar of Uruk,
> [29]The opening of your legs is the face of the north wind – Ištar of Akkad.[100]

In the Akkadian texts, the four winds are always listed in the same order, and this allows to reconstruct l. 28 of the present prayer. The fixed sequence can be observed in standard formulas employed in incantations and prayers, for example: IM.I IM.II IM.III ˹IM.IV *li*˺*-zi-qu-*˹*nim*˺, "May south wind, north wind, east wind (and) west wind blow towards m[e]".[101] The lexical sources provide further occurrences of the fixed order of the four winds,[102] see the *Practical Vocabulary of Assur* 19'-22';[103] *Erimḫuš* II 66-9 and 82-5 (MSL 17, 30-1); *Igituḫ Long Version* 311-14[104] and *Igituḫ Short Version* 99-102 (Landsberger, Gurney 1957-8, 82); *Kagal* D 1'-4' (MSL 13, 244-50)[105] and *Malku* III 197-202.[106]

99 Leichty 2011, 184.

100 Földi 2021b. Cf. Lambert 2003, 22.

101 Abusch, Schwemer 2016, 196 and 204, l. 133. Cf. Mayer 1976, 229 for a similar formula in *šuilla* prayers.

102 Cf. Hrůša, Weiershäuser 2020, 48.

103 Hrůša, Weiershäuser 2020, 47; cf. also Landsberger, Gurney 1957-58, 334, ll. 841-4. Cf. Lambert 1959-60, 50.

104 See Hrůša, Weiershäuser 2020, 192-3; cf. *CAD* M/2 4 lex. sec.

105 Cf. Hurowitz 1998, 197.

106 Hrůša 2010, 88-9, 237 and 374.

The same sequence appears also in literary texts, see for example SB *Gilgameš* V, l. 138: *šūtu*(imU18.LU) *iltānu*(imSI.SÁ) *šadû*(imKUR.RA) *amurru*(imMAR.TU) im*ziq-qa*, "South Wind, North Wind, East Wind, West Wind, Blast"[107] and *Enūma Eliš* IV, l. 43 *šūtu*(imU18.LU) *iltānu*(imSI.SÁ) *šadû*(imKUR.RA) *amurru*(imMAR.TU).[108]
[*šār*(?) *er*?*-bét*?*-t*]*u*4: restoration based on *Igituḫ Short Version* 99-104 (see Landsberger, Gurney 1957-8, 82, cf. *CAD* M/2 4 lex. sec.) = *Igituḫ Long Version* 312-16.[109]

99 imu19-lu = *šu-u-tu*
100 imsi-sá = *il-ta-nu*
101 imkur-ra = *šá-du-ú*
102 immar-tu = *a-mur-ru*
103 imme-er-me-er = *me-hu-u*
104 im-límmu2-ba = *šá-a-ru er-bet-te*
99 imu19-lu = South Wind
100 imsi-sá = North Wind
101 imkur-ra = East Wind
102 immar-tu = West Wind
103 imme-er-me-er = Storm
104 im-límmu2-ba = Four Winds

IM *i-da-a-ti*: in his edition of the text, Lambert reads: im limmu *ṭa-a-ti* (Lambert 1959-60, 50), leaving the line untranslated; however, the sign before DA/ṬA has five horizontals and looks like I. My restoration is based on *Malku* III 202, which belongs to a large set of lines containing different kinds of winds, storms and other weather phenomena (*Malku* III 180-203).[110] The following passage (*Malku* III 197-202) appears similar to ll. 16-18 of our *Prayer to Ištar*:

197 [piriĝ]-g[al] = [*š*]*u-ú-ti*
198 [piriĝ-bàn]-da = [*i*]*l-ta-nu*
199 [piriĝ-š]u-du7 = *ša-du-u*
200 [p]iriĝ-nu-šu-du7 = *a-m*[*u*]*r-ru*
201 im-ti-la = *šá-a-ri ṣ*[*e*]*-li*
202 im-ti-la = MIN *i-da-a-t*[*i*]
197 piriĝ]-g[al] = [S]outh, [S]outh Wind
198 [piriĝ-bàn]-da = [N]orth, [N]orth Wind
199 [piriĝ-š]u-du7 = East, East Wind
200 p]iriĝ-nu-šu-du7 = W[es]t, W[es]t Wind

107 George 2003, 608.

108 Lambert 2013, 88-9; cf. Heinrich 2021.

109 Hrůša, Weiershäuser 2020, 193.

110 Hrůša 2010, 236.

[201]im-ti-la = Side Wind
[202]im-ti-la = Side Wind[111]

30 ˹*ṣer*˺-*ret-su-un*: the line is too broken to allow restorations. The word *ṣerretu* 'leading rope' (*AHw* III 1092; *CAD* Ṣ 134-6) often appears in divine epithets and stock phrases within hymns and prayers, used in a figurative sense to describe the influence and rulership of deities over mankind and the whole universe, see for example in the Agušaya Hymn (A, col. ii), ll. 10-11: *iš*$_8$*-tár ri-tu-uš-ša ṣé-re-et* | *ni-ši ú-ki-a-al*, "Ištar holds the lead rope of the people in her hand".[112] Cf. *CAD* Ṣ 136, mng. 4b and 4c for further occurrences of this use of *ṣerretu*. It is therefore possible that *ṣerretu* was used in a similar sense in the present line, that is to describe Ištar's sphere of influence.

51-2 [*uš*?]-˹*nam*˺-*mar*: the tablet is damaged, preventing a clear understanding of the context; nevertheless one can hypothesise that a form of the verb *namārum/nawārum* occurs at the end of l. 51; the occurrence of *dipāru* 'torch' (*AHw* I 172; *CAD* D 156-7) in the second half of the succeeding line (l. 52) might support this reconstruction. Therefore, I tentatively restore a third person singular Š-stem from *namārum/nawārum*, perhaps related to an attribute of the goddess, cf. for example a *šuilla* prayer to Ištar (Ištar 11),[113] l. 5: *ga-šír-tu*$_4$ *ša šá-ru-ru-šá uš-nam-ma-ru ik-li-ti*, "Terrible one, whose splendour illuminates the darkness".[114]
In addition, the word *dipāru* is often attested in divine epithets in the Akkadian hymns and prayers, even in association with Ištar, see for example the *šuilla* prayer Ištar 1, l. 2: *di-pár* AN-*e u* KI-*ti šá-ru-ur kib-ra-a-t*[*i*], "Torch of heavens and earth, splendour of the regions".[115]

59 [*mangu*(?) *iṣ*?-*ba*?-*a*]*t*? *i-di-ia*: tentative restoration based on the *diĝiršadabba* prayer no. 11, l. 10 *mun-ga iṣ-ṣa-bat i-di*-MU,[116] and also on *Ludlul* II, l. 77: *man-gu iṣ-bat i-di-ia*, "Stiffness seized my arms".[117] The reference to paralysis or to an illness of a similar sort would

111 Hrůša 2010, 88-9, 237 and 374.

112 See the most recent edition in Pohl 2022, 124-54; cf. Groneberg 1997, 75.

113 I follow here the numeration given by Mayer 1976, 390.

114 Ebeling 1953, 128-9.

115 Zgoll 2003a, 192 and 198.

116 For the latest edition, see Jaques 2015, 67 and 51. The translation used here is that of Lambert 1974, 275.

117 Oshima 2014, 90-1 and 406. The translation here follows Foster *apud* Hätinen 2022, cf. also Lambert 1960, 43.

match the preceding and following lines (ll. 58 and 60), in which the verbs *saḫāpu* (l. 58 [*is*]-*ḫu-up*) 'to cover, to overtake' (*AHw* II 1004; *CAD* S 31, see especially mng. 1e, as referred to evil forces) and *kullu* (l. 60 *ik-la-an-ni*) 'to hold' (*AHw* I 503-4; *CAD* K 508-18) imply a sense of constriction and physical limitation.
The topos of paralysis is well attested in the corpus of Akkadian prayers and in the 'righteous sufferer' compositions, and is one of the typical symptoms of suffering described by the supplicant.[118] Furthermore, Akkadian prayers also contain other expressions used to depict physical or mental imprisonment, which involve fetters and manacles, cf. the *Nabû Prayer*, l. 173 *puṭur qunnabrašu ḫipi illu*[*rtaš*], "Loose his fetters, break his ma[nacle]!" in chapter 2.[119] Cf. also below within the present text ll. 222-3, in which the goddess is praised for her ability to release the captive.

73 ˹*ap*˺-*pi-ia ṣé-na-ti ú*-˹*ba*˺-[*ṭa*?]: Lambert reads ZE-*na-ti* and interprets the word as *zenâti* from the adjective *zenû* 'angry' (*AHw* III 1519; *CAD* Z 85-6); furthermore, he understands ˹*ap*˺-*pi-ia* as 'my face', thus translating the line as ". . .] my angry face . . [. .]".[120]
I suggest taking ˹*ap*˺-*pi-ia* as 'my nose', and to read the sign ZI as *ṣé*: I analyse the form as *ṣé-na-ti*, namely as the rare verbal adjective *ṣēnu* 'laden, loaded' (*AHw* III 1090; *CAD* Ṣ 128), derived from *ṣênu* 'to load' (*AHw* III 1091; *CAD* Ṣ 131-2) and only attested in lexical sources, cf. *Ḫḫ* IX 134 (MSL 7, 42): [^{gi}ma-sá]-ab sá^{sa}-[a] = *ṣe-e-nu* 'filled basket' (Cf. *CAD* Ṣ 134). In addition, I reconstruct *ú*-˹*ba*˺-[*ṭa*?], as *upāṭu* 'mucus' (*AHw* III 1423; *CAD* U/W 178-9) at the end of the line. This reading fits the context, since in the following lines other parts of the upper body are mentioned. It appears that in this portion of the text (ll. 73-5), all the senses of the sufferer have been damaged: his nose is filled with mucus (l. 73), his mouth is paralysed (l. 74) and his ears are clogged with a stoppage (l. 75). Similar symptoms are described in a passage of *Ludlul* (III, ll. 82-95), wherein Šubši-mešrâ-Šakkan recounts his initial pitiable condition finally healed by Marduk, see in particular ll. 84-7:

84 *uznā* (GEŠTU.MIN)-*a-a šá uṭ-ṭa-am-mi-ma us-sak-ki-ka ḫa-šik-kiš*
85 *it-bal a-mi-ra-šin ip-te-te neš-ma-a-a*
86 *ap-pa šá ina ri-di um-mi ú-nap-pi-qu ni*[*pissu*]
87 *ú-pa-áš-ši-iḫ mi-ḫi-iṣ-ta-šu-ma a-nap-pu-uš* [*za-mar*]
84 My ears, which were stopped and clogged like a deaf man's,
85 He removed their blockage, he opened my hearing.

118 Van der Toorn 1985, 59 and 66.

119 Cf. Oshima 2014, 258.

120 Lambert 1959-60, 51.

86 My nose, whose bre[athing] was choked by symptoms of fever,
87 He soothed its affliction so I could breathe [freely].[121]

76 [*šapʾ-tiʾ*]-*ki*: the restoration suits the context and fits in the space available in the break. For the usage of *ṣabāru* with *šaptu* see *CAD* Ṣ 3, mng. 1a.

77-8 The theme of sin, expressed through the confession of guilt, is commonly found in penitential prayers, especially in the *šigû*-prayers, *diĝiršadabbas* and *lipšur*-litanies. Such confessions can show different variations: they can be included in general protestations of ignorance, which imply the presumed innocence of the supplicant and hence accord with the 'righteous sufferer' theme, or consist in detailed lists of wrongdoings.[122] The underlying belief that leads to confession in these prayers is that one should acknowledge his own sin in order to be reconciled with the deity and thereby saved from his suffering.[123] The enumerations of crimes and the repetitions were used to reinforce the efficacy of prayer.[124] Within the present context, the supplicant openly confesses his misconduct (ll. 77-80), making use of the standard vocabulary of penitential prayers, which is a specific set of verbal and nominal forms, typically occuring in the confession of the penitent. The verbs *egû* 'to neglect', *ḫaṭû* 'to commit an offence', *šêṭu* 'to disregard' and *gullulu* 'to commit a crime' that are found in l. 77 tend to occur in the exact same sequence in numerous penitential prayers, and the terms *ḫiṭītu* 'sin' and *gillatu* 'crime' in the following line (l. 78) represent a well attested fixed pair.[125]
A long *diĝiršadabba* prayer (no. 11) contains a couplet (ll. 122-3) that resembles ll. 77-8 in the present text:

122 [*e*]-*gi a-na* DINGIR.MU *aḫ-ṭi ana* ᵈXV.MU *ú*-[*gal*]-*lil*
123 [DÙ *a*]*n-nu-ú-a* DÙ *ḫi-ṭa-tu-ú-a* DÙ *gíl-la-tu-ú-*⌜*a*⌝

122 [I ha]ve been neglectful towards my god, I have sinned against my goddess, I have committed sacrilege,
123 [All] my [si]ns, all my misdeeds, all my crimes![126]

121 Oshima 2014, 98-9, 419-20. The translation used here is taken from Hätinen 2022; cf. Lambert 1960, 53.

122 Mayer 1976, 110-16; Van der Toorn 1985, 97; Jaques 2015, 101.

123 Van der Toorn 1985, 97.

124 This feature has been defined by Bottéro as 'Loi de réduplication' (see Bottéro 1987-90, 207a § 12, 213a § 24, 216b § 30). For the conative function of figures of speech in incantations, see Veldhuis 1999, 35-48 and Schwemer 2014, 263-88; cf. Jaques 2015, 130.

125 Mayer 1976, 111-16, esp. 111 fn. 89.

126 Lambert 1974, 280-1; Jaques 2015, 80 and 90, cf. also 103 for the commentary on these lines.

80 *sam*^{am}*-na-ki*: the phonetic gloss *am* should help to read the preceding sign *sam* instead of *ú*, so as to facilitate the understanding of the rare word *samnu* 'oath', attested in *Malku* as a synonym of *nīšu* and *māmītu* (*Malku* IV 74-5),[127] cf. *AHw* II 1019; *CAD* S 128.

81 The restoration in the first half of the line is based on tablet collation and on textual parallels. The preserved trace after the break shows a partially damaged horizontal and a vertical wedge, and can be reconciled with the sign LA: the noun *kala* fits in the available space. Moreover, *kala* is employed in similar contexts, see for example the following passage of an Akkadian *šigû*-prayer to Marduk, ll. 22-4:

22[ ] *ka-la ḫi-ṭa-t*[*u-u-a*]
23[*ka-la gíl-la-t*]*u-u-a k*[*a-l*]*a ma-ma-tu-u-*[*a*]
22[ ] all [my s]ins,
23[all] my [crimes], a[l]l m[y] mamītu-curses.[128]

Cf. also the *diĝiršadabba* prayer no. 11, l. 123, see above the note on ll. 77-8.
ina qaq-qa-ri ú-kab-ba-a[*s*]: Lambert takes *ukabbas* in this line as a first person singular verb referring to the supplicant, providing the following translation: "I trample my sins to the ground" (Lambert 1959-60, 51). Indeed the verb *kabāsu* (*AHw* I 415-16; *CAD* K 5-11) in D-stem is often used with nouns meaning 'sin' or 'sacrilege', e.g. *anzillu*, *ḫiṭītu* or *arnu*, in the sense of 'to commit a crime', literally 'to tread upon a sin' (see *CAD* K 5 sub *kabāsu* mng. 5a/b). This common meaning of *kabāsu* appears, for example, in a *diĝiršadabba* prayer (no. 11, sec. B), l. 7: *an-nu-ú-a ḫi-ṭa-tu-u-a gíl-lat-ú-a* [*šá ki-ma ḫa-mi*] *tab-ku-ú-ma* UGU-⌜*ši*⌝*-na ú-kab-bi-is*, "I have trodden on my iniquities, sins and transgressions, [which] were heaped up [like leaves]",[129] or in a *eršaḫuĝa* prayer (4*R*^{2} n. 10), ll. 34-5:

34AMA.AN.INANNA á m-gig-ga nu-un-zu-ta gì[r] ⌜ús⌝-sa-a-ni
35*an-zil* ^{d}*iš-ta-ri-ia ina la i-de-e ú-*⌜*kab*⌝*-bi-is*
34(Sum.) (My) goddess, if he unknowingly treads upon a taboo,
35I unknowingly stepped upon the taboo of my goddess.[130]

However, when associated with terms indicating guilt, *kabāsu* can also mean 'to forgive' (both in G and in D-stem), see for example an

127 Hrůša 2010, 96-7 and 383.

128 For the edition of this prayer see Mayer 1976, 466-8; I follow von Soden's restoration for l. 23 (see Mayer 1976, 467). Cf. the latest edition of the text by Oshima 2011, 296-302.

129 Jaques 2015, 83, 92 and 131.

130 Maul 1988, 238.

inscription belonging to the Assurbanipal's Annals (Prism E_2, col. v, ll. 9-10: *re-e-mu ar-ši-šu-ma/ ú-kab-bi-sa ḫi-ṭi-is-su*, "I showed him mercy, I pardoned his sin".[131] Cf. *CAD* K 9-10 sub *kabāsu*, mng. 4d and 5e.[132]
In the present context, the second meaning, namely 'to forgive', seems more likely, since our line belongs to a strophe wherein the theme of Ištar's mercifulness is emphasised: the lines immediately following (ll. 82-90), in fact, deal with the goddess's ability to help and forgive sins. Therefore, I take *ukabbas* as a third person singular verb referred to Ištar and used here in the sense of 'to forgive'.

82 *m*[*im*ʔ-*m*]*u*ʔ-*ú mi-ki-tú*: the first half of the line is fragmentary, but the preserved traces before the lacuna can be reconciled with the initial part of MIM; a small part of an oblique wedge is visible immediately after the break, and could be read as MU.
The word *mekītu* (*AHw* II 651; *CAD* M/2 63 sub *mikītu*) is a *hapax*. It displays a nominal pattern of the PARIST type and seems to be a substantivised feminine form of the verbal adjective *mekû* 'idle' 'negligent' (*AHw* II 643; *CAD* M/2 9)[133] derived from the verb *mekû* 'to be negligent' (*AHw* II 643; *CAD* M/2 8-9). According to the context, *mekītu* could be translated as 'negligence' or 'transgression'. Compare also, however, the lemma *mekītu* in *CAD* M/2 7, which appears equated with *alkakātum* 'ways' in the lexical sources.[134]
I understand *m*[*im*ʔ-*m*]*u*ʔ-*ú* here as *mimmê*. For similar occurrences of *mimmû* in the genitive, see *CAD* M/2 82 sub *mimmû*, usage 2a.

83-4 *a-nu-na k*[*u*]*l-*⌜*lu*⌝*-mat*: the learned word *anūnu* is attested exclusively in literary texts and lexical sources and, according to the dictionaries, can be translated as 'fear' (*AHw* I 55; *CAD* A/2 150). It also has a feminine form, *anantu/anuntu* (*AHw* I 50; *CAD* A/2 111), which instead means 'battle', 'strife', and is considered by von Soden an example of the special vocabulary of the hymno-epic dialect.[135] Both nouns seem to derive from a Semitic root **'nn* 'to fight'; *anūnu* was borrowed into Sumerian as a-nun-na.[136]

131 Borger 1996, 180; cf. Novotny, Jeffers 2018, 49.

132 Cf. also Kouwenberg 1997, 129.

133 For a recent treatment of verbal adjectives in Akkadian, see Mayer 2019. According to this study, verbal adjectives derived from intransitive verbs can be connoted by a semantic nuance of 'habitus' or tendency (300-2): the very rare adjective *mekû* could then be understood as 'someone who is used/has the tendency to be negligent'.

134 On this see Cohen 2013, 100.

135 Cf. von Soden 1933, 169.

136 Selz 2000, 45 fn. 83; cf. Gelb 1987, 32; Roberts 1972, 36.

The dualism of deities, who can be both relentless and forgiving, is a common topos in Mesopotamian penitential prayers and 'righteous sufferer' compositions. The gods incorporated both negative and positive aspects of nature, and were ultimately held responsible for human suffering or salvation.[137] The opening hymn of *Ludlul* clearly exemplifies the duplicity of Marduk's character, who, just as Ištar in the present text, can switch between rage and mercy.[138] The philosophical concept implied in this literary motif is that piety is worthwhile, since the enraged deities will eventually relent and show benevolence as reward for a god-fearing behaviour.[139]
For further passages, in which this topos is employed in relation to Ištar, see *Queen of Nippur*, col. iii, ll. 19-22:

[19][*m*]*a-am-ma-an ul i-le-'i-i* [ ]
[20]*a-ga-ga ta-a-ra na-ak-ru-*[*ṭa*]
[21]*ma-am-ma-an ul i-le-'i* [ ]
[22]*e-né-na re-e-ma ru-um-ma* [ ]
[19]No one [but s]he is able […]
[20]To become angry (and then) relent, to show kindness […]
[21]No one but she is able […]
[22]To punish (but then) show compassion, to take a mild view […][140]

85-6 This couplet displays the standard hyperbolic praises, a traditional feature of the opening section of Sumerian and Akkadian hymns and prayers. In fact, in the first portion of hymns and prayers – namely the "Hymnic Introduction", cf. § 3.4 – the invoked deities are typically extolled for their divine powers: hyperbolic praises are used to stress their uniqueness and prominence within the pantheon.[141] Cf. also ll. 5-6 of the prayer under study.
For a similar phraseology, cf. for example the *šuilla* prayer to Ištar (no. 1), l. 15: *eš-'e-e-ma ina* DINGIR.MEŠ *su-pu-u šar-ku-ki*(:) *as-ḫur-ma ina* ^{d}15.MEŠ *ka-ši-ma šá ba-a-li*, "I searched among the gods: to you

137 Sitzler 1995, 89; cf. Oshima 2014, 38.

138 For the alternation between divine wrath and forgiveness in *Ludlul* and in several penitential prayers to Marduk, including *Marduk*1, see chapter 1, § 1.2.5.

139 This thought agrees with the so-called "Positive Wisdom", namely the traditional religious view which does not deal with seemingly undeserved suffering, nor brings divine justice into question. Positive wisdom opposes to what has been called by scholars the "Negative Wisdom", see Cohen 2013, 14-15, cf. chapter 1, § 1.2.5 and chapter 2, § 2.5 some wisdom themes in the *Great Hymns and Prayers* and some examples of negative wisdom.

140 Lambert 1982. 196-7. Cf. also Földi 2021c.

141 Metcalf 2015, 40-9, 76-7.

are prayers offered. I sought among the goddesses: only you are to be supplicated".[142]

91 *ul-tu ab-duk-ki tam-ši-i*: this is a standard formulation found in the Akkadian penitential prayers, used to describe the typical topos of the disturbed communication between the penitent and the god. Divine disapproval leads to the god's abandonment, and ultimately allows evil to strike the forsaken person. This motif is defined by Mayer as the 'Entfremdung', and can be formulated via numerous expressions, by which the god is said, for example, to be angered, to have abandoned the sufferer and to have turned away from him.[143] From a linguistic and stylistic point of view, this thought can be formulated either through standard stock-phrases which make use of precative verbs (see, e.g. in chapter 2, ll. 204-6 of the *Nabû Prayer*, [*bēlu*(?)/^{d}NÀ] *bu-nu-ka* ZALÁG.MEŠ *lit-tar-ri-ṣu e-li-šú*, "[O Lord/O Nabû] may your radiant face be tu]rned towards him"), or through relative sentences with *ša*,[144] see for example the *diĝiršadabba* no. 11, l. 47: *tir-ra ki-šad-ka šá taš-bu-su* UGU-*ia*, "Avert the anger you have had for me",[145] or, like in our case, in secondary sentences introduced by temporal conjunctions. For a similar passage, see for example the *šuilla* prayer to Sîn no. 3, ll. 56-7: *e-nu-ma* DINGIR-MU *ze-nu-ú it-ti-ia*/ ^{d}U.DAR-MU *né-sa-at* UGU-*ia*, "Since my god has been angry with me | (and) my goddess has been distant from me".[146]
The substantive *abdu* is a learned word for 'servant' (*AHw* I 6; *CAD* A/1 52) and is attested in the lexical sources. It is entered in *Antagal* 228-30 (MSL 17, 159) within a bilingual group of words which also mean 'slave' or 'servant':

228 SAG = *re-e-šú*
229 SAG$^{e\text{-}ru}$ SAL = *ab-du*
230 l a - b a r = *ar-du*

The equation between *abdu* and *ardu* is found in *Malku* I 175 and in *An* VIII 7 (cf. *CAD* A/1 52 lex. sec.);[147] beyond the lexical lists, *abdu* is also attested in the *Nabû Prayer*, l. 150 (cf. chapter 2), and in a

142 Zgoll 2003a, 194 and 198; the translation used here is that of Sperling 1981, 11.

143 Mayer 1976, 93-4.

144 Mayer 1976, 94-8.

145 Jaques 2015, 72 and 88. The translation is taken from Lambert 1974, 48.

146 Mayer 1976, 498 and 501.

147 Hrůša 2010, 42-3, 206 and 313.

letter-prayer (Ni. 13088, l. 14): *ab-du pa-li-ḫu-um*.[148]
The form *ab-du-uk-ki* that appears in the present text is a pseudo-adverbial locative: it displays the adverbial locative ending *-um* + the personal suffix *-ki*, but is used as an accusative.[149]

92 ˹*ul*˺ *ir-ši a-bi ʾe-e-mi* [*umma*(?) *emēta*(?)]: tentative restoration. I take *ʾe-e-mi* for *emu* 'father-in-law' (*AHw* I 302; *CAD* E 154-6; cf. also Mayer 2016, 205), because it pairs with 'father' (*a-bi*) immediately preceding. The spelling with aleph is, however, elsewhere unattested, and could be a scribal mistake.[150] This line appears to present the traditional topos of the sufferer's social isolation, cf. below l. 181. In fact, in the Mesopotamian penitential prayers and 'righteous sufferer' compositions, the supplicant typically complains about his lack of friends and family, who have either died or have turned away from him.[151] For further occurrences of this motif, see e.g. *Ludlul* I, l. 192: *a-na la* UZU.MEŠ-*šú iš-ku-na-an-ni kim-ti*, "My family set me down as no kin of theirs",[152] and *Theodicy*, ll. 9-11:

> ˹*a*˺-*ḫu-ra*-[*k*]*u-ma za-ru-ú š*[*i*]*m-tu*$_4$ *ub-til*
> *a-ga-rin*-˹*nu*˺ *a-lit-ti* ˹*i*˺-*ta-ar* KUR.NU.GI$_4$
> *a-bi u ba-an-ti i-zi-bu-in-ni-ma ba-al ta-ru-u-a*
> I was the youngest child when fate carried off him who begot me,
> She who brought me into the world departed to the land of no return,
> My father and mother left me with no one to care for me![153]

For an example in prayers, see the *šuilla* prayer to Ištar (Ištar 2), l. 78: *sap-ḫat il-la-ti ta-bi-ni pur-ru-ur*, "My kin is dispersed, my shelter scattered".[154]

148 See the edition in Kraus 1983, 205; cf. `https://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/Ni.13088`.

149 Cf. Mayer 1996, 428; cf. Groneberg 1987, 2: 55.

150 Perhaps this curious spelling might be explained as an Aramaic influence; in fact, Akkadian words with an initial glottal stop take an aleph in the alphabetic transliteration of their corresponding Aramaic forms (Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 12; Kaufman 1974, 142).

151 See Van der Toorn 1985, 60-1 and 64; cf. Lenzi 2015, 77-8. Cf. also above the introduction to the *Ištar Prayer*, 3.4.

152 Translation by Foster *apud* Hätinen 2022; cf. Lambert 1960, 35. and Oshima 2014, 82-3 and 392.

153 Translation by Foster *apud* Heinrich 2022. Cf. Lambert 1960, 70-1 and Oshima 2014, 150-1 and 440.

154 See Zgoll 2003a, 46 for the text.

94 *r*[*aʾ-biʾ-iṣʾ ittīšu*(?)]: restoration follows *CAD* R 12, mng. 3b.

96 *ma-nu-šú*: I understand this form as *manûššu*, namely the substantive *manû* (*AHw* II 274 sub *munû*; *CAD* M/1 221; cf. also the new attestation in a literary context in *eSAD* M,[155] sub *manû*) followed by the locative suffix *-um* and the personal pronoun *-šu*.
manû is a rare word for 'bed' borrowed from Sumerian (Emesal) mu.nú, and entered in the lexical lists as a synonym of *eršu* 'bed' (*AHw* I 246; *CAD* E 315-18), see esp. *Malku* III 364-5 *mu-nu-ú* /*ma-nu-ú* = MIN (*er-šu*).[156]
The use of the locative case is common in poetic texts and a typical feature of the hymnic-epic dialect.[157] Moreover, the topos of the sufferer lying on a bed of sickness, or on his deathbed, is frequently attested in Mesopotamian literary texts,[158] see e.g. *Ludlul* II, l. 95: *a-ḫu-uz* giš NÁ *me-si-ru mu-ṣe-e ta-ni-ḫ*[*u*], "I took to bed as confinement, going out was exhaustion".[159] Cf. CT 46, pl. 49, l. 15 [*marʾ-ṣ*]*aʾ-ku ina* giš NÁ *šá* ˹*ši*˺*-ig-ge-e ú-qat-ta* u_4*-me*, "[*I am si*]*ck* on a bed of *lamentations* (and) I finish (my) days".[160] Cf. also *Marduk*2, l. 98: *šá i-na* giš NÁ d*nam-tar na-du-ú ta-dak-ki-šú*, "The one who is cast onto the deathbed, you raise him up".[161] See also the prayer to *Marduk*5 (*BMS* 12), l. 43: *šá ina* giš NÁ NAM.TAR ŠUB-*ú tu-šat-bi*, "The one who was lying on the deathbed, you let him rise".[162]
For a Sumerian example, see *The Death of Gilgameš*, l. 68: giš ná-nam-tar-ra-ka ba-ná ḫur nu-mu-e-[da-an-zi-zi], "On the bed of fate he lies, he [rises] not".[163]
man-gu: the noun *mungu*/*mangu* 'paralysis' (see *AHw* II 602-3, which however provides the translation 'Hautkrankheit'; cf. *CAD* M/1 211) is derived from the verb *magāgu* 'to become stiff' (*AHw* II 574; *CAD* M/1 28 and M/2 202-3)[164] and is predominantly applied to feet and

155 https://www.gkr.uni-leipzig.de/altorientalisches-institut/forschung/supplement-to-the-akkadian-dictionaries.

156 Hrůša 2010, 192-3, 457.

157 See von Soden 1933, 90-102; Groneberg 1978, 19. Cf. Hess 2010, 109-10.

158 Cf. Lambert 2007, 153-4 and Jiménez 2017a, 268 fn. 678.

159 Translation follows Foster *apud* Hätinen 2022; cf. Lambert 1960, 45 and Oshima 2014, 90-1, 406 with the note in the commentary on p. 260.

160 Translation by the Author. The text is unpublished, see Lambert, Millard 1965, pl. XLVII; cf. Lambert 1960, 294; also quoted in *CAD* Š/2 411.

161 Oshima 2011, 231, 246-7.

162 Mayer 1993, 317.

163 Kramer 1944, 7 and 10.

164 Although *CAD* lists *mungu* and *mangu* as two separate entries, it is likely that *mangu* is simply a less attested byform of *mungu*. Cf. for example SB *Gilgameš* IV, ll. 231, 242 (= V 29, 44 in the updated *eBL* edition: https://www.ebl.lmu.de/corpus/L/1/4/

arms. It is often paired with another disease that involves stiffness, namely *luʾtu* (*AHw* I 575; *CAD* L 256-7; cf. below the note on l. 186).[165] [*iṣbassu*(?)]: I tentatively restore a preterite G-stem from *ṣabātu* with the pronominal suffix, because *mangu*/mungu often appears with this verb (see *CAD* M/1 211 for similar occurrences).

97 ⌜*kit*⌝-*mu-s*[*aʾ birkāšu*(?)]: *kitmusā* is restored on the basis of *CAD* K 119 sub *kamāsu* B, mng. 2 and 375 sub *kimṣu* mng. b, 1c′; cf. also OIP 114, no. 66, l. 14: *kin-ṣi kit-*⌜*mu-sa*⌝, "The knees are bent".[166] Cf. Lambert (1959-60, 51) who reconstructs ⌜*kit*⌝-*mu-r*[*u*…], translating: "[his…] are overcome".
I tentatively restore *birkāšu* at the end of the line, because the first hemistich contains *kimṣu*: the substantives *birku* 'knee' (*AHw* I 129; *CAD* B 255-6) and *kimṣu* 'shin' (*AHw* I 478-9; *CAD* K 373-5) are often attested together, forming a fixed pair, see the occurrences in *CAD* K sub *kimṣu* mng. b) 1, b′ and *CAD* B sub *birku* mng. 1a.

99-100 The image of the god strengthening the foundations of the pious – i.e. supporting him – or instead making the impious unstable, is a well-known motif in Akkadian prayers, see for example in the *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 96: *e-ni qa-aq-qar-šu*, "his foundations are undermined",[167] or in the *šuilla* prayer to Sîn no. 3, l. 49: *šá a-na ka-a-šá it-ka-lu-ka tu-ka-an iš-diš-šú*, "You strengthen the foundations of the one who confides in you".[168] Cf. also within the present text l. 171 *iš-du-uš k*[*in-ni*], "shore him up!". The term *išdu* in this literary topos should be understood as a metaphor for leg, see above the note on l. 7.
The restoration *iʾʾabbat* (l. 100), from *abātu* A, present N-stem (*AHw* I 5; *CAD* A/1 41-5) is based on a similar passage found in the series of *Utukku Lemnūtu*, tablet VIII (CT 16, pl. 27), ll. 4-5:

> [4]a-lá ḫul é-gar$_8$ diri-ga-gin$_7$ lú-ra in-gu[l]-u$_8$-a ḫé-me-en
> [5]MIN *ša ki-ma i-ga-ri i-qu-up-pu-ma* UGU L[Ú *in-n*]*a-ba-tu at-tu*
> [4]Whether you be an alû-demon, which, like a tottering wall, collapses upon a man (Sum.),

SB/V), where the word *mangu* is used in the sense of 'stiffness', while the Ugaritic version of the epic employs *mungu* in the parallel line (MB Ug$_2$ 3'-4'), see George 2007d, 248.

165 See Scurlock, Andersen 2005, 249 for further information on the *mungu*/*mangu*-disease. Cf. also Stadhouders 2011, 15.

166 Cf. Jursa 1998, 423 and Streck 2003, 55.

167 Lambert 1960, 130-1; cf. Rozzi 2021a.

168 Mayer 1976, 497 and 501.

[5]Whether you be an alû-demon, which, like a wall, buckles and collapses upon a man (Akk.).[169]

Furthermore, the image of the wall falling down, used as a metaphor for the annihilation of the sufferer, is also found in a passage in *Ludlul*, in which the verb *abātu* appears as well, see *Ludlul* II, l. 68: *la-a-ni zaq-ru i-bu-tu i-ga-ri-iš*, "They toppled my lofty stature like a wall".[170]

101 *ta-pat-t*[*e nappaša*(?)]: restoration based on the *Nabû Prayer*, ll. 186/188 *tasanniq aradka nappaša šup*[*te*], "You/O Nabû, you test your servant, let a window o[pen] for him to breathe!" (see above, chapter 2). The topos of the god 'opening a window' for the supplicant, i.e. releasing him from suffering, also appears in *Marduk*2, l. 28': *a-na tap-pi-šá-a-te šá es-la nap-pa-šá tú-ram-me*, "you loosen an opening for holes that are blocked".[171]

104 The damaged state of the line prevents a clear understanding of the whole context, yet it appears that the supplicant is being compared to a moaning dove. This is a well-attested simile in the Mesopotamian literature, and even finds parallels in the biblical sources.[172]
In his edition of this text, Lambert suggests to restore *id-mu-ma* (see Lambert 1959-60, 51), although, judging from the space on the tablet, the reconstruction *id-da-nam-mu-ma* (Gtn-stem of *damāmu*) seems more likely. Cf. *AHw* I 155 and *CAD* D 60-1 for similar attestations.
Metaphors which involve animals are often used in Mesopotamian prayers, and birds are traditionally associated with feelings of fear and distress.[173] Cf. *Ludlul* I, l. 107, [*ki-m*]*a su-um-me a-dam-mu-ma gi-mir* u_4*-me-ia*, "I moaned like a mourning dove all my days",[174] or the *diĝiršadabba* prayer no. 11, l. 12: *a-dam-mu-um* GIM *su-um-mat mu-ši u ur-ra*, "Like a dove, I am moaning day and night".[175]

169 Geller 2016, 288. Cf. also *CAD* A/1 41 lex. sec., where this passage is reconstructed with the form *i'abbatu*: [*i-a*]*b-ba-tu*. The restoration suggested by Geller [*in-n*]*a-ba-tu*, however, seems plausible (photo collation: K.4661).

170 Translation by Foster *apud* Hätinen 2022; cf. Lambert 1960, 42-3; Oshima 2014, 90-1 and 405. Incidentally, cf. also Ps. 62:3, "How long will all of you attack a man to batter him, like a leaning wall, a tottering fence?". Translation taken from the English Standard Version, 2017.

171 Translation by the Author. I follow the reading provided in *CAD* T 184; cf. *KAR* no. 321; VAT 10174, rev. l. 3; cf. also the last edition of this text by Oshima 2011, 234, 248-9, 266 and pl. XIV, BM 61649+, col. iii, l. 28'.

172 Zernecke 2014, 36.

173 Jaques 2015, 197-8. Cf. Van der Toorn 1985, 59.

174 See Hätinen 2022, cf. Lambert 1960, 36 and Oshima 2014, 107-8 and 394.

175 Lambert 1974, 274-5; Jaques 2015, 72 and 87. For further attestations of this motif see Mayer 1976, 83 and Streck 1999, 64. Cf. Oshima 2014, 217-18.

109 *a-a im-mes-ma*: reading follows *CAD* M/2 36, cf. the *Nabû Prayer* in chapter 2, ll. 53/55: *a-ḫu-uz* ŠU^{II}*-su la im-me-es-su* ÌR-*k*[*a*], "Take his hand, may your servant not be destroyed!".

110 *li-zi-*⌜*qa*⌝*-šú ma-*⌜*ni-ta*⌝*-k*[*i*]: in the Mesopotamian literature, the sweet wind can be interpreted in two different ways: it can represent an actual wind, meant to carry away evil agents, but it can also signify the pleasant breath of a god. To say that the 'sweet wind' of a deity blows towards someone means that the god is protecting him and showing him benevolence.[176]
The restoration of the present line fits the traces and is corroborated by parallels:[177] it contains a standard formula, typical of prayers, hymns and incantations, by which the good wind is invoked and asked to blow favourably towards the supplicant. Cf. above in the present commentary, note on ll. 26-9.[178]
An example of such formula also appears in *Marduk*1, l. 58: *li-zi-qa* IM-*ka-ma za-mar nap-šir-šu*, "Let your wind blow, quickly relent".[179]
The earliest attestations of this phrase are found in Old-Babylonian sources. It occurs also in Sumerian, yet only in two first-millennium bilingual texts. For this reason, it can be ascribed to a purely Akkadian literary tradition.[180]
The substantive *manītu* (*AHw* II 603; *CAD* M/1 212 sub *mānitu*; cf. Mayer 1992b, 39-40) is a learned word for 'breeze' attested in *Malku* III 183-4:

183 *zi-qi-qu* = *ša-a-ru*
184 *ma-ni-tu*$_4$ = MIN[181]

The same term also occurs in literary texts, see for example the *Nabû Prayer* (chapter 2), l. 175 *a-na kal ma-tu*$_4$ *um-*⌜*ma-tu*$_4$⌝ ⌜*ú*⌝*-šaḫ-*^{la}*lá-a ma-ni-t*[*u*$_4$], "For the whole land, you let a gentle breeze brighten the summer heat", or *Ludlul* I, l. 6: *ù ki-ma ma-nit še-re-e-ti za-aq-šú ṭa-a-bi*, "But whose breeze is kind as the breath of morn".[182]

176 Jiménez 2018a, 332-4.

177 This restoration was made by Lambert after the MS A of the prayer under study was cleaned, see Mayer 1992b, 39, with fn. 19. Cf. also Seux 1976, 196 fns 28 and 29.

178 Oppenheim 1956, 233-4; Mayer 1976, 228-9; Jiménez 2018a, 331-4.

179 For more attestations of this motif in Akkadian hymns, prayers and incantations see Jiménez 2017a, 486-95, cf. Jiménez 2018a, 332-4.

180 Jiménez 2018a, 332.

181 Hrůša 2010, 88-9, 372.

182 Translation from Foster *apud* Hätinen 2022; cf. Lambert 1960, 343 and Oshima 2014, 78-9 and 380.

Cf. also the Commentary to *Theodicy*, l. 26 ⌜*ma-ni-tu*$_4$⌝: ⌜*šá-a-ri*⌝, "'Breeze' means 'wind'".[183] See *CAD* M/1 212 for further attestations.

113 I follow Lambert (1959-60, 51) in the interpretation of *ullîš* as 'before', in the sense of 'in front of'. *qàd-mi-šu*: *qudmu/qadmu* (*AHw* II 927; *CAD* Q 50) is a learned word which originally indicated a specific deity, but later came to signify simply 'god'.[184]
In the god-list An = *Anum* (V 264, ms α) *qudmu/qadmu* appears as both the vizier (Sum. s u k k a l) and the adviser (g u$_4$. b a l a ĝ) of Ištarān (cf. also An = *Anum* VI 201-202: 201 $^{qud\text{-}ma}$GUD, 202 $^{qa\text{-}ad\text{-}ma}$GUD; An = *Anum* VI 219-220: 219 $^{qu\text{-}ud\text{-}ma}$T[AR], 220 $^{qa\text{-}ad\text{-}ma}$T[AR]):[185]

290d $^{qu\text{-}ud\text{-}ma}$KUD = s u k k a l ^{d}KA.DI.KE$_4$
291d $^{qa\text{-}ad\text{-}ma}$KUD = g u$_4$. b a l a ĝ ^{d}KA.DI.KE$_4$[186]

The word, however, is listed as a synonym for *ilu* in the god list Anšar = *Anum*, M 9: *qa-ad-mu* = *i*-[*lu*].[187]
Other lexical sources confirm this equation, see *Ea* III 215-16 (MSL 14, 312) and *Aa* III/5 184-5 (MSL 14, 348; cf. *CAD* Q 50 sub *qadmu*, lex. sec.):

$^{qa\text{-}ad\text{-}mu}$TAR = ^{d}TAR
$^{qu\text{-}ud\text{-}mu}$TAR = ^{d}TAR

See also l. 39 of the *Theodicy*, in which – as in the present text – *qadmu* is used in the sense of 'personal god', and appears in *parallelismus* with *ištaru* '(personal) goddess' (*AHw* I 399; *CAD* I/J 271-4):

39 [*sa-ba*]-*su qàd-mi ina su-up-pe-e i-s*[*aḫ*?-*ḫur*?]
40 *sa-lit-tu* ^{d}*iš-tar i-ta-ri ina ba-a-lu*
39 Through prayer, the [furio]us god will re[turn],
40 Through supplication, the friendly goddess will come back.[188]

In addition, the Commentary to *Theodicy*, l. 13, explains this noun as following: *qàd-mu* ⌜: DINGIR x⌝ [(x x)] *ana qu-ud-mu*: *maḫ-ri*,

183 Jiménez 2017b.

184 Lambert 1960, 309; Oshima 2014, 351-2. See also Krebernik 2006-08, 190-1.

185 Lambert, Winters 2023, 222; cf. Litke 1998, 215.

186 Lambert, Winters 2023, 200; cf. Litke 1998, 195-6, with fn. 290.

187 Lambert, Winters 2023, 318.

188 Translation by the Author. Cf. Heinrich 2022; Oshima 2014, 152-3 and 443; Lambert 1960, and 443.

"'Preeminent' means 'god' [(...)], it stems from 'before', i.e. 'in front of'".[189]

Cf. also *Malku* III 72: *qu-˹ud˺-[m]u* = [*ma*]*ḫ-ri*.[190]

The occurrence of the personal god and goddess as a fixed pair is common in penitential prayers. Another example of this pair is found in the *Nabû Prayer*, ll. 89-90 (see above, chapter 2):

[89]*i-la a-bi-i ka-a-ti mar-ṣi iš-˹tam-mar˺*
[90]*gi-na-a mas-da-ri iš-ta-ra-niš i-˹qal˺*
[89] The sick man extolled you, god my father, over and over,
[90]Always, without cease, he attends to the (personal) goddess.

114 *ina ˹qaʾ-li˺ ˹ù˺ š*[*uʾ*]-˹*ta-miʾ-i˺ ˹ḫiʾ ˺-ṭ*[*uʾ ipʾ*]-*pa-as-sa-as*: this verse, only partially transliterated in the previous edition of the text, reveals signs at the beginning of the line that are partially visible in the upper part, followed by signs preserved only in the lower half towards the middle of the verse. The initial sign is clearly AŠ, succeeded by a visible but damaged QA. Subsequently, LI and U_3 follow. At the mid-point of the verse, three vertical wedges are visibile, and can reconciled with TA. The reading MI of the subsequent sign can be substantiated by comparing the traces with MI occurring in the preceding line (l. 113). I suggest to read the first hemistich *ina qalî u šutammî* because it fits both traces and context. The sign ḪI is clearly visible, however it is difficult to say whether it is to be understood independently, or if it belongs to a more complex sign. I tentatively restore *ḫi-ṭ*[*uʾ* 'sin', because at the end of the line a form of *pasāsu* 'to cancel' (*AHw* II 838; *CAD* P 218-21) very likely occurs, here restored as a third person singular N stem.

119-20 *la a-ḫi-˹iz˺ ri*[*dʾ-diʾ*]: the expression *aḫiz/lā aḫiz riddi* employs the adjective *ahzu* with an active meaning, i.e. in the sense of 'capable of…', see Mayer 2016, 186, who translates *aḫiz riddi* as following: "der sich zu benehmen weiß", and provides further examples of *ahzu* in similar constructions. For *ahiz riddi*, cf. also the Hymn to Ninurta as Savior, l. 48: *muš-ta-mu-ú mun-tal-ku a-ḫi-iz rid-di man-nu šá-nin-ka i-na* DINGIR.MEŠ, "O considerate, circumspect, noble-mannered one, who (among the gods) rivals you?",[191] and a syncretistic hymn to Marduk, l. 3: *ḫa-mim ta-ši-la-a-ti a-ḫi-iz rid-di šá šu-tu-˹ru˺ ˹ḫa˺-sis-sa*,

189 For the transliteration and translation of this line see the *Theodicy* Commentary edited online by Jiménez 2017b.

190 Hrůša 2010, 78-9, 231 and 264.

191 Mitto 2022a; cf. Mayer 1992, 27 and 32.

"Who masters all delights, controls all understanding, he of surpassing intelligence!".[192]
la sa-[*an-qu*]: tentative restoration. The adjective *sanqu* (*AHw* II 1024; *CAD* S 147-8), with its opposite *lā sanqu*, is also attested in the *Nabû Prayer*, cf. chapter 2, ll. 183-4.

121 *ul i-de* GAŠAN: this line seems to contain the standard protestation of ignorance: this is a common topos in penitential prayers, used to convey the miserable condition of human beings, incapable of distinguishing between good and evil, and therefore prone to commit unknown sins. This motif is presented in the typical opening formula of *diĝiršadabba* prayers: *ilī ul īde*, "My God, I did not know!".[193] Cf. also the ritual indication in *Šurpu* II, l. 18': ÉN DINGIR.MU *ul* ZU "The incantation: My god, I did not know (you will recite)".[194]

144-5 This couplet belongs to an extremely damaged portion of the text. The beginning of the two lines, however, seems to mention two musical instruments: the *balaggu*/*balangu* (*AHw* I 98; *CAD* B 38-9) and the *uppu* (*AHw* III 1424; *CAD* U 185).
The *balaggu*, borrowed from Sum. b a l a ĝ, was a stringed instrument, probably a lyre,[195] used in the performance of the Balaĝ prayers, liturgical compositions in Emesal Sumerian; during the second millennium BCE, the care and custody of the b a l a ĝ were assigned to the chief lamentation priest, namely the g a l a - m a h,[196] but there is evidence that during the first millennium this instrument was also played by the *kalû*-priests.[197]
The word *uppu* (loanword from Sum. u b_3) designates a small kettledrum made from the hide of an animal. The *uppu* drum is mostly attested in third-millennium sources, only occasionally appearing in later literary and lexical texts. This could indicate that this instrument was not used anymore after the third millennium. Like the

192 Fadhil, Jiménez 2022, 4.

193 Jaques 2015, 101, note to l. 114; Van der Toorn 1985, 94-7.

194 Reiner 1970, 13; cf. Jaques 2015, 275.

195 Shehata 2017. Nevertheless, the difficult identification of this instrument has led to various interpretations among scholars. Uri Gabbay maintains that the b a l a ĝ was initially a stringed instrument, which however already during the second millennium came to be identified with the *lilissu*-drum: the *lilissu* had replaced the b a l a ĝ in the liturgical performances, and according to Gabbay, the change in the cultic practice brought about a change in the word meaning as well, as the word b a l a ĝ became progressively associated with the *lilissu* drum (see Gabbay 2014b, especially 133-7). Heimpel, instead, identified the b a l a ĝ with a harp (2015, 573). Cf. Shehata 2017, 73-4.

196 Shehata 2009, 162; 2014, 117.

197 Shehata 2017, 69-70.

balaĝ, it was closely connected with the Emesal liturgical performances and with the *kalû*-priests.[198]

156-7 I accept von Soden's reading of the sign ZIG as *ḫáš* at the end of l. 156, contrary to Lambert's reading *ṣíp* (Lambert 1959-60, 52). Von Soden reconstructs this line as follows: *làl-la-ru-šú kim-ta-šu i-ḫá*[*š-šá-šu*] "Seine Klagepriester rufen seine Familie [zusammen]" (von Soden 1971, 49).
Although von Soden's interpretation accords with the case endings, I suggest taking *kim-ta-šu* as the subject of the phrase – and not *làl-la-ru-šú* – thus inverting the syntactic order proposed by von Soden: I restore therefore a third person singular form from *ḫašāšu* G-stem (*AHw* I 333 sub *ḫašāšu* II, cf. von Soden 1971, 49; cf. also *CAD* Ḫ 138 sub *ḫašāšu* B), namely *iḫaššaš*. If my reconstruction is correct, *làl-la-ru-šú* displays the nominative case-ending in *-u* instead of the expected *-i* of the plural oblique. This irregular spelling is not uncommon among first-millennium manuscripts, and also occurs within our manuscript A (cf. the introduction of the *Ištar Prayer*, § 3.3).[199]
To hire professional mourners in occasion of a funeral was a common practice in Mesopotamia, as in the whole Ancient Near East. Wealthy families would summon mourning specialists to come to public funerary performances: together with the relatives, the mourners would wail for the deceased, intoning laments perhaps with an instrumental accompaniment.[200]
Other expressions of mourning were self-injuring acts as scratching one's cheeks and breast (see below l. 158), and wearing ragged clothes (see below l. 169). Indeed, l. 156 of the present text seems to describe the summoning of professional mourners by the family of the sufferer. The literary motif of the funeral rite being carried out before the sufferer's death appears in *Ludlul* as well (III, ll. 114-15):

114 *pe-ti* KI.MAḪ *er-šu-ú šu-ka-nu-ú-a*
115 *a-di la mi-tu-ti-i-ma bi-ki-ti gam-rat*
114 My grave was waiting, and my funerary paraphernalia ready.
115 Before I had died, lamentation for me was finished.[201]

A hymn to Marduk from Ugarit (Ugaritica 5, no. 162), which shares many similarities with *Ludlul*, also contains a passage wherein the pious sufferer is said to be surrounded by family members who arrange his funeral prior to his death:

198 Gabbay 2014b, 140-2; Shehata 2014, Cf. Kilmer 1977 for a study on the word *uppu*.

199 Cf. Schwemer 2017, 72 for other examples of masculine plural nominatives in *-ī* in the Maqlû manuscripts. Cf. also Streck 2014, 274-5.

200 Scurlock 1995, 1885-86.

201 Oshima 2014, 92-3, 411; Lambert 1960, 46 (Tablet II). Cf. also Hätinen 2022.

paḫ(PAK^{I})*-rat* IM.RI.A *a+na qú-ud-du-di la-ma-dan-ni*
qé-ru-ub sa-la-ti a+na-at-ku-li-im-ma iz-za-az
ŠEŠ-*u-a ki-ma maḫ-ḫe-e* [*d*]*a-mi-šu-nu ra-am-ku*
NIN-*u-a šam-na ḫi*(GI^{I})*-il-* ˹*ṣa*˺*-ni ú*^{I}*-ra-ḫa-à-ni*
The family has assembled in order to prostrate (in grief) before time,
The kin is standing by in order to mourn gloomily,
My brothers, like ecstatics, are bathed in their own blood,
My sisters are pouring fine oil.[202]

Cf. also the disputation fable named by scholars 'The palm and the vine', l. 46': *ú-šat-taq lal-la-ri šá ṣur-ru-up nu-bu-ú-šú*, "(Then) I dispatch the mourner who had been wailing for him".[203]
A ritual tablet from Nineveh might confirm these funerary practices, since it describes the arrangement of a funeral rite for a living person: in this ritual, the annual mourning ceremony for Dumuzi was reproduced and used to heal the patient, perhaps the son of a king.[204]

158 *ú-tak-ka-ak*: I take this form as derived from *ekēku* Dt present, 'to scratch oneself'.[205] The Dt-stem of *ekēku* is elsewhere unattested. The present line belongs to the supplicant's lament, which includes the description of various manifestations of grief (see in particular ll. 154-7 and 159-67). The action of scratching one's face and body is a typical gesture of mourning in the Ancient Near East (see above the note on ll. 156-7), and is a type of self-mutilation, like the practice of tearing one's hair out.[206] Self-injuring acts are traditionally attributed to women, although in *Gilgameš* the hero is described as pulling out his hair in despair for the death of Enkidu (SB VIII, ll. 63-4).[207]

161 *tab*-[*la*?]: I suggest restoring *tabla*(*m*), namely a stative singular from *tabālu* 'to carry' (*AHw* III 1297; *CAD* T 11-20) with the ventive

202 Translation by the Author. First edition by Nougayrol 1968, 265-73. For the most recent editions see Cohen 2013, 165-75 and Arnaud 2007, 110-14; see also Oshima 2011, 205-15; cf. von Soden 1969.

203 See Jiménez 2017a, 254-5 for the text; cf. also the commentary on this line: Jiménez 2017a, 268-9.

204 Scurlock 1992. Cf. Jiménez 2017a, 269.

205 Also Foster (2005, 607) provides this reading, translating the line: "By day he lacerates (?) himself, at night he sobs".

206 Scurlock 1995, 1886; Cohen 2005, 49. Incidentally, cf. the passage in Job 2:8, which also describes scratching as an expression of despair: "Then Job took a piece of broken pottery and scraped himself with it as he sat among the ashes", translation taken from the New International Version, 2011.

207 Scurlock 1995, 1886; Cohen 2005, 49. Cf. the edition of the Gilgameš Epic by George 2003, 656-7, cf. the most recent edition available on the *eBL* platform (George 2022).

suffix -*a*(*m*). For the occurrences of the verb *tabālu* with *šāru* see *CAD* T 14 sub *tabālu*, 1d and *CAD* Š/2 135 sub *šāru* mng. 1a 3'. The motif of the wind being either good or evil is well attested in the Mesopotamian literature (cf. above, commentary on l. 110). In Mesopotamian incantations, evil winds are often identified with a demonic force, but in some cases they might be emanated by deities: the gods can send good winds to show people their mercy, or, on the opposite, evil ones to punish them.[208] The belief behind the concept of the bad winds is that demons move through the air, being carried within the wind itself.[209]
If a wind is the vehicle of a demonic being, it brings suffering and disease; cf. the passage in *Ludlul* II, ll. 50-7, in which a wind brings illness and demons from the netherworld.[210]

163 For another example of the form *iratuš*, namely *iratu* with the so-called pseudo-adverbial locative, see Mayer 1996, 430. The restoration *it-g*[*u-rat*] follows *CAD* L 210 sub *lišānu* 1a.

166-7 This couplet describes the state of mental confusion of the sufferer, a well-attested motif in Mesopotamian penitential prayers. Confusion and insanity, together with depression and anxiety, are typical symptoms of mental illness attributed to divine abandonment (cf. the *Nabû Prayer* in chapter 2, note on l. 110 in the commentary).[211] The writing *'-a-di* (l. 167) might be an irregular spelling for *u'addi* 'he recognises', preterite D-stem of *idû* 'to know' (*AHw* III 1454-5; *CAD* I/J 20-34), cf. *GAG* § 106 q.

168 *tu-am-mé-šú an-n*[*a-šú*]: reconstruction based on the *Nabû Prayer*, l. 97 (see chapter 2): ˹*a*˺-*n*[*a mīnâ i*]*m-ku-ú me-e-šú a-ra*-[*an-šú*], "I[n what respect has he been ne]gligent? Disregard [his] gui[lt]!". The word *tu-am-mé-šú* seems to be a scribal mistake for a verbal form derived from *mêšu* 'to forgive' (*AHw* II 649; *CAD* M/2 41-3), although it is difficult to determine how this mistake could have occurred. I understand it as a G-stem present, probably referring to the goddess, and therefore read it as *temeššī*. It might also be a N-stem present form, i.e. *tammeššī*, with an ingressive sense: 'You can move to disregard'. The reconstruction, however, remains uncertain.

169 *i-tab-nak*-[*ki*?]: I explain this form as resulting from a sign metathesis, and understand it as *ibtanakki*, Gtn-stem from *bakû* 'to cry,

208 Jiménez 2018a, 323-30 and 334-6.

209 Jiménez 2018a, 323.

210 Hätinen 2022; Oshima 2014, 88-9 and 403-4 and cf. 49; cf. Jiménez 2018a, 326-7;

211 Van der Toorn 1985, 65.

to lament' (*AHw* I 97; *CAD* B 35-8). According to the dictionaries, the verb *bakû* is normally used independently or with a preposition, and could not take *šumki* as a direct object; however, it seems that *bakû* can occasionally bear the meaning of 'to say in tears'. Occasionally, in this regard, this verb appears to be used in conjunction with verbs of utterance, suggesting a semantic nuance of 'to say' or 'to declare', see for example the *Anūna Prayer*, l. 83: *iḫ-ti-dam-ma al-ka-ta-šu i-b*[*a-ak-ki-ki-im*], "He has spoken forth, tearfully telling [you] his manner of life",[212] or *Marduk*1, l. 129: *iḫ-ti-dam-ma mar-ṣa-tuš i-*[*ba*]*k-ki-ka*, "He muttered as he wailed his woe to you".[213] For more on the motif of the penitent recounting his sins while crying, see above the commentary on ll. 151-2 of the *Nabû Prayer* in chapter 2.

170 *aḫ-zi qat-su*: the motif of the god who takes the supplicant by the hand is well known in Akkadian hymns and prayers. It is a metaphorical expression that symbolises a gesture of help from the deity, who rescues the pious from distress. It can be formulated also with the verb *ṣabātu* (cf. *CAD* 31-2 sub *ṣabātum*, mng. 4'c).[214]
a-a iš-šá-al ì[R?-*ki*?]: the heads of two horizontals are visible at the end of the line: I suggest to read the logogram ìR 'slave', cf. the *Nabû Prayer*, ll. 53/55: *a-ḫu-uz* ŠU^{II}-*su la im-me-es-su* ìR-*k*[*a*], "Take his hand, may your servant not be destroyed!" (see above in chapter 2). The precise meaning of the verb *šâlu* in the present context is doubtful, though it must refer to something negative (cf. Lambert 1959-60, 53). Foster understands this verb as indicating the possible slander or malicious gossiping against the sufferer, thus translating as follows: "Take his hand lest he be bruited as a curiosity(?)… ".[215] However, whereas *šâlu* generally means 'to ask, to question' (*AHw* III 1151-2; *CAD* Š/1 sub *šâlu* A 274-82), it can also have the secondary meaning of 'to bring someone to justice', or 'to put someone to the test', and, in certain cases, even 'to destruct' or 'to murder' (see Mayer 1994, 116; cf. Charpin in ARM 26/2 70, *sub* b). For some attestations of these semantic nuances, see for example ARM 26/2 no. 311, ll. 21-2: *ša a-wa-at be-lí uš-te-ni-ṣú-ú ù be-lí li-ša-al-šu-nu-ti*, "May my lord put to the test those who reveal the word of my lord", or also ARM 26/2 no. 401, ll. 31-2: 5 LÚ.MEŠ ìR É.GAL *ša*^{l} *a-na ḫat-nu-ra-bi ú-zu-un-šu-nu i-tu*^{l}-*ru*^{l} ⌜*i-ša-al*⌝, "(He) has executed 5 servants of the palace who were on the side of Ḫatnurabi", and further in l. 34: *ù* 3 LÚ.TUR.TUR *aḫ-ḫe-šu it-ti-šu i-ša*-[*a*]*l*, "(He) has murdered three of his

212 Lambert 1989, 326 and 330.

213 Translation by the Author. Cf. Lambert 1959-60, 58 and Oshima 2011, 151, 164-5, 184-5.

214 Cf. Oshima 2011, 186.

215 Foster 2005, 608.

young brothers who were with him". See Mayer 1994, 116 for more occurrences of this meaning of *šâlu*. Cf. also in chapter 2, the *Nabû Prayer*, l. 186: *ta-sa-niq* ìR-*ka nap-pa-šu šu-u*[*p-te*], "You put your servant to the test, let a window open for him to breathe!". Hence, I have tentatively translated the phrase *ai iššâl ara*[*dki*(?)] as "may [your] sla[ve] not be *destroyed*!". However, another possible translation of *iššâl*, which is closer to the more common meaning of *šâlu*, could also be: "may your slave not be put to the test!".

172 *si-qí en-šu*: I take *si-qí* as *sīq*, namely the third person singular stative from *sâqu* 'to become tight' (*AHw* II 1039; *CAD* S 169-70) with a overhanging vowel (cf. the Introduction of the *Ištar Prayer*, § 3.3), and *en-šu* as *enšu* 'weak' (*AHw* I 219-20; *CAD* E 170-1), *contra* Lambert who reads *si-ke-en-šu* as a single word, leaving it untranslated (see Lambert 1959-60, 53). Cf. also Groneberg (1987, 107) who translates the line as following: *si-ke-en-šu lip-ta-aṭ-ṭi-ra* (!), "Sein Eigentumsbeweis soll gelöst werden". Von Soden, on the contrary, also reads *si-qí*, though understands it as an imperative from (*w*)*asāqu* 'to raise up' (*AHw* III 1474 translates "etwas 'stärken'", but compare *CAD* U/W 405).[216]
lip-ta-aṭ-ṭi-ra mi-[*na*ʔ-*ti*ʔ-*šú*ʔ]: the reconstruction fits the traces and the context. The second half of the line contains the request to release the sufferer from his state of constriction: the word *minātu* often occurs in medical texts with *paṭāru*, see *CAD* M/2 88 sub *minītu* 2a for various occurrences. In the present line, *paṭāru* Dt-stem is used in the sense of 'to be loosened, to be released' (see *CAD* P 301, mng. 14 II/2); for a similar phraseology see for example BAM 3 248, col. ii, l. 53: *meš-re-e-tu lip-te-ṭi-ra li-ir-mu-ú* SA.MEŠ, "Let the limbs become relaxed, let the sinews slacken" (quoted in *CAD* P 301 sub *paṭāru* mng. 14 II/2 b).

173 *pa-iš ka-ra-ši*: the form *pāiš* displays the terminative-adverbial suffix *-iš*, typically used in the hymno-epic dialect.[217] The idiomatic expression *pī karašê*, literally 'the mouth of destruction', is a metaphor for the open grave.[218] Besides the present text, it appears in other prayers and wisdom compositions, for example in *Marduk*1, l. 153: ⌜*i*⌝-*na pi-i ka-ra-še-e na*-[*di aradka*], "Your [servant] li[es] in the jaws of destruction",[219] in a fragment of a bilingual prayer (4*R*² 22, 2,

216 Von Soden 1977, 283.

217 See von Soden 1931, 220-7; Groneberg 1978-79, 15-29. Groneberg 1987, 1: 56-8; Mayer 1995. Cf. Lambert 1959-60, 49.

218 Oshima 2001, 15-18; cf. Oshima 2011, 186-7, 213, 304. See also Oshima 2014, 318.

219 The translation used here is taken from Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 171. Cf. Oshima 2011, 154, 166-7.

ll. 20'-21'): KA.KI.KAL×BAD.a.ta e.[d]a.šub/ *ina pi-i ka-ra-ši* [*na-di-m*]*a*, "He is c[ast] into the mouth of annihilation",[220] and in a *šigû*-prayer, l. 3: [*ša ina pī*(?) *k*]*a-ra-še-e na-du-u ta-ṣa-bat* ŠU.MIN-*su*, "The one who is cast into the mouth of destruction, you hold his hand.[221] Cf. also in chapter 2 the *Nabû Prayer*, l. 58 for a similar phraseology: [*in*]*a pi-i le-ʾu-ú da-ab-ru na-di-ma*, "He is cast into the jaws of a powerful force". See *CAD* K 214 for further attestations.
The same expression can also be found in *Šurpu* IV 43-4:

43*ina ḫa-áš-ti šu-lu*-[*ú*]
44*ina* KA *ka-ra-še-e e-ṭe-ru*
43to pull out from the pit
44to rescue from the throes of a catastrophe.[222]

The interpretation that *karašû*/*karāšu* metaphorically indicates the grave is corroborated by the lexical sources. In fact, this word is entered in *Malku* II 17 as a synonym of *erṣetu* 'netherworld' (*AHw* I 245-6; *CAD* E 310 sub *erṣetu* mng. 2) and *qubūru* 'grave' (*AHw* II 925; *CAD* Q 293).[223]
In addition, *karašû*/*karāšu* is equated with *qubūru* also in ll. 20-1 of Commentary B of *Šurpu*:

20*ḫa-áš-ti* = *šu-ut-ta-tú*
21[*ka-ra-šu-u*] = *qu-bu-ri*
20Hole = pitfall
21[Catastrophe] = grave[224]

Cf. also Ugaritica 5, 162, l. 40: *ul-tu pi-i mu-ti i-ki-ma-an-ni*, "He took me from the *mouth* of death".[225]
a-⌜*a*⌝ [*innadi*(?)]: I tentatively restore *innadi* from *nadû* (*AHw* II 705-8; *CAD* N/168-100), since this verb is attested with *karašû*, see *CAD* K 214 for other occurrences.

174-5 *en-su-ú*: this rare noun is attested exclusively in the lexical lists. It is a loanword from the Sumerian word e n s i, found in the *Early Dynastic Lú* E 76 (MSL 12, 18), in the OB *Nippur Lú* 242 (MSL

220 Cf. Oshima 2001, 17.

221 Oshima 2011, 303-4.

222 Reiner 1970, 26.

223 See Hrůša 2010, 52 and 330.

224 Reiner 1970, 50. Cf. Oshima 2001, 17.

225 Arnaud 2007, 111 and 114; Oshima 2011, 210-11 and 215; cf. Oshima 2001, 17; Cohen 2013, 168-9. On this expression, probably a ugaritism, see the recent contribution by Ayali-Darshan 2022, 39-41.

12, 41) and in the OB Proto-*Lú* 499, in which e n s i appears within the group list of the diviners (MSL 12, 50, 499-501): e n s i, SAL e n s i, m u r-r a-a š.[226] The meaning of 'diviner' is confirmed by the occurrence of the Akkadian form *ensû* in *Diri* Oxford II 394-5, which explains the lemma as a synonym of *šā'ilu* ('diviner', see *AHw* III 134; *CAD* Š/1 110-11): EN.ME.LI = *en-su-ú*, *ša-i-lu*$_4$ (MSL 15, 45), cf. Also *Diri* IV 61: en-si EN.ME.LI = *en-su-ú*, *šá-i-l*[u$_4$] (MSL 15, 152). Cf. *CAD* Š/1 110, lex. sec. Cf. also the restored passage in *Lú* Excerpt I 182 (MSL 12, 102): [ensi] = *ša-'i-i-li*. Cf. also what appears to be the only attestation of a stative derived from this noun in the mythical composition labelled by scholars as *The Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince*, l. 36: *in-sa-ta*, "You are a dream interpreter".[227]
ta-qà-a-ti: I understand this word as the plural of *tanqītu*/*taqqītu* (*AHw* III 1324; *CAD* T 175), a nominal form derived from *naqû* 'to pour', attested in *Malku* III 222-3 in the thematic group list of ritual offers and sacrifices. Indeed in *Malku* *tanqītu*/*taqqītu* is equated to *niqû* 'offering', and to the Sumerian z ì . m a d . g á, corresponding to the Akkadian *maṣḫatu*, a type of flour used for libations (cf. *AHw* II 620; *CAD* M/1 330-1), see *Malku* III 221-3:

zi-i-bu = *ni-qu-u*
ta-an-qí-ta = MIN
ta-an-q[*í*]-*ta* = ZÌ.MA[D.GÁ]
Food offering = sacrifice
Offering = *ditto*
Offering = maṣḫatu-flour[228]

See also *CAD* T 175 sub *tanqītu*, lex. sec. Compare von Soden's interpretation of *ta-qà-a-ti*, which he reads as *ultu*(TA.) *ka-a-ti*, translating 'von dir aus'.[229]
a-a ˹*i*˺-[*ku*?-*ul*?]: I tentatively restore the preterite from *akālu* at the end of the verse, because it would fit the grammar and the space available on the tablet, furthermore allowing to create a parallel with *la ú-qa-at-ti* in the previous line (l. 174). The reconstructed verb must have a similar meaning to that of *qatû*, namely 'to finish' or 'to consume' (see *AHw* II 911-12; *CAD* Q 177-83). For attestations of the verb *akālu* in this sense, see *CAD* A/1 253 mng. 2d and 5a.
The theme of the ritual experts who consume the libations offered by the supplicant, yet do not receive any favourable response from the deity, is attested in Ugaritica 5, 162, ll. 6'-7': *mu-uš-ša-ak-ku ša-ilu*

226 Cf. Oppenheim 1956, 221.

227 Von Soden 1987, 6; cf. von Soden 1936b.

228 Hrůša 2010, 91 and 375.

229 Von Soden 1977, 283.

^{lú}ḪAL *pu-ḫa-di ig-dam-ru*, "The interpreter used up the incense (for smoke omens), the diviner – the lambs".[230]
Cf. also the *Etana Epic* col. ii, ll. 135-6:

> 135*ig-dam-ra mas-sak-ki-ia* MÍ.EN.ME.LI.ME[Š]
> 136*as-li-ia ina ṭu-ub-bu-hi* DINGIR.MEŠ *ig-dam-r*[*u*]
> 135The dream-interpreters used up all my incense (used for smoke omens),
> 136upon sacrifice, the gods used up all my sacrificial lambs.[231]

The lack of a satisfactory oracle can be explained as a consequence of witchcraft: the sufferer has been bewitched by an enemy, and the divination experts cannot provide a diagnosis for his condition, nor define the future course of his illness.[232] This motif is often developed in prayers and wisdom texts,[233] see for example *Ludlul* II, ll. 6-9:

> 6^{lú}ḪAL *ina bi-ri ár-kàt ul ip-ru-us*
> 7*ina ma-áš-šak-ka šá-ʾi-li ul ú-šá-pi di-i-ni*
> 8*za-qí-qu a-bal-ma ul ú-pat-ti uz-ni*
> 9^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ *ina ki-kiṭ-ṭe-e ki-mil-ti ul ip-ṭur*
> 6The diviner did not get to the bottom of it with divination,
> 7With incense the dream interpreter did not clear up my case,
> 8I appealed for a dream spirit, but it did not inform me,
> 9The exorcist appeased no divine wrath with rites.[234]

176 *né-ʾe-li-šú*: in the previous edition of this prayer, Lambert interpreted this form as derived from *naʾālu* 'to rest' (*AHw* II 125; *CAD* N/1 204-6), suggesting a secondary meaning of this verb, namely 'to flow', and taking it as a reference to tears and crying (see Lambert 1959-60, 53).
Nevertheless, it is more likely that the verb used in the present text is not derived from *naʾālu*, but instead from *neʾellû*, a quadrilateral verb translated in the dictionaries as 'to run around', 'to roam' (*AHw* II 774; *CAD* N/1149; cf. von Soden 1951, 156-8). *neʾellû* is mostly attested in literary texts and lexical lists, and often refers to demons roaming in the steppe. It occurs also in the *Theodicy*, l. 141, wherein

230 Translation taken from Cohen 2013, 167. Cf. Nougayrol 1968, 267 and 269; Arnaud 2007, 111-12; Oshima 2011, 208-9; Cohen 2013, 166-7 and 169.

231 Translation taken from Cohen 2013, 169. See also Haul 2000, 188-9. Cf. Oshima 2011, 212.

232 Cf. Schwemer 2010, 497.

233 See Van der Toorn 1985, 60-1 and 64-5.

234 Translation taken from Foster *apud* Hätinen 2022; cf. Lambert 1960, 38-9; Oshima 2014, 86-7 and 397.

it clearly means 'to roam': *bi-ri-iš lu-ut-te-eʾ-lu-me su-le-e lu-ṣa-*⌜*a*⌝-[*a-ad*], "Ravenous, I will cast about, prowling the streets".[235]
The lexical sources, however, indicate also another possible meaning for this verb: in *Malku*, the Ntn infinitive of *neʾellû* is found among the group list of verbs which signify 'to have mercy', and equated to *saḫāru* (*AHw* III 1004-08; *CAD* S 37-54), see *Malku* V 70-5:

70 *re-e-mu* = *nap-šu-ru*
71 *ti-ra-nu* = *ta-a-ru*
72 *šà-gur-ru-ú* = *ta-a-ru*
73 *kiš-šu*[236] = *ta-a-ru*
74 *ti-ra-nu* = *mu-us-saḫ-ru*
75 *i-te-ʾe-lu-ú* = *sa-ḫa-ru*
70 Pity = forgiveness
71 Mercy = to relent
72 Compassion = to relent
73 Aid = to relent
74 Mercy (or merciful) = benevolently turned to
75 To turn favourably = to turn, to seek[237]

It is therefore possible that *neʾellû* might also have the meaning of 'to help', 'to rescue', besides its more common meaning of 'to roam', which would not suit this line. In the present context, the imperative *neʾellî* probably refers to the goddess, who is asked to save the sufferer.
Moreover, the verb *saḫāru*, equated in *Malku* to *neʾellû*, can mean 'to turn around', or 'to go around', but also, in the N-stem, 'to turn again in favour to someone' (see *AHw* II 1007-8 sub *saḫāru* N 2; *CAD* S 52-3, mng. 16a and b); it is often listed in lexical sources among group of words related to mercy, see for example *Erimḫuš* V 12-14 (MSL 17, 81):

12 gur = *na-às-hu-ru*
13 $ša_3$-ab-gur = *ti-ra-nu*
14 $ša_3$-ab-la_2-su_3 = *e-pe-qu*
12 gur = benevolent attention

235 Translation taken from Foster *apud* Heinrich 2022; cf. Oshima 2014, 156-7 and 450. Cf. Lambert 1960, 78.

236 This entry probably does not derive from *kašāšu* 'to master' (*AHw* I 462 sub *kašāšu* II; *CAD* K 286 sub *kašāšu* A), but instead from *kâšu* 'to help' (*AHw* I 463a and 470b; *CAD* K 295b), *pace* Ḫrůša 2010, 115 who translates it as 'Machtausübung'. It is to be distinguished from the homonymous *kiššu* 'strength' (*AHw* I 492; *CAD* K 461b, cf. also the lex. sec.), and here signifies 'help' or 'aid': *kiššu* seems to be a nominal form of the PIRS pattern, with a compensatory gemination in place of the long vowel (*kiššu* for **kīšu*). For other examples of compensatory gemination, see *GAG* § 20 d. Cf. also note on l. 226 and 233.

237 Cf. Ḫrůša 2010, 114-15 and 400.

[13]ša$_3$-ab-gur = mercy
[14]ša$_3$-ab-la$_2$-su$_3$ = to be merciful

For further examples, cf. *CAD* S 38 sub *saḫāru*, lex. sec. and *CAD* N/2 sub *nasḫuru*, lex. sec.
Cf. also the Commentary to *Theodicy*, l. 17: *na-ak-*⌜*ru*⌝-[*ṭu*: x x x (x x)]: MIN: *na-as-ḫu-ri*, "'Mer[cy' (= *Theodicy* 43) means …], *ditto* means 'favour'".[238]
Therefore, one can suggest that the verb *neʾellû* has the same lexical nuances, and can be interpreted as both 'to turn around' and 'to have mercy'. Cf. Foster's translation of the present line: "So run to his aid […]".[239] Cf. further in the present text, in the broken l. 207, ⌜*li-is-saḫ-ḫur*⌝, "may she turn again with favour".

177 *i*[*r*ˡ-*tuš-šú*]: I follow Jiménez for this restoration, which is based on a similar passage in the fable *Palm and Vine*, l. 43' (MS c): *šá ina* GABA-*šú ú-*⌜*zab*⌝*-bil nap-šat-su*, "He whose life has faded from his breast".[240] As noticed by Jiménez, this use of the verb *zubbulu* (*AHw* III 1500-1; *CAD* Z 4) is found in *Lugal-e* as well (l. 101).[241] Within the present text, the form *irtuššu*, if correctly restored, presents the locative suffix *-um* followed by the pronominal suffix. The ll. 177-8 share the same syntactic structure in the first hemistich, providing a parallelism of the synthetic type, highlighted by the anaphoric repetition of the particle *ai*:

[177]*ai uzabbil napištašu ir*[*tuššu*ˀ]
[178]*ai ibāʾ ša lā kâti u*[*ruḫšu*]

On the use of *zubbulu* with *irtu*, compare also Mayer 2017, 246.

179 *i-na*[*m-mir*ˀ Á-*šú*ˀ]: there is enough space for approximately three signs at the end of the line. My tentative restoration is based on *Ludlul* V, l. 47: *ina ká-u*$_6$*-de-babbar-ra id-da-tu-ú-a im-me-ra*, "In the "Gate of Splendid Wonderment" my signs were plain to see".[242] For this usage of *namāru* with *ittu* see *CAD* N/1 213 sub *namārum* mng. 1f.

180 The line is too damaged to allow a reconstruction. I take *i-mu-ma* as the preterite plural from the verb *ewû/emû* 'to become, to turn

238 Jiménez 2017b, at https://ccp.yale.edu/P404917.

239 Foster 2005, 608.

240 Jiménez 2017a, 252-3 and 267.

241 Jiménez 2017a, 267.

242 Translation taken by Foster *apud* Hätinen 2022. Cf. Oshima 2014, 109-10 and 432; Lambert 1960, 60-1.

into something' (*AHw* I 266-7; *CAD* E 413), followed by the conjunction *-ma*; the form *tur-tur-reš* shows the adverbial suffix *-iš*, often attested with *ewû/emû* (see *CAD* E 413-15, sub *ewû/emû*, mng. 1b and 3b). The word *turturru*, attested in different variants (see *AHw* II 1340 sub *ta(t)turrû*; *CAD* T 499), seems to indicate a kind of metal beads. The meaning of the line is obscure. Cf. Groneberg 1987, 57, who translates the phrase: "sie (?) wurden wie Scheibchen (?)".

181 *uš-*[*ši*ʔ*-ru*ʔ*-šú*ʔ]: I tentatively restore *ušširūšu*, from *wuššuru* 'to abandon, to leave alone' (cf. *CAD* U/W 253 sub *wuššurum* mng. 5 a). The present line contains the well-known motif of the social isolation of the sufferer, commonly attested in wisdom texts and penitential prayers.[243] After having been forsaken by the god, the supplicant might experience social adversities, which can include the hostile behaviour from family members, friends or companions, and even the disrespect from his slaves.
For other occurrences of this topos, see *Ludlul* I, ll. 81-104, in particular ll. 85-6:

85 *a-na lem-ni u gal-le-e i-tu-ra ib-ri*
86 *na-al-bu-bu tap-pe-e ú-nam-gar-an-ni*
85 My friend became malignant, a demon,
86 My comrade would denounce me savagely.[244]

Cf. also the prayer to *Marduk*4 R 59/2, l. 21': [*i*]*b-ri u tap-pi-e it-ta-nam-da-ru-in-ni*, "Friends and comrades are continually annoyed with me".[245]

182-3 In this couplet, hendiadys is employed. This figure of speech can be found in Akkadian hymns and prayers, and can also involve finite verbs, as in the present lines: in both lines the verb *id-din-šu-ma* 'he allowed himself' is joined by the particle *-ma* with *uz-za-za* in l. 182, 'he becomes angry', with *i-da-mu* in l. 183, 'he has convulsions' and with *i-šá-a*[*b*] in l. 183, 'he shakes'.[246] Cf. the *Nabû Prayer* in chapter 2, l. 88 *i-šá-bi*.

243 Van der Toorn 1985, 60-1 and 64; cf. Lenzi 2013, 77-8.

244 Translation taken by Foster *apud* Hätinen 2022; cf. by Oshima 2014, 82-3 and 391; Lambert 1960, 35.

245 Translation taken by Van der Toorn 1985, 144. Cf. also the latest edition by Oshima 2011, 288-9.

246 Cf. Groneberg 1987, 1: 47. For a recent study on nominal and verbal hendiadys see Wasserman 2003, 5-28. Wasserman suggests that verbal hendiadys is used in poetry to convey special nuances in the action described (Wasserman 2003, 26 and 28).

For several occurrences of *nadānu* in hendiadys see *CAD* N/1 50 sub *nadānum* mng. I 2'.
For the translation of this couplet, I partially follow Foster 2005, 608, who translates ll. 182-3 as follows: "He let himself become enraged [ ] | He let himself go berserk [ ]". Cf. Lambert 1959-60, 53: "He let him become savage [. . .] | he let him become hysterical . . . [. . .]". Cf. also the translation by Groneberg: "Er veranlaßte ihn, zornig zu werden | er veranlaßte ihn, sich zusammen zu krampfen".[247] Contrary to Groneberg's interpretation, however, a reflexive meaning of the pronominal suffix *-šu* can probably be assumed for this line (see *GAG* § 43 for the reflexive usage of the pronominal suffixes), hence Foster's translation appears more suitable.

184-5 The supplicant confessing to having said blasphemous things is a common topos in Mesopotamian prayers (cf. above, ll. 77-80). Cf. the *diĝiršadabba* prayer no. 11, ll. 125-6:

> 125[*la na*]-*ṭu-ta e-pu-uš la šá-lim-tu aq-bi*
> 126[*la qi-bi-t*]*a ú-šá-an-ni la šá-lim-tu ina pi-ia*
> 125I did wrong, I spoke improper things,
> 126I repeated [what should not be uttere]d, improper things were on my lips.[248]

A similar passage is also found in the so-called Lipšur-litanies, l. 54: *la na-ṭu-tú* DÙ-*uš la* [*ša-lim*]-*tu ina* KA-*ia šá-k*[*ín*] *la qa-bi-ta ú-šá-an-ni*, "I did unfitting things, my mouth was full of improper words, I repeated confidential information".[249]
I accept Lambert's restoration of *ma-a*[*g-ra-ti*] 'blasphemy' (from *magrītu*, *AHw* II 577; *CAD* M/1 46-7), at the end of l. 184, cf. *CAD* M/1 47.
pi-qa-ma: for the meaning of *pīqa*(*m*) (*AHw* II 864b; *CAD* P 384-5a) see Mayer 2017a, 27, who translates this adverb as 'einmal', following *AHw* which offers: 'einmal (wohl)' (*AHw* II 864b), *contra CAD* which instead has 'perhaps' (*CAD* P 384).
taq-bi-i: this is to be understood as *taqbi*, third person singular preterite from *qabû*, here referring to *šaptī* 'my lip(s)'. The form is written with a *plene* spelling, perhaps a scribal mistake. The usage of the *ta*-prefix to mark the feminine third person verbs occurs in the Old Akkadian and Assyrian dialects (see *GAG* § 75A); it is also a typical trait of the hymno-epic dialect (see the introduction of the present text, § 3.3).

247 Groneberg 1987, 1: 47.

248 Jaques 2015, 80, 90-1 and 102. Cf. Lambert 1974, 280-1 and 304.

249 Reiner 1956, 52.

taš-ši-tú: the substantive *taššītu* is found in the synonym list An = *Anum* IX 105 (K.52 rev, l. 45'; CT 18, pl. 6), within the group of words which mean 'insult', or generally 'hostile talk' (rev. ll. 40-7); it is equated, together with other synonyms, to *lā qabītu* 'unspeakable' (*AHw* II 886 sub *qabītu*; *CAD* Q 3 sub *qabītu*):

43' *nu-ul-la-tu*$_4$ = *la qa-*⌜*bi*⌝*-*[*tu*$_4$]
44' *ma-ag-ri-tu*$_4$ = MIN
45' *taš-ši-tu*$_4$ = MIN
43' malicious talk = unspeaka[ble things]
44' malice = *ditto*
45' insult = *ditto*

taššītu is probably related to *tuššu* 'slander' (*AHw* III 1374; *CAD* T 496-7).[250]
la$^{!}$ (MA) *ši-na-a-ti a*[*q*$^{?}$*-bi*$^{?}$]: the sign before ŠI looks like MA, though it is likely a mistake for LA (cf. *CAD* Š 40); the head of a horizontal wedge is still visible before the break at the end of the line, and it could be the beginning of the sign AK. I tentatively restore *aqbi* 'I said', because *lā šināti* is commonly attested with *verba dicendi*, and especially with *qabû*, cf. *CAD* Š/2 40.

186 *lu-ʾu-t*[*ú*$^{?}$ *iṣbatanni*(?)]: the line is broken, but the visible traces in the second half of the line can be reconciled with the sign UD. I therefore suggest to restore the noun *luʾtu* 'debility' (*AHw* I 565, which however interprets it as derived from *luʾʾû* 'to dirty',[251] offering 'Schmutz' as translation; *CAD* L 256-7 sub *luʾtu* A); *luʾtu* is often used in descriptions of illness in prayers and 'righteous sufferer' compositions, and usually paired with *mangu* 'stiffness' (*AHw* II 602-3; *CAD* M/1 211); *mangu* and *luʾtu* appear together in numerous incantation texts as witchcraft-induced symptoms, indicating a general state of decay of the body.[252]
I tentatively restore *iṣbatanni* at the end of the line, because the verb *ṣabātu* is commonly found with *luʾtu*, although other verbs are also possible (for example *malû* D-stem 'to fill'), cf. *CAD* L 257 for similar attestations.

187 *i-ni tal-li*: I follow Foster (2005, 608) for the interpretation of this line, and understand the form *talli* as a third person singular feminine present with the *ta*-prefix (see *supra* l. 184 *taq-bi-i*), derived from *elû* G-stem, 'to go up' (*AHw* I 206-10; *CAD* E 114-25); it refers

250 Lambert 1960, 313.

251 On the possible connection between *luʾtu* and *luʾʾû* see Feder 2016, 104.

252 Schwemer 2007, 106. Cf. also Feder 2016, 104-5 and de Zorzi 2019, 168.

to *inī*, literally 'my eye'. The upward movement of the eyes is a typical symptom of seizure as it is described by the *āšipu* in the medical texts: the eyes of a person stricken with seizure are said either to be fluttering or to be 'open wide towards the sky' (*ana* IGI AN-*e na-palka-a*),[253] namely to be rolled back into the head, leaving only the white part of the eyes visible.[254]
The second half of the line is broken, but the sign LIB is visible, followed by what could be a partially preserved BU. I suggest restoring the word *lippu* 'wrapping', 'wad' (*AHw* I 554; *CAD* L 200).

192: [*ṭēmī ut*ʾ]-*tak-kàr*: I tentatively restore *uttakkar* 'is changed', Dt-stem present from *nakāru* 'to become hostile', 'to become estranged' (*AHw* II 718-20; *CAD* N/1 151-79).
The line is too damaged to allow a reconstruction, but the verb might refer to *ṭēmu* 'reason' (*CAD* Ṭ 85-97); for expressions of *ṭēmu* with *nakāru* in the sense of 'to become deranged', see *CAD* N1 163 mng. 2a and b).

194 [x *ni*ʾ-*ki*ʾ-*i*]*t*ʾ-*ti*: the first half of the line is broken, but one can see an oblique and a vertical wedge, which can be reconciled with the end of the sign ID. I suggest to restore *nikitta*, because the substantive *nikittu* 'fear' (cf. *AHw* II 792 sub *niqittu*; *CAD* N/2 223), often appears with the verb *rašû*, see *CAD* N2 223 sub *nikittu* mng. 1a. I take *na-dúr* as *nadur*, third person singular stative from *adāru* N-stem, 'to become nervous' (*AHw* II 11 sub *adārum* N, mng. B; *CAD* A I 105 sub *adārum* A, mng. 7a). Despite the line being broken, it probably belongs to a strophe containing the laments of the supplicant. In the present couplet, the sufferer speaks in the first person, describing his feelings of restlessness and fear, and confessing his guilt. Anxiety is a typical manifestation of the mental distress which afflicts the supplicant in Akkadian penitential prayers and wisdom texts.[255]

195 [*šērta*(?) *n*]*a*ʾ-*šá-ku-ma ni-ir še-la-a-ti* [*šaddāku*(?)]: the first half of the line was restored on the basis of similar occurrences of *našû* with *šērtu*, in the sense of 'to bear a punishment' (see *AHw* II 763, mng. II, f, γ; *CAD* N/2 108). This idiomatic use is attested in several literary texts, see for example *Marduk*1, l. 141: [*ḫ*]*u-*˹*um*˺*-mu-um na-ši* ˹*šèr-ta*˺ *e-pe-ri k*[*a*]-*ši*-[*šú*], "[Cu]rtailed, bearing the punishment, dust [co]vering him".[256]

253 For the text see *Sagig* X A obv. 4-6 (= *TDP* 80: 4-6) in Scurlock 2005, 305.

254 Scurlock 2005, 304-5.

255 Van der Toorn 1985, 61 and 65.

256 See the manuscript IM 124504 recently published by Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 168; cf. also Oshima 2011, 152, 166-7.

The expression *ni-ir še-la-a-ti* is doubtful: according to the dictionaries, *še-la-a-ti* in the present line has been interpreted as the plural form of *šēltu* 'blade' (*AHw* III 1210; *CAD* Š/2 273), see the translation in *CAD* Š/2 274: "You pull a yoke of *šēlāti*", cf. also *AHw* III 1210. Nevertheless, I suggest to take *še-la-a-ti* as *šilâti*, plural form of *šilûtu*, a learned term for 'negligence' (*AHw* III 1237 sub *šilûtu* II; *CAD* Š/2 453), derived from *šelû* 'to be negligent' (*AHw* III 1205; *CAD* Š/2 274-5). The vowel shift from /i/ > /e/ accords with the general spelling inconsistency in the representation of the phonemes /i/ and /e/ in Neo-Assyrian, a trait which might reflect a dialect variation.[257] The reading *šilâti* fits our context, allowing for a *parallelismus* between the first and second hemistich. For a similar formulation, cf. also the Old Testament, Lam. 1:14, "The yoke of my transgressions is bound; by His hand they are knit together".[258]
I tentatively restore *šaddāku*, from *šadādu* 'to pull' (*AHw* III 1121-2; *CAD* Š/1 20-32), because this verb is often found with *nīru*, see *CAD* Š/1 23 sub *šadādu* mng. 2c. The stative *šaddāku* would correspond to *n*]*a*ʔ*-šá-ku-ma* in the first hemistich.

209 I follow the translation of Lambert (1959-60, 53) for this line, cf. also *CAD* S sub *sussullu* 418, mng. 7'a.
rig-muš-ki: this form displays the adverbial locative suffix in *-um* followed by the poetic suffix *-uš* and the pronominal suffix *-ki*. For an explanation on the development and formation of the suffix in *-uš*, see Mayer 1996, 434. Cf. Lambert 1959-60, 49.

210-11 [*dalāt*(?) AN$^{?}$]-⌜*e*$^{?}$⌝: the manuscript is partially broken in this section, and the signs in the first half of the line are lost, yet a broken vertical is still visible. The traces can be reconciled with the end of the sign E.
The restoration is based on similar formulations, see for example a ritual prayer to Šamaš, l. 9: ^{d}UTU *te-ep-te-a-am sí-ik-ku-ri da-la-at ša-me-e*, "O Šamaš you have opened the locks of the gates of heaven",[259] or an *eršemma* prayer to Ištar (34.2), l. 21: *iš-tar pe-ta-at ši-gar* AN-*e el-lu-ti*, "O Ištar, opener of the holy bolt of heaven".[260] For further occurrences of this image involving the god who opens the doors of heaven, see *CAD* N/1 270 sub *napalkûm*, 2 and *CAD* D 55 sub *daltu*, mng. 1h. According to the Mesopotamian belief, the heaven had an interior space, to which the divine beings – especially the Sun-god and the astral deities – had access through an entrance and an exit

257 Luukko 2004, 40-2 and 87; cf. Hobson 2012, 81.

258 Translation taken from the New American Standard Bible, 1995.

259 Starr 1983, 30 and 37.

260 Cohen 1981, 132 and 134.

door. Cuneiform texts therefore often mention the doors of the heaven (*daltu*), and all the elements related to it, e.g. the bolt (*sikkūrum*), the lock (*šigarum*), and the gate (*bābu*).[261]
[*kīma*(?) ᵈUTU?]-⌜*ši*?⌝: tentative restoration; for a similar phrasing, cf. the prayer *Marduk*5 (preserved on the ritual tablet *BMS* 12), l. 35: *at-ta-ma* GIM ᵈUTU *ek-let-si-na tuš-nam-mar*, "You enlighten their darkness like the sun".[262] For further attestations of this comparison see *CAD* Š/1 336 sub *šamšu* mng. 1b.
The imperative verbs in l. 210 form a hendiadys, cf. above ll. 182-3 and also l. 79, *emtēš ul īdi*, "I unknowingly disregarded".[263]
If ll. 210-11 are correctly reconstructed, they form a parallel couplet, in which Ištar is compared to the sun for her ability to bring light.

212 *na-lu-uš*: this word might be an infinitive form derived from *nâlu* 'to lie down' (*AHw* II 725; *CAD* N/1 204-6), followed by the poetic suffix *-uš*, which here would be used in a locative sense. The suffix *-uš* also occurs in l. 209 within the text under study (see above).
The pleonastic use of the preposition *ina* with the locative-adverbial suffix is commonly attested in Neo-Babylonian literary texts, see for example in the *Nabû Prayer*, ll. 100/102 [*ina b*]*a-lu-uk* 'without you' (see chapter 2).[264] The expression *ina na-lu-uš ra-ma-ni-ia* could therefore be translated as 'in my lying down'. For the topos of the sufferer lying in a bed of sickness, see above the note on l. 96; see perhaps also l. 189 in the present text: *i-na ṭa-a-bi ma-a-a-l*[*i*?], "In a sweet restin[g place . . .], cf. Foster 2005, 609 fn. 1: "Perhaps a reference to his presumed final illness: a bed of final rest".

213 *i-dal-lu šá-a-la ur-tas-sa*: the form *i-dal-lu* is probably to be taken as a third-person singular G-stem present from *dâlu* 'to roam around' (*AHw* I 155; *CAD* D 58-9), followed by the ventive form in *-u*.[265] Foster understands the word *šá-a-la* as an infinitive form from *šâlu* 'to ask' (*AHw* III 1151-2; *CAD* Š/1 sub *šâlu* A 274-82), but it could also derive from the homonymous *šâlu* 'to smear' (*CAD* Š/1 282 *šâlu* B), or from the learned verb *šâlu* 'to rejoice' (*CAD* Š/1 283 **šâlu* C, cf. Mayer 2017b, 213); the form *ur-tas-sa* is problematic: it seems to be a third-person singular present Dt-stem from the difficult verb *russû*,

261 Horowitz 1998, 266-7. For more detailed information on the geography of heaven in Mesopotamian thought, and on the deities crossing the doors of heaven, see Heimpel 1986, 127-51.

262 Mayer 1993, 317 and 325; cf. Oshima 2011, 356-7.

263 Cf. Groneberg 1987, 1: 47.

264 Mayer 1996, 434. *GAG* § 66, c.

265 See Schwemer 2017, 77 for other examples of ventives in *-u*. Cf. also the *Nabû Prayer* l. 182: *i-kuš-šu* (chapter 2).

which, according to the dictionaries, means 'to sully' or 'to soak' (*AHw* II 996; *CAD* R 425, cf. Mayer 2003, 241). There is, however, another possible meaning of this verb, namely that of 'to bind', mostly attested in incantations texts and confirmed by lexical sources.[266] Foster (2005, 609) translates the present line as following: "[ ] walking around, he has cut short the bruit of curiosity". Lambert's translation instead has: ". . .] walks about . . . has bound" (Lambert 1959-60, 54). The sense of this line remains obscure.

214 This line is partially damaged and prevents a clear understanding. It belongs to the closing section of the prayer, wherein the final praise of the deity unfolds (see above in the introduction of the *Ištar Prayer*, § 3.4; cf. Mayer 1976, 307-61 "Der Gebetsschluß"). The mention of the 'four world regions' in the present line accords with the standard motifs of the closing section of Akkadian prayers, in which expressions indicating totality are often found: the Gebetsschluß typically includes a wish not only for the supplicant himself, but also for all the gods and the people, to extol the invoked deity in the whole world and for all time. See for example a *šuilla* prayer to Gula (KAR no. 73, obv. l. 24): *a-na* ^{d}*gu-la lik-ru-bu* DÙ-*liš* UB.MEŠ, "may the entire world extol Gula".[267]
The form *lis-su-pa-ʾi-i* is likely a scribal mistake; one could hypothesise that it is an aberrant spelling of the precative of *wapû* Š-stem, 'to make manifest', or 'to make glorious', which is often used in prayers, mostly in the finale praises, see Mayer 1976, 324 and 330. Cf. also the occurrences in *CAD* A/2 202 sub *wapû*, mng. 4.

215 *šu-e-ti*: *šuʾētu* is a learned word for 'Lady', only attested in lexical sources and literary texts. It is listed in *Malku* I 9 and expl. *Malku* I 17 as a synonym of *bēltu*. The same equation is attested in the Commentary to *Theodicy*, l. 34': *šu-ʾe-e-tu*$_4$ = *be-el-*⌜*tu*$_4$⌝, "'*šuʾētu*' means 'lad[y.']".[268] Cf. *Theodicy*, l. 278: *šar-ra-tu*$_4$ *pa-ti-iq-ta-ši-na šu-e-tú* ^{d}*ma-mi*, "the queen, the one who shapes them (people), the mistress Mami".[269]

216-17 [*liqê*(?) *un*$^{?}$*-n*]*i*$^{?}$*-ni*: the restoration fits the traces and is corroborated by parallels, cf. for example the *diĝiršadabba* prayer no. 11, l. 112: *li-qí un-ni-ni-ia pu-ṭ*[*ur il-ti*], "accept my prayers, release my

266 Schwemer 2007, 9-10; see also Abusch, Schwemer 2011, 385. Cf. Lambert 1960, 228.

267 Cf. Mayer 1976, 329.

268 For the Commentary to *Theodicy*, see Jiménez 2017b, at https://ccp.yale.edu/P404917.

269 Oshima 2014, 165-6, 462.

bond". The imperative of *leqû* 'to take' (*AHw* II 544-6; *CAD* L 131-47) often occurs with *unnīnu* 'prayer' (*AHw* III 1421; *CAD* U/W 162-4), forming a typical stock-phrase of Akkadian *šuilla* prayers.[270]
[*muḫrī*(?) *kàdʾ-r*]*e-e-a*: if the restoration is correct, the present line displays another standard formula of Akkadian prayers,[271] also found in *Marduk*2, l. 159: *mu-ḫir kàd-ra-šú le-qí pi-de-e-šu*, "receive his present, take his ransom".[272] Furthermore, the substantive *kadrû* occurs within our text in l. 240.
The petition for the acceptance of offerings and prayers is a traditional motif in Akkadian prayers, and appears among other general requests for aid and forgiveness.[273] Prayers served as verbal-offerings, and could be used in place of material offerings, such as sacrifices or libations.[274] This function of prayers appears clearly from various texts, see for example *Marduk*2, ll. 24''-25'':

24''*na-šá niq-ka ki-ma ṭa-*[*ʾaʾ-tiʾ*] *x un-nin-ni ù šu-ken-ni*
25''*ki-ma qí-šá-a-ti ik-ri-b*[*u-ú la-ba*]*n ap-pu*
24''They bring your offering like g[ifts]…prayer and prostration,
25''Like donations, (they bring) bless[ings and the gest]ure of devotion".[275]

See also the *Nabû Prayer* in chapter 2, ll. 216-17:

216[*li-q*]*é da-ma-ṣu ba-la-ṣu ù ut-nen-šú*
217[*kīma*(?) *qiʾ*]*-šá-a-ti at-nu-uš li-kun taṣ-lit-su*
216[Ta]ke the prostrating, the bowing down and his prayer,
217[like *donati*]*ons* (take) his petition, may his prayer become true.

218-19 This couplet employs a well-known simile, commonly found in Akkadian penitential prayers, by which the invoked deity is equated to a merciful father and mother, and asked to show benevolence towards the supplicant.[276]An example of a similar formulation is attested in the standard concluding phrase of *eršaḫuĝa* prayers:

270 Mayer 1976, 217. Cf. *CAD* U 162 sub *unnīnu* mng. b' for further attestations of *unnīnu* with *leqû*.

271 Mayer 1976, 217-18. Cf. *CAD* K 32 sub *kadrû* mng. a), 1', for further attestations of *kadrû* with *maḫāru*.

272 Oshima 2011, 154, 166-7.

273 Mayer 1976, 210.

274 Oshima 2011, 30-1.

275 Cf. Oshima 2011, 237, 250-1.

276 Cf. Mayer 1976, 366.

šà-zu šà ama tu-ud-da-gin$_7$ ki-bi-šè ḫa-ma-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
ama tu-ud-da a-a tu-ud-da-gin$_7$ ki-bi-šè ḫa-ma-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
libbaka kīma libbi ummi ālitti ana ašrīšu litūra
kīma ummi ālitti abi ālidi ana ašrīšu litūra

May your heart, like the heart of a natural mother, return to its place for me,
Like (the heart of) a natural mother, like (the heart of a) natural father, may
it return to its place for me![277]

The ending of a *šuilla* prayer to Marduk (*BMS* 11), ll. 38-9, also resembles this formulation, yet slightly modifying the classical phrase by mentioning the father before the mother, as in our *Ištar Prayer*:

38 *lìb-ba-ka ki-ma a-bi*
39 *a-li-di ù* AMA *a-lit-ti-ia a-na áš-ri-šú li-tu-ra*
38 May your [h]eart, like (the heart of) my natural father,
39 of my natural mother, return to its place for me.[278]

The equation between the god and a benevolent parental figure is also found within the same *šuilla* in l. 2: *nap-šur-šu a-bu re-mé-nu-ú*, "Whose forgiveness is that of a merciful father".[279] The same motif appears in *Marduk*1, ll. 10/12 [*ṭa-b*]*i na-as-ḫur-ka ki-i a-bi re-e-muk*, "Your attention is [swee]t, like a father's your mercy".[280]
The first half of l. 218 is lost, but one can assume that it contained a request for mercy or general aid, to parallel the second half of the succeeding line (l. 219: *rišî rēma*).

220 [*mīta*(?) *bu*ʾ-*ul*ʾ-*l*]*uṭ*ʾ: tentative restoration. I suggest to reconstruct the form *bulluṭ* for *bulluṭa*, with a loss of the final vowel.[281] For similar passages, see *Marduk*1, ll. 182/184: EN/^{d}*Marduk-ma* LÚ.ÚŠ *bul-luṭ i-le-ʾi li-iz-zak-ru*, "Let them say to one another: 'The Lord/

277 Maul 1988, 10. Cf. also Hallo 1968, 80-1. This formula is an expanded version of the traditional closing of the Neo-Sumerian literary genre of letter-prayers. The typical ending of letter-prayers is the following: šà diĝir-mu ki-bi ḫa-ma-gi$_4$-gi$_4$, "May the heart of my god be restored!", see Hallo 1968 81, 84 and 87.

278 Mayer 2004, 198-9, 204 and 206.

279 Translation by the Author; I follow Mayer 2004, 205 for the interpretation of this line. Cf. Oshima 2011, 348.

280 The translation used here is that of Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 169. Cf. Oshima 2011, 159.

281 Cf. Schwemer 2017, 79 for the attestations of the dropping of final vowels in verbal forms in the Maqlû manuscripts. Cf. also Streck 2004.

Marduk is able to raise the dead'",[282] and *Queen of Nippur*, col. iii, ll. 29-30:

29 *ma-am-ma-an ul i-le-ʾi*
30 [*b*]*u-ul-lu-uṭ mi-*˹*ti*˺ *šu-b*[*u-ra*?] *ke-še-r*[*a*]

29 No one [but she] is able
30 To bring the dead back to life, to resto[re] the one who is broken.[283]

For further occurrences of *mītu* with *bulluṭu* see *CAD* M/2 141 sub *mītu* mng. 2', a'.

222-3 These lines were restored on the basis of *Šurpu* II, ll. 29-30:

29 *ṣab-ta la ú-maš-ši-ru ka-sa-a la ú-ram-mu-u*
30 *šá* É *ṣi-bit-tum la ú-kal-lam nu-ú-ra*
29 Who did not free the captive, did not release the man in bonds
30 Who did not let the prisoner see the light (of day)[284]

In Mesopotamian prayers, as well as in wisdom compositions, the supplicant is often depicted as a prisoner in his own house, or held by fetters (see above in this commentary, note on l. 59; cf. the *Nabû Prayer*, l. 173). The prison metaphor is used to represent a state of extreme distress, and it occurs, for example, in *Ludlul* II, l. 96: *a-na ki-suk-ki-ia i-tu-ra bi-i-tu*, "Home turned into my jailhouse",[285] in the *diĝiršadabba* prayer no. 9, ll. 15'-16': *bi-ti ana* É *dim-ma-tì i-tur-ma i-li ana-ku ka-ma-ak-šu ina libbi-šú tu-še-ši-b*[*a-an-ni*], "My house has become a house of weeping, my God, I am its prisoner, you made [me] dwell in it".[286] Compare also in *Marduk*2, l. 99: *šá ina bit ṣi-bit-ti na-du-u tu-kal-lam nu-úr*, "Who was cast into prison, you show him the light", and in the *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 74: *ab-ka šá ina* É *ṣi-b*[*it-ti na-du-ú t*]*u-šal-lam*, "To the captive cast in prison you show the light".[287] Another example is provided by a prayer to Marduk (*Marduk*5, on *BMS* 12), l. 44: [*šá* x]-x-*u* É *ṣi-bi*[*t*]-*ti* (other MS: *u*) *ek-le-ti* [*us*]-˹*su*˺-*ru tu-kal-lam* ZÁLAG, "[He, whom] … of the prison and of the *house of darkness* holds back,

282 Translation taken from Lambert 1959-60, 60; cf. Oshima 2011, 156 and 168-9.

283 Translation by the Author. Cf. Földi 2021c; Lambert 1982, 196-7.

284 Reiner 1970, 13.

285 Hätinen 2022; cf. Lambert 1960, 45 and Oshima 2014, 90-1; 408.

286 For the latest edition of the text see Jaques 2015, 53-60.

287 Rozzi 2021a; cf. Lambert 1960, 130-1; cf. *CAD* A/1 53 and Oshima 2014, 260.

you show (him) the light".[288] Since the expression *bīt ekleti* can have the meaning of 'underworld' (see *AHw* I 195, *ekletu* 3b; *CAD* I/J 61b, usage c2'), one could hypothesise that the symbolic prison enclosing the sufferer is a metaphor for his imminent death.[289]

225 [x x x *še*ʾ-*e*]*r*ʾ-*ta-šá*: after the break, there are traces of three vertical wedges which can be reconciled with the sign IR/ER. The restoration *šērtaša* fits both traces and context. If *šērtaša* is correctly reconstructed, one can hypothesise that an antithetic parallelism between the two hemistichs occurred: a verb with a meaning opposite to that of *aruḫ* 'is quick', is expected at the beginning of the verse. A possible restoration could be, for example, *kīšat*, third person singular stative from *kâšu* A 'to be late, to tarry' (*AHw* I 463 sub *kâšu* III; *CAD* K 294-5 sub *kâšu* A). Other verbs with a similar meaning might be possible as well (e.g. *namarkû* 'to be late, to delay', *AHw* II 725; *CAD* N/1 208-9).
For a similar phraseology, cf. *Marduk*1, ll. 30/32 *šá ar-ḫiš nap-su-ru ba-šu*-[*ú it*]-*ti-šu*, "whose character is to relent quickly".[290]

230 [*epšū*(?) *su*]*k*ʾ-*ki ud-du-*˹*ú pa*˺-*rak-ki*: the head of a vertical is partially visible after the break. I suggest to read the sign SUG, and tentatively restore *sukkī*, since *sukku* is often paired with *parakku* in lexical and literary sources (cf. *AHw* II 1055; *CAD* S 361-2, lex. sec.). The noun *sukku* is equated with *parakku* and *nēmedu* in *Malku* I 274-5,[291] and in the Commentary to *Šurpu* Tablet III (Commentary B, 14);[292] *sukku* also appears in a group list in *Erimḫuš* IV 25-8 (MSL 17, 58) with *parakku* and other terms semantically close to it (*su-uk-ku, pa-an-pa-nu, du-ú, pa-rak-ku*).[293]
I tentatively reconstruct *epšū* at the beginning of the line because it fits the context and the space available on the tablet, but other verbs meaning 'to build', 'to create' are possible. The verse seems to display a synthetic parallelism between the two hemistichs.

231 *šá-du-ši-in*: I understand this word as *šadûššin* 'in their mountains', namely *šadû* 'mountains' (*AHw* III 1124-5; *CAD* Š/1 49-59),

288 Translation by the Author. I follow the reading of Mayer 1993, 317, 325 and 333; cf. Oshima 2011, 356-7. For further discussion on the motif of imprisonment in Akkadian prayers, see Oshima 2014, 260-1.

289 For this interpretation see Mayer 1993, 333.

290 The translation used here is taken from Lambert 1959-60, 56. Cf. Oshima 145, 158-9.

291 Hrůša 2010, 50-1 and 324.

292 Reiner 1970, 50.

293 Cf. Hrůša 2010, 211.

followed by the poetic suffix *-uš* and the apocopated pronominal suffix *-šin*. The first portion of the line is missing, though it seems possible that the break might contain a word meaning 'lands' or 'regions', to which *šadûššin* could refer. Cf. further in the text l. 237 *ni-ši-ši-in* 'their people', probably also referring to the land.

236 [*k*]*a-a-šá a-za-ra*: with respect to this line, Jiménez, Rozzi 2022, 175: "Compare *Marduk I* 70-3 (Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 168): *ibašši ištu ullâ mitluku šitūlu* | *kâšu bulluṭu paṭāru arni* | *šitūlu nēmelu mitluku kušīru* | *azāru u uppû damiq ana ṭēmi*, 'It is since yesteryear meet to meditate and reflect, | (It brings) help, health, and absolution of sins. | To reflect (brings) profit; to meditate, benefit, | To forgive and to *spare* are valuable for the judgement'. The verb *azāru* is equated with *kâšu* in *Malku* V 87 (Hrůša 2010, 114-15, 255 and 401, cf. also the remark by Lambert 1960, 54). The first word, presumably another infinitive, could be restored as *uppâ* (*apû* D 'to forgive (?)', see Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 174) or as *rummâ* (as in *Queen of Nippur* C+22: *enēna rêma rummâ*, "To grant favour, take pity, forgive, […]"), but neither *p*]*a* nor *m*]*a* fit the traces particularly well. If the interpretation of the line is correct, the verse would be composed of four infinitive forms. Verses comprising only infinitives are not uncommon in Babylonian poetry, cf. for example the list of substantivised infinitives in l. 131 of the *Šamaš Hymn*: *šukenna kitmusa litḫuša* (*u*) *labān appi*, 'Obeisance, kneeling, whispered prayer, devotion'; in this case, the main verb is found in the line immediately preceding (130), which may also be the case in the present context".
The learned verb *kiāšum*/*kâšu* 'to help, to save' (*AHw* I 463a and I 470b; *CAD* K 295b; cf. Mayer 2016, 226) is attested, beyond lexical sources, only in literary texts, for example in *Ludlul* I, ll. 10/12: *ú-kaš-šú mi-i-ta*, "They (his hands) save the dead man"[294] and *Ludlul* I, l. 97: *ša la ka-šim-ma*, "The one who does not help".[295]

237 With respect to this line, see Jiménez, Rozzi 2022, 176: "*nakruṭu* appears to be an appositive noun to *ištar*, or else a second accusative: '(extol her) showing compassion to their people'. 'Their' (*-šin*) probably refers to 'the lands', which must have appeared in the vicinity of this line". There is space for one sign at the beginning of the line, and the first visible trace before the break is a vertical wedge, which could possibly be interpreted as UR. The following sign, although

294 Oshima 2014, 78-9 and 381; cf. Lambert 1960, 343.

295 Oshima 2014, 84-5 and 392; see Streck, Wassermann 2008, 352 for other occurrences of *kâšu*. The authors furthermore suggest that this verb might be a secondary form of *ḫiāšum* 'to hurry'. The transitive aspect of *kâšu*, however, contrasts with the intransitivity of *ḫiāšum*, thus rendering the hypothesis doubtful (see Streck, Wassermann 2008, 352 fn. 6).

partially damaged, is highly likely to be DI. The restoration [*qu*]*rdi* is supported by similar expressions found in Akkadian hymns, see *CAD* Q 317-18, particularly in line 1a and 1', where further attestations of the verb *dalālu* in association with *qurdu* can be found.

238 [*ku*ʾ-*u*]*n-šá-ši-ma*: cf. *Queen of Nippur*, col. i, l. 5 (in broken context): *kun-šá e te-te-en-šá*, "Prostrate (before her), do not get weary of it" (in Földi 2023, 152; cf. Földi 2021c; Lambert 1982, 192).

239 With respect to this line, see Jiménez, Rozzi 2022, 176: "Compare, in a *šuʾila*-prayer to Ištar, *šutli*[*mīm-m*]*a zē*[*r*]*a perʾa lu-bé-li*, "grant me descendants (and) progeny, *that I may rule* (them)" (Farber 1977, 62 Ia 84; Zgoll 2003, 156). The parallel suggests restoring at the beginning the word *pirʾu* 'descendant', although writings of this word with *ḫ*- signs are rare in the first millennium".
Moreover, the form *qātuš* displays a pseudo-locative case followed by an apocopated pronominal suffix. In this instance, the pseudo-locative serves as a genitive, and the form *qātuš* corresponds to *ina qātīša* 'from her hand'. Cf. also the *šuilla* prayer Ištar 4, which displays a similar formulation (l. 19'): *šur-kim-ma* MU u NUMUN *lu* ARḪUŠ *si-li-ti*, "grant me a child and progeny, may (my) womb be a (fertile) womb" (I follow the translation in *CAD* 264 sub *silītu*, mng. 2; cf. Zgoll 2003a, 185, 187 with commentary on pp. 189-90).[296]

240 ⌜*e*ʾ⌝ *takʾ-la-ši*: the Babylonian manuscript does not have space for additional signs before E, if the reading here provided is correct. However, the Nineveh manuscript could contain one or at most two signs at the beginning of the verse. The reconstruction of this verse is based on a comparison with similar formulas found in *Queen of Nippur*, which involves the use of the vetitive in a series of verses in the opening section (see for example col. i., ll. 5-6, 8, 11-12, 14).[297]

241 [*ku*]-⌜*ur-ba*⌝ *el*-⌜*let-ki-na*⌝: thanks to the new Babylonian manuscript, it is now possible to reconstruct the entire verse. I have interpreted the form *el-let-ki-na* as derived from *elletu*/*illatu* 'band' or 'group' (see *AHw* I 372; *CAD* 82-4), to be understood in the sense of 'the totality of', and the pronominal suffix *-kina*, probably referring to *nišu* or similar.

242-3 This couplet contains the *elatio*, namely the elevation of the invoked deity, whose role of power is legitimated by higher gods.[298]

296 On the theme of infertility developed in the two *šuilla* prayers here mentioned, see the discussion in Zgoll 2003, 169-71.

297 Lambert 1982, 192-3; cf. Földi 2021c.

298 For the definition of this term, I follow Metcalf 2015, 37.

The elevation is a conventional motif of Mesopotamian hymns, and it narrates how the chief gods have bestowed divine attributes upon the addressed deity.[299] For the restoration at the beginning of l. 242, cf. the remarks in Jiménez, Rozzi 2022, 176: "A similar formulation appears in the *Agušaya Hymn* iv 7 (Pohl 2022, 128): *išni uṣbašši in-nišī puluḫḫiš*, 'He added to her again (her) fearsome appearance among mankind'". Cf. also the long section of *elatio* in *Marduk*2 (ll. 36-41), for example l. 36: ˹*ú*˺-*šar-bi-ka* ^{d}*a-num a-ši-bu šá*-[*m*]*a-mi*, "Anum, the one who dwells in the Hea[ve]ns, made you greatest".[300] The restoration [*ga-m*]*a-la n*[*é-e*]-*šá* in l. 142 of the present text matches the traces and context. It should be noted, however, that while the verb *gamālu* has a secondary meaning of 'to save' or 'to spare', as indicated by dictionaries (see *AHw* I 275-27; *CAD* G 22-3 mng. 2 sub *gamālu*), and therefore agrees with the meaning of *napšura* immediately following, there does not seem to be any evidence of a similar meaning for *nêšu* G. If the restoration proposed here is correct, then it represents the first attestation of the G-stem of *nêšu* bearing the transitive meaning of 'to save' or 'to keep alive' which has so far been confirmed only for the Š-stem. On the other hand, it is possible to assume a similar transitive meaning for the G-stem of *nêšu* based on the lexical sources, where *nêšu* appears as a synonym of *balāṭu*, together with *šaṭāpu*, cf. *Malku* IV 87-8 (// *An* VIII 1-2, see K.3906+K.14354 obv. i 1 and K.169+K.13658 rev. iii 58-9):[301]

> ^{87}*né-e-šu* = *ba-la-ṭu*
> ^{88}*ša-ṭa-pu* = MIN
> ^{87}to live, to revive = to live
> ^{88}to preserve life, to save = *ditto*[302]

The verb *šaṭāpu* has a transitive meaning of 'to preserve life' and 'to save' (*AHw* III 1203; *CAD* Š/2 221). Therefore, it can be hypothesised that *nêšu* also has a comparable meaning in the G-stem, and not only in the Š-stem.
^{d}*šá-la-aš*: the goddess Šalaš is the *parhedra* of Dagan. The first attestations of Šalaš are found in four pre-Sargonic Eblaite administrative texts: in three of them the goddess is paired with Wadʾan, a god venerated in the city of Gar(r)amu, which was under the control of Ebla. One text, however, lists the offerings of precious metals to the "Lord of Tuttul", namely Dagan, and to his spouse Šalaš (written defectively

299 Metcalf 2015, 37-41, 57-8 and 63-73.

300 Oshima 2011, 225, 242-3.

301 I am grateful to I. Hrůša who provided me with the updated list of the manuscripts of the synonym list An = *Anum* VII-X, thus allowing me to collate this passage.

302 Hrůša 2010, 96-9 and 384.

as ^{d}*ša-a-ša*). The goddess appears in Old Babylonian sources from Mari, where she is also paired with Dagan, and is further attested in some Old-Babylonian theophoric names.[303] Šalaš is mentioned in the *šuilla* prayer Kaksisa 1, l. 9 (MS B): [^{d}*D*]*a-gan u* ^{d}*Ša-la-áš ú-šar-bu-u* MU-*ka*, "Dagan and Šalaš make your name great".[304]
The identification of Dagan with the god Enlil led to the connection between Šalaš and Enlil's spouse, Ninlil. This association is clear from the god lists: in An = *Anum* I 181-2,[305] Dagan is equated with Enlil and Šalaš with Ninlil.[306]
If these reconstructions are correct, ll. 242-3 of our *Ištar Prayer* are characterised by the use of synonymous parallelism, and furthermore display a chiastic structure, in which the name of the gods, the verbal forms related to them and the qualities mentioned (l. 242 *šu-zu-ba*, *e-ṭe-ru* and l. 243 [*ga-m*]*a-la n*[*é-e*]*-šá u napšura*) are placed in a reversed order.

244 [*qud-d*]*i-šá*: for this restoration, see Jiménez, Rozzi 2022, 176: Lambert (1960b, 54) reconstructed this line as following: [… *qa*]*-ta-šá mus-sa-a i-da-a-šá*, translating "Her hands [are clean], her arms are washed"; see, however, Jiménez,Rozzi 2022, 176: "If the reconstruction [*qud-d*]*i-šá* at the beginning of the verse is correct (an alternative *d*]*u* seems incompatible with the traces), the line would contain two imperatives, instead of statives. Ll. 244 and 245 would therefore form a parallel couplet. It is possible that a cult statue of Ištar is meant here. Note that -ā for the casus obliquus of duals is just as common as -ī in first-millennium texts (von Soden 1995 [GAG3]: § 63h)". The damaged context does not allow for a clear understanding of the line, and it is difficult to determine to whom the verbs refer, but it can be presumed that the subjects are the supplicants, i.e. the peoples inhabiting the lands (see above comment on l. 241). The supplicants should worship Ištar, through the proper execution of ritual actions, such as the purification of the goddess's statue.

245 For the reconstruction of this line, see Jiménez, Rozzi 2022, 176: "At the beginning, a reading [*q*]*í-bít/bat*, 'command(s)', also seems possible (compare *Theodicy* 83 [§ L II.1]: *qi*-BAD *pī ilti* 'the command(s) of a goddess'). The restoration is inspired by *Gula Bullussa-rabi* 139 (Földi 2021a): *uldanni antu kīniš ukannânni*, 'Antu bore me, cherished me steadfastly'; and the *Exaltation of Ištar* III 27-8 (Hruška 1969,

303 Schwemer 2006-08, 566-7 sub *Šalaš* § 4; cf. Schwemer 2001, 402-8; cf. Archi 1995, 633-7.

304 Mayer 1990, 466-9. Cf. Schwemer 2001, 405.

305 Lambert, Winters 2023, 81-2; cf. Litke 1992, 42-3.

306 Archi 1995, 634; Schwemer 2001, 401.

483-4): kù $^{d+}$innin-ke$_4$ šà-sig$_6$$^{sè-ga}$-ga-na ^{mi}mí-zí mu-ni-in-du$_{11}$ | *elleta ištar ina ṭūb libbīšu kīniš ukanni*, 'He in the goodness of his heart treated holy Ištar kindly'. Note, if the restoration is correct, that the line reads *kunnîš kunnu*, 'lovingly make firm' instead of *kīniš kunnû*, 'firmly love'".

246 [*s*]*u-up-pu-ú su-ul-lu-u šu-te-mu-qu*: the Babylonian manuscript assists in the reconstruction of the first part of this line. These three terms seem to form a fixed sequence. They are found in the lexical sources as well, see e.g. *Aa* V/III 43-5 (MSL 14, 422) in which the three nouns appear in immediate succession: ni-ir = NIR = [*su*]-*up-pu-ú* [*su*]-*ul-lu-ú* [*šu*]-*te-mu-qu*; cf. also the same sequence in *Izi* Q?, 5'-7'[307] and in VAT 14248, rev. 3-5, a school tablet from Aššur which includes excerpts from *Aa* VIII/1, *Ea* IV and *Aa* VII/4.[308] The substantives *suppû* and *sullû* often occur together, seemingly as a fixed pair, in lexical lists and commentaries, as well as in literary texts. For example, *suppû* and *sullû* are found – one right after the other – in *Aa* VIII/1 30-1 and 46-7 (MSL 14, 490), equated to the Sumerian ZUR SISKUR, "Prayer" (cf. *CAD* S 365, lex. sec. for further occurrences of *suppû* with *sullû* in the lexical sources).[309] In addition, they appear in wisdom compositions, see the *Counsels of Wisdom*, l. 139: *su-up-pu-u su-ul-lu-u u la-ban ap-pi*, "Prayer, supplication and prostration",[310] and are attested within the corpus of the *Great Hymns and Prayers*, see the *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 130 *ta-šem-me* ^{d}UTU *su-up-pa-a su-la-a ù ka-ra-bi*, "You heed, O Shamash, prayer, supplication, and blessing".[311] See *CAD* S 365 and 394 for further attestations of the two nouns together.

307 Most recent edition in Hrůša, Weiershäuser 2020, 96.

308 Hrůša, Weiershäuser 2023, 140.

309 Cf. Hrůša, Weiershäuser 2020, 96. This pair is also found in *Diri* II, 7-8 (MSL 15, 122-3) and *Erimḫuš* II 170 and 173 (MSL 17, 36).

310 Lambert 1960, 104-5; cf. Rozzi 2021a. Translation by Foster *apud* Rozzi 2021a.

311 Lambert 1960, 134-5; cf. Rozzi 2021a.

4 A Mosaic of Quotations: Intertextual Relationships in the Great Hymns and Prayers

Summary 4.1 The *Great Hymns and Prayers* and Literary Texts. – 4.1.1 Intratextual Relationships in the Great Hymns and Prayers. – 4.1.2 Intertextual Relationships with Other Literary and Technical Texts. – 4.1.3 Literary and Technical Intra- and Intertextuality: Conclusive Remarks. – 4.2 The *Great Hymns and Prayers* and the Lexicon. – 4.2.1 The Mesopotamian Lexical Lists and Their School Context. – 4.2.2 Lexicon and Literature: Previous Studies. – 4.2.3 The *Great Hymns and Prayers* and the Lexicon: Intertextual Connections. – 4.2.4 Lexical Interdependence.

In the first chapter, I highlighted the similarity between certain 'philosophical' thoughts attested in the *Great Hymns and Prayers* and several themes in wisdom texts, as the concept of wisdom patience (see chapter 1, § 1.2.5). In this chapter, my focus shifts to examining more specific intertextual connections that arise between the *Great Hymns and Prayers* and texts of different genres, such as literary and lexical sources.

Literary intertextuality is still relatively unexplored in the field of Assyriology, especially when compared to the investigation of this theme in classical studies.[1] However, similar to classical studies, the concept of intertextuality in Assyriology builds upon the definitions

1 For some examples of the study of intertextuality in Classics, as compared to Assyriology, see Weeden 2021, 80-4.

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and theories mostly by Genette, Bakhtin, and Kristeva.[2] In particular, following Kristeva, the approach to intertextuality in Assyriology is based primarily on the notion that every text, while being a 'mosaic of quotations',[3] is profoundly shaped by processes of permutation and transformation resulting from the author's engagement with earlier texts. In other words, intertextuality, as applied to the Mesopotamian textual corpus, is in most cases not limited to mere copying and borrowing from one text to another, but also includes the active process of rewriting and assembling texts.[4]

The first scholar to introduce the concept of intertextuality to the study of Akkadian literature was Erica Reiner. Examining the occurrence of identical citations in the descriptions of the afterlife found in the *Epic of Gilgameš*, the *Descent of Ištar to the Netherworld*, and the myth of Nergal and Ereškigal, Reiner defined these parallels as 'intertextual relationships', maintaining that they allow the modern reader to follow in the footsteps of the ancient one, by tracing literary patterns and reconstructing connections between texts.[5]

The study of intertextual parallels in literary Mesopotamian texts has so far mainly focused on the analysis of directed intertextuality.[6] Directed intertextuality consists of the explicit reference of one text to another.[7] Texts connected through directed intertextuality dis-

2 See for example Genette 1997; Bakhtin 1981; 1984; Kristeva 1980 [1969]. For a history of intertextuality see Allen 2000.

3 So writes Kristeva 1980, 66, commenting on Bakthin's theory of the dialogical nature of all discourses (on which see the collection of essays in Bakthin 1981, and Bakhtin 1984): "any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another".

4 On this see Seri 2014, 89-90, who provides a succinct but thorough explanation of the most important theories of intertextuality and how they relate to Assyriology. Cf. also Foster 2005, 25-6 and Lenzi 2019, 66.

5 See Reiner 1985, 119 (also *apud* Seri 2014, 89): "Such verbatim quotes […] play the same role in Babylonian poetry as the quotes and allusions that punctuate modern poetry; they constitute intertextual relationships, and enable the well-read modern Assyriologist to make the same linkages across the ancient poems as the ancient reader was expected to make". Reiner is the first to emphasise how the links between Akkadian literary texts acquire significance only for an expert reader, that is, someone who can actually recognise the source to which the intertextual references allude, see e.g. Reiner 1985, 119: "such connections-in essence, what contemporary literary criticism likes to term 'intertextuality' – are meaningful only for the reader familiar with the entire poetic corpus". This concept obviously only applies to intentional references, since a considerable amount of intertextual connections in the Akkadian literary corpus may not necessarily be the result of a conscious choice by the text's author. This is evident in cases of infrastructural intertextuality, see *infra*.

6 For the use of this term as applied to Assyriology, see Weeden 2021, 83-4. Note that this kind of intertextuality is often referred to as allusion, see Wisnom 2019, 1-4 and Lenzi 2019, 65, with fn. 139.

7 For more on directed intertextuality in Assyriology, and some examples of Assyriological works related, see Lenzi 2019, 64-6 and Weeden 2021, 84-5. See also E. Jiménez

play – using a term coined by Genette – a 'co-presence' of elements,[8] for example, allusions, quotations, or imitation. This kind of intertextuality establishes a specific connection between compositions, sometimes reflecting authorial intention. However, determining the deliberate choices made by authors remains a highly challenging issue within the context of Mesopotamian works of literature.[9] While directed intertextuality has been the primary focus of most Assyriological works, some scholars have adopted a broader perspective on intertextual relationships, drawing inspiration from Kristeva's theories. This second approach examines connections that emerge not from specific textual parallels or borrowings, but rather from the broader interplay between texts and literary tradition. These connections can manifest, for instance, through formulaic expressions and literary topoi.[10]

The connections discussed in this chapter can be attributed to both types of intertextuality mentioned above. The first type of relationship I will present aligns with directed intertextuality, as it involves precise quotations that repeat the same phrases *verbatim*.[11] These intertextu-

2017a, 80-1, who defines the 'minimalistic approach', that is, an approach which "on the other hand, only accepts literary dependance of one text on another when an unmistakably distinctive expression – i.e. clearly not a topos". Jiménez further defines the notions of 'general intertextuality', such as the shared use of formulas, and 'specific intertextuality', which describes instead the usage of specific borrowings (Jiménez 2017a, 81). Similarly, Frahm, in his recent work on Assyrian royal inscriptions, used the terms 'palintextuality' referring to specific quotations or obvious allusions from a hypotext into a hypertext, and 'similtextuality' to indicate more vague similarities between texts (2019, 152). Bach 2020 borrows Genette's model of 'transtextuality' in analysing the Assyrian royal inscriptions, differentiating transtextual relationships into "Intertextual" (direct quotations), "Hypertextual" (allusions) or "Architextual" (general similarity). Cf. also Bach 2024, who proposes a methodology for transtextual analysis of Neo-Assyrian royal texts.

8 Genette 1997, 1-2.

9 Regarding the problematic notion of interdependence within the Mesopotamian literary corpus understood as an authorial intention, see Wisnom 2014, 4-7; cf. also Lenzi 2019, 65; in addition, Seri (2014, 91) observes that certain categories formulated by contemporary scholars in the study of intertextuality cannot be readily applied to Akkadian literature. For instance, the concept of plagiarism becomes indistinguishable from quotation in Mesopotamian texts, as "Mesopotamians did not have a notion of copyright and in most cases the name of the scribe at the end of a composition, if mentioned at all, indicates the copyist rather than the author" (Seri 2014, 91).

10 For an example of this approach, see Metcalf 2013 on some intertextual echoes between the wisdom text labelled as *Dialogue of Pessimism* and other literary compositions; see also Wisnom 2019, 1-4, who considers as intertextuality any type of connection between texts, cf. Weeden 2021, 84-5; see also Jiménez 2017a, 80, who terms this approach as 'maximalist'.

11 For the concept of quotations as examples of intertextuality between Akkadian texts, including intertextuality between literary and lexical sources, see the study on intertextual parallels in the list *Erimḫuš* provided by Boddy 2021. Boddy writes, quoting the *Oxford Dictionary of English* (Stevenson 2010), as follows: "In linguistics, the term 'intertextuality' is used to describe a connection between texts. A form of intertextuality identified in Erimḫuš is 'quotation', which can be defined as 'a group of words

al relationships are found within the corpus of the *Great Hymns and Prayers*, as well as between the corpus and other texts, that are mostly, but not exclusively, literary. Conversely, the second group of examples of intertextuality provided here are more closely associated with the second, broader type of intertextuality. They illustrate the connections between the *Great Hymns and Prayers* and lexical sources, a form of intertextuality defined as 'infrastructural' by Mark Weeden.[12] Infrastructural intertextuality, according to Weeden, pertains to the cultural substrate behind the texts: the cultural and ideological heritage transmitted through scribal education, which inevitably shaped those who copied and composed the texts, even if unconsciously.[13]

Infrastructural intertextuality does not exclude explicit connections between texts, that is, forms of directed intertextuality, including exact quotations of lemmas or groups of lemmas, but rather shifts the focus from the specific, possibly conscious, decision of the author to the cultural and ideological context in which the texts were produced and transmitted.[14]

4.1 The *Great Hymns and Prayers* and Literary Texts

The fact that literary and scholarly texts, together with lexical lists, constituted a substantial part of scribal education, especially during the first millennium BCE, led to considerable intertextuality within the Akkadian literary corpus.[15] Intertextual relations were further strengthened by the long transmission of certain compositions, which became part of common knowledge and lent themselves to expansion, quotation, reworking or integration into other texts.[16] Intertextual parallels can be observed between literary texts as well as between literary and technical texts, such as commentaries. Modern scholars have identified intertextual parallels in all periods of Akkadian literature. This is also true, for example, of texts from the Old Akkadian period, such as a letter from the reign of Agade, which shows

taken from a text or speech and repeated by someone other than the original author or speaker'" (2021, 170).

12 See Weeden 2021, 85, who elaborates on the pivotal, shaping role of lexical lists within the scribal curriculum, described as 'infrastructural' by Johnson (2015, 4; cf. also Johnson, Geller 2015, 31).

13 Weeden 2021, 85-6.

14 Cf. also the remark by Boddy 2021, 170, with respect to intertextual relationships between *Erimḫuš* and other texts: "By shifting the focus on the knowledge attached to these terms, movements of text can be examined as movements of knowledge".

15 Lenzi 2019, 67.

16 Lenzi 2019, 64-7; cf. also Foster 2005, 22-4.

strong links to an incantation against demons preserved in seventh-century Nineveh.[17] This particular case implies that diachronic connections are also possible.

Intertextual relationships can sometimes be observed through the direct quotation of entire passages.[18] One notable example is found in SB *Gilgameš* VII, in which a lengthy curse is uttered against Ištar, bearing striking similarities to a section in the Descent of Ištar to the Netherworld, wherein the goddess Ereškigal expresses her fury against the impersonator Asušunamir.[19] Another, famous example is represented by the depiction of the netherworld in SB *Gilgameš* VII, which bears partial resemblance to a passage in the Descent of Ištar to the Netherworld, and to another found in the myth of Nergal and Ereškigal.[20] As remarked by Foster,[21] it is possible that these very similar or nearly identical text portions were reusable stock passages, rather than intentional quotations or allusions to specific texts.[22]

17 Thureau-Dangin 1926, 23-5; cf. Foster 2005, 23.

18 Foster 2005, 23, 2007 113; see Lenzi 2019, 42-3 for further examples of Akkadian literary texts borrowing from earlier Akkadian sources. Furthermore, Lenzi emphasises the significant relationship between the Sumerian substratum and the Akkadian tradition, pointing out that numerous Akkadian literary texts show clear connections not only with other Akkadian texts, but also with earlier Sumerian sources. This connection is evident in some episodes of the *Old Babylonian Epic of Gilgameš*, which show many similarities with Sumerian compositions (Lenzi 2019, 41-2, with further references). For the continuity between the genre of hymns in Sumerian and Akkadian, see chapter 1.

19 SB *Gilgameš* VII, ll. 102-33 (George 2003, 638-9; see also George 2022, revised edition on *eBL*) and Descent of Ištar 103-8 (see Lapinkivi 2010, 20 and 32 and the latest edition by Setälä 2022 on the *eBL* platform.

20 SB *Gilgameš* VII, ll. 184-91 (George 2003, 644-5; 2022), Nergal and Ereshkigal, 149-56 (Ponchia, Luukko 2013, 16 and 25) and Descent of Ištar 3-11 (Lapinkivi 2010, 15 and 29; cf. Setälä 2022). Cf. Reiner 1985, 32-3

21 Foster 2007, 113.

22 Formulaic expressions are indeed typical of Akkadian epic literature, but also very common in the genre of Akkadian hymns and prayers, where divine epithets and literary motifs in Akkadian compositions are partially transmitted in continuity with the Sumerian tradition (see Metcalf 2015 for examples of standard epithets and formulas). In addition, the use of stock phrases is also commonly found in Akkadian incantations: Schwemer (2014, 277) defines these phrases as "originally self-contained building blocks of an incantation text". With regard to stock phrases in incantations for calming babies, Farber used the term 'Versatzstücke' to indicate the motifs and formulas that were freely reused and recombined in multiple texts (Farber 1989, 148-60; cf. Schwemer 2014, 277). Furthermore, Farber suggests that the characteristic formulaic nature of incantations may indicate oral transmission (Farber 1989, 148). The possible orality of Akkadian literature, specifically in the epic genre, has been discussed in the collection of articles edited by Vogelzang and Vanstiphout in 1992. However, it is highlighted that the 'oral hypothesis' and the 'formulaic theory' (as formulated in the pioneering works of Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord) are challenging to apply to the socio-cultural context of Mesopotamia, where the literary tradition belongs to a highly structured, written form. Therefore, even though Mesopotamian literature may have had oral origins, it evolved into a distinct mode of communication, thus differing from the vernacular oral tradition, which remains impossible to recover, see Michalowski

A further example of intertextuality lies in parody, i.e. the parodical use of quotations, such as the references to epic poetry and wisdom texts in the Akkadian disputation poems, or the satirical mention of the Cuthean Legend in a Neo-Assyrian invective against someone called Bel-etir (K.1351).[23] Imitation can also be considered a form of intertextuality, even though the intertextual connection is not established through the imitation of one particular text, but rather through the emulation of entire literary genres. An example is represented by an Old Babylonian manuscript describing the killing of a noisy goat by Enki, which seems to be a satirical imitation of an incantation.[24] A second example is provided by another text, referred to the same Bel-etir above mentioned, which also emulates the typical structure of incantations.[25] The satirical Aluzinnu-text, furthermore, also parodies various textual genres, including god lists and menologies.[26]

The *Great Hymns and Prayers* show several types of intertextuality with the literary sources: firstly, textual links can be observed between the texts themselves within the corpus, such as identical or almost identical recurring verses. Secondly, at least two of our texts, namely the *Šamaš Hymn* and *Queen of Nippur*, appear to be the result of extensive textual elaborations, most likely incorporating borrowings from other texts, perhaps even whole sections from other sources.[27] Since no antecedents of these two hymns have come down to us, however, it is difficult to trace their composition process. On the other hand, as noted above, *Marduk*1, has an earlier version from the Old Babylonian period, which shows numerous textual parallels with the later composition.[28] The *Great Hymns and Prayers* also

1992, 244-5; see also Lenzi 2019, 39-41 for further remarks on this topic, and a useful summary of the main studies on orality within the field of Assyriology.

Note, incidentally, that the occurrence of Versatzstücke was also observed in the Sumerian literary corpus, for example, in the *balaĝ* lament ú r u à m - m a - i r - r a - b i, as remarked by Volk (1989, 16). Volk suggested that this composition might have been orally recited, and the stock phrases could have been thus modified *ad libitum*. On Versatzstücke in Sumerian lamentations, see also more recently Delnero 2020, 137-8.

23 For intertextuality in the Disputation poems see Jiménez 2017, 79-99 and Jiménez 2018b; for the Assyrian invective, see Livingstone 1989, 64-5. Cf. Lenzi 2019, 67 and Foster 2007, 114, and 2005, 1020-1.

24 On this text see Lambert 1991, 415-19. Lambert offers three possible interpretations for this text: Firstly, it could be a genuine incantation. Secondly, it may be a mythological tale centred around Enki, presented in the form of an incantation. Lastly, most scholars who have studied the text lean towards the view that it is a light-hearted composition originating from the Edubba circle, possibly created for playful or humorous purposes, see Lambert 1991, 419; cf. Foster 2005, 1020-1.

25 Livingstone 1989, 66; cf. Foster 2005, 1021.

26 Veldhuis 2003, 25-6; cf. Lenzi 2019, 67.

27 See e.g. Lambert 1960, 123; 1982, 176-7.

28 Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 162.

present quotations from or similarities with other literary and scholarly texts, like commentaries.

In most instances, it is not clear whether the quotations found within the corpus of texts under analysis, or between these and other texts, are expressions of authorial intention or whether, as already mentioned, they are mere repertoire pieces. However, there are also cases where the quotation is undoubtedly direct.

Identifying the direction of these intertextual parallels, that is, understanding the exact relationship between the texts involved and determining which source precedes and which follows, is extremely complex in most cases. Indeed, the lack of precise dating of texts and the speculative nature of the shared social and cultural context make it difficult to trace the history of textual borrowings.

Observing the occurrence of the same phrase or passage in different compositions can prove useful for two reasons. Firstly, these instances of intertextuality might illustrate direct relationships between texts. Secondly, even if establishing direct dependence from one text to another proves thorny, as the intertextual parallels may lack the necessary specificity or originality to indicate a definite connection between the sources, such links can nevertheless stimulate reflections on the composition techniques of Akkadian literary texts. In essence, the study of these intertextual parallels opens the door to a deeper understanding of the literary traditions and influences of Akkadian culture.

4.1.1 Intratextual Relationships in the Great Hymns and Prayers

The following is a list of intratextual parallels that can be observed within the corpus of the *Great Hymns and Prayers*. This list is not exhaustive, but it aims to provide a few illustrative examples of the kind of shared phrases and formulations found within this body of texts.[29]

1. *Nabû Prayer* // *Marduk*1

   a) *Nabû Prayer*:
   [173]*puṭur qunnabrašu ḫipi illu*[*rtaš*?]
   [173]Release his fetters, break [his] bonds!

   *Marduk*1:
   [61]*rumme illurtašu puṭur maksīšu*
   [61]Loosen his fetters, release his shackles![30]

29 In the *eBL* digital editions of these texts, some additional parallels are accessible.

30 Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 167, 170; cf. Oshima 2011, 146, 160-1.

155 *ḫipi qunnabrašu illurtašu puṭur maksīšu*
155 Break his shackles and fetters, release his bonds![31]

b) *Nabû Prayer*:
103 [*tušē*]*ṣâm-ma*ʾ *aradka tassakip* […]
103 [You ca]st your servant out, you have tossed away […]

*Marduk*1:
41/43 *bēlu/Marduk uggukka tassakip aradka*
41/43 O Lord/Marduk in your rage you have tossed away your servant.[32]

2. *Nabû Prayer* // *Ištar Prayer* (see chapter 2 and 3)

Nabû Prayer:
26 [*ša*ʾ …] *išari tukān išdīšu*
26 [You …] the just, you shore him up.

Ištar Prayer:
171 *kibsuš dunninī išduš k*[*innī*]
171 Strengthen his path, make his foundations st[able]!

3. *Marduk*1 // *Marduk*2

*Marduk*1:
5/6 (Marduk) *ša amāruk šibbu gapaš abūšin*
5/6 (Marduk), whose stare is a dragon, a flood overwhelming.[33]

*Marduk*2:
81/82 *bēlu/Marduk uggukka kī gapaš abūšin*
81/82 Lord/Marduk your fury is like a flood overwhelming.[34]

4. *Marduk*2 // *Šamaš Hymn*

*Marduk*2:
45" […] … *parakkaka līteddiš*

31 Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 168, 171; cf. Oshima 2011, 154, 166-7.

32 Translation by the Author. Cf. Oshima 2011, 146, 160-1. Thanks to a new manuscript, this line can now be completely restored. I am thankful to Enrique Jiménez who shared with me his forthcoming edition of *Marduk*1.

33 Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 167 and 169; cf. Oshima 2011, 142, 158-9.

34 Jiménez 2022, 200. Cf. Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 173; cf. Oshima 2014, 229, 244-5.

45'' […] … may your throne dais be ever renewed.[35]

Šamaš Hymn:
198 […] … *ina māti*[!?] *parakkaka līteddiš*
198 […] in the land, may your throne dais be ever renewed.[36]

5. *Gula Bullussa-rabi* // *Gula Syncretistic*

Gula Bullussa-rabi:
42 *šiprussa nāšât qantuppi ēpišat nikkassī*
42 Who carries a stylus as she works, doing the accounts.[37]

Gula Bullussa-rabi:
183 *asâku bārâku āšipāku ša ina arê*[i] *ḫīṭāku*
183 I am physician, I am diviner, I am exorcist, I am expert with numbers.[38]

Gula Syncretistic:
32 *ninkarrak bēlet riksī upšāšê ēpišat nikkassī arê labbat uzzat u muma'irrat*
32 Ninkarrak the lady of bandages (and) ritual procedures, she who makes calculations, she is a lioness, she is fury, she is the ruler.[39]

4.1.2 Intertextual Relationships with Other Literary and Technical Texts

The presence of parallels between the *Great Hymns and Prayers* and other literary texts is one factor that could indicate a progressive elaboration of at least some of the compositions under study. Indeed, several compositions belonging to the *Great Hymns and Prayers* could be the result of adapting or assembling verses, phrases or entire blocks of text borrowed from other literary works, such as hymns or wisdom texts. There are, however, also intertextual connections with scholarly and technical sources, such as incantations

35 The end of this line can now be reconstructed thanks to the new manuscripts. An edition will be published by E. Jiménez, who kindly shared with me the provisional transliteration. Cf. Oshima 2011, 239, 252-3.

36 Rozzi 2021a; cf. Lambert 1960, 138.

37 Földi 2021a; cf. Lambert 1967, 118-19.

38 Földi 2021a; cf. Lambert 1967, 118-19.

39 Bennett 2021, 196-7.

and commentaries.[40] Like the previous list, the present one is not exhaustive, and further textual parallels may emerge with the identification of new manuscripts and the reconstruction of additional texts.

1. *Ištar Prayer // Syncretistic Hymn to Ištar*

   Ištar Prayer:
   [26][*petê idīki*? *šu*]*be'ê šūti*
   [27][*pīt purīdīki*?] *pān iltāni*
   [26][The spreading of your wings is the ru]sh of the South wind,
   [27][The opening of your legs is] the face of the North wind.

   Syncretistic Hymn to Ištar:
   [29]*petē idīki <šu>be'ê šūti ištar uruk*
   [30]*pīt purīdīki pān iltāni ištar akkade*
   [29]The spreading of your wings is the rush of the south wind – Ištar of Uruk,
   [30]the opening of your legs is the face of the north wind – Ištar of Akkad.[41]

2. *Ištar Prayer // Exaltation of Ištar*

   Ištar Prayer:
   [21][*šušqâ šušpula*?] *šadāda u nê'a*
   [21][To exalt, to bring down,] to pull and to turn back.

   Exaltation of Ištar:
   [IV c+16]dumu-ĝu$_{10}$ ki za-ra du$_{10}$-ga an-šè lá ki-šè lá tu-lu gíd-da-bi
   mar-ti ana e-ma ša-bu-ki šu-uš-qu-ú šu-uš-pu-la šá-da-da u ni-i'-u
   [IV c+16]My daughter, wherever it pleases you to raise someone, to diminish, to move away, or to turn around.[42]

3. *Marduk2 // Hymn to Ninurta as Savior*

40 Whether Mesopotamian texts dealing with magic should be considered technical or literary is debated among Assyriologists (see Wasserman, Zomer 2022, IX; cf. Schwemer 2014, 266-8). Mesopotamian incantations undoubtedly exhibit literary traits, such as rhetorical devices (particularly figures of sound) and imagery (see Foster 2007, 92 for the poetic features of Akkadian incantations). However, they also served a practical scope beyond the scholarly context. For the purpose of the present study, I will consider the genre of incantations and incantation series to be 'scholarly literature', i.e. technical texts, thus different from the *belles lettres* in the strict sense, see Foster 2005, 24.

41 For this parallel, see the edition in chapter 3, and the commentary on this line.

42 Hruška 1969, 489, 493; see also the new manuscript of this text BM 38166, recently identified by T. Mitto within the *eBL* project, and available on the *eBL* platform.

*Marduk*2:
9''*ana išdiḫ nēber kāri ša šitpurat alaktu*
10''*šar kiššati lā maḫri lā tēbâ tušaḫrap urḫa*
9''To do business at the quay which is busy with traffic,
10''You, O unrivalled king of the world, rouse at daybreak him who else would not rise.[43]

Hymn to Ninurta as Savior:
1*ana išdiḫ nēber kāri ša šuḫmuṭat alaktu*
2*šar kiššati lā maḫri lā tēbâ tušaḫrap urḫa*
1To do business at the quay where traffic rushes swiftly by,
2You, O unrivalled king of the world, rouse at daybreak him who else would not rise.[44]

4. *Šamaš Hymn* // *Counsels of Wisdom*

Šamaš Hymn:
100/106/119*ṭāb eli Šamaš balāṭa uttar*
100/106/119It is pleasing to Šamaš, and he will prolong his life.[45]

Counsels of Wisdom:
A+15*ṭāb eli Šamaš irâbšu dumqa*
A+15It is pleasing to Šamaš, he will requite him with favour.[46]

5. *Šamaš Hymn* // *Šurpu*

Šamaš Hymn:
125*šūt ulla pīšunu šakin ina maḫrīka*
125Those whose mouth says "No" – their case is before you.[47]

Šurpu II:
5*ana anna ulla iqbû ana ulla anna iqbû*
5Who said 'no' for 'yes', who said 'yes' for 'no'.[48]

43 Oshima 2011, 236, 250-1. The translation follows Mitto 2022a. Cf. Oshima's translation: "For the harbour ferry which is busy with coming and going, | You, the king of the universe with no rival, no opposition, hasten the way".

44 Mitto 2022a; cf. Mayer 1992, 20-1, 28.

45 Lambert 1960, 132-2; Rozzi 2021a.

46 Földi 2022a.

47 Lambert 1960, 132-3; Rozzi 2021a.

48 Reiner 1970, 13.

[56]*pīšu anna libbašu ulla*
[56](when) his mouth (says) 'yes', his heart (says) 'no'[49]

Šamaš Hymn:
[107]*ṣābit zibānīti ēpiš ṣilipti*
[107]He who cheats as he holds the scales[50]

Šurpu II:
[42]ĝiš*zi-ba-nit la kit-ti iṣ-*[*ṣa-bat* ĝiš*zi-ba-nit kit-ti ul iṣ-b]at*
[42]He us[ed] an untrue balance, (but) [did not us]e [the true balance][51]

6. *Šamaš Hymn* // *Commentary to Sagig* IV

Šamaš Hymn:
[31]*šaplâti malkī kūbu anunnakī tapaqqid*
[31]In the lower regions you take charge of the netherworld gods, the demons, the Anunna-gods

Commentary to Sagig IV:
[7][(x)] ˹KÙ? (:) KI^{ti}˺: ˹SU?:˺ *na-ṣa-ri: šá šap-la-a-tú ma-al-ku* ^{d}*kù-bi* ^{d}*a-nun-na-ki ta-paq-qid*: SAG.˹KI˺ [x (x)
[7](…)] KÙ (?) means 'Netherworld' and SU (?) means 'to guard', (as in) "In the depth you review the Anunnaki, the princes of Kūbu"[52]

7. *Šamaš Hymn* // Anti-witchcraft ritual

Šamaš Hymn:
[190]*Ānu Enlil u Ea lišar*[*bû zik*]*irka*?
[190]May Anu, Enlil, and Ea glorify your [name][53]

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49 Reiner 1970, 14. A similar concept is also attested in the inscription of Esarhaddon 113, l. 10, cf. RINAP 4 (Leichty 2011); cf. Lambert 1960, 322.

50 Rozzi 2021a; Lambert 1960, 132-3. A new Sippar manuscript allows to reconstruct the entire line, confirming Lambert's restoration, see Rozzi 2021a for the score edition.

51 Reiner 1970, 14. The theme of the dishonest merchant is also present in the *diĝiršadabba* prayer no. 11, see ll. 76-7, which display a very similar phraseology: ^{lú}DAM.GÀ[R MIN] | […] *ṣa-bit* ĝiš*<zi>-ba-ni-ti m*[*u-* …], "the merchant … | […] the one who holds the scales […]", see Jaques 2015, 75 and 89. A Hittite prayer (CTH 374) also displays the same theme, Jaques 2015, 142.

52 Jiménez 2016. Note that this line of the hymn to Šamaš is also quoted in a commentary on the menological series Iqqur īpuš (DT 35), in which it is used to explain the noun *malku* as the god Nergal or as the Anunnaki gods, see Jiménez 2013.

53 Rozzi 2021a; cf. Lambert 1960, 138.

Anti-witchcraft rituals addressed to Marduk and Ištar (*CMAWR*1, 8.6.1:72'-73'):[54]
72' […] … *lišar*[*bû zik*]*irka*?
73' […] … *ilī lišātir bēlūtka*
72' may […] praise your name
73' may [the ...] of the gods endow you with unrivalled lordship.

8. *Nabû Prayer* // *Omina*, e.g. *Šumma ālu* 22:

Nabû Prayer:
184 *ašar eklet namrat šēzuzu tayy*[*ār*]
184 Where there was darkness there was light, he who was in a rage relented.

Šumma ālu 22:
34 *šumma ina addari ṣerra īmur eklet namrat*
34 If a man sees a snake in Addaru, darkness will become light.[55]

4.1.3 Literary and Technical Intra- and Intertextuality: Conclusive Remarks

The corpus of the *Great Hymns and Prayers* includes both intratextual and intertextual parallels. Most of the intertextual parallels represent connections with literary texts, but links to technical texts also occur. As can be observed from the examples here provided, many of the parallels do not appear to be intentional intertextual borrowings. Instead, they seem to be part of a standard literary repertoire. Phrases like *parakkaka līteddiš* or *lišarbû zikirka* can probably be understood as typical language of religious poetry, commonly found in Akkadian hymns. Likewise, the use of the verb *kunnu* with *išdu* ('foundation'), as found in the *Nabû Prayer* and in the *Ištar Prayer*, is a proverbial expression, serving as a metaphor to symbolise the stability of someone's 'base', i.e. their legs. This expression is frequently found in literary texts, particularly in prayers.[56] Nevertheless, the similar phrases attested in *Marduk*1 and the *Nabû Prayer*, which exhibit the use of the same rare and learned terms (*qunnabru, illurtu*), are more likely to represent a direct link between the two prayers.

54 Abusch, Schwemer 2011; cf. Rozzi 2021a.

55 Freedman 2006, 12-13. Cf. also the edition of this text in chapter 2, particularly the note to this line in the philological commentary; the phrase *eklet namrat* is attested in many other divination texts, being for example a recurring formula in the liver omens as well, see Koch-Westenholz 2000, 328-42 no. 62.

56 Note the comment on this line in the commentary to the *Ištar Prayer* in chapter 3.

A possible connection seems to be shown between the *Ištar Prayer*, the *Syncretistic Hymn to Ištar*, and the bilingual composition called the *Exaltation of Ištar*, because they share entire verses, and all of them are centred around the goddess Ištar. Whether there is a direct connection between them, or whether they merely reuse stock phrases related to the goddess that also appear in other hymns or prayers, cannot be known.

The *Šamaš Hymn* is perhaps the text in the corpus under consideration that shows the greatest number of intertextual parallels with other texts.[57] The connections with the series *Šurpu* and some wisdom texts (e.g. Counsels of Wisdom)[58] lead to the hypothesis, as suggested by Lambert,[59] that this composition had gone through various stages of rewriting, possibly involving the addition of a hymnic frame to an original wisdom core. The first link between the *Šamaš Hymn* and the series *Šurpu* seems to be a recurring stock phrase, rather than a specific parallel: the phrase *šūt ulla pīšunu* in Šamaš, which shows correspondence with *Šurpu* II, is likely an idiomatic expression, perhaps found here in a shortened form.[60] The second connection between the *Šamaš Hymn* and *Šurpu* II, the motif of the dishonest merchant, is attested in other Akkadian prayers, even showing a Hittite parallel, and thus should not be regarded as specific to the *Šamaš Hymn*.

Similar observations can be made regarding the expression borrowed from divinatory texts, as attested in the *Nabû Prayer*: formulations derived from the language of omens can be observed in Akkadian literary texts as recurring tropes, so this parallel must be interpreted in this sense.[61]

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57 Lambert 1960, 123, with a list of other intertextual parallels noted by Lambert.

58 See also the possible allusion to some lines of the *Šamaš Hymn* in the *Dialogue of Pessimism*, as noted by Hurowitz 2007, 33-6.

59 Lambert 1960, 123.

60 The epigrammatic nature of the couplet to which this phrase belongs (*Šamaš Hymn*, ll. 124-5) suggests that the original formula might have been longer. In fact, the meaning of the verse, as preserved in the hymn, is quite obscure, but it can be explained with the help of the *Commentary on Tummu bītu, Šurpu* II:

[39]*a-na an-na ul-la iq-bu-u*

[40]*a-na ul-la an-na iq-bu-u*

[41]*ma-ʿa aʾ-na qa-bi-ti la qa-bi-tu iq-ta-bi*

[42][(*ma-a*) *a-na*] ʿ*la*ʾ *qa-*ʿ*bi*ʾ-[*ti*?] *qa-bi-tu iq-ta-bi*

[39]"(Who) said no instead of yes [40]and said yes instead of no" (*Šurpu* II 6) – [41]this means, he said nothing about things better be spoken of, [41] and he said something [about] things better not be sp[oken of] (?), see Frahm 2018. On this truncated stock phrase, see also Lambert 1960, 322. On the phenomenon of truncated or abbreviated phrases, often attested in wisdom texts, and in particular within proverb collections, see also Cohen 2013, 83 and 106.

61 On the phenomenon of borrowings from omen series in Akkadian literary texts, see Foster 2005, 23-4, with fn. 2 for further references.

Some of the parallels shown, such as those between the two hymns to Gula, are fairly dissimilar, sharing only a short phrase or a rare word (e.g. *arû* in the Gula hymns quoted). In cases where the only common elements are one word or just a few, such as epithets like the phrase *ēpišat nikkassī*, it becomes difficult to postulate direct dependence from one text to the other, especially when the texts involved concern the same deity. However, a case of direct contact is likely represented by the obscure word *abušin*, found in both *Marduk*1 and *Marduk*2, which further serves as a direct link to lexical sources (see *infra*, § 4.2.3).

An undeniable parallel between texts, finally, is the citation of the *Šamaš Hymn* in the Medical Commentary. Clearly, in this context, the commentary is secondary to the literary composition, using it to support explanations of rare words.[62]

4.2 The *Great Hymns and Prayers* and the Lexicon

The use of exceptionally rare words, in some cases even *hapax legomena* or terms found mainly in lexical lists, is one of the distinguishing features of the *Great Hymns and Prayers* as highly literary and learned compositions. Being an integral part of scribal training, lexical texts were taught alongside literary works and other scholarly compositions, such as incantations. The transmission and memorisation of lists in combination with texts of different genres allowed for meaningful overlaps and intertextuality between the sources. Numerous studies, examining the connections between lexical, literary and scholarly texts, demonstrate the existence of these relationships. In accordance with this phenomenon, the *Great Hymns and Prayers* also show linguistic connections with lexical sources through the inclusion of individual words or word sequences that appear in the lexicon.

4.2.1 The Mesopotamian Lexical Lists and Their School Context

The scholarly approach to the Mesopotamian lexical lists has undergone many changes since von Soden's first comprehensive study on the lexical tradition in his well-known essay *Leistung und Grenze sumerischer und babylonischer Wissenschaft*.[63] Von Soden depicts the lexical lists as a primitive attempt to classify the world. His interpretation, has influenced numerous studies, and the term

62 Frahm 2011, 102-7.

63 Von Soden 1936.

Listenwissenschaft, first used by von Soden to define the Sumero-Akkadian practice of expressing knowledge through lists, has entered the vocabulary of modern Assyriology.[64]

Many scholars considered the Mesopotamian lexica as a reflection of reality, an almost pre-scientific catalogue of the world.[65] However, recent studies have proved how the pejorative assumption inherent in the concept of *Listenwissenschaft* should be dismissed, in favour of a different perception of the Mesopotamian lexical tradition that stresses the value of lists as a form of scholarship.[66]

The lexical lists represented more than simple dictionaries or naïve folk-taxonomies, and should be understood as instruments to order, classify and transmit lore.[67] The list-format is the standard structure of cuneiform scholarly inquiry, underlying all the different branches of Mesopotamian knowledge, from language and literature, to divination and legal practice.[68]

Lexical and literary texts derive from the same social and intellectual context, namely the scribal school, and this can explain the numerous interdependencies between the lexical and the literary genre. In the standard Old Babylonian curriculum, the study of lexical lists preceded that of Sumerian language and literature: in the first phase students would acquire familiarity with difficult signs and rare words belonging to the vocabulary of literary Sumerian, which was the subject of study in the advanced phase of education. Only highly educated scribes, who belonged to the social elite, would be imparted advanced linguistic and literary knowledge in Sumerian.[69]

The process of text elaboration was probably based on both copying and memorisation, yet also permitting a certain degree of innovation.[70] The fluid nature of lists, which could be changed and manip-

64 Veldhuis 2014, 19-23; Van de Mieroop 2015, 64-45; Crisostomo 2019a, 47-8. Cf. also Van de Mieroop 2018, esp. 24-6.

65 See for example Larsen 1987 and Cancik-Kirschbaum 2010; cf. Crisostomo 2019a, 48.

66 Hilgert 2009; Van de Mieroop 2015, 220-4; Crisostomo 2019a, 46-50.

67 Crisostomo 2019a, 49. Cf. Oppenheim 1978. Cf. also Crisostomo 2018 for the hermeneutical process inherent lexical lists, especially the translations.

68 Van de Mieroop 2015 and 2018, 25.

69 Michalowski 2012. Cf. Crisostomo 2016, 123.

70 Crisostomo 2016, 122-3. On memorisation within the scribal curriculum, see Delnero 2012; cf. also Jiménez 2022, 11, 23-4 for evidence of memorisation in the school tablets from Nippur. Archaic lexical lists were faithfully transmitted for many centuries, to the extent that some lists dating back to the third millennium BCE remained nearly intact until the beginning of the Old Babylonian period. An example of this conservatism is the list of professions defined by Assyriologists as ED *Lú* A, which includes titles and occupations that no longer existed at the beginning of the third millennium BCE (see Veldhuis 2010, 382-3). Veldhuis explains that copying these obsolete lexical texts, sometimes relics of social contexts that had changed completely, can be seen as

ulated, allowed borrowings from different sources, including literary ones; similarly, literary compositions could be informed by lexical texts and include words taken from lists.[71]

An investigation of the intertextual relationships between the lexicon and literature can shed light on the central role played by lists in both scribal education and also, in particular, in the composition of literary texts. Furthermore, a closer look at the interaction between the two corpora can also enhance the comprehension of the literary compositions themselves: on the one hand, it can provide helpful parallels and allow restorations of broken passages, on the other, it can improve our understanding of language and poetry. In fact, lists are closely related to the rhetorical device of enumeration that represents one of the most common stylistic features of Ancient Near Eastern poetry, also often found within the corpus of the *Great Hymns and Prayers*. This group of texts seems to display numerous connections with the lexical lists, as not only is this corpus characterised by the usage of special and learned words explained in the lists, but also because it occasionally employs enumerations of sets of lemmata that appear identical in the lexical sources.

4.2.2 Lexicon and Literature: Previous Studies

The interdependency between lists and literature has been the subject of investigation of numerous studies, the majority of which focused on texts written in Sumerian.

Miguel Civil first identified the element linking lexical and literary texts, namely the enumeration.[72] This poetical device consists of a list of words that may follow a specific thematic order or be arranged in

a way of preserving cultural and ideological heritage, maintaining continuity with the Sumerian past within the Akkadian context. Furthermore, Veldhuis identifies a watershed in the history of lexical tradition, highlighting that the characteristic feature of Akkadian lexical texts (from the Old Babylonian period onwards) is their extreme variability and flexibility, see Veldhuis 2010, 379; cf. also 2014, 223-5, Crisostomo 2016, 138 and Civil 2011, 229. In fact, fluidity, as well as a certain degree of intertextuality, is a general characteristic of lexicons, not only observed in Mesopotamian lists but also, for example, in Greek lexicography. In his study on Atticist lexica, for example, Vessella (2018, 16) comments as follows: "lexica tend to be the compilations of material coming from pre-existing lexica. The filiation between texts is often very intricate, and heavily characterised by cross-contamination between different branches of the same tradition, or sharing of the same sources". The reason why lexica undergo numerous modifications lies in their purpose: unlike literary texts, lexica serve not only scholarly functions but primarily practical ones, i.e. education. This means they can be enhanced and adapted for better usability (see Vessella 2018, 15-18).

71 Veldhuis 1997, 126-9; Crisostomo 2016; Cavigneaux 1985, 4.

72 Civil 1987.

an apparently chaotic catalogue (the so-called chaotic enumeration).[73] Whereas lists in lexical texts served pedagogical purposes, lists in literature are embedded in the text, and their scope is to convey a sense of completeness.[74]

As noted by Rubio, several Early Dynastic compositions seem to sit halfway between lexical lists and poetry.[75] The zà-mí hymns, for example, include two or three line long litanies composed of lists of cities and divine names, followed by the hymnic formula zà-mí 'be praised'.[76]

In his study on the relationship between the lexicon and Sumerian literature, Civil has brought attention to the occurrence of sets of lexical terms within various Sumerian literary compositions. He shows, for example, that in "Home of the Fish" or in "Feeding Dumuzi's Sheep" the lexical lemmata are encased in fixed formulas and followed by a short explanatory comment; the formulas, together with their comments, are in turn included in a broader frame, which forms the narrative context. Civil hypothesised that the comments on the lexical terms could derive from Early Dynastic lexical texts.[77]

A similar case of overlapping between literature and lexicography has been investigated by Veldhuis, who examined the Sumerian text labelled by modern scholars as "Nanše and the Birds".[78] This composition is constituted for the most part of a catalogue of bird names and their description, representing another example of the 'enumeration literature' previously defined by Civil. Veldhuis convincingly showed that the majority of bird names found in the text (79%) were also itemised in the Early Dynastic birds list, although the terms found in the literary composition are not listed in the same order in which they appear in the lexical sources.[79]

One example of exact correspondence between the lemmata listed in a lexical text and those enumerated in a literary text is provided by the Old Babylonian Sumerian hymn to Inana known as In-nin-šà-gur-ra$_4$. As Michalowski has demonstrated, the learned

73 For a study on the chaotic enumeration, see Spitzer 1945. Cf. Wasserman 2021 for possible examples of chaotic enumerations in Akkadian literature.

74 Wasserman forthcoming, 9. Merismus is another possible rhetorical strategy used to express totality in Akkadian literature, see Wasserman 2003.

75 Rubio 2003, 203-6.

76 Rubio 2003, 205; cf. Krecher 1992.

77 Civil 1987, esp. 37.

78 Veldhuis 2004.

79 Moreover, according to Veldhuis's study, most of the birds names used in the Sumerian proverbs match those appearing in OB Ura (see Veldhuis 2004, 95-8).

lexical series e r i m$_2$-ḫ u š = *anantu* (MSL 17)[80] contains direct quotations from I n - n i n š à - g u r - r a$_4$: l. 157 of the hymn is quoted in *Erimḫuš* I 280-3, and l. 159 appears in *Erimḫuš* II 1-5. Furthermore, the two texts share a similar vocabulary, often employing the same rare words, a trait that also suggests a strong interdependency between the genres.[81]

Analysing the lexical similarities between three curricular lists and various Sumerian compositions, Crisostomo illustrated other cases of intertextual relationship. His study indicates that two hymns belonging to the so-called Enḫeduanna corpus share a high number of lemmata with *Izi*, and that the Sumerian Proverbs collection employs some extremely rare sign values, only ever attested in the sign list *Ea*.[82] In addition, Crisostomo also noted that the word list L ú - a z l a g and two Sumerian dialogues ("A Father and his Perverse Son", also known as Eduba B, and the "Dialogue between two scribes") contain the same set of insults, listed precisely in the same sequence. More entries of L ú - a z l a g appear in other Eduba texts and dialogues, a fact that implies a strong correlation between the lexical and literary corpora.[83]

Löhnert has also drawn attention to a sequence of words enumerated in a *balaĝ* prayer: she noticed that the text contains a set of lexical terms for doors, which appears identical in a later literary composition and in the Proto-*Kagal* list.[84]

Learned lemmata used in a literary text can depend on multiple lexical texts from various periods. The list of plant names found in a passage of Enki and Ninḫursaĝa (ll. 190-221)[85] seems to rely on various lexical sources: the a-tu-tu plant, for example, is elsewhere attested only in the *Uruanna* list of plants (see *CAD* A/2 522 sub *atutu*), and the *amḫāra* plant is a medical plant attested, besides in Enki and Ninḫursaĝa, only in Ura = *ḫubullu* XVII (MSL 10, 84, 50; 117, 16; 120, 16).[86]

80 See also the recent edition of some manuscripts with an introduction to the series in Hrůša, Weiershäuser 2020, 8-11 and 103-36.

81 Michalowski 1998.

82 Crisostomo 2016, 133-5; for the connections between literary texts and the list *Izi*, see also Crisostomo 2019a, 195. For other correlations between lists and Sumerian proverbs, see Krebernik 2004 and Crisostomo 2019b. Cf. also the observation by Tinney in Veldhuis 2014, 209.

83 Crisostomo 2016, 136; cf. Veldhuis 2014, 164; see also Böck 1999, 55.

84 Löhnert 2009, 214-15.

85 The order of the lines follows the online *Oxford Electronic Corpus of Sumerian Literature* (http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/).

86 Katz 2008, 330-1; Johnson (2015, 3-4) observes that this section of Enki and Ninḫursaĝa is a good example of the process of entextualisation, namely the modification of a discourse and the creation of a text decontextualised from its prior setting (for the notion of entextualisation, cf. Silverstein, Urban 1996, esp. 21).

The phenomenon of interrelation of the lexicon and literary compositions has also been detected in Akkadian sources. In his edition of *Malku* = *šarru*, Ivan Hrůša provided examples of possible connections between the synonym list and numerous Akkadian literary texts of different genres, further stressing the relevance of the list *Malku* in the process of writing and composing works of literature.[87]

Among the examples offered by Hrůša, there are two that illustrate that *Malku* was well-known to the authors of commentaries. Indeed both the commentaries on *Ludlul* and on the *Babylonian Theodicy* contain words explained through the same equations provided by *Malku*, e.g. in the commentary on the *Theodicy*, the word *sattukku* 'regular offering', is equated, as in *Malku*, to: *gi-nu-ú šá* DIĜIR, namely 'present (*ginû*) of the gods'.[88]

Other texts that seem to use *Malku* as a source are some Neo-Assyrian inscriptions of Sargon II, which display rare words and expressions elsewhere attested only in the synonym list (e.g. *muʾāru* 'man', following *Malku* I 167: *muʾāru* = *eṭlu*).[89]

The fifth tablet of the Standard Babylonian version of the *Gilgameš Epic* includes an extensive enumeration of wind names (ll. 137-41), which depends on a list in *Malku* III 180-206.[90] In addition, SB *Gilgameš* contains further borrowings from the lexical sources: the portion of the text involving the mourning of Enkidu (tablet V, ll. 16-17), for example, includes a catalogue of wild animals which closely resembles a passage of Ura = *ḫubullu* VII.[91]

SB *Gilgameš* V, ll. 16-17:

16 *lib-ki-ku asu bu-ṣu nim-ru mìn-di-n[u lu-l]i-mu du-ma-mu*
17 [*nēšu r]i-mu a-a-lu tu-ra-ḫu bu-lum u* [*nam-ma*]*š-šu-ú šá* EDIN
16 May the bear mourn you, the hyena, panther, cheetah, stag and jackal,
17 the lion, wild bull, deer, ibex, the herds and animals of the wild![92]

87 Hrůša 2010, esp. 16-18.

88 Hrůša 2010, 17; cf. Jiménez 2017b. Moreover, the *Theodicy* Commentary provides many further evidences of the strong correlation with the synonym list: l. 16 of the commentary, for example, quotes directly from *Malku* IV 196-8: *ta-ḫa-na-˹tú˺* [: *ta-li-mat: a-zi*]-˹*ba-tú*˺: *ú-sat*, "'Help' (*taḫanātu*) = 'succour', 'support' mean 'assistance'". See Jiménez 2017b.

89 Hrůša 2010, 17.

90 Hrůša 2010, 16-18.

91 See Weiershäuser, Hrůša 2018. Cf. Wasserman 2021, 63.

92 George 2003, 651-2.

Ḫḫ XIV, 48, 63, 75-76, 146-8:

48 a m = *ri-i-mu*
63 u r = *ne₂-e-šu₂*
75 u r - š u b 5 = *min₃-di-nu*
76 u r - š u b 5 - k u d - d a = *du-ma-mu*
146 l u - l i m = *lu-li-mu*
147 s i - m u l = *a-a-lu*
148 d u r a ḫ = *tu-ra-ḫu*[93]

In his study on poetic enumerations in Akkadian, Nathan Wasserman observed that borrowings from lexical lists are present in incantations as well (e.g. the list of mountain names in the Lipšur litanies, which is dependent on Ura = *ḫubullu* XXII).[94]

Recently, Mark Weeden has proposed potential intertextual connections between SB *Gilgameš* V and the sign lists from the early second millennium BCE. Additionally, he suggested a further intertextual link between SB *Gilgameš* V and a section of OB Ura.[95]

One notable example of literary-lexical overlapping is the exposition of Marduk's names in the *Enūma eliš* VI 121-VII 136. As convincingly demonstrated by Lambert, the fifty names of Marduk exhibit significant similarities with the god list An = *Anum*.[96]

Literary enumerations in the Akkadian language that exhibit parallels with lexical sources can, in certain cases, be regarded as standard sets. For instance, the enumeration of winds in *Malku* can be considered a fixed group, as it is attested in multiple sources, including literary and lexical texts, as well as incantations.[97] Ehelolf was the first scholar to analyse this phenomenon, particularly in Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual dictionaries.[98] He identified word length as the organising principle behind these fixed sequences, that is, the terms occurring in these standard sets seem to be listed from the one with the fewest number of syllables to the one with the most. Ehelolf also noted that standard sets were likely memorised by scribes.[99] The structure of these sequences of semantically related

93 Weiershäuser, Hrůša 2018, 145-6 and 149.

94 Wasserman 2021, 62. For *Ḫḫ* XXII Weiershäuser, Hrůša 2018.

95 Weeden 2021.

96 Lambert 2013, 149-54.

97 See the note on ll. 16-17 of the *Ištar Prayer* (chapter 3): the same sequence is found in incantations.

98 Ehelolf 1916.

99 Ehelolf 1916, 25.

words had a certain rhythm that probably facilitated memorisation.[100] This practice exemplifies the type of 'infrastructural' intertextuality mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Having learned these fixed sequences of lemmas by heart, scribes would then repeat the same sets in other texts, including literary compositions, either consciously or unconsciously (i.e. automatically).

As can be seen from the previous examples, it is possible to identify two main types of interdependency between lexical and literary texts, one that involves the device of enumeration, which we shall call 'Type A', and another that results from the use of the same rare lemmata in both corpora, 'Type B'. In the first case (Type A), the intertextual connections can be determined by:

1. An identical enumeration: the lexical and the literary text contain the same list of lemmata, enumerated in the exact same sequence (as is the case of Lú-azlag and the Eduba texts and dialogues, or the list of the winds found in *Gilgameš* and in *Malku*).
2. A similar enumeration: the lexical and the literary text contain a list of lemmata which occasionally overlap; that is, the same terms might occur in both corpora, but they might appear in a different order (as for example in "Nanše and the Birds").
3. An enumeration lacking the hypotext:[101] the literary text contains an enumeration of lemmata which closely resembles a list of lexical items, although there appears to be no corresponding lexical counterpart. In other words, such enumerations seem to draw from lexical sources, yet lack an actual lexical parallel (as with the "Home of the Fish" or "Feeding Dumuzi's Sheep").[102]

The second type of interdependence (Type B) concerns the shared use of a special vocabulary, i.e. rare terms attested exclusively in the lexical lists and in the literary compositions (such as the plant

100 Poebel 1914, 254.

101 I use here the definition coined by Genette 1997, 5, related to the notion of hypertextuality: "By hypertextuality I mean any relationship uniting a text B (which I call the hypertext) to an earlier text A (I shall, of course, call it the hypotext), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not a commentary. […] To view things differently, let us posit the general notion of a text in the second degree […]: i.e. a text derived from another pre-existent text". Cf. also Jiménez for the concept of hypotext within a discourse involving intertextuality as applied to the Akkadian literature (Jiménez 2017a, 80).

102 Cf. Johnson 2019, 17: "As always, Civil wisely avoids making any general statements about the generative properties of the process of enumeration, and at least in part, this is due to the fact that we do not have explicit textual precursors that demonstrate this type of derivational process. Stated somewhat differently, for the most part, we do not have the thematically driven lexical lists that would have served as direct written sources for the type of enumerations that Civil hypothesised".

names in Enki and Ninḫursaĝa, the shared vocabulary between the Enḫeduanna texts and the *Izi* list, or the rare words found in the above mentioned inscription of Sargon, also attested in *Malku*).

Similar cases of intertextuality can be detected within the corpus of the *Great Hymns and Prayers*. In the following paragraph, some examples of contact between these texts and the lexical lists will be provided.

4.2.3 The *Great Hymns and Prayers* and the Lexicon: Intertextual Connections

While the precise *Sitz im Leben* of the *Great Hymns and Prayers* texts is unknown, it is clear that they belonged to a scholarly context. Their importance within the stream of literary tradition is confirmed by the abundance of sources, many of which are school tablets,[103] a fact that proves that at least some of these texts had a wide circulation and were used in the scribal education.[104]

The extensive use of this group of texts in the scribal schools can explain the numerous intertextual connections between this corpus and the lexicon. In some manuscripts, passages of the *Great Hymns and Prayers* are preserved together with lexical lists, as for example BM 36296+BM 38070, which contains on the obverse the first seven lines of the *Šamaš Hymn*, immediately followed by a portion of Ura = *ḫubullu* XV (MSL 9, 10).[105]

The *Great Hymns and Prayers* present the types of intertextual relationship with the lexical corpus that have been described in the previous paragraph: they often contain literary enumerations, which in some cases correspond precisely to lists of terms in the lexical sources, together with special, high-register words, attested and explained in the lists.

As will be seen in the few examples provided below, several enumerations found in the *Great Hymns and Prayers* can be regarded as standard sets.[106]

103 For a list of the manuscripts see chapter 1, § 1.2.2.

104 Their exact date of composition is unknown, though there are indications that at least one of these texts (*Marduk*1) had been copied since the Old Babylonian period, and continued to be transmitted until the third century BCE, see Oshima 2011, 138 and Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 155 and fn. 4. Cf. the remarks of Lambert 1960, 122 on the possible date of composition of the *Šamaš Hymn*, also preserved in numerous school tablets.

105 Weiershäuser, Hrůša 2018, 112-16. See George, Taniguchi 2019, 8. There are numerous cases of these texts being copied on school tablets, together with extracts from lexical lists, cf. George, Taniguchi 2019, 4-8 and cf. also chapter 1, § 1.2.2.

106 See infra, the set of words for 'cold' in the Great Šamaš hymn, as already highlighted by Landsberger (1949, 156-7), and the words for 'supplication' in the *Ištar Prayer*, for example.

Additionally, while the use of a complex lexicon, primarily sourced from lexical texts, is not a unique characteristic of the examined compositions, it is commonly found in various literary texts, including the Old Babylonian Hymns and certain wisdom texts (cf. below the Appendix). Nevertheless, specific rare lemmas within the *Great Hymns and Prayers* suggest a more direct and intimate relationship with the lexicon. These instances indicate a closer interconnection between the hymns and prayers and the lexical sources.

4.2.3.1 Identical or Similar Enumerations

An identical enumeration is found for example in the *Šamaš Hymn*, as it contains a set of synonyms for 'cold' that resembles a passage in *Antagal* I, col. i 8'-11' (MSL 17, 231),[107] cf. also *Erimḫuš* VI 71-4 (MSL 17, 83, 71-4):[108]

***Šamaš Hymn*:**

181 *mu-šal-biš ku-ṣu ḫal-pa-a šu-ri-pa šal-gi*
181 Who covers (the earth) with cold, frost, ice, (and) snow.[109]

***Antagal* I:**

8' en-te-[na(?)] IZI+A = [*ku-uṣ-ṣu*]
9' u d - š ú - u š - r u = [*ḫal-pu-ú*]
10' a-⌜ma⌝-gi a m a g i (MÙŠ×A+DI) = ⌜*šu*⌝-*ri*-⌜*pu*⌝
11' A šе-eg AN = *šal-gu*

Within the same hymn, the couplet immediately following includes a list of terms related to the door and its parts, the majority of which occur in a section of Ura = *ḫubullu* V:

***Šamaš Hymn*:**

182 *pe-tu-ú* ABUL *sik-kur* AN-*e muš-pal-ku-u da-lat da-ád-me*
183 *mu-še-lu-ú up-pu up-pi sik-ka-ta nam-za-qí áš-kut-ta*

107 For the restoration of this passage, see Landsberger 1934b, 248; cf. also Landsberger 1949, 156-7 on the 'stereotypical' sequence *ḫalpû šurīpu šalgu*.

108 Cf. Hrůša, Weiershäuser 2020, 123.

109 Lambert 1960, 136-7; for the new reading, based on the recently identified fragment BM 48214+BM 48226, see the *eBL* edition Rozzi 2021a; cf. Rozzi 2023b.

182 Who opens the gate (and) the bolt of heaven, opens wide the doors of the inhabited world.
183 Who lifts the socket, the pin, the latchkey, the bolt,[110]

***Ḫḫ* V:**

270 ĝiš sa ĝ-kul = *si-ik-ku-ru*
278 ĝiš a š kud$_x$ = *áš-kut-tu*
286 ĝiš mud = *up-*[*pu*] (also 290: ĝiš e$_{11}$ = *u*[*p-pu*])
288 ĝiš ní ĝ-gag-ti = *na*[*m-za-qu*] (see also 291: ĝiš e$_{11}$ = [*na*]*m-za-qu*)[111]

Two further examples involving lists of terms that show similarities with lexical sources are found in the *Nabû Prayer* (see chapter 2 for the edition, and the note to this line in the commentary). In l. 105 two names of demons, namely the *ḫallulāju*-demon and *ilu lemnu*, are mentioned in the poetic composition. These demons also occur together in immediate succession in *Erimḫuš* I 213-15 (MSL 17, 19; cf. also the note to this line in the commentary, chapter 2).

***Nabû*:**
105 [*a*?*-šam*?*-š*]*á-niš ḫal-lu-la-a-a* DIĜIR *lem-ni ta-x* [x x]
105 [Like a wh]irlwind, the Hallulāyu-demon, the evil god you… […]

***Erimḫuš* I:**

213 maškim$_2$ gi$_6$ lu$_2$-har-ra-an = *ḫal-lu-la-a-a,*
214 maškim$_2$ gi$_4$ a-ri-a = *šá-niš* MIN
215 diĝir ki-šu tag-ga nu-tuku = DIĜIR *lem-nu*

Ll. 176 and 178 of the same text display a vocabulary that seems to rely on a set of four entries found in *Malku* (*Malku* II 128-31; cf. the commentary on these lines in chapter 2): the rare terms *šuršurru* and *ḫinzūru* appear together in l. 176 of the prayer, forming a genitive chain. The two words also occur in *Malku*, in immediate succession (*Malku* II 128-9):

110 The Late Babylonian fragment BM 48214, only recently identified, allows now to restore this couplet (ll. 182-3) completely, cf. the *eBL* edition of the text in Rozzi 2021a; 2023b; cf. Lambert 1960, 136-7.

111 Weiershäuser, Hrůša 2018, 86-7; MSL 6, 30. The word *sikkatu* is itemised independently in *Ḫḫ* VI 120, nevertheless it is listed very often in *status constructus* in *Ḫḫ* V, e.g. 287 ĝiš gag mud = *sik-kàt up-pi*, ĝiš gag ní ĝ-gag-ti = *sik-kàt* KI.MIN for *sikkat namzāqi*.

***Nabû Prayer*:**

[176]*še-e-ru re-ṣu-ti-ia šur-šú-ru ḫi-in-zur-ru*
[176]My morning aid, the fruits of the apple-tree

***Malku* II:**

[128]*šur-šur-ru* = *n*[*u- úr*ʔ*-mu*ʔ*-ú*ʔ]
[129]*ḫi-in-zu-ru* = *ḫaš-ḫu-ru*
[128]*šuršurru*-fruit = Pomegranate
[129]Apple-tree = Apple, Apple-tree[112]

Moreover, the occurrence of the terms *alamittu* and *mar* in l. 179 recalls *Malku* II 130-1:

***Nabû*:**

[179]*a-la-mit-tu*$_4$ *ú-ḫe-en-šá da-da-riš ma-a-*[*ar*]
[179]The early fruit of the date-palm is bit[ter] like stinkwort.

***Malku* II:**

[130]*mar-ra-tú* = *gi-šim-ma-ri*
[131]*a-la-mit-tu*$_4$ = MIN
[130]"The bitter one" = Datepalm
[131]*alamittu*-palm = *ditto*[113]

The *Nabû Prayer* contains yet another element that might be derived from lexical sources. L. 183 shows an expression which is attested both in the Assyrian commentary m u r - g u d = *imrû* = *ballu* and in the list of medical ingredients u r u - a n - n a = *maštakal* (also compare the note in chapter 2 on this line in the commentary):

***Nabû*:**

[183][*m*]*u-ú-ṣu šá lìb-bi ú-ru-la-ti-šú ik-kib* DINGIR.MEŠ *ka-la-ma ana* UN.MEŠ x [x]
[183]The discharge of his foreskin is an abomination to all the gods and [common] to the people.

112 Hrůša 2010, 60-1 and 341.

113 Hrůša 2010, 60-1 and 341.

HgB (commentary to *Ḫḫ* XV; MSL 9, 35, 70):

70 uzu*mu-ú-ṣu* = *šá* ŠÀ *ú-ru-la-ti-šú*: *pap-pal-tú šá bir-ki* LÚ
70discharge = that of the inside of his urethra (that is), discharge of the man's penis.[114]

***Uruanna* III (MSL 10, 70, 32):**

171 na4*mu-ṣu šá* (var. ŠÀ) *u₂-ru-la-ti-šú: pap-pal-tu šá* GÌŠ NAM.LÚ.U_{18}.LU = calculus of his urethra, (that is) discharge of men's penis.[115]

Such an expression seems more suitable for a lexical or technical context, than for a poetic one. Furthermore, the verses preceding and following l. 183 do not deal with the same topic or a similar one, and the pronominal suffix found within this line, i.e. *-šu* in *urullātīšu*, does not seem to refer to any subject appearing within this portion of the text.

The 'agrammaticality' of this phrase, namely the discordance between this phrase and the rest of the composition, might suggest that it was borrowed from a different source.[116]

Another example of possible intertextuality is provided by the *Ištar Prayer* (see the edition in chapter 3). In ll. 16-18 the four winds are listed in the standard order, commonly found in lexical lists, and the mention of the 'side winds' which occurs after the four winds, points to a similar set in *Malku* III 197-202 (cf. the commentary on these lines in chapter 3):

***Ištar Prayer*:**

26[*petê idīki*(?) *šu*]-*bé-'e-i* IM I
27[*pīt purīdīki*(?)] *pa-ni* IM II
28[IM III IM IV(?)] IM *i-da-a-ti*
26[The spreading of your wings is the ru]sh of the South wind,
27[The opening of your legs is] the face of the North wind,
28[the East wind, the West wind], the side wind.

114 Cf. also HgD XV 75 (MSL 9, 38; Weiershäuser, Hrůša 2018, 214): [uz]u*mu-ú-ṣu* = *šá* ŠÀ ˹*ú-ru-la-ti-šú*˺: [*pap-pal-tú šá bir-ki* LÚ].

115 Cf. *CAD* U 270-1 sub *urullātu*. Compare also in Hrůša, Weiershäuser 2020, 37, *Uruanna* III 161: ˹na4˺*mu*˺-[*ṣu* NÍTA]= [na4*mu-ṣu šá* ŠÀ GÌŠ], "*mūṣu*-Stein des Mannes | *mūṣu*-Stein aus dem Inneren des Penis".

116 On the 'agrammaticality' as a sign of intertextuality, see Jiménez 2017a, 82.

***Malku* III:**

197[p i r i ĝ]-g[a l] = [*š*]*u-ú-ti*
198[p i r i ĝ-b à n]-d a = [*i*]*l-ta-nu*
199[p i r i ĝ-š]u-d u$_7$ = *ša-du-u*
200[p]i r i ĝ-n u-š u-d u$_7$ = *a-m*[*u*]*r-ru*
201i m-t i-l a = *šá-a-ri ṣ*[*e*]*-li*
202i m-t i-l a = MIN *i-da-a-t*[*i*][117]

Compare, moreover, *The Practical Vocabulary of Assur*, 19'-22', which also uses numbers for the ideograms of the winds.[118]

In addition, the *Ištar Prayer* also shows a case of identical enumeration:

246[*su*]-*up-pu-ú su-*⌜*ul*⌝-[*lu-u šu-te-m*]*u-qu ku-um-ma* ^{d}*iš-tar*
246Supplication, petition, prayer are yours, O Ištar!

The terms *suppû* and *sullû* form a well-known fixed pair, but a few lexical sources also add *šutēmuqu* to the sequence, thus forming a standard set (e.g. *Aa* V/III 43-5; MSL 14, 422; see the note on this line in the commentary in chapter 3 for further lexical references).

The prayer to Marduk labelled *Marduk*1 by scholars also seems to display an intertextual connection with *Malku*: ll. 21-4 employ a group of synonyms for 'intelligence' that resembles a similar set itemised in the synonym list (*Malku* IV 119-20):[119]

***Marduk*1:**

21/23*be-lu*$_4$/^{d}AMAR.UTU *at-ta-ma* [*mu-du*]*-ú ta-šim-ti*
22/24*šá mil-ka ru-up-pu-šá* [*ši-t*]*u-lu ir-šu*
21/23Lord, you are the [one who know]s intelligence,
22/24The one who gained profound advice and [con]sultation.[120]

***Malku* IV:**

119*ta-šim-tu*$_4$ = *mil-ku*
120*ši-tul-tu*$_4$ = MIN
119intelligence = advice
120consultation = *ditto*[121]

117 Hrůša 2010, 88-9, 237 and 374.

118 See Hrůša, Weiershäuser 2020, 47; Landsberger, Gurney 1958, 334; cf. Lambert 1959-60, 50.

119 Cf. Oshima 2011, 174 and *CAD* T 288 sub *tašīmtu* A, lex. sec.

120 I follow here Oshima 2011, 144, 158-9.

121 Hrůša 2010, 100-1, 244 and 386.

Cf. also the word group in *Antagal* A 200-3 (MSL 17, 188): *ṭè-e-mu, mil-ku, ši-tul-tu*$_4$, *ta-šim-tu*$_4$.

In *Queen of Nippur*, the goddess Ištar is invoked under numerous names, many of which are rare and mostly attested in lexical lists.[122] One couplet in particular (col. iii, 57-8) mentions two names of the goddess that also occur together in a god list (Lambert, Winters 2023, 288; cf. CT 25, pl. 30 i 22-3):

***Queen of Nippur*:**

57 ᵈ*mi-nu-ú-an-ni ek-de-tú pu-luḫ-tu*
58 ᵈ*mi-nu-ú-ul-la e-li-ia-tú šá-lum-mat bu-ri*
57Minû-anni, fierce with terror,
58Minû-ulla, the lofty, the splendour of the Bull-Calf.[123]

Shorter An = *Anum* Section H:

42 ᵈ*mi-nu-an-n*[*i*]
43 ᵈ*mi-nu-u*[*l-la*][124]

The examples provided so far have concerned the use of lists as poetic tools that can be inserted and manipulated within the literary compositions. In some cases 'identical enumerations' have been identified (as in the *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 181); other examples have illustrated enumerations in the literary texts, which only partially overlap those attested in the lexical lists (*Šamaš Hymn*, ll. 182-3). Occasionally, lexical sets can even be 'split' within the literary composition, thus losing their enumerative character (e.g. *Marduk*1).

4.2.3.2 Enumeration Lacking the Hypotext

In addition, the *Great Hymns and Prayers* also largely employ what we have defined as an 'enumeration lacking the hypotext'. For example, *Gula Bullussa-rabi* presents a couplet (ll. 40-1) containing an enumeration of lexical terms related to the semantic field of agriculture, which does not have any precise lexical parallel:

122 Lambert 1982, esp. his commentary to col. ii, ll. 18-19 and ll. 22-3 (208) and to col. iii, ll. 67-8 (213). Cf. also Földi 2021c.

123 Lambert 1982, 198-9. Cf. Földi 2021c.

124 Lambert, Winters 2023, 288 (Shorter An = *Anum* Section H 42-3).

***Gula Bullussa-rabi*:**

40 *be-let qup-pi* NUMUN ĝeš APIN *har-bu* ĝeš TUKUL *u re-di-i*
41 *mut-tab-bi-lat áš-lu am-mat* GI.MEŠ *gi-níg-da-nak-ku*
40 Mistress of basket, seed grain, plow, field plot, plowshare, and ox driver,
41 Who stretches out the measuring cord, reed cubits, and measuring rod.[125]

*Marduk*2, l. 37'' presents an enumeration of terms connected to navigation, for which no exact lexical parallel is found:

***Marduk*2:**

37'' [*ṭ*]*ur-ri kib-ri ka-a-ri né-be-ri qa-tuk-ka paq-du*
37'' My rope, bank harbour, embankment and ferry are entrusted to you.[126]

4.2.4 Lexical Interdependence

The dependence of the *Great Hymns and Prayers* on the lexical corpus is also corroborated by the occurrence of special, extremely learned words that are elsewhere found only in the lexical lists. This corresponds to what we have previously labelled as the "Type B"-interdependence, namely the lexical interdependence.

The following terms are attested exclusively or predominantly (see the term *abdu*) within the lexical lists and the *Great Hymns and Prayers*:

- *muṣallû* 'liar': *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 143[127] and *Malku* VIII 35[128] (cf. *AHw* II 678; *CAD* M/2 241);[129]
- *qunnabru* 'fetters': *Nabû Prayer*, l. 173, (cf. the edition and the commentary on this line in chapter 2), *Marduk*1, l. 61, l. 155[130] and *Malku* I 95 (cf. *AHw* II 928; *CAD* Q 306);

125 The translation used here is that of Foster, *apud* Földi 2021a. Cf. Lambert 1967, 118-19.

126 Oshima 2011, 238, 250-1.

127 Lambert 1960, 134-5; Rozzi 2021a.

128 Hrůša 2010, 140-1 and 423.

129 *CAD* considers the word as derived from *sullû* 'to pray', 'to implore'; but the meaning 'liar' could also be possible (ll. 143-4), since this verse and the following lines deal with evildoers facing the Sun-god; cf. the commentary on this line in chapter 5, § 5.2.5.1.5.

130 Oshima 2011, 147, 160-1; 154, 166-7.

- *ḫinzūru* 'apple-tree': *Nabû Prayer*, l. 176, *Malku* II 129[131] and esp. *Malku* III 210[132] (cf. *AHw* I 333-4; *CAD* Ḫ 139-40);
- *abdu* 'slave': *Nabû Prayer* ll. 104 and 150, *Ištar Prayer* l. 91 (cf. the edition of the prayer and the commentary on this line in chapter 3), *Malku* I 175[133] and *Antagal* 229 (MSL 17, 159; cf. *AHw* I 6; *CAD* A/1 52).[134]
- *abūšin* 'flood': *Marduk*1, ll. 5/7;[135] *Marduk*2, ll. 80/82 and *Malku* II 257[136] (cf. *CAD* A/1, 93a);
- *sissiru* 'granary': *Anūna Prayer*, ll. 29 and 111 and *Malku* I 273[137] (cf. *AHw* III 1038; *CAD* S 328 sub *sissiru* B);
- *gāgamu*, mng. uncertain, probably refers to a type of building: *Anūna Prayer*, l. 93 and *Malku* I 267[138] (cf. *AHw* I 273; *CAD* G 1);
- *karpaṣu* 'superb': *Gula Bullussa-rabi* l. 171[139] and Expl. *Malku* 154[140] (cf. *AHw* I 449; *CAD* K 219).

In analysing the relations between the lexicon and the literary corpus, it can be difficult to ascertain that an interdependence is in fact to be taken as such. Especially when dealing with enumerations lacking the lexical hypotexts, one has to consider the possibility that either the lexical source was lost in transmission or that there had been no lexical source at all, and the lexical-like listing inserted in the literary text should be understood as an original poetic expression.

However problematic it might be to recognise and classify intertextual connections, the examples presented above have shown that there is indeed a certain degree of correlation between the *Great Hymns and Prayers* and the lexical sources: a high level of interdependency is found especially between the literary compositions and the synonym list *Malku* = *šarru*. This confirms that *Malku* had a practical use in the composition and study of the Akkadian literary texts,

131 Hrůša 2010, 60-1 and 341.

132 Hrůša 2010, 182-3 and 452.

133 Hrůša 2010, 42-3 and 313.

134 This word is also attested in a literary letter to a god, l. 14: *ab-du pa-li-ḫu* (Kraus 1983, 205-9). Interestingly, the same letter features a parallel with l. 30 of *Marduk*1: *ša ar-hiš na-ap-šu-ru ba-*[*šu-ú it-ti-šu*], "The one from whom forgiveness arrives swiftly", cf. Oshima 2011, 158-9.

135 Oshima 2011, 142, 158-9, 171-2; cf. Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 167, 169 and 173.

136 Hrůša 2010, 18, 70-1, 223-4, 352.

137 Hrůša 2010, 50-1 and 324.

138 Hrůša 2010, 48-9 and 323.

139 Lambert 1967, 126-7 and 132.

140 Hrůša 2010, 158-9 and 435.

and was not a mere scholarly collection of learned lemmata.[141]

Although in most cases it is impossible to ascertain whether it was the literary text using the lexicon as a source of inspiration or *vice versa*, there are instances where the direction of the process is clear. The case of [*m*]*u-ú-ṣu šá lìb-bi ú-ru-la-ti-šú* in line 182 of the *Nabû Prayer* (see above), for example, indicates that the author of the composition very likely relied on the lexical source and used it to create the text.

The difficult word *abūšin* (see above, in *Marduk*1 and *Marduk*2), on the contrary, probably reflects the opposite situation: Lambert explained it as a scribal mistake perhaps originated from an original *abūruk* (derived from *abāru* 'to be strong'), written *a-bu*-RUK and misinterpreted by the scribes copying the prayer, who understood the form as *a-bu*-ŠIN. This would have led to the various corrupted forms attested in the manuscripts of *Marduk*1 (i.e. BM 45476: *a-bu-ši-in* (l. 5) and *a-bu-si-in* (l. 7), BM 76492: *a-bu*-ŠIN) and in *Marduk*2 (BM 55300: ˹*a-bu-šin*˺, ll. 80/82), and then eventually to the peculiar entry in *Malku* II 257 *a-bu-ši-in/šin*.[142] Lamberts's hypothesis, however, should now be dismissed, due to the identification of a school tablet from the Kassite period (HS 1895), which duplicates *An* VIII 75-85 on its reverse side; HS 1895 features the following reading (rev. l. 17): *a-bu-ši-im* = *a-bu-bu*.[143] This suggests that the mistaken reading of RUK as ŠIN must have occurred in a period preceding the Kassite era. However, as pointed out by Jiménez in the first edition of this fragment,[144] the spelling RUK is unlikely to be found in an Old Babylonian or early Kassite manuscript.[145] Furthermore, the Cassite school tablet shows the ending *-im*, and not *-in*. The word *a-bu-ši-im/in* seems therefore to be an actual word, whose exact meaning still evades us, possibly featuring a non-Akkadian ending. It can be hypothesised, in this case, that the direction of the intertextual connection probably shifted from the literary composition to the lexical texts, in which lexicographers itemised and explained the obscure term *abūšin/im*.[146]

Lexical and literary texts were integral parts of the scribal education, and were both used in the production of texts. Indeed scribes

141 Hrůša 2010, 18; cf. Edzard 2007, 24, who understands the synonym list *Malku* as a purely theoretical product of intellectual lucubrations.

142 Hrůša 2010, 18; Lambert 2011; 2013, 473; cf. Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 173.

143 Jiménez 2022, 197, 199-200.

144 Jiménez 2022, 193-201.

145 This is because the Old Babylonian and Kassite orthographies typically preferred CV signs, whereas the use of CVC signs became more prevalent from the Middle Babylonian period onward, see Jiménez 2022, 200, with fn. 421.

146 Jiménez 2022, 200.

would use lexical lists to compose works of literature: they could, for example, creatively manipulate lists, shaping them into poetical enumerations, or select and re-use refined terms provided by the lexical sources. Similarly, scribes could extract single words or entire phrases from literary compositions and incorporate them into lexical texts, in order to collect and explain rare lemmata.[147] Lists pervade the Mesopotamian scholarship and culture so deeply that lexical and literary texts can intertwine.

This should remind modern scholars that it could be difficult to set and distinguish genres in Mesopotamia.[148] Cuneiform texts often defy western labels and categorisations, presenting problems related to authorship, purpose and context. As convincingly argued by Michalowski, Mesopotamian literature appears to be defined by a strong interweave of intertextual and intratextual references and connections, rather than by strict *taxa*.[149] The lexical and the literary, seemingly belonging to completely different literary categories, are heavily dependent on each other. Their comparison proves to be essential for the understanding and interpretation of cuneiform literary texts, shedding light on poetic techniques as well as on the process of text production and composition in scholarly contexts.

147 Cf. Crisostomo 2016, 137.

148 Vanstiphout 1986; Reiner 1992, 293; cf. Rubio 2003, 200-1. Cf. chapter 1, §.1.1.1

149 Michalowski 1999, 87-9; cf. Rubio 2003. 201.

5 Rhetorical Devices and Poetic Language of the Great Hymns and Prayers

Summary 5.1 Rhetoric in Ancient Mesopotamia. – 5.2 Rhetorical Devices in the Great Hymns and Prayers. –5.2.1 Methodological Premise. – 5.2.2 The *Great Hymns and Prayers*: Religious Rhetoric and Rhetorical Figures. – 5.2.3 Phonological Figures in the Akkadian Sources. – 5.2.3.1 Phonological Figures in the *Great Hymns and Prayers*. – 5.2.4 Syntactic Figures in the Akkadian Sources. –5.2.4.1 Syntactic Figures in the *Great Hymns and Prayers*. – 5.2.5 Semantic Figures in the Akkadian Sources. –5.2.5.1 Semantic Figures in the *Great Hymns and Prayers*. – 5.2.6 Morphological Figures in the Akkadian Sources. – 5.2.6.1 Morphological figures in the *Great Hymns and Prayers*. – 5.3 Summary.

5.1 Rhetoric in Ancient Mesopotamia

The classical canons of rhetoric[1] cannot be easily applied to the Mesopotamian context, and the word rhetoric itself might appear to be a misnomer when referred to cuneiform texts. The difficulty in investigating rhetorical features in Sumerian and Akkadian literature is

1 The earliest attestation of the term *rhētorikē* is found in Plato's *Gorgias*, but the first complete treatment of rhetoric has been provided by Aristotle, who considers it as an actual art, which allows the reinforcement of a discourse through persuasive strategies. He defines three forms of rhetoric: *ēthos*, i.e. the speaker's ability to appear credible, *logos*, i.e. the logical strength of the argument, and *pathos*, i.e. the emotional effect on the audience. The first treatise in Latin on the subject of rhetoric is Cicero's *De inventione*, in which the author describes the five canons of rhetoric, namely *inventio* (invention), *dispositio* (arrangement), *elocutio* (style), *memoria* (memory) and *actio* (delivery); the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, was probably written approximately in the same period (first century BCE), and it includes a comprehensive treatment of the rhetorical devices (*Figures*). See MacDonald 2017 for a comprehensive study of the history and development of rhetoric.

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due to multiple factors, such as the complex analysis of the metre,[2] the nature of the writing system, the problematic reconstruction of the phonology,[3] the fragmentary nature of many texts, the general anonymity of the author – and the uncertainty involved in determining the author's original purpose – and ultimately the often unknown social context in which the text was used and performed, as well as the unknown audience.[4]

Indeed, while the prevailing definition of rhetoric, namely the one found in most dictionaries and handbooks, describes it as being the 'art of persuasion', formulating a notion of rhetoric that can be universally applicable to all cultures and societies poses a significant challenge.[5] There is no absolute definition of rhetoric, and trying to situate cuneiform literature within the schemes of western cultures can lead to the misinterpretation of textual sources. Discussing rhetoric in a comparative approach, Schiappa remarks:

> 'Rhetoric' is the name of a category that is used in some but not all cultures and some but not all time periods of human history, and used in a highly variable manner when it is used. But there is no timeless essence of rhetoric, and no God's-Eye View of what rhetoric 'really is'. Furthermore, from a historiographical standpoint, we do a disservice to the differences produced in various cultures and times by attempting to reduce them to a unified (typically Greek) set of categories and terms, which is both bad history and bad manners.[6]

Cuneiform sources do not include any theoretical treatise of rhetoric comparable to those by Aristotle or Cicero. Hence, for the aim of this study, we must create a definition of Mesopotamian rhetoric

2 On the importance of metre in the interpretation of poetry, see Buccellati 1990, 108.

3 See Michalowski 1996, 144-5 on the complexities in recognising Sumerian rhetorical elements caused by the uncertainties in the phonological reconstruction of the language. It remains unclear, e.g. if, how and when the determinatives were pronounced.

4 On the difficulties in conducting a rhetorical analysis of Mesopotamian literary texts (especially Sumerian), and on the different approaches taken by modern scholars, see Black 1998, 20-49. Incidentally, similar problems are encountered by Assyriologists when trying to define genres in the Mesopotamian literature, cf. the introduction, chapter 1, § 1.1.1, cf. also chapter 4, § 4.3.3.

5 Cf. MacDonald 2017, 27 fn. 11, for this 'basic' definition of rhetoric; cf. Piccin 2022, 25-31. See MacDonald 2017, 4-6, regarding the difficulty in defining rhetoric. Moreover, MacDonald (2017, 6) remarks that: "A further difficulty in defining rhetoric is that the meaning of the English word 'rhetoric', like the Greek word *logos,* encompasses both the art of rhetoric and its products (e.g. persuasion, speeches, texts, advertisements, etc.). As a consequence, the terms 'rhetoric' and 'rhetorical' are today used to describe a baffling array of practices and artifacts, so much so that it is perhaps more appropriate to speak of 'rhetorics' than rhetoric".

6 Schiappa 2017, 35.

ourselves. The following definition, although not intended to be absolute or final, aims to be broad and flexible enough to encompass diverse genres and audiences: Mesopotamian rhetoric can be described as the ability to produce written (and possibly oral) texts that are both effective and persuasive, achieved through the deliberate use of specific techniques.[7]

There are, in fact, many indications of a conscious use of rhetorical strategies to enhance the aesthetics and the power of persuasion of the discourse.[8] And, as has often been noted, the lack of a term or systematised theory does not necessarily indicate the absence of a concept.[9] Some sources suggest that rhetorical skills were considered valuable among Mesopotamians; for instance, a Sumerian hymn to the King of Ur Šulgi contains a passage, in which the king himself declares to have taught eloquence to his generals.[10] Numerous Mesopotamian texts of various genres display rhetorical features: letters,[11] incantation texts,[12] royal inscriptions,[13] wisdom compositions (e.g. dialogues or disputation poems, proverbs)[14] and epic all provide examples of rhetoric and poetic language.[15] Also purely

7 For a similar wide-ranging definition of rhetoric, see MacDonald 2017, 5, in which rhetoric is described as the "effective composition and persuasion in speech, writing, and other media".

8 Incidentally, this idea was rejected by Landsberger in his famous essay *Die Eigenbegrifflichkeit der babylonischen Welt* (1926). The author in fact succinctly declared that "Alle Rhetorik ist dem Akkader fremd. Niemals erhebt sich der Geist des Dichters aus der realen eine höhere Welt durch gehobene Sprache. Nur durch gesteigerte Kraft lebenswahrer Darstellung, durch einfaches Anreihen von Bildern von nicht zu übertreffender Plastik wirkt der Dichter".

9 The idea that, for example, there was no concept of freedom in the Ancient Near East because there appears to be no precise word for it has been proposed by Finley 1985 and challenged by von Dassow 2011. See also Bahrani 2014 on the concept of aesthetics in Mesopotamia and van de Mieroop (2018, 20-1), who argues that a notion of philosophy comparable to that of the Greeks was present in the Mesopotamian culture, although no exact Sumerian or Akkadian term is found. Cf. also the remark by Overland 2008, 656 discussing Hebrew rhetoric: " it is axiomatic that rhetors were capable of tailoring text long before the art donned classifications supplied by Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian".

10 For this and other examples, see Sallaberger 2007 and Mittermayer 2020, 28-9, who further suggests that eloquence could have been taught in scribal schools through the Sumerian disputation poems.

11 See, for example, Sallaberger 1999, esp. 149-54 for rhetorical aspects in Old-Babylonian letters.

12 For poetical features in magic texts, see Michalowski 1981; Cooper 1996; Veldhuis 1999; Schwemer 2014; Wassernan, Zomer 2022.

13 For rhetorical figures in several Neo-Assyrian inscriptions, see e.g. Ponchia 2000.

14 See, for example, Vanstiphout 1990 and 1992 for rhetoric in Sumerian debates.

15 Hallo 2004, esp. 28-34. Sallaberger 1999, 149-54 and 2007, 70. For some remarks on the rhetorical and poetical discourses and how they intertwine, poetics being a part

scholarly texts, as, for instance, commentaries, can exhibit certain traits that might be deemed rhetorical.[16] In addition, religious poetry, i.e. hymns and prayers,[17] also lends itself to a rhetorical analysis, since it employs techniques that aim to persuade and facilitate the communication with a divine agency: the devotee expresses their faith via specific formulations and stock phrases that reflect the dynamics of power between human beings and deities, either showing trust in the divine aid or lamenting their miserable conditions ('negative rhetoric').[18] Nevertheless, there are relatively few Assyriological studies that deal with the rhetorical aspects of cuneiform literature. In contrast to Biblical studies, which has a long tradition of literary and poetical criticism,[19] modern scholarship in Assyriology mostly focuses on the study of the languages and the reconstruction of the texts. With regard to rhetoric, previous Assyriological research has been conducted on the use of specific rhetorical devices, or on the occurrence of rhetorical features within an individual text or corpus.[20]

For instance, several rhetorical devices appearing in both Sumerian and Biblical literature have been investigated by Berlin, who devoted particular attention to parallelism.[21] Building on the work of Berlin (1979, particularly p. 29), Baragli has proposed a new rhetorical figure in bilingual Sumerian literary texts: a distinctive form of chiasmus that is constructed between the Sumerian original and its Akkadian

of rhetoric, see Walker 2017, 85-96, and *infra* in this chapter.

16 See the study by Wee 2019 on the rhetorical strategies adopted by scholars in the Sa.gig commentary.

17 For a stylistic and rhetorical analysis of hymns and prayers see, for example, Mayer 1976; cf. also Zgoll 2003b; Lenzi et. al. 2011 and Frechette 2012.

18 For the contrast between positive and negative rhetorical expressions, see the study on the persuasive character of language in prayers in Lenzi 2019b, esp. 33 fn. 77; see also Mayer 1976 and see the introduction to the *Nabû Prayer* and to the *Ištar Prayer* (chapter 2, § 2.4.1 and chapter 3, § 3.4.1). Cf. also Abusch 2018, 58 discussing the persuasiveness of prayers: "As a speech, the prayer may contain various rhetorical devices, but it should convey a clear message – one without blatant gaps, inconsistencies, contradictions, etc. No less than a legal speech, a prayer is an address that tries to convince and to make a persuasive case".

19 See for example the works on Biblical poetry by Watson (1986 and 1994) or Schökel 1988; also the scholarship on Ugaritic has taken an interest in rhetorical and poetical features, see for example Pardee 1988; Segert 1983; Watson 1999 and more recently Lam 2019. For further bibliography on both Biblical and Ugaritic contributions on these subjects, cf. also Hallo 2004.

20 The below-mentioned works do not represent a complete list of Assyriological studies on the matters of poetic language and rhetoric, but are meant to provide a general idea of previous writings on this subject. Further bibliography can be found in Hallo 2004; Wasserman 2003; Foster 2005; Lenzi 2019a; Noegel 2021; Piccin 2022.

21 Berlin 1979.

translation.[22] Further writings on parallelism and its different types (e.g. synonymous, antithetic, synthetic) has recently been offered by Streck;[23] additionally, a contribution on the semantic value of parallelism in Akkadian poetry has been published by De Zorzi.[24] Trevor Donald's doctoral thesis, entirely dedicated to parallelism in Akkadian, Hebrew, and Ugaritic, deserves attention, even though it has unfortunately not been published.[25] Vogelzang focused on the device of repetition, analysing passages taken from Akkadian hymns and epic poems.[26] A linguistic and semantic study on metaphor and imagery in Akkadian was provided by Goodnick Westenholz,[27] and more recently by Wasserman, with particular regard to the Old-Babylonian corpus of literary texts.[28] Sumerian literary texts also display similes and metaphors, as shown by Heimpel in his exhaustive study on this subject.[29] Additionally, an interesting contribution on metaphor in Mesopotamian texts was recently provided by Pallavidini and Portuese.[30] Their approach is more closely aligned with recent linguistic theories, such as those of Lakoff and Johnson.[31]

Klein and Sefati observed puns in Sumerian literature,[32] while Kilmer investigated the same phenomenon in Akkadian poetry.[33]

The significant contributions that examined individual texts or group of texts include the analysis of the Sumerian composition labelled as *The Exaltation of Inanna* offered by Hallo and van Dijk, who divided the poem into rhetorical sections ('exordium', 'argument' and 'peroration'),[34] and the study by Hess on the rhetorical techniques used in the Amarna letters.[35]

Following the medieval conception of rhetoric as part of the *trivium* of the seven liberal arts (grammar, rhetoric and logic), Falkowitz

22 Baragli 2022b.

23 Streck 2007.

24 De Zorzi 2022.

25 Donald 1966.

26 Vogelzang 1996.

27 Goodnick Westenholz 1996.

28 Wasserman 1999.

29 Heimpel 1968, but cf. also the concise survey provided by Black 1998, 9-19, who addressed the same issue within his work on Sumerian poetry.

30 Pallavidini, Portuese 2020.

31 E.g. Lakoff, Johnson 1980.

32 Klein, Sefati 2000.

33 Kilmer 2000.

34 Hallo, van Dijk 1968.

35 Hess 1993 and 2003; cf. also Gewirtz 1973.

stressed on the didactic essence of rhetoric within the Sumerian culture: he understood as 'rhetoric' all the texts belonging to the Old-Babylonian scribal curriculum, as they were meant to teach the scribes how to write well: first by learning the signs and the grammar, and later by studying more complex texts including proverbs, letters and poetry. For this reason, Falkowitz coined the term 'Sumerian rhetorical collection' to define the entire collection of Sumerian proverbs that were part of the scribal curriculum.[36]

Numerous literary devices, especially alliterations, assonances and puns, have been identified by Noegel in the poem of Erra;[37] Mayer investigated the rhetoric and poetic language within the corpus of the Akkadian *šuilla* prayers,[38] and Streck offered a comprehensive study on figurative language in Akkadian Epic compositions.[39]

Wasserman's work stands out among the studies on Mesopotamian poetic language, being a detailed rhetorical analysis of Old-Babylonian literary texts; the author meticulously selected the most relevant rhetorical devices occurring in the corpus of Old-Babylonian literary compositions, i.e. hendiadys, merismus, rhyming couplets, simile, *tamyīz* and *damqam-īnim*.[40]

For the purpose of the present study, an approach similar to Wasserman's will be employed: a selected group of rhetorical devices found within the corpus of the *Great Hymns and Prayers* will be explained and illustrated through several examples borrowed from the texts.

5.2 Rhetorical Devices in the Great Hymns and Prayers

5.2.1 Methodological Premise

The study below can be considered an exercise in rhetorical criticism, meaning, as Overland describes it, "the analysis of a text's compositional artistry with an eye to audience impact", or, more generally, "the interpretive analysis of the persuasive content of a communicative event".[41] The present analysis operates on the assumption that all texts, especially (though not exclusively) literary ones, consist of the inextricable union between content and form, which mutually influence each other: each textual genre tends to display a specific

36 Falkowitz 1982, esp. 21-30; cf. Hallo 2004, 27.

37 Noegel 2011.

38 Mayer 1976. Cf. also Frechette 2012.

39 Streck 1999.

40 Wasserman 2003.

41 Leeman 2017, 2.

structuring of words and phrases, recurring motifs or formulations, depending on its use and scope,[42] and, therefore, the examination of poetic composition techniques can help understand the essence of a text itself, and not merely its aesthetic surface.[43]

Indeed, looking for particular structures and patterns, specific lexical choices, word-order, puns in meaning, and sounds can help detect elements inherent to the meaning of the text, for instance, its most significant themes and messages. It also helps the reader to grasp the impact that certain rhetorical strategies could produce on the ancient audience; in fact, such a study can contribute to the identification of the audience itself.[44] With respect to the compositions under analysis, their unclear *Sitz im Leben* and the undefined scope (see chapter 1) do not allow us to distinctly recognise their final (or secondary) audience, the primary audience being the addressed deities.[45] However, by means of a rhetorical analysis, it is possible to note the most frequently used strategies to compel the attention of the divine beings, namely the set of techniques constituting the so-called 'religious rhetoric' (see further in the next paragraph), and to shed some light on the secondary audience of these hymns and prayers. Nevertheless, while conducting this study, a necessary caveat should be kept in mind: on the one hand, detecting rhetorical features in Mesopotamian literary compositions may present difficulties, since no Mesopotamian text includes notions of stylistic devices of any kind,

42 This is not to say, of course, that stylistic differences between texts are always unambiguous, or decisive in determining their literary genres; on the contrary, Mesopotamian literature is quite flexible in nature, to the point that, as has been mentioned previously in this study, it is difficult to define Mesopotamian textual genres according to the traditional western classifications. Indeed, the same rhetorical devices and stylistic traits can be found in genres apparently distant from each other (see for example the prayer-like traits occurring in *Ludlul*, as noted by Lenzi 2010; or the similar phonetic devices employed in incantations and hymns, as remarked by Wasserman 2003; or the literary topoi found in an Old Babylonian letter, see Rozzi 2019). Not to mention, moreover, cases of allusion and intertextuality, where stylistic similarities are the (intentional or unintentional) result of extensive scribal education, see on this Lenzi 2019, 64-7, and Hess 2015, 255-7; cf. chapter 4 for the notion of intertextuality as applied to Mesopotamian texts. However, there are undoubtedly certain formal elements (together with some material characteristics of the tablets, such as the division of the text into couplets or the marking of metrical caesuras, cf. Hess 2015) that are more typical of certain genres than others.

43 Muilenburg 1969, 5.

44 The identification of rhetorical figures, and the analysis of their role and importance in the literary text, represents the key element in rhetorical criticism. On this aspect see Overland 2008, 656 and Muilenburg 1969; cf. the remark by Berlin 1985, 17: "The potential success of rhetorical criticism lies in the fact that the devices and symmetries that are present in a poem are not merely decorations – esthetically pleasing ornaments surrounding the meaning – but are pointers or signs which indicate what the meaning is".

45 Lenzi 2019, 67-9.

therefore, one must rely on definitions borrowed from other literatures (Latin, Greek or Hebrew, for example).[46] On the other hand, over-detection may also pose a risk. To remain truthful to the ancient source, one must be careful not to see what is not there, avoiding a 'wishful subjectivity'.[47]

5.2.2 The *Great Hymns and Prayers*: Religious Rhetoric and Rhetorical Figures

The compositions under study, being religious literary texts, conform to the traditional stylistic traits of 'religious rhetoric', which is a model of discourse whose scope is to communicate effectively with a deity.

Religion and rhetoric are strongly interconnected, to the point that some scholars have observed that religion cannot do without rhetoric, as it expresses itself through a set of concepts, acts, and carefully chosen and codified words to address the gods in the most persuasive way possible.[48] The rhetorical elements that characterise religious language seem to be common across various times and cultures, to such an extent that it has been hypothesised that there are enduring and universal phraseologies and practices in religious rhetoric.[49]

Religious rhetoric can be expressed through various types of discourse, as noted by E. Pernot in his work on the intersections between rhetoric and religion.[50] In accordance with Pernot, four forms of religious discourse can be distinguished: naming (addressing the deities using special names and epithets), narration (recounting the miraculous actions or mythic episodes of the gods), eulogy (describing the divine qualities and prerogatives), and preaching (urging the listeners to worship and praise the invoked deity). These forms of expression can be considered both acts of worship, as they establish a

46 While the lack of indigenous names for rhetorical devices might be problematic, modern taxonomies have also contributed to make rhetorical analysis of Mesopotamian texts difficult: indeed, scholars have offered a wide variety of different vocabularies and labels, leading to an inconsistent terminology, see Noegel 2021, 1-2.

47 On this see Overland 2008, 657: "Conversely, overdetection may posit persuasive impact when none is warranted. Single devices supported by multiple attestation, boundaries reinforced by form-plus-content intersection, logical arrangements that are redundant and without lacunae-all subjected to peer critique-these disciplines guard against wishful subjectivity". In other words, in analysing the rhetorical strategies used in the compositions under study, on the hand one has to search, for example, for devices attested multiple times, or, on the other hand, for abrupt changes and unexpected variation, which may represent an intentional rhetorical choice, and not a stylistic flaw.

48 Wayne 1991; for the rhetorical aspect of religion, and the connection between language and religion, see Burke 1970.

49 See e.g. the remarks by Pernot 210, 245.

50 Pernot 2010.

direct connection between the worshipper and the divinity, and rhetorical discourse, and thus subject to textual and literary-poetic analysis. The four forms mentioned above are models of discourse *about* the deities, and are commonly observed in hymns. However, forms of religious rhetoric can also include expressions that address the gods directly, as in the case of prayers.[51]

Prayers encompass specific phraseology and frequently adopt a pathetic tone, particularly when making an appeal to pity.[52] Classical studies have standardised typical rhetorical patterns like *da quia dedi* (give, because I have given) and *da quia dedisti* (give because you have [previously] given), serving as arguments in support of the prayer's request. Additionally, these patterns are accompanied by a series of actions or gestures performed during the recitation of the prayer.[53] The performative and ritual gestures occasionally mentioned in the written prayers are physical expressions of devotion and serve as counterparts to verbal expressions.[54] Another form of religious discourse is the speech of the gods, which means when the narrative voice is that of the god itself.[55] The four types of discourse *about* the gods and the discourse model *addressed to* the gods, typical of prayer, often overlap to the point that it is sometimes challenging to differentiate between a hymn and a prayer.[56]

Akkadian hymns and prayers exhibit these general features, and the corpus of texts here studied is no exception. The *Great Hymns and Prayers* include discourse *about* the deities and discourse *addressed to* them, as well as references to actions associated with religious utterances. They comprise, in fact, lists of divine epithets and divine names, persuasive arguments to seek the intervention of the gods, exhortations to praise the invoked deities, and references to religious actions like genuflections and prostrations. In one case (the *Hymn to Gula* by Bullussa-rabi) there is also an example of divine speech, since the deity speaks in the first person. Besides these aspects, which are characteristic of Mesopotamian religious poetry and religious poetry in general, the *Great Hymns and Prayers* exhibit a rich variety of figures of speech, along with numerous lexical peculiarities. The following survey is not intended to be exhaustive,

51 Pernot 2010, 237-8.

52 Pernot 2010, 239.

53 Pernot 2010, 240-1; Dowden 2007, 326.

54 Commonly, in the rhetoric-religious context, the actions accompanying prayers are referred to as *dromena* (what is done), while the speech accompanying the ritual is termed *legomena* (what is said). For more details about this term pair, see Henrichs 1998, 34, with previous references.

55 Pernot 2010, 239.

56 Furley, Bremer 2001, 3-4.

but rather an overview of the most recurrent and prominent rhetorical figures that appear in the *Great Hymns and Prayers*.

Rhetorical figures are generally regarded by literary critics as a 'deviation' from ordinary language, and are distinguished between tropes and schemes, the former involving changes on the semantic level, and the latter effecting the syntactic level of the language. Schemes are, furthermore, traditionally divided into figures of thought, "that is of the mind, feeling or conceptions"[57] – e.g. rhetorical question or apostrophe – and figures of speech, connected to the collocations of words and their phonetic aspects.[58] Poetry makes use of rhetorical figures to fulfil its persuasive function. In this sense, poetry (and poetics, understood as the study of the poetic features of a text) can be considered closely related to rhetoric.[59] Although there are no rhetorical devices defined by the Mesopotamians themselves, it is possible to identify figures corresponding to those later classified by the classical texts, while some devices appear to be purely Semitic, and also recur in Biblical literature.[60]

The present classification is partially indebted to the model proposed by Plett in his study on literary rhetoric, hence rhetorical figures are divided according to their linguistic level, that is, to the effect they produce on the phonological, syntactical, semantic and morphological level of language. Therefore, I will discuss a number of phonological, syntactic, semantic and morphological figures that can be detected within the poems under consideration:[61]

1. Phonological figures: alliteration, assonance, consonance, homoioteleuton and rhyme.
2. Syntactic figures: parallelism, repetition, enjambement, anastrophe.
3. Semantic figures: metaphor, simile, hendiadys, merismus, pun, climax and enumeration.
4. Morphological figures: *figura etymologica*, polyptoton, anadiplosis and epanadiplosis.[62]

57 "id est mentis vel sensus vel sententiarum", Quint. *Inst.* 9.17; cf. Vickers 1988, 316

58 For an accurate and comprehensive description of rhetorical figures, see Vickers 1988, 294-339; cf. the recent treatment of rhetorical figures in Old Babylonian Hymns by Pohl 2022, 68.

59 Culler 1997, 69. For the relationship between rhetoric and poetics, see Walker 2008.

60 Lundbom 2006, 341.

61 Plett classified rhetorical figures by analysing both their linguistic level and their linguistic operation, namely the deviation from the norm of the standard language (which could be either of a reinforcing or violating kind). For the sake of clarity, I take into account only the linguistic planes. See Plett 2010, 65-7. Cf. Plett 1975 and 1985.

62 For names of the figures, see, e.g. Lanham 1991; Sloane 2001 and Lausberg 1998; cf. also Watson 1986 and 1999, for a comprehensive classification of rhetorical devices

5.2.3 Phonological Figures in the Akkadian Sources

Although the phonological reconstruction of ancient languages poses difficulties, and several nuances are destined to be lost to the modern reader,[63] rhetorical figures that involve a deviation from the normative language in terms of sound are well-attested in the Akkadian sources. Alliteration and homoioteleuton (i.e. the repetition of the same consonant at the beginning or at the end of nearby words, respectively),[64] consonance and assonance (the former being the repetition of the same consonant in proximate words, the latter, of the same vowel), can often be found in purely literary texts as well as in incantations and omens.[65] Rhyme, intended as the repetition of words or word endings at the end of lines, occurs less often. Indeed, the identification of rhymes in Akkadian poetry can prove problematic, due to the difficulties in reconstructing the Akkadian metre and the impossibility of ascertaining the exact pronunciation. In Semitic poetic texts, one could argue that rhymes are virtually a mere form of repetition.[66]

Phonological figures are used for both aesthetic and practical reasons, as they not only contribute to the pleasantness of a text, by playing a crucial role with prosody in creating euphony and rhythm, but also serve the purpose of highlighting meaningful aspects of a

in the Biblical poetry, with comparison to Ugaritic and Akkadian literature.

63 Mesopotamian poetry was often sung: the actual pronunciation – and the possible varieties in pronunciation between different genres – the musicality and expressivity of the performances are inevitably difficult, if not impossible, for us to reconstruct, cf. Michalowski 1996, 144.

64 I consider here homoioteleuton and rhyme to be two different devices. For a definition of homoioteleuton, see Lanham 1991, 83-5. For the sake of simplicity, I do not distinguish between cases of homoioteleuton and homoioptoton, cf. the discussion on the difference and the possible overlapping of these two devices in Lanham 1991, 82-5.

65 Hecker 1974, 139-40; von Soden 1981, 53 and 78; Hurowitz 2000. For some examples of alliteration and consonance in Sumerian literary sources, see Klein, Sefati 2000, 41-54.

66 Wasserman 2003, 157-9, who points out the close connection between rhyme and meter in Akkadian. Cf. also Helle 2014, 66. Cf. also Watson 1986, 230: "It is generally agreed that rhyme does not play an important part in ancient Semitic poetry". In her study on Akkadian poetry, Vogelzang 1996 defines rhymes as a 'sound repetition', see 172. According to Civil (1993, 1233-4), rhyme is not recurrent in Sumerian literature either: "Alliteration and assonantal rhyme are known, but sparingly used". Cf. Klein, Sefati 2000, 24 fn. 4 and 25 fn. 6. Compare, however, Wilcke 1974, 217-18, who provides several examples of rhymes, assonances and alliteration in Sumerian poetry, observing that phonological figures do occur quite often in Sumerian literary texts, although he considers Sumerian rhyme almost as a "Zeilengrenze überschreitende Form von Alliteration und Assonanz" (Wilcke 1974, 217).

composition.[67] Within incantations and prayers phonological figures help strengthen the effectiveness of the performance;[68] furthermore, they convey an emotional and persuasive tone to the text, thus rendering it more appealing to the addressee.[69] In hymns, rhyming couplets can occur at the end, marking the conclusion of the composition and suggesting a reaction from the audience.[70]

5.2.3.1 Phonological Figures in the *Great Hymns and Prayers*

The following list includes various examples of phonological figures of speech found in the corpus under study. Two compositions in particular have proved to be especially rich in phonological figures, namely the *Šamaš Hymn* and *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, being characterised by a remarkably high number of rhymes and homoioteleuta. Nevertheless, phonological devices appear throughout all the texts: consonance is the most common phonetic figure found within this corpus, while alliteration appears less often. The vast majority of the rhyming couplets that can be observed in the *Great Hymns and Prayers* are grammatical rhymes, that is, rhymes that result from the exact repetition of the same morphemes.[71]

In addition, rhyming couplets are used in the final section of the *Nabû Prayer*, thus leading the audience to the end of the composition: ll. 210-23 contain a combination of 'lyrical repetitions' (ll. 212-15 and 220-3) and rhyming couplets (ll. 210-11 with pattern AA and ll. 216-19 with pattern ABBA), see the complete text in chapter 2.

67 See for instance Hurowitz 2000, 68-70 for some cases of alliterations producing intratextual allusions within narrative passages. See also Vogelzang 1996, 168-70.

68 The power of phonetic effect can be seen especially in the so-called abracadabra incantations, see Veldhuis 1999, 46-8; Schwemer 2014, 266.

69 Schwemer 2014, 281; cf. also Vogelzang 1996, 169.

70 This practice is more attested in Sumerian compositions, but occurs more sporadically in Akkadian hymns. See Black 1992, 71-5 and Wasserman 2003, 172.

71 Grammatical rhyme is the most common rhyme attested within the corpus under analysis. Besides those here provided (see below), other examples of grammatical rhyme can be seen in: *Šamaš Hymn*, ll. 91-3; ll. 116-17, ll. 173-5; *Nabû Prayer*, ll. 200-3; *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, ll. 142-3; 146-7. Although this type of rhyme might be considered weak according to our modern taste, it was widely used in Akkadian literary texts, together with the tautological rhyme, i.e. the exact repetition of the same word (see in the example below, the *Šamaš Hymn*, ll. 27-30). The pervasive occurrence of these and other kinds of repetition in the cuneiform literary sources (for instance, the repetition of entire couplets at the beginning of hymns and prayers in both Sumerian and Akkadian, see below § 5.2.4.1.2, sub "Delayed introduction") suggests that such types of identical repetition must have been deemed pleasant by the Mesopotamians, cf. the remarks by Veldhuis 1999, 44-5 with regard to the usage of repetition in magical texts. Cf. Wasserman 2004, 162-7 for more examples of grammatical rhymes in Akkadian. Cf. the definition of grammatical rhyme in Brogan 1993a, 480.

5.2.3.1.1 Alliteration

1. *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 39 (alliteration of the velar phoneme */k/*, emphasised by */q/*):
   39[*šad*]ī' *kīma qê kasâta kīma imbari katmāta*
   39You bind mountains together like a cord, you blanket (them) like a haze[72]

2. *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 180 (alliteration of the nasal phoneme */m/*):
   180*mukarrû ūmī murrik mušâti* (GI$_6$.MEŠ)
   180Who can shorten days, who can prolong nights[73]

3. *Queen of Nippur*, col. iv, l. 37 (alliteration of the sibilant phoneme */š/*):
   37*šarrat-nippur šaqât u šarrat*
   37The Queen of Nippur, she is lofty and she is queen[74]

4. *Marduk*2, l. 12' (alliteration of the dental phonemes /*t*/ and *ṭ*/):
   12'*tutterraššu ṭāba ša itruru ṭēnšu*
   12'You made healthy again the one, whose mind has trembled.[75]

5. *Gula Syncretistic*, l. 8 (alliteration of the velar phonemes /*k*/ and /*g*/):
   8*kullat igīgī kigallašunu* … […]
   8The cultic stations of all the Igigi […],[76]

5.2.3.1.2 Consonance

1. *Queen of Nippur*, col. iv, l. 42 (repetition of the velar phoneme /*k*/):
   42*ai ipparku maḫrāki likūn zikrukki*
   42May it be recited without cease in your presence, be established at your command.[77]

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72 Lambert 1960, 128-9; cf. Hurowitz 2000, 67; see Rozzi 2021a for the reconstruction here provided.

73 Lambert 1960, 136-7; Rozzi 2021a.

74 Lambert 1982, 202-3; cf. Földi 2021c.

75 Translation by the Author. Cf. the last edition by Oshima 2011, 232, 246-7.

76 Bennett 2023a; 2021, 194-5.

77 Lambert 1982, 204-5; Földi 2021c. Cf. also in the same text iv, 35: *ullât šūturat šaqât u šarrat*, which displays the same kind of alliteration, and adds not only a refined *variatio* in the first hemistich, but also a *homoioteleuton* through the repetition of the ending *-at*. For the *homoioteleuton* see *infra*.

2. *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 128 (the first hemistich contains a repetition of the nasal phoneme /*m*/, and of the velar phonemes /*k*/ and /*q*/ and dental /*d*/ and /*t*/ in the second; note also the assonance of /*a*/ and /*u*/):
   128[*m*]*anāma* (*u*) *mamma puqqudu qātukka*
   128Every single person is entrusted to your hands.[78]

3. *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 145 (repetition of the labial phoneme /*m*/):
   145*mītu murtappidu eṭemmu ḫalqu*
   145The roving dead, the vagrant soul.[79]

4. *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, l. 77 (repetition of the liquid phoneme /*l*/):
   77 *ilittu elletu ša ninlil*
   77Pure offspring of Ninlil.[80]

5.2.3.1.3 Assonance

1. *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, l. 171 (repetition of the /*a*/ vowel sound):
   171*apir agâ ša qarnī karpaṣāti*
   171His head is covered with a turban of superb horns.[81]

2. *Šamaš Hymn*, ll. 43-4 (repetition of the /*i*/ vowel sound in the first line and of the /*a*/ in the second):
   43*ana šiddī ša lā idî nesûti u (ana) bērī lā man*[*ûti*]
   44*šamaš dalpāta ša urra tallika u mūša tassaḫr*[*a*]
   43To far-off regions unknown and for countless leagues
   44You persevere, O Shamash, what you went by day you come back at night.[82]

3. *Anūna Prayer*, obv. ii, l. 59 (repetition of the /*a*/ and the /*u*/ vowel sound):
   59*ammāš šamnam iprušū īpušū ik*[*kibam*]
   59His parents have withheld the oil, they have committed an ab[omination].[83]

78 Lambert 1960, 134-5; Rozzi 2021a.

79 Lambert 1960, 134-5; Rozzi 2021a.

80 Lambert 1967, 120-1; Földi 2021a.

81 Lambert 1967, 126-7; Földi 2021a.

82 Rozzi 2021a; Lambert 1960, 128-9; cf. Vogelzang 1996, 179.

83 Lambert 1989, 326, 330 and 334.

5.2.3.1.4 Homoioteleuton

1. *Nabû Prayer*, l. 178 (repetition of the adverbial ending *-iš*):
   178*aḫrâtaš pisnuqiš lallāriš udašš*[*ap*]
   178With time, what (seemed) pitiable, he swee[tens] like syrup.[84]

2. *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, l. 65 (repetition of the stative ending *-āku*):
   65*mārāku | kallāku || hīrāku | u abarakkāku*
   65I am daughter, I am bride, I am spouse, I am house-keeper.[85]

3. *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 33 (repetition of the plural ending *-āti*):
   33*rē'û šaplâti nāqidu elâti*
   33Shepherd of that beneath, keeper of that above.[86]

4. *Gula Syncretistic*, l. 31' (repetition of the stative ending *-at*)
   31'*sāniqat rē'ât āširat muštālat*
   31'She is the one who controls, shepherds, supervises, is thoughtful.[87]

5.2.3.1.5 Rhyme

1. *Šamaš Hymn*, ll. 27-30 (tautological rhyme, pattern ABAB):
   27*tētenettiq ginâ šamāmī*
   28[*š*]*umdulta erṣeta tabâ' ūmīšam*
   29*mīli tâmti ḫursānī erṣeta šamāmī*
   30*kī takkassi ginâ tabâ' ūmīšam*
   27Regularly and without cease you traverse the heavens,
   28Every day you pass over the broad earth,
   29The flood of the sea, the mountains, the earth, the heavens,
   30You traverse them regularly, every day, as if they were pavement.[88]

2. *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, ll. 115-16 (grammatical rhyme, pattern AA):
   115*ragga ayyāba ušemmi*[1] *ṭiṭṭiš*
   116*šuršī kullat lā māgirī iqammi apiš*
   115The wicked and enemies he turns into clay,
   116He burns up like reeds the roots of all disobedient.[89]

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84 For this text, see the edition in chapter 2, to which I will refer throughout the present study when discussing this prayer, unless otherwise stated.

85 Lambert 1967, 120-1; cf. Földi 2021a.

86 Lambert 1960, 128-9; cf. Rozzi 2021a.

87 Bennett 2023a; 2021, 200-1.

88 Lambert 1960, 126-7; cf. Rozzi 2021a for the new reading of l. 30.

89 Lambert 1967, 122-3; cf. Földi 2021a.

3. *Queen of Nippur*, col. ii, ll. 13-14 (grammatical rhyme and homoioteleuton between the hemistichs; pattern AA)
   13*ummad rēš*[*ā*]*šu idu šēpīšu*
   14*ālšu su*[*ḫḫ*]*uršu pitluhāšu nišāšu*
   13Resting his head beside his feet
   14His city shunned him, his people stood aloof from him.[90]

4. *Anūna Prayer*, ll. 155-8 (pattern ABAB)
   155[*dami*]*qtam šittam ana nišī apâtim*
   160x ri ur *wardum* uḫ$_2$-x x *ša-tam šumiški*
   161[ ] x-*at eturkalamma šaqūt ilātim*
   162[ ] *tintir šurbat enukkī*
   155[Pleasa]nt sleep to the numerous peoples,
   156[…] … slave … at your name.
   157[…] of Eturkalamma, lofty one of the goddess,
   158[…] Tintir, greatest of the Anunnaki.[91]

5.2.4 Syntactic Figures in the Akkadian Sources

Rhetorical figures that produce an effect on the standard syntactic order of sentences are termed 'syntactic figures'. One of the most important syntactic devices in Mesopotamian literature is parallelism, namely the use of parallel constructions in couplets, strophes, or individual verses. Parallelism can involve various linguistic levels, such as the grammatical, lexical or phonological; it consists of the repetition of a thought, which is amplified, enriched or contrasted through parallel formulations. It is also a typical figure of Hebrew and Ugaritic poetry,[92] and its value lies in both its poetic and noetic character: parallelism allows the building of 'multidimensional' concepts, i.e. concepts that are expressed and developed from different perspectives, through combining multiple elements that expand or contrast each other.[93]

Previous studies, mostly conducted in the Biblical field, have identified different sub-types of parallelism: the main criterion for distinguishing sub-types takes into account semantics (e.g. synonymous, antithetic, synthetic parallelism), though grammatical aspects can

90 Lambert 1982, 194-5; cf. Földi 2021c.

91 Lambert 1989, 328 and 332.

92 See Wagner 2007; cf. Watson 1986, 114-59 for Hebrew poetry. For Ugaritic sources, see Segert 1983.

93 On the cognitive and noetic aspect of parallelism, see Wagner 2007, 8-13 and 17-18, cf. Landsberger 1926: "Für den Akkader […], wie für die übrigen Semiten, ist der Parallelismus gleichsam die Stereometrie des Gedankenausdrucks, der stets aufs schärfste geschnitten und auf höchste Prägnanz bedacht ist".

also be considered (e.g. gender match parallelism, verbal parallelism, etc.), as well as the number of verses across which the parallelism stretches.[94]

Parallel lines (or half-lines) can be arranged into chiasm, namely "any structure in which the elements are repeated in reverse, so giving the pattern ABBA";[95] chiastic parallelism[96] can be used to break the monotony of parallel lines, to signal structural changes within the text or to give emphasis to certain elements, e.g. intensifying negations and prohibitions (e.g. in *Queen of Nippur*, col. ii, l. 17 see below, § 5.2.4.1.1), creating suspense, etc.[97]

Repetition is a typical device of the Sumero-Akkadian poetry as well: contrary to parallelism, which includes the reformulation of the same message with some degree of variation, repetition involves the exact (or minimally changed) iteration of individual words or clauses.[98] A special type of repetition, mostly found in Sumerian and Akkadian hymns and prayers, is the delayed introduction of the addressed god, for example, the repetition of two couplets which are identical, except for the introduction of the divine name in the third line.[99]

Repetition can serve to produce intratextual allusions, through linking different parts of the discourse; it can also have a dramatic function, adding force and intensity to the composition.[100]

A further syntactic figure that can be found, though rarely, in Akkadian literary texts, is the enjambement, that is, the disconnection or lack of alignment between the boundaries of a poetic verse and the boundaries of a syntactic unit or sentence.[101] This fracture can create a delib-

94 For the Mesopotamian sources, see Berlin 1979; cf. 1992; see also Foster 2005, 14-16 and Streck 2007.

95 Preminger, Brogan 1993, 183-4.

96 Although some consider chiasm as a variant of parallelism, see e.g. Watson 1986, 170-81. For a definition of 'chiastic parallelism', see Berlin 1992. See Smith 1980 for a study on chiasm in Sumerian and Akkadian sources; see also Streck 2007, 171. Cf. Hecker 1974, 142 for an example of parallelism with a 'chiastische Wortstellung' in *Gilgameš*.

97 For the possible functions of chiasm, see Watson 1986, 205-6, who distinguished between 'structural' and 'expressive' functions.

98 I consider parallelism and repetition to be different devices, following Foster 2005, 15-16 and more recently Streck 2007, 172. For the use of repetition in Akkadian literature, see also Hecker 1974, 56-65; 154-60; Vogelzang 1996; Foster 2005, 15-16. Cf. Lenzi 2019a.

99 Vogelzang 1996, 65-6 calls this technique 'lyrical repetition'. See also Groneberg 1986, 183 and Metcalf 2015, 22-4 and 59-60; Mayer 1976, 40-1. Cf. chapter 1, § 1.2.3 and chapter 2, § 2.2.

100 Vogelzang 1996, 173-4; cf. Watson 1986, 278-9. See also Foster 2005, 15.16; Lenzi 2019a,

101 For a definition of enjambement, and various types of enjambement (syntactical or morphological), see Plett 2010, 139-40.

erate poetic effect, emphasising certain words or phrases and creating a unique rhythmic pattern in the poem. Since the standard structure of poetry in Akkadian requires that a poetic line be contained within a single line of text,[102] enjambement occurs rarely. However, Groneberg, in her study on the form and style of Akkadian hymns, has already debunked the assumption that a similar phenomenon is never found in Akkadian literary texts.[103] Indeed, she points out that in cases of complex subordination, the predicate may extend over multiple verses.

Finally, another significant poetic technique, which also consists in altering the standard syntax of verses, is anastrophe, here understood as the inversion of the standard syntactic order.[104] This mostly pertains to verbal forms, which are placed in the penultimate position of a line, but more rarely, adjectives and nouns can also be inverted. Another recurring feature, and a special case of anastrophe, is the 'fronting' of the verbal forms, which are placed at the beginning of lines. As noted in chapter 1 (§ 1.2.4) these syntactic figures are characteristic traits of Akkadian literary texts, being also found in other literary genres such as epic poetry, royal inscriptions of the first millennium and incantations.[105]

5.2.4.1 Syntactic Figures in the *Great Hymns and Prayers*

5.2.4.1.1 Parallelism

The *Great Hymns and Prayers* display parallelism within couplets or individual lines, i.e. between the two halves of a verse. Parallelism in tercets or quatrains is also attested, although it occurs more rarely (e.g. see below in *Šamaš Hymn*, ll. 97-100).

The present analysis partially follows Streck's survey on the occurrence of parallelism in Old Babylonian hymns. The following examples are meant to illustrate several synonymous, synthetic and antithetic parallelisms found in the corpus under consideration. A brief clarification: given two clauses, the synonymous type of parallelism implies the repetition of the same message, first introduced in the initial clause, and then delivered in different terms in the succeeding one. The antithetic type opposes contrasting concepts, producing an antithesis between the two members of the parallel structure. Synthetic parallelism is more difficult to detect, and can occasionally be

102 George 2003, 162; cf. also Hess 2015, 262.

103 Groneberg 1982, 176, 184. Cf. Goodnick Westenholz 1997b, 192.

104 Marchese 1978, 20; cf. Plett 2010, 192.

105 George 2003, 434. Cf. Schwemer 2014, 279 for the fronting of verbs in Akkadian incantations.

confused with the first type, as it consists of the expansion or amplification in the second clause of the same thought that has been already expressed in the first.[106] Chiastic parallelism is also very prominent in the *Great Hymns and Prayers*, and has been considered in this analysis. In addition, some examples of the so-called 'interrogative parallelism', namely the pairing of an indicative clause with an interrogative one, are included in the list here provided.[107]

Synonymous Parallelism

1. *Nabû Prayer*, l. 52:
   52*ittatil ina nariṭṭi kali ina rušumdi*
   52He lies in the marsh, he is held in the mire.

2. *Marduk*1, l. 155:
   155*ḫipi qunnabrašu illurtašu puṭur maksīšu*
   155Break his shackles and fetters, release his bonds![108]

3. *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, ll. 60-1:
   60*amātī ul innenni*
   61*ṣīt pîya ul uštapella*
   60My word is not altered,
   61The utterance of my mouth is not changed.[109]

4. *Nabû Prayer*, ll. 49-50:
   49*ina gipiš edê nadī-ma agû elīš itta*[*kkip*]
   50*kibru rūqšu nesîš nābal*[*u*]
   49He is cast out into huge waves, so that the flood cras[hed] over him again and again,
   50Far away from him is the shore, distant is the dry la[nd].

106 For the definition of synonymous, synthetic and antithetic parallelism, see Bühlmann, Scherer 1994, 38-41 and Berlin 1979, 13-14 and 1992. See Berlin 1979, 14: "The parallel clauses may both be independent, or one may be dependent on the other. The relationship is usually sequential or descriptive; the succeeding clauses extend the thought or action of the first, or illustrate further some aspect of it".

107 For the definition of the interrogative parallelism, which is not listed among the examples provided by Streck, see Berlin 1979, 13-14 and 1992. Berlin considers two parallel interrogative clauses as a synonymous parallelism, see for example ll. 174-5 of the *Šamaš Hymn*: "Which are the mountains not clothed with your beams?/ Which are the regions not warmed by the brightness of your light?" (Lambert 1960, 136-7; cf. Rozzi 2021a).

108 Oshima 2011, 154, 166-7; cf. Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 168 and 171. The translation here follows Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 171.

109 Lambert 1967, 118-19; cf. Földi 2021a.

Antithetic Parallelism

1. *Nabû Prayer*, ll. 185-6:
   185*māru ašru sanqu aḫammu zārâšu ikar*[*rab*]
   186*māru lā ašru lā sanqu adi enêšu irrar b*[*ānīšu*(?)]
   185The obedient, disciplined son, his father giv[es] (him) a special blessing,
   186The disobedient, undisciplined son, his b[egetter] curses (him) until he changes.

2. *Šamaš Hymn*, ll. 97-100:
   97*dayyāna ṣalpa || mēsera tukallam*
   98*māḫir ṭāti lā muštēšira tušazbal arna*
   99*la ma-ḫir ṭa-'a-ti ṣa-bi-tú a-bu-ti en-še*
   100*lā māḫir ṭāti ṣābit(u) abbūt enši*
   97You give the unscrupulous judge experience of fetters,
   98Him who accepts a present and yet lets justice miscarry, you make bear his punishment,
   99As for him who declines a present, but nevertheless takes the part of the weak,
   100It is pleasing to Šamaš, he will prolong his life.[110]

3. *Marduk*2, l. 49:
   49*tuštešser išara tušamṭa ragga*
   49You make the righteous man prosper, you diminish the malicious.[111]

Synthetic Parallelism

1. *Queen of Nippur*, col. iv, ll. 10-11:
   10[*š*]*unbuṭ nūršu katim gimir dadmē*
   11*baši namrirrūša ina qereb hursāni*
   10Its light is resplendent, covering all habitations,
   11Its brilliance penetrates the mountain.[112]

2. *Queen of Nippur*, col. iv, ll. 23-4:
   23*ihâṭ ešrētīšin kummašin ibarri*
   24*ana ilī šūt māhāzī u'adda isqa*
   She supervises their shrines, inspecting their living quarters
   She assigns portions to the gods of the cult centres.[113]

110 Lambert 1960, 132-3; cf. Rozzi 2021a.

111 Oshima 2011, 226, 242-3.

112 Lambert 1982, 200-1; cf. Földi 2021c.

113 Lambert 1982, 202-3; cf. Földi 2021c.

Chiastic Parallelism

1. *Queen of Nippur*, col. ii, l. 8:
   8[*iramm*]*umšu ūmiš libbatāšu imallā-ma*
   8[She] roared at him like a storm, was filled with anger at him.[114]

2. *Queen of Nippur*, col. ii, l. 17:
   17*lā ište'â ašrāša pāniš lā izzizzu*
   17Since he did not seek her shrine nor render her service[115]

   Ištar Prayer, l. 79:
   79*emtēš ul īdi šiparraki ēte*[*q*]
   79I have unknowingly disregarded, I have ignor[ed] your instructions (lit. instruction).[116]

Interrogative Parallelism

1. *Marduk*1, ll. 5-6:
   5*ša amāruk šibbu gapaš abūšin*
   6*šašmu ša girri ali māḫirka*
   5Whose stare is a dragon, a flood overwhelming,
   6An onslaught of fire – where is your rival?[117]

2. *Ištar Prayer*, ll. 85-6:
   85*ayyû ina ilī imṣa malāk*[*i*]
   86*lā amra kīma kâti māḫir teslīt*[*i*]
   85Who, among the gods, is as powerful as yo[u]?
   86There has never been seen someone who accepts praye[r] like you.[118]

114 Lambert 1982, 194-5; cf. Földi 2021c.

115 Lambert 1982, 194-5; cf. Földi 2021c.

116 For this text, see the edition in chapter 3, to which I will refer throughout the present study when discussing this prayer, if not differently stated.

117 Oshima 2011, 142, 158-9; cf. Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 167 and 169. The translation here follows Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 169. Compare also the translation offered by Mayer 1995, 172: "Du, dessen Blicken eine Šibbu-Schlange ist".

118 For the edition of this text, see chapter 2. Further examples of delayed introduction are found in *Marduk*1 (Oshima 2011, 138-90; cf. also Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 167 and 169), *Marduk*2 (Oshima 2011, 216-74), *Šamaš Hymn* (Lambert 1960, 121-38; cf. Rozzi 2021a).

5.2.4.1.2 Repetition

The delayed introduction of the divine name is commonly attested within the *Great Hymns and Prayers*. In addition, these texts exhibit further forms of repetition, like the refrain, envelope figure, keyword and ring-composition: the refrain consists of the multiple repetition of the same phrase at the end of a strophe, while keywords are single words (occasionally synonyms) repeated many times within a composition. The envelope figure, on the other hand, implies the repetition of the same phrase or word no more than twice within a text: this figure frames a group of lines, separating them from the rest of the text. All these devices are used for emphasis or allusion.[119]

The *Šamaš Hymn* in particular shows a combination of all these techniques, making extensive use of repeated words and phrases (see below). Furthermore, this long hymn is structured into a circular pattern: the cyclical course of the Sun is represented in the text through the structural device of ring composition. The first section of the hymn, which describes the rising of the Sun-god and his daily journey through the heavens, the earth and the underworld, is mirrored in the concluding section of the poem, in which the god is depicted as coming back to his bedchamber.[120]

Delayed Introduction[121]

1. *Nabû Prayer*, ll. 41-4:
   41*b*[*ēl*]*u palkû mukkalli ešešti*
   42*rapša uznī āšiš šukāmi*
   43*Nabû palkû mukkalli ešešti*
   44*rapša uznī āšiš šukāmi*
   41O wise L[or]d, mukkallu-priest of knowledge,
   42Of vast intelligence, who masters the scribal art.

119 For a definition and some examples of these devices in the Hebrew, Ugaritic and Akkadian poetry, see Watson 1986, 283-99. Cf. also Vogelzang 1996, 174-7. Cf. also Berlin 1979, 24-6, Groneberg 1996, 70-1.

120 With regard to the ring-structure of the *Šamaš Hymn*, and related observations on its poetical implications, see Reiner 1985, 68-84; cf. also Castellino 1976. For more on the structure of this hymn, and other poetic and narrative strategies employed in this text, see Rozzi forthcoming.

121 I borrow this term from Watson 1986, 336, who however uses it in a slightly different sense, describing it as follows: "instead of stating the subject of a verb as soon as grammatically possible, the verb (or verbs) is (are) set out first, no definite identity being provided till the second or even third line of verse". Compare the German term offered by Wilcke in his study on Sumerian literature, in which this phenomenon is defined as "Ornamentale Wiederholung" (Wilcke 1974, 214-17).

[43]O wise Nabû, mukkallu-priest of knowledge,
[44]Of vast intelligence, who masters the scribal art![122]

Refrain

1. *Šamaš Hymn*, ll. 100, 106, 119:
   ṭāb eli šamaš balāṭa uttar
   It is pleasing to Šamaš, he will prolong his life![123]

2. *Queen of Nippur*, col. iii, ll. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35:
   mamman ul ile''i
   No one (but she) is able.[124]

Envelope Figure

1. *Šamaš Hymn*, ll. 149 and 153:
   [149]*ša ad*[*nā*]*ti šamaš uznīšina tušpatti*
   [150]*pārūka ezza šamra nūrka attā-ma tanaddinšinā*[*ti*]
   [151]*tuštēšer têrētīšina ina nīqî ašbāta*
   [152]*ana šār(ī) erbetti arkassina taparras*
   [153]*(ša) kal seḫep dadmē uznīšina tušpatti*
   [149]You have opened wisdom, O Shamash, to the world,
   [150]You yourself grant people who seek you your fierce and burning light.
   [151]You set straight their omens, you preside over sacrifices.
   [152]You probe their future to the four cardinal points,
   [153]You have opened wisdom to the entire inhabited world.[125]

Key words

1. *Šamaš Hymn*, ll. 123, 125, 134, 136, 140, 142, 144, 146, 147, 158, 160, 164, 173 contain different forms of *maḫārum* 'to receive, confront', and its prepositional form *ina maḫrīka* 'before you'. The dominant concept in this portion of the hymn is that all people are indiscriminately subject to the judgement of Šamaš.[126]

122 For the possible meaning of the *hapax legomenon ešeštum* 'knowledge', see the commentary on this line in chapter 2.

123 Lambert 1960, 132-3; cf. Rozzi 2021a; Vogelzang 1996, 174.

124 Lambert 1982, 196-8; cf. Földi 2021c.

125 Rozzi 2021a; cf. Lambert 1960, 134-5.

126 Vogelzang 1996, 174-5; cf. Lambert 1960, 132-8; cf. Rozzi 2021a.

2. *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, ll. 79, 81, 83, 86 contain different forms of *balāṭu* 'to heal', 'to get better', and one derived substantive (*bulṭu* 'health').[127] Moreover, the hymn contains the epiphoric repetition, i.e. occurring at the end of the verse, of the independent personal pronoun: *anāku-ma* 'Am I', ll. 43, 67, 91, 148, 169, 187. This is another example of a key word.[128]

5.2.4.1.3 Enjambement

Cases of enjambement were observed exclusively in the *Šamaš Hymn*.

1. *Šamaš Hymn*, ll. 145-6:
   145*mītu murtappidu eṭemmu ḫalqu*
   146*Šamaš imḫurūka talteme kalāma*
   145The roving dead, the vagrant soul
   146They confront you, Šamaš, and you hear all.[129]

2. *Šamaš Hymn*, ll. 130-1:
   130*tašemme šamaš suppâ sullâ (u) karāba*
   131*šukenna kitmusa litḫuša (u) labān appi*
   130You observe, Šamaš, prayer, supplication and benediction,
   131Obeisance, kneeling, ritual murmurs and prostration.[130]

See also ll. 167-73 in the same text, where a series of relative clauses depend on the implied verb 'to be' in l. 173: *meḫerti nāri ša irteddû šamaš ina maḫrīka*, "The catch of the rivers, *what the rivers bring,* is before you".[131]

5.2.4.1.4 Anastrophe

Verbs in Penultimate Position

1. *Nabû Prayer*, l. 45:
   45*bēlu šalbābu* ***tassabus*** *eli ardīka*
   45O raging Lord, you have become angry with your servant.

127 See Vogelzang 1996, 177; cf. Lambert 1967, 120-1; Földi 2021a.

128 Lambert 1967, 119-30; cf. Vogelzang 1996, 176-7.

129 Lambert 1960, 134-5; cf. Rozzi 2021a.

130 Lambert 1960, 134-5; cf. Rozzi 2021a.

131 Rozzi 2021a; cf. Lambert 1960, 136-7.

2. *Gula Syncretistic*, l. 56':
   56'*alkakāti mūdât* ***gummurat*** *šit*[*ūlta*]
   56'She knows how to proceed, she has complete mastery of deliberation.[132]

Inversion of Noun-Adjective

1. *Queen of Nippur*, col. ii, l. 12, *šīḫa lānšu*, "his lofty stature".[133]

2. *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, l. 58:
   58*šaqû rabû parṣū'a*
   58My ordinances are high and great.[134]

Fronting

1. *Queen of Nippur*, col. ii, l. 15 and 21:
   15***ittanall[a]k*** *qaddadāniš kamât ālīšu*;
   15He used to walk bent outside his city.[135]
   21***itabbak*** *ḫurbāša elīšu ana … šakinšu qūlu.*
   21She cast a chill of fear upon him, stupor befell him …[136]

2. *Marduk*1, l. 70:
   70***ibašši*** *ultu ulli mitluku šitūlu*
   70It is since yesteryear meet to meditate and reflect.[137]

5.2.5 Semantic Figures in the Akkadian Sources

Sumero-Akkadian poetry makes extensive use of figurative language, expressed through the semantic devices of simile and metaphor. The Akkadian simile is characterised by the presence of specific markers, such as the comparative particles *kī* or *kīma* 'like', 'as', or the adverbial suffixes *-iš* and *-āni*, or also *-āniš*. It can display a more or less complex structure: for instance, besides the standard construction which relies on one tenor, one vehicle and a linking component called *tertium comparationis*, similes can involve multiple tenors or vehicles (this type is defined by Wasserman as 'Multi-componential

132 Bennett 2021, 202; cf. also Bennett 2023a.

133 Lambert 1982, 194-5; cf. Földi 2021c.

134 Lambert 1967, 118-9; cf. Földi 2021a

135 Lambert 1982, 194-5; cf. Földi 2021c.

136 See the new reading of this line in Földi 2021c; cf. Lambert 1982, 194-5.

137 Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 168-9; cf. Oshima 2011, 148, 162.

simile'), or two *tertia comparationis* ('Multi-verb simile'). Similes can be expressed through complete sentences – Buccellati describes this type of simile as the 'true comparative clause', rarely found in Akkadian texts[138] – or display what Wasserman describes as a more 'cohesive syntactic structure', in which no explicit *tertium comparationis* is used, and the simile-marker functions as the only connecting element between the tenor and the vehicle ('non-explicit simile', see, e.g. in *Marduk*1, ll. 10/12 *ki-i a-bi re-e-muk*, "Your mercy is like that of a father").[139] 'Negative similes', i.e. similes formulated with a negative particle, are also attested in Akkadian.[140]

Metaphors can be distinguished from similes by their lack of a simile particle or a linking *tertium comparationis*; they can be nominal or verbal: metaphors concerning nouns can be structured into a nominal phrase, thus consisting in the mere juxtaposition of two substantives, that act as the vehicle and the tenor of the comparison (e.g. *Nabû Prayer*, l. 21: *lā pādûk girru*, "Your ruthlessness is fire"). This form of comparison is widely attested in Akkadian poetry.[141] Metaphors involving substantives can also be expressed through what Streck calls 'indirekte Identifikation', namely a construction in which the tenor is identified with the vehicle through apposition (e.g. in the *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 18 *mēreš ê napiš*[*ti*] *māti*, "the corn field, life of the land", Lambert 1960, 126-7, cf. Rozzi 2021a. Cf. below § 5.1.5.1.1 for further examples of 'indirekte Identifikation').[142] Furthermore, metaphorical predications can be expressed through genitive constructions (i.e. in the *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 17 *ṣerret šam*[*āmī*] 'the udders of heaven', see below § 5.2.5.1.1).[143]

On the other hand, verbal metaphors use verbs in a metaphorical sense, which changes the meaning of the nouns to which they refer, see, for example, the metaphorical meaning of the verb *zanānu* 'to rain', in a Marduk's epithet: *mušaznin nuḫši*, "the one who lets

138 The example provided by Buccellati, after Schott 1926, 3, is the following: "The cat was miaowing just like a child would be crying" (Buccellati 1976, 60-1), cf. Wasserman 2003, 148.

139 Oshima 2011, 142, 158-9; cf. also Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 167 and 169.

140 For 'non-explicit similes' see Wasserman 2003, 148-9; for 'negative similes', see Wasserman 2003, 149.

141 Mayer 1995, 172; Streck 1999, 38 and 97-117.

142 Streck 1999, 39.

143 Streck 1999, 39; he includes further sub-types of nominal metaphors, for instance the implicit metaphorical relationship resulting from parallel or chiastic structures, or also the combination of metaphors and similes in a single comparative structure, which he calls "Das komplexe Bild" (Streck 1999, 41-2; see 1999, 38-42 for the complete list). For various examples of nominal metaphors, see Streck 1999, 97-117.

abundance rain down".[144] Hence, in verbal metaphors the comparison is implicitly suggested through the use of a verb in the figurative sense.[145] The Mesopotamian imagery is mostly based on the animal kingdom and nature. The semantic fields of similes and metaphors can be related to humans, animals, nature, weather phenomena, physical objects, divine beings and abstract concepts.[146]

Similes and metaphors are not exclusive to literary texts, but also appear in letters, idiomatic expressions (often as 'dead metaphors')[147] and magic texts.

Merismus and hendiadys have also been included in this survey: they are akin, but the former is employed to indicate totality through the use of antipodal word-pairs, while the latter consists of the combination of two separate words, joined by a conjunction and understood as an individual unit.[148] As illustrated by Wasserman in his exhaustive study on this subject, hendiadys in the Akkadian texts serves to express a relationship of inalienability between its constituents; verbal hendiadys, moreover, is used to add certain nuances to the verbs, as it conveys aspectuality. Recent studies have shown that merismus occurs in Akkadian in both literary and non-literary sources; hendiadys – more specifically, verbal hendiadys – on the contrary, appears to be characteristic of literature, especially of the hymnic genre.[149]

Puns are found in Sumerian literature, e.g. hymns, laments and proverbs, and in Akkadian literary and magic texts as well: they can result from a lexical ambiguity caused by two words, identical or similar in sound, though different in meaning (homonymy and paronomasia, respectively), a single word which might have multiple meanings (double entendre), or two or more signs that can have multiple values, and thus allow various readings (polygraphy).[150] In word plays,

144 Cf. Oshima 2011, 441. The verb *zanānu* (*AHw* III 1509-10; *CAD* Z 41-3) is often used in figurative expressions, as observed by Vogelzang 1996, 185: "Any object, both concrete and abstract, can rain down", cf. Streck 1999, 122.

145 Streck 1999, 40; for various examples of verbal metaphors, see Streck 1999, 117-23.

146 I take Wasserman 2003, 135-46 as a starting point for the list of semantic fields of similes and metaphors. Cf. also Streck 1999, 43-5.

147 Black 1998, 56-7.

148 For an explanation of merismus and hendiadys in general, see Lanham 1991, 59-60 and 82. For the occurrence of merismus and hendiadys in Akkadian, see Wasserman 2003: the author classifies the merismatic pairs on the basis of their semantic class, e.g. Time, Space, Social Groups and Nourishments (Wasserman 2003, 63). For merismus and hendiadys in Hebrew poetry, with comparisons to Akkadian and Ugaritic, see Watson 1986, 21-8; cf. also Watkins 1995, 45 for a general description of merismus in ancient poetry.

149 Wasserman 2003, 27-8 and 97.

150 Cf. Klein, Sefati 2000, 23-6.

sound might be interwoven with meaning:[151] since it can be difficult to perceive phonetic effects in ancient poetry (cf. above § 5.1), certain puns in Sumero-Akkadian sources could be missed by modern readers, or misinterpreted due to subjective interpretation.[152]

To my knowledge, very few Assyriological studies mention the figure of the climax. This figure, known in the Classical Studies as *Gradatio* and termed Sorites in the Biblical scholarship, consists of a series of words or clauses arranged in a progressively increasing order of importance, which results in a final climactic tension. It has been concisely treated by Wilcke in his study on Sumerian literature, in which one example of climax is offered.[153]

The last semantic figure that will be mentioned in the present discussion is poetic enumeration, a sequence of terms inserted in the poetic text. Indeed lists, ubiquitous in the cuneiform sources, were appreciated for their poetic quality, and were also employed in poetry as creative tools.[154] Enumerations in Mesopotamian texts are closely related to lexical lists, and occasionally depend on them (see chapter 4). Poetic enumerations in Akkadian literature are used to convey an idea of totality: the listed terms belong to the same semantic class, and their enumeration produces a sense of completeness, in a similar manner as merismus, which, however, involves the contrast between polar extremities (see above in this paragraph).[155]

151 Certain puns can produce phonetic effects, for example alliteration or consonance; however, wordplay involves primarily individual words and their meaning, hence I have classified this device as belonging to the semantic figures. Cf. the Noegel 2011, esp. 163, who also treats separately alliteration and punning. Cf. also Plett 2010, 175 discussing the 'ambiguity' of wordplay: "The identity of a word-repetition can be disturbed not only by morphological deviations. The reason is that any word has phonological, graphemic and semantic aspects. If one or more of these aspects change and the others remain constant, then the morphological equivalence contains a wordplay".

152 Cf. Hurowitz 2000, 66.

153 Wilcke 1974, 218. Cf. also Watson 1985, 212-13 for the sorite in Biblical poetry, with one example in Akkadian literature drawn from the poem of Erra. For a definition of the climax, see Lanham 1991, 36 or Lausberg 1990, 84.

154 Cf. Van De Mieroop 2015, 73: "The list format invites an element of play"; cf. also Sadovski 2012, 153-4, commenting on von Soden's false assumption of the alleged superiority of Indo-European poetry, considered to be more complex in respect to the Mesopotamian one, which used lists: in fact, as shown by Sadovski, lists are widely employed in Indo-Iranian ritual poetry as well. More generally, on the poetic nature of lists, their inner structures and multiple facets, see Mainberger 2003. The author analyses what she calls the "enumerative games" ("enumerative Spiele", 7), and explores enumeration in its various functions and uses, not only in literary texts, but also in other genres and fields.

155 For the subtypes and functions of enumeration in Akkadian see Wasserman 2021, 9-11. Incidentally, Umberto Eco interprets lists as an expression of infinity, since they appear open to possible modifications, being therefore unfinished, and that is, 'infinite' in their own structure: "L'artista che tenta anche solo un elenco parziale di tutte le stelle dell'universo vuole in qualche modo far pensare a questo infinito oggettivo.

5.2.5.1 Semantic Figures in the *Great Hymns and Prayers*

5.2.5.1.1 Similes and Metaphors

The compositions under analysis employ the simile-marker preposition *kīma/kī* in the construction of similes, and occasionally display the subordinate clause introduced by *kīma ša*. In addition, they make great use of the adverbial suffix *-iš*, which is characteristic of the hymno-epic dialect, and is used as a simile-marker in comparative clauses. Furthermore, one text contains what appears to be an elsewhere unattested comparative adverbial suffix in *-šan* (see below, in the *Anūna Prayer*).[156]

The metaphor expressed through a nominal phrase, thus simply involving two juxtaposed words, occurs often as well; verbal metaphors are also found (see examples below).

The imagery in these poems accords overall with the standard topoi employed in the description of suffering in the Akkadian penitential prayers and wisdom texts: they often include similes and metaphors taken from the animal kingdom (e.g. the supplicant is likened to a moaning dove, or to a bull being slaughtered), or rely on stereotypical images, such as the sufferer who is compared to a prisoner,[157] or said to be stuck in a morass.[158] Furthermore, some of the figurative images appearing in the texts under study share common traits with the Biblical prayers, especially the Psalms (e.g. what Zernecke calls "the motif of the cessation of praise in death").[159]

For the purpose of this study, the following examples of similes and metaphors have been sorted according to their semantic fields, and further distinguished by their comparative markers.

L'infinito dell'estetica è un sentimento che consegue alla finita e perfetta compiutezza della cosa che si ammira, mentre l'altra forma di rappresentazione di cui parliamo (*sc.* la lista) suggerisce quasi *fisicamente* l'infinito, perché di fatto essa non finisce, non si conclude in forma" (Eco 2019, 17). Cf. also Rubio 2003, 203, who mentions the usage of open enumeration in different ancient literary texts (e.g. in Homer), and its literary implications in Sumerian texts.

156 See Mayer 1995 for a list of occurrences of the adverbial terminative *-iš* used in the comparative sense.

157 See e.g. *Ištar Prayer*, l. 223: [*ana ša bīt ṣibitti*]*m ukallam nūra*, "[To the one who is in pris]on she shows light".

158 See e.g. *Nabû Prayer*, l. 52. On the standard imagery of prayers and 'righteous sufferer' compositions, see Van der Toorn 1985, 65. Cf. chapter 2, § 2.4.1 and chapter 3, § 3.4.1.

159 Zernecke 2014, 35. This motif is found in *Marduk*1, ll. 66-9, cf. Oshima 2011, 147 and 162-3; cf. also Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 168 and 170.

Similes

Animals

- with *kīma/kī/kīma ša*

1. *Nabû Prayer*, l. 57:
   [57]*[k]īma lê ša ina naplāqi palqu irammu ši[gmiš]*
   [57]*[L]ike a bull who is slaughtered with a butchering knife, he bellows lo[udly].*[160]

- with suffix

2. *Ištar Prayer*, l. 104:
   [104]*summeš idanammumma* […]
   [104]Like a dove … [h]e [mo]aned and […]

3. *Ištar Prayer*, l. 183 (broken context): *iṣṣūriš*, "like a bird".

Human Beings

- with *kīma/kī/kīma ša*

1. *Marduk*1, l. 133:
   [133]*kī lallari qubê ušaṣrap*
   [133]Like a mourner, he utters bitter cries[161]

2. *Anūna Prayer*, l. 99:
   [99]*īnīššu dimtum iqarrurā kī dāmimi*
   [99]Tears flow from his eyes like a mourner.[162]

- with suffix

3. *Anūna Prayer*, l. 100 (the suffix *-šan* is elsewhere unattested):[163]
   [100]*dumāmiš ūttaḫaš lā ālittašan*
   [100]He sobs in mourning like a barren woman.[164]

160 This phrase is an example of the so-called 'complete-sentence simile' (see above § 5.2.5).

161 Oshima 2011, 152, 164-5; the translation here follows Lambert 1959-60, 58.

162 Lambert 1989, 328 and 331.

163 Lambert 1989, 335. Cf. Mayer 1995, 185.

164 Lambert 1989, 328 and 331.

4. *Anūna Prayer*, l. 106:
   [106]*mimma ul āmura-ma-an*ʔ *ḫabīliš*
   [106]I have not experienced anything as a criminal.[165]

Nature

- with *kīma/kī/kīma ša*

1. *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 121:
   [121]*kīma mê nagbi dārî zēr*[*šu*(*nu*)] *dā*[*ri*]
   [121]And like the water of a never failing spring [his] descendants will nev[er fail].[166]

2. *Marduk*2, l. 80:
   [80]*bēlum uggukka k*[*ī*] *gapuš abūšin*
   [80]Lord, your anger is [l]like a massive delu[ge][167]

3. *Nabû Prayer*, l. 78:
   [78]*kī taltalti luttaggiš ina k*[*amâti*]
   [78]"Like the pollen of a date palm, shall I drift about in op[en country]?

- with suffix

1. *Nabû Prayer*, ll. 178-9:
   [178]*aḫrâtaš pisnuqiš lallāriš udašš*[*ap*]
   [179]*alamittu uḫenša daddariš mā*[*r*]
   [178]With time, what (seemed) pitiable, he swee[tens] like syrup,
   [179]The early fruit of the date-palm is bit[ter] like stinkwort

Inanimate Objects and Abstracta

- with *kīma/kī/kīma ša*

1. *Gula Hymn*, ll. 133-4:
   [133]*apir šamê kīma agê*
   [134]*šēnu erṣeta kīma šēni*
   [133]He wears the heavens on his head like a turban,
   [134]He is shod with the underworld as with sandals.[168]

165 Lambert 1989, 328 and 331. This line is an example of the so-called 'negative simile' (Wasserman 2003, 149), i.e. a simile which contains a negative particle (see above, § 5.2.5).

166 Lambert 1960, 132-3; cf. Rozzi 2021a.

167 For the new reading of this line, see Jiménez 2022, 200; cf. Oshima 2011, 229, 244-5. This is a case of 'copulative simile' (Wasserman 2003, 148), i.e. a non-explicit simile in which there is no *tertium comparationis* and the simile-marker serves the function of a copula (see above, § 5.2.5).

168 Lambert 1967, 124-5. These two similes can be defined as 'similes of *instrumentalis*', i.e. 'similes whose tenor serves as an *instrumentalis*', see Wasserman 2003, 149.

2. *Ištar Prayer*, l. 100:
   100*kīma igāri ša iquppu* [*iʾabbat*?]
   100Like a tottering wall [he will fall down].[169]

Divine Beings

- with *kīma*/*kī*/*kīma ša*

1. *Marduk*2, l. 44:
   44[*k*]*ī Girru ezzi zāʾira tašarrap*
   44Like the furious fire-god you burn up the foe.[170]

Metaphors

Animals

- nominal

1. *Marduk*1, ll. 5/7: *ša amāruk šibbu*, "You, whose stare is a dragon".[171]

2. *Marduk*2, l. 45: *ušumgallu uzzaka*, "Your rage is a ušumgallu-snake".[172]

3. *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, l. 29: *rīmu šaqû rēšu*, "The wild bull with lofty head", i.e. Ninurta.[173]

Nature

- nominal

1. *Marduk*2, l. 38'':
   38*šēpāka nagbu edû qātāka*
   38Your feet are a spring, your hands are a huge wave.[174]

169 If my restoration is correct, this is another example of 'complete-sentence' simile (see § 5.2.5).

170 Oshima 2011, 226, 242-3.

171 Oshima 2011, 142, 158 and 159; cf. also Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 167 and 169; Mayer 1995, 172.

172 Oshima 2011, 226, 242-3.

173 Lambert 1967, 116-17; cf. Földi 2021a. This metaphor construction is in apposition to the name of the god, which appears further in l. 34; apposition is classified by Streck among the subtype 'Indirekte Identifikation' (Streck 1999, 40).

174 Translation by the Author. For the reading of this line, see the recently identified fragment BM 55408 published in George, Taniguchi 2019, no. 126. Cf. Oshima 2011, 238, 250-1.

2. *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 17 (also *Marduk*2, l. 9):[175] *ṣerret šamāmī*, "the udders of Heaven", i.e. the clouds.[176]

- verbal

1. *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, l. 165 (*nalāšu* 'to dew', 'to rain', *AHw* II 724; *CAD* N/1 199):
   165*ina šadāhīya kuzbu inalluš*
   165When I go in procession, sexuality rains down.[177]

Inanimate Objects and Abstracta

- nominal

1. *Marduk*1, l. 69: *epru mītu*, "dead dust", i.e. a dead man.[178]

2. *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 95: *ša kāṣir anzilli qarnīšu*, "the horns of a scheming villain", i.e. the power.[179]

- verbal

1. *Marduk*1, l. 126 (*reḫû* 'to pour', *AHw* II 969; *CAD* R *252*-4, see 253 mng. 3a):
   126*elīšu irteḫḫû* [*i*]*mṭû tanēḫu*
   126They have poured upon him depletion and distress.[180]

2. *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, l. 150 (*sakāpu* 'to throw', *AHw* II 1011, sub *sakāpu* I; *CAD* S 70-4 sub *sakāpu* A; *nadû* 'to throw', *AHw* II 705-9 sub *nadû* III; *CAD* N/1 68-100)
   150*sākip ṣālti nādû tuqunti*
   150Who sets strife in motion, lets loose warfare.[181]

175 Lambert 1960, 126-7; cf. Rozzi 2021a; for *Marduk*2, see Oshima 2011, 222, 240-1.

176 Cf. Lambert 1960, 127, who translates: "the *vault* of the Heavens", but compare the more recent translation by Foster *apud* Rozzi 2021a. This Akkadian expression is a translation from the Sumerian u b u r a n-n a 'teat of heaven', cf. Hurowitz 1998, 262-3; cf. also Streck 1999, 110. Following Streck, this metaphorical construction can be termed as *Genitivverbindung* (Streck 1999, 40).

177 Lambert 1967, 126-7; cf. Földi 2021a.

178 Oshima 2011, 148, 162-3. Cf. also Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 168 and 170.

179 Lambert 1960, 130-1; cf. Rozzi 2021a. The whole verse reads: *ša kāṣir anzilli qarnīšu tuballa*, "You destroy the horns of the scheming villain", cf. Ps. 75:10, "All the horns of the wicked I will cut off, but the horns of the righteous shall be lifted up" (translation taken from the English Standard Version, 2017).

180 Oshima 2011, 151, 165-5.

181 Lambert 1967, 126-7; cf. Földi 2021a.

3. *Queen of Nippur*, col. ii, l. 21 (*tabāku* 'to pour', *AHw* III 1295-6; *CAD* T 1-10)
   21*itabbak hurbāša elīšu ana … šakinšu qūlu*
   21(the demon Kilili) pours silence over him.[182]

Divine Beings

- nominal

1. *Nabû Prayer*, l. 21: [*Adad*(?) *šagi*]*mmuk*, "Your roar is Adad", i.e. 'Your roar is like a storm'.

5.2.5.1.2 Hendiadys

1. *Anūna Prayer*, l. 166 (*riddu*/*ṭūbu*):
   166[ ] x bi/ga *riddī u ṭūbī*
   166[ ] … my favourable guidance (lit. my guidance and my favours).[183]

2. *Ištar Prayer*, ll. 182-3 (*nadānu*/*uzzuzu*; *nadānu*/*šâbu*)
   182*iddinšumma uzzaza* […]
   183*iddinšumma idammu išâ*[*b* …]
   182He let himself become furious… […]
   183He let himself have convulsions, sha[ke …].[184]

3. *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 126 (*ḫamāṭu*/*pašāru*)
   126*tušaḫmaṭ ṣīt pîšunu tapaššar attā*
   126In a moment you discern what they say.[185]

5.2.5.1.3 Merismus

1. *Queen of Nippur*, col. ii, l. 3: *eṭlu*/*ardatu*
   3[*eṭlu*] *u ardatu isurru i*[*mmellū*]
   3[Young man] and young woman danced and [made merry][186]

2. *Nabû Prayer*, ll. 176-7: two merismi structured into a chiasmus, *meṣḫeru*/*šīdītu*; *māru*/*mārtu*
   176*šēr rēṣūtija šuršurrū ḫinzūri*

182 Lambert 1982, 194-5; cf. Földi 2021c.

183 Lambert 1989, 328 and 331; cf. Wasserman 2003, 12.

184 Cf. Groneberg 1987, II: 47.

185 Lambert 1960, 134-5; cf. Rozzi 2021a. Merismatic pairs usually have a fixed order, in which the male component always precedes the female one. Cf. Wasserman 2003, 92-3.

186 Lambert 1982, 194-5; cf. Földi 2021c.

[177]*meṣḫēru šī*[*dītu*(?)] | *mārtu mār*[*u*]
[176]My morning aid, the fruits of the apple-tree,
[177]youth (and) maid[en]/ daughter (and) so[n].[187]

3. *Ištar Prayer*, l. 181: *tappû-rū'u*
[181]*ištīssu tappû ru'û uš*[*šurūšu*?]
[181]Companions and friends le[ft him] alone.

4. *Anūna Prayer*, l. 66: *immu-mūšu*
[66]*ittalak imma u mūša a*-[…]
[66]He has run around days and nights.[188]

5. *Ištar Prayer*, l. 228: *ṣit šamši-šalām šamši*
[228][*ištu ṣīt šam*]*ši ana šalāmu šamši*
[228][From the rising of the] sun to the setting of the sun.

5.2.5.1.4 Climax

1. *Marduk*2, l. 62:
[62]*ašrum-ma paliḫ kitmusu ila ireddi*
[62]Humble, frightful, prostrated, he follows (his) god[189]

2. *Ištar Prayer*, l. 160 :
[160]*ṣurrup šussuk arim kalā*[*šu*]
[160]He is burnt, thrown down, completely overwhelmed.

5.2.5.1.5 Pun

1. *Gula Syncretistic*, l. 16:
[16]*puḫur billi upšāšê rikis nēmeqi* […]
[16]All the complex magic procedures, the collected wisdom, […]

This line seems to hint at a polysemy: the term *riksu* mostly signifies 'binding', 'bond' or, in particularly in connection with the healing aspect of Gula, 'medical bandage' (*AHw* II 984-5; *CAD* R 347-55); in this line, however, the term *riksu* yields the different, far less common meaning of 'assemblage of knowledge'.[190]

187 For the meaning of the *hapax legomena meṣḫeru* and *šīdītu*, see the commentary on this line in chapter 2.

188 Lambert 1989, 326 and 330; cf. Wasserman 2003, 67.

189 Cf. Streck 2003, 56: "Demütig, ehrfürchtig, tief(?) gebeugt folgt er seinem Gott". Cf. Oshima 2011, 227, 242-3.

190 Bennett 2021, 230.

2. *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, ll. 114-15:
   114*rēmēnû supî išemmi*
   115*ragga ayyāba ušemmi*[191] *tiṭṭiš*
   114Merciful, he hears prayer,
   115The wicked and enemies he turns into clay.[192]

This is a *paronomasia*: the verbal forms *išemme* 'he hears', and *ušemmi* 'he turns' are similar in sound, but different in meaning.

3. *Nabû Prayer*, l. 25:
   25[*bēlu šibbu*(?) *amā*]*ruk* [*u*]*rpatu nekelmûk*
   25[O Lord], your [gla]re is [a serpent], your frown is a [dar]k cloud.

If my restoration is correct, this is a double entendre: *a-ma-ruk* can be understood as derived from *amāru* 'to see' (*AHw* I 40-2; *CAD* A/2 4.27) followed by the suffix *-k*(*a*), which would parallel *nekelmû* + *-k*(*a*) 'your frowning' (*AHw* II 775; *CAD* N/2 152-3) in the second hemistich, or as the Sumerian loan word *Emarukku*/*Amarukku* 'deluge', see *AHw* I 211. Similar word play can be observed in *Marduk*1, ll. 5/7: (*marduk*) *ša amāruk šibbu gapaš abūšin*, "Marduk, whose stare is a dragon, a flood overwhelming".[193]

4. *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 143
   143*muttaḫlilu šarrāqu muṣallû ša šamši*
   143The footpad, the robber are prayerful to the Sun.[194]

Or:

   143The prowling robber, the enemy of the Sun.[195]

This could represent a further case of double entendre, since the term *muṣallû* can be interpreted in two ways: *muṣallû* can be understood as derived from the verb *sullû*/*ṣullû*, which means 'to pray' or 'to beseech' (*AHw* III 1056; *CAD* 366-8), and would parallel the verb *maḫārum* in the line immediately following (*muttaggišu imaḫḫarka* 'The bandit confronts you', l. 144). Alternatively, it could also be the rare noun *muṣallû*, found in lexical lists (cf. *AHw* II 678; *CAD* M/2

191 The main manuscript has a scribal mistake and shows the form *i-šem-mi* also in l. 115, cf. Lambert 1967, 122.

192 Lambert 1967, 121-2.

193 Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 167, 169; cf. Oshima 2011, 142, 158-9.

194 See Rozzi 2021a, translation by Foster.

195 Lambert 1960, 135-5.

241), which bears the meaning of 'liar' or 'evildoer'.[196] The term *muttaḫlilu* could be understood as a noun or as an adjective referring to *sarraqu* (the adjective in the first position agrees with the elevated language observed in Akkadian poetry).[197]

5. *Šamaš Hymn*, ll. 171-3
   171 *laḫmū šūt tâmti ša malû puluḫta*
   172 *erib tâmti ša apsâ ibā'ū*
   173 *meḫerti nāri ša irteddû šamaš ina maḫrīka*
   171 Monsters from the sea, filled with fearsomeness,
   172 Denizens of the ocean, who traverse the depths,
   173 The catch of the rivers, they are what they lead, O Shamash, before you.[198]

A third example of double entendre is found in these lines: in fact, *erbu* in *erib tâmti* can be understood as both *irbu*/*erbu* 'income' (*AHw* I 233-4; *CAD* I 173-5), thus paralleling with *meḫertu* 'abundance' in the following line, and as *erbu* 'Locust' (*AHw* I 234; *CAD* E 255-7, which would instead parallel the *lahmū*-monsters in the line immediately preceding [171]).[199]

5.2.5.1.6 Enumeration

1. *Nabû Prayer*, l. 216:
   216 [*leq*]*e damāṣa balāṣa u utnenšu*
   216 [Ta]ke the prostrating, the bowing and his prayer

2. *Šamaš Hymn*, ll. 130-1:
   130 *tašemme šamaš suppâ sullâ (u) karāba*
   131 *šukenna kitmusa litḫuša* (*u*) *labān appi*
   130 You observe, Šamaš, prayer, supplication, and benediction,
   131 obeisance, kneeling, ritual murmurs, and prostration.[200]

196 Cf. also a Late Babylonian letter, perhaps an exercise, which opens with: ^{lu2}IR$_3$^{meš}-*ka ù mu-ṣal-li-*⌜*i*⌝ *šá* DIĜIR^{me}, "May your servants and the one praying to your gods", see Wagensonner 2020, 203.

197 See George 2003, 424.

198 Rozzi 2021a; cf. Lambert 1960, 136-7.

199 This double entendre was observed by Shalom M. Paul (2005, 253-4), who also identifies a janus parallelism in this set of verses, i.e. a parallelism that involves three stichs, in which a central element provides a pun with both the preceding and the following stich, see Noegel 2021, 175-6: "Multidirectional polysemy, frequently called 'Janus parallelism' or less often 'pivotal polysemy', is distinguished from unidirectional polysemy in that it exploits a single word that has two meanings, one of which faces back to a previous line, while the other faces forward to one that follows", with further references.

200 Lambert 1960, 135; cf. Rozzi 2021a.

5.2.6 Morphological figures in the Akkadian sources

This short section contains some examples of four morphological figures – i.e, figures that operate on the morphological level of language – commonly found in Akkadian poetry, namely the *figura etymologica*, the polyptoton, the anadiplosis and the epanadiplosis.[201]

The *figura etymologica* can be defined as "the coupling of a (usually intransitive) verb and a noun derived from the same root (*to sing a song, ein Leben leben*)".[202] The polyptoton, on the other hand, can concern nouns or verbs: the nominal polyptoton consists in the repetition of a word, varied in case, number or gender; in the verbal polyptoton, instead, the alteration mainly involves the conjugations, the tenses, and the plural or singular form of the verbs.[203] Both these figures are used for intensification and emphasis, but also serve the aesthetic purpose of variation.[204]

In addition, the device of anadiplosis, also known as 'terrace pattern' in the Biblical studies,[205] is the repetition of the last morpheme of a verse at the beginning of the following line. It has the function of creating tension, slowing down the pace of the verses and thus capturing the audience's attention.[206] It resembles the device of the epanadiplosis, namely the repetition of the same word or morpheme at the beginning and at the end of a verse or couplet.[207]

201 These rhetorical devices are often found also in Hebrew and Ugaritic poetry, see e.g. McCreesh 1991, 76 for the usage of polyptoton in Genesis and in the book of Proverbs; see Watson 1986, 239 for the occurrence of the *figura etymologica* in the Biblical poetry, with some examples from Ugaritic and Akkadian; and cf. also Watson 1986, 208-13, 356-9 and 273 for several attestations of anadiplosis in Hebrew and Ugaritic sources.

202 Citation from Plett 2010, 174. Cf. Lanham 1991, 117 and Lausberg 1998, 288.

203 Plett 2010, 173-4. Cf. also Brogan 1993b, 967-8.

204 Cf. Lausberg 1998, 288, with regard to polyptoton: "the contrast between the equivalence of the word and the difference in its syntactic function has an enlivening effect"; cf. also Plett 2010, 175. See Dardano 2019 for a study on the *figura etymologica* and the polyptoton, in addition to other rhetorical devices, in Hittite prayers.

205 Watson 1986, 208.

206 For a definition of the anadiplosis, see also Lanham 1991, 10; cf. also Lausberg 1990, 82-3 sub *reduplicatio*. Compare Watson 1986, 209-10 for other possible functions of the device of anadiplosis in Hebrew, Ugaritic and Akkadian.

207 For a definition of the epanadiplosis, see Marchese 1978, 82.

5.2.6.1 Morphological Figures in the *Great Hymns and Prayers*

5.2.6.1.1 *Figura Etymologica*

1. *Queen of Nippur*, col. iv, l. 16 (*šiāmu/šīmtu*):
   [16]*maḫriš* (|) *itti* (|) *enlil* | *išâm* | *šīmta*
   [16]She decrees destinies in front of Enlil's sign.[208]

2. *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 101 (*diānu/dīnu*):
   [101]*dayyānu muštālu ša dīn mīšari idīnu*
   [101]A circumspect judge who pronounces just verdicts.[209]

3. *Anūna Prayer*, l. 84 (*anāḫu/inḫu*):
   [84]*inḫa īnaḫu ušann*[*a*]
   [84]He repeats the toils he has wearied himself with[210]

5.2.6.1.2 Polyptoton

1. *Šamaš Hymn*, ll. 23-4 (*tapaqqid/paqdāka*):
   [23]*nišī mātāti kullassina tapaqqid*
   [24]*ša ea šar malkī uštabnû* || *kalîš paqdāka*
   [23]You care for all the peoples of the lands,
   [24]And everything that Ea, king of the counsellors, had created, is entrusted to you[211]

2. *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, l. 117 (*ašarēd ašarēdī*):[212]
   [117]*ninurta ašarēd ašarēdī mār enlil gašru*
   [117]Ninurta, foremost of the foremost, mighty son of Enlil.[213]

3. *Queen of Nippur*, col. iv, ll. 47-9 (*nigûti/nigûta*):
   [47]*ina bīt arḫi isinni tašīlāti nigût*[*i*]
   [48]*šemî-ma bēltu kabattuk liḫd*[*i*]
   [49]*līliṣ libbuk līteriš nigû*[*ta*]
   [47]In the house of the monthly festival, (wherein is) joy and mirth,

208 Lambert 1982, 202-3; cf. Földi 2021c.

209 Lambert 1960, 132-3; cf. Rozzi 2021a.

210 Lambert 1989, 326 and 330.

211 Lambert 1960, 126-7; cf. Rozzi 2021a.

212 Cf. Schäfer 1974, 148-55, who calls this kind of formulation the "paronomastische Intensitätsgenitiv".

213 Lambert 1967, 122-3; cf. Földi 2021a.

[48]Harken, mistress, that your reins rejoice,
[49]Let your heart be glad and ask for mirth.[214]

5.2.6.1.3 Anadiplosis

1. *Marduk*2, ll. 68-9:
   [68]*kī ītennu bēlu ištaʾal irēm ušpaššiḫ*
   [69]*ušpaššiḫ Marduk rēmēnû utār ana dumqi*
   [68]Once the lord has raged, he reflects, has mercy, and relents,
   [69]Merciful Marduk relents and turns (his rage) into kindness.[215]

2. *Šamaš Hymn* ll. 55-6:
   [55][…] … *ša riksāti kitmusū maḫarka*
   [56][*ina maḫ*]*rīka kitmusū raggu u kīnu*
   [55][Those who are preparing for] rites kneel before you.
   [56][Be]fore you kneel both wicked and just.[216]

5.2.6.1.4 Epanadiplosis

1. *Marduk*2, ll. 32-3
   [32']*tušpaššaḫ sagiqqa tušnāḫ bubūtīšu*
   [33']*bušāna tīb nakkapti mušarqida tušpaššaḫ*
   [32'] You soothe the muscular ailment, you ease his boils.
   [33'] You soothe the leprosy, the blow on the brow that makes one jump around.[217]

214 Lambert 1982, 204-5; cf. Földi 2021c.

215 See Jiménez 2021, 162, with further examples of anadiplosis. Cf. Oshima 2011, 228, 244-5.

216 Translation by Foster, *apud* Rozzi 2021a; cf. Lambert 1960, 128-9.

217 Oshima 2011, 248-9. I owe this reference to E. Jiménez.

5.3 Summary

The above survey is a preliminary study on the rhetorical techniques which can be found within the corpus under consideration:[218] as is clear from the previous examples, there is some degree of overlap between the figures, since multiple poetic devices can occur at the same time: for instance, in the *Šamaš Hymn*, l. 39 exhibits both alliteration and homoioteleuton, see above § 5.2.3.1.1; or, in *Gula Bullussa-rabi*, the rhyming couplet formed by ll. 115-16 also constitutes a synthetic parallelism, see § 5.2.3.1.5. Moreover, devices might be interpreted and labelled in different ways: rhyme, for example, might be considered as a form of repetition, or the various sub types of parallelism might appear as only vaguely distinguishable.[219]

As difficult as it is to make a definite distinction between rhetorical figures, and to identify those devices, which may be of particular significance in the outline of a general rhetorical analysis, it seems clear that the *Great Hymns and Prayers* are highly sophisticated poetic compositions. Although it is challenging to determine the exact context in which these texts were used, it is evident, through the analysis of their poetic elements, that the secondary audience of the *Great Hymns and Prayers* comprised highly advanced scribes, who were erudite scholars capable of appreciating the intricate stylistic features we have highlighted.

Following the criteria given by Groneberg in her study on the definition of literary and lyrical texts in Akkadian, it can be observed that the corpus under study contains all the features indicative of 'poeticality'.[220] Indeed, they are occasionally characterised by a visual arrangement, being divided into distichs or strophes by horizontal rulings; they use a specific literary dialect (the hymno-epic dialect), which includes a special vocabulary; and they follow a metrical pattern, which interweaves with other sound effects, such as phonetic devices or puns.[221] Furthermore, they are enriched with imagery, evoked by similes and metaphors.

218 Several poetic devices have not been included in the present analysis. For instance, cases of ellipsis have been omitted, because they seldom appear in these compositions (for an occurrence of ellipsis, see e.g. *Nabû Prayer*, l. 217, in which the verb *leqû* 'to take', is implied. For the edition of the text and the commentary on this line, see chapter 2). In addition, the hyperbole has not been included here, hyperbolic expressions being typical of hymnic passages, and therefore not deemed as particularly significant for the purpose of this analysis. For hyperbole in hymns, see the introduction of the *Nabû Prayer* and the *Ištar Prayer* in chapter 2 and 3.

219 Cf. Watson 1986, 131 on the difficulty in the classification of parallelisms.

220 Groneberg 1996.

221 For these particular aspects, i.e. the format of tablets, the language and the metrical system, cf. chapter 1, § 1.2.3 and § 1.2.4.

Each of these components contributes to the final result, which is a combination of sound and rhythm, of intra- and intertextual connections, of implicit allusions or vivid symbolic images: in a word, poetry.

6 Conclusions

The Akkadian literary corpus under study is labelled the *Great Hymns and Prayers*. It includes nine poetical compositions addressed to the gods Nabû, Marduk, Šamaš, Gula (*Gula Bullussa-rabi* and *Gula Syncretistic*), and Ištar, which share formal and linguistic features, and, occasionally, similar themes and formulations. Concretely, they are 200 lines or more long, and are divided into couplets or poetical strophes marked by horizontal rulings; moreover, they make use of a special literary idiom (the so-called 'hymno-epic dialect'). In addition, these texts contain several passages that show 'philosophical' reflections which resemble wisdom literature.

Chapter 1 provides readers with a general overview of the *Great Hymns and Prayers*. First, the difficulties in defining the literary genres of Mesopotamian literature are outlined, for instance, the fragmentary state of preservation of the texts and the lack of native poetic classifications, are acknowledged. After a brief summary of the evolution of Sumerian and Akkadian hymns and prayers, I describe the standard structure and form of the two genres. Then I present the actual corpus of the Akkadian *Great Hymns and Prayers*, taking into account different aspects of the compositions, such as the layout of the tablets, the prosodic structure, language, spelling conventions and content. The majority of the texts exhibit the standard metrical pattern of Akkadian literature (i.e. the *Vierheber* verse) and display

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numerous hymno-epic features, including shortened pronominal suffixes, ŠD-stem verbal forms and a special vocabulary. With only a few exceptions, almost all the tablets preserving the *Great Hymns and Prayers* are first-millennium copies, characterised by the typical traits of late manuscripts, e.g. irregular case endings, or apocope of final vowels; verbs can present overhanging vowels.

With respect to the content, I briefly describe several passages in the *Great Hymns and Prayers* which concern problems of human suffering and divine justice. Indeed these compositions employ various wisdom motifs which also occur in the poems of *Ludlul* and the *Theodicy*, and in some penitential prayers. The formulations and literary tropes appearing, for instance, in *Marduk*1, *Marduk*2, *Nabû Prayer* and *Ištar Prayer*, express the supplicant's feelings of despair, the loss of divine protection, their misfortunes and petitions; they reflect the standard language of the *diĝiršadabba* and *eršaḫuĝa* penitential prayers.

Chapters 2 and 3 contain new critical editions of the *Nabû Prayer* and *Ištar Prayer*. Both texts are provided with an introduction, in which I present the stylistic and structural traits of the texts with a detailed prosodic analysis, a list of the hymno-epic traits and a description of the spelling conventions. Chapter 2 offers some observations with regard to the wisdom features of the *Nabû Prayer*, as well. The editions include transliterations, transcriptions and translations of the two prayers; furthermore, any remarkable or problematic philological issues are discussed in the commentaries. I have collated the texts from the original tablets and offer new readings and restorations, in part thanks to some recently discovered additional fragments. In addition, I was able to partially or completely reconstruct several lines in both prayers through comparison with textual parallels.

In chapter 4, I delve into the concept of intertextuality in the *Great Hymns and Prayers*, exploring their meaningful connections with other literary and technical texts. This investigation sheds light on how closely related these hymns and prayers are to each other, as well as how they engage in dialogues with various other texts present in the Akkadian literary and scholarly corpus. These intertextual connections provide valuable insights into the history of their composition and transmission. Lexical lists have proved to be particularly helpful in the understanding and reconstruction of the *Great Hymns and Prayers*, as scribes used them in the process of composition. Chapter 4 reveals how entries from the lexical sources were occasionally inserted into these texts, often in the form of poetic enumerations. The opposite process was also possible, and these learned texts were a source of inspiration for scholars composing scholarly commentaries and lexical texts.

The linguistic and stylistic complexity of this corpus is due not only to their hymno-epic features, including the special vocabulary partially borrowed from the lexical lists, but also to the extensive use of rhetorical devices. The poetic figures and imagery employed in these texts are often inspired by the natural world. In this respect, chapter 5 offers a poetical analysis of the corpus, illustrating the numerous phonetic, semantic, syntactic and morphological figures that enrich the texts under study.

The *Sitz im Leben* of the *Great Hymns and Prayers* remains difficult to define, since they do not bear any clear indication as to their use within a cultic or liturgical setting. Due to their sophisticated style and language, together with their length and the themes they develop, scholars have suggested that their scope might have been purely literary. Although the original purpose of these texts remains speculative, they were certainly employed in scribal schools. After all, most of the *Great Hymns and Prayers* are preserved on multiple manuscripts, many of them being school-exercise copies. As they were transmitted until the last period of the cuneiform culture, they were probably well-known texts, studied and copied as 'classics' of the Mesopotamian literature.

In conclusion, it is clear that these compositions were produced through a careful balance of lexical sources, wisdom themes, poetic forms and religious beliefs, thus showing the inextricable web of connections running through the various realms of Mesopotamian written tradition. In these texts, scribal scholarship is interwoven with poetry and creativity, and traditional schemes are moulded and reshaped into new forms. The *Great Hymns and Prayers*, intricately crafted and skilfully composed, were handed down through countless generations of scribes, carefully preserved within the scribal curriculum, and regarded as invaluable knowledge.

7 Appendix

Summary 7.1 Poetry and Wisdom: Rhetorical Devices in *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* and in the *Babylonian Theodicy*. – 7.1.1 Rhetorical Figures in *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*. – 7.1.2 Rhetorical Figures in the *Babylonian Theodicy*.

7.1 Poetry and Wisdom: Rhetorical Devices in *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* and in the *Babylonian Theodicy*[1]

As previously noted in this study, the *Great Hymns and Prayers* deviate from traditional Akkadian prayers and hymns, such as the Old Babylonian hymns. While they retain the themes and motifs typical of Akkadian hymns and penitential prayers, they exhibit originality in both style and content, featuring a richer use of rhetorical devices, and a learned, sometimes obscure vocabulary[2] closely linked to the lexical and commentary tradition. Moreover, they sometimes display quasi-philosophical thoughts reminiscent of expressions and

1 All the passages cited in this study are taken from the latest edition of *Ludlul* and the *Theodicy*, available on the *eBL* platform and prepared by Hätinen 2021 and Heinrich 2022, respectively, with translations by B. Foster.

2 Note, for example, the complex language of *Marduk*2 and the several *hapax legomena* of the *Nabû Prayer*; note also the concise, epigrammatic style of the *Nabû Prayer* and *Marduk*1 (see e.g. ll. 176-7 of the *Nabû Prayer*, and ll. 66-77 in *Marduk*1, see Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 167 and 170, cf. Oshima 2011, 147, 162-3).

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themes found in late wisdom texts, such as *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* and the *Babylonian Theodicy*.

This appendix offers a concise poetic analysis of the poems *Ludlul* and the *Theodicy*. The rhetorical figures observed in these two compositions mostly overlap with those found in the *Great Hymns and Prayers*. However, some differences can also be observed. While the *Great Hymns and Prayers* rely on numerous figures of sound, repetition, syntactic figures and figures of meaning, fitting into the broader framework of religious rhetoric, the wisdom poems analysed here rely mostly on parallelism, which is a typical poetic device of wisdom literature.[3]

Furthermore, the analysis reveals that the *Theodicy* features relatively few figures of sound, while *Ludlul* includes several cases of alliteration and numerous instances of assonance and consonance. Syntactical rhetorical figures are also identifiable in both poems, including inversions of the standard subject-object-verb order and chiasms. Both texts exhibit a remarkable richness and originality in their use of metaphors and similes, with *Ludlul* surpassing the *Theodicy* in the number and variety of these literary devices.

The reason for selecting *Ludlul* and the *Theodicy*, rather than other wisdom texts that also contain rhetorical figures, e.g. *Counsels of Wisdom* or the *Dialogue of Pessimism*, is the exceptionally high degree of lexical complexity and poetic richness they exhibit. Indeed, the language used in *Ludlul* and the *Theodicy* features a scholarly

3 Donald (1966, 315) notes that in Akkadian literature "The proportion of parallelism is considerably higher in reflective wisdom poetry than in narrative epic poetry." The reason for this preference could lie in the conceptual clarity expressed by parallelism, which, therefore, lends itself well to the ethical illustrations found in wisdom texts. This expressive clarity can be achieved by juxtaposing two expressions of the same thought in order to refine it – as in synthetic and synonymous parallelism – or by contrasting two opposing thoughts, as in antithetic parallelism. Antithetic parallelism seems to be especially used in biblical wisdom poetry (especially in Proverbs, see Krasovec 1984, 17-18), and is also employed in Akkadian wisdom literature, although to a lesser extent (cf. Krasovec 1984, 8). Indeed, antithetic parallelism is employed to emphasise differences rather than merely reinforcing a specific concept, by juxtaposing two contrasting elements. In this sense, antithetic parallelism is particularly useful for emphasising righteous behaviour as opposed to unjust conduct, or for portraying a wise character in contrast to a foolish one. Cf. Bricker 1995, 502-3 on the use of parallelism in Proverbs, who remarks as follows: "The purpose of a proverb stated antithetically is to emphasize the importance of making good choices, to show the results of living in obedience to Yahweh and according to the principles of wisdom as opposed to the negative consequences on the one who makes poor choices". The use of antithetic parallelism as a stylistic tool to effectively illustrate the path of moral conduct is also found in the *Šamaš Hymn*. Despite taking the form of a hymn and consequently being part of the corpus of *Great Hymns and Prayers*, it features an extensive wisdom section largely characterised by antithetic parallelisms, as mentioned in chapter 1 of the present work. For the role played by parallelism in Akkadian literature, cf. also de Zorzi 2022, who comments on the analogical thinking expressed by parallelism in several Akkadian literary texts, including *Ludlul*, the *Theodicy* and the *Šamaš Hymn*.

vocabulary, akin to what is found in the *Great Hymns and Prayers*.[4] Moreover, both texts, like *Marduk*2, have a commentary, a distinction that, to the best of our knowledge, is not shared by any other wisdom text.[5] Furthermore, the richness and abundance of wordplays, imagery, and sound effects found in *Ludlul* and the *Theodicy* are not as prominent, or at least not to the same degree, in other wisdom texts, as evidenced by previous studies on the poetic characteristics of these two compositions.[6]

While *Ludlul* and the *Theodicy* are highly sophisticated texts, copied extensively in the scribal curriculum (*Ludlul*) and cited in literary catalogues (the *Theodicy*),[7] it is evident that, precisely because they are neither hymns nor prayers, they belong to a different literary genre than the *Great Hymns and Prayers*. However, it is worth considering that *Ludlul*, which is characterised by a structure similar to that of Akkadian prayers (see *infra*), exhibits a much greater stylistic resemblance to our texts, when contrasted with the *Theodicy*, which is a 'pure' wisdom text.

This analysis seeks to identify several rhetorical strategies shared by the *Great Hymns and Prayers* and the two selected wisdom compositions, while also highlighting several differences. By outlining the rhetorical devices employed in *Ludlul* and the *Theodicy* and comparing them with those observed in the *Great Hymns and Prayers*, a

4 Some exceptionally rare words are used exclusively in the *Great Hymns and Prayers* and in *Ludlul* and the *Theodicy*, as for instance the difficult technical term *amīru*, signifying 'obstruction of the ear', found in *Ludlul* III, l. 85 and in the *Ištar Prayer*, l. 75 (see Chapter 3); or the learned term for god *qadmu*, which appears in *Theodicy*, lines 39, 251, and 276, as well as in the *Ištar Prayer*, l. 113. The vocabulary of *Ludlul*, containing numerous references to the field of medicine, has led some scholars to hypothesise that the context in which this poem might have originated is that of the *āšipūtu*, on this see Annus, Lenzi 2010 xvi-xviii and 2023, 241-3. As indicated by the acrostic woven throughout the composition, the author of the *Theodicy* was an exorcist priest. It is likely that the *Theodicy* was not as widely known as *Ludlul*, given the scarcity of scholarly manuscripts that preserve it; in fact, the *Theodicy* is noticeably absent in the texts used in first-millennium Babylonian scribal education, cf. Gesche 2001, 806-20. Furthermore, the lexicon employed in the *Theodicy* is so intricate that it makes a widespread dissemination of the text highly improbable. The text's difficulty, in addition to its learned vocabulary, is also due to the strict use of meter, which partly compels the poet to use an epigrammatic style, often hard to understand (on the vocabulary used in the *Theodicy*, and on its peculiar metrical homogeneity, see Jiménez 2028, 125-6). From the combination of these elements, namely the almost complete absence of the *Theodicy* in scholarly manuscripts, the complexity of the lexicon, and the strict adherence to the metric scheme, it can be assumed that the poem's audience was confined to a narrower circle of intellectuals, see Oshima 2014, 143, and cf. also Jiménez 2018b, 126, who concludes that the *Theodicy* "was a text reserved exclusively for initiates".

5 Frahm 2011, 119-20; for the commentary on *Marduk*2, see Jiménez 2017c.

6 See for example Annus, Lenzi 2010, XXVIII-XXXIV; Lenzi 2023; Groneberg 1996. Cf. Izreel 1992 for some phonetic figures in *Theodicy*.

7 The name of the author of *Theodicy*, Saggil-kina-ubbib, appears in the List of Kings and Scholars. For a discussion on this aspect, see Oshima 2014, 123-5.

deeper comprehension of the meaning of these texts is possible. This approach also illustrates how the textual genre can shape a piece stylistically. Moreover, this study is of significance not only for the study of Akkadian literature, but also for that of ancient poetry as a whole. The following list of rhetorical figures in the poems of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* and of the *Babylonian Theodicy* is by no means exhaustive. Rather, it is meant to serve as an initial step for more extensive comparative examinations of literary genres, as well as analysis of the nuanced interplay between literary genre and style.

7.1.1 Rhetorical Figures in *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*

Ludlul bēl nēmeqi is a wisdom composition preserved exclusively in first-millennium manuscripts, but probably composed at the end of the second millennium BCE.[8] This text, structured in five chapters, explores the suffering inherent in the human condition. The poem begins with an extensive hymn of praise to Marduk, followed by a narrative section in which the protagonist of the poem, Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan, recounts his personal adversities in the first person. After fruitlessly attempting to understand the source of his afflictions, the righteous sufferer experiences prophetic dreams that foretell his future deliverance. Ultimately, in chapter 4, Marduk shows mercy by rescuing the sufferer. The composition concludes with a hymn of praise dedicated once again to Marduk, thus echoing the introduction. The poem therefore exhibits a ring structure.

As observed by Alan Lenzi, *Ludlul* bears a striking resemblance in both content and style to Akkadian prayers, particularly the incantation prayers.[9] In fact, the text partially adheres to the typical structure of Akkadian *šuillas*, including, as mentioned above, an hymnic opening, a lament in the main body of the text, and a concluding hymn. Consequently, it should come as no surprise that this wisdom poem exhibits, particularly in its opening and closing sections, the same poetic language and rhetorical structures that we have identified in relation to the *Great Hymns and Prayers*. These include 'lyrical repetition', assonance, alliteration, and rhyme. Besides these sound devices, the *Poem of the Righteous Sufferer* also features numerous metaphors and similes, and above all, parallelism. Parallelism is indeed the most evident rhetorical figure in this poem, displayed in different types, e.g. synonymous, antithetic, synthetic; furthermore, it can involve two lines or two halves of a line.[10]

8 See Annus, Lenzi 2010, xvi-xix and Oshima 2014,

9 See Lenzi 2015 and 2023, 300-32.

10 Cf. Annus, Lenzi 2010, xxx-xxxiv.

7.1.1.1 Phonological Figures in *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*

The *Ludlul* poem showcases several instances of alliteration, assonance and consonance. Some verses include rhymes, but they are always of the grammatical types. *Ludlul* V is distinguished by numerous occurrences of homoioteleuton. Phonetic devices are more often concentrated in one of the two hemistichs, than distributed throughout the entire verse. Below is a list of examples.

7.1.1.1.1 Alliteration

I, l. 55 (/š/):

[55]*šarru šīr ilī šamšu ša nišīšu*
[55]The king, incarnation of the gods, sun of his peoples.

II, l. 24 (alliteration of /t/ in the first hemistich; assonance of /u/ in the second):

[24]*teslītu tašīmatī niqû* (*u*) *sakkû'a*
[24]Supplication to me was the natural recourse, sacrifice my rule.

II, l. 50 (alliteration of /m/ in the first hemistich; assonance of /u/):

[50]*murṣu munnišu elīya innešra*
[50]Debilitating disease was let loose upon me.

III, l. 78 (alliteration of /n/ in the second hemistich; assonance of /a/, /u/ and /e/):

[78]*ū'a ai nê'u u nēšeš*[?]
[78]"Woe!" "Alas" "Spare us!" "Begone!".

IV, l. b+1 (alliteration in the second hemistich):

[b+1]*ana gāmer abāri umāšī umaššil*
[b+1]He made my physique strong as a champion athlete's.

Further alliterations are found, e.g. in *Ludlul* V, l. 10 (repetition of the initial phoneme IM), 73 (repetition of initial /m/); *Ludlul* III, l. 8 (repetition of initial /m/).

7.1.1.1.2 Consonance

I, l. 107 (repetition of /m/):

[107]*kīma summi adammuma gimir ūmīya*
[107]I moaned like a mourning dove all my days.

II, l. 44 (repetition of /m/, assonance of /a/):

[44]*immuṣā-ma immâ šalamtiš*
[44]He pared my nails, which were like the overgrowth of an outcast.

IV, l. c+1 (repetition of /ṣ/ and /p/ in the second hemistich):

[c+1]*kīma nakimti šūṣî uṣappira ṣuprāya*
[c+1]He pared my nails, which were like the overgrowth of an outcast.

7.1.1.1.3 Assonance

II, l. 87 (repetition of the vowels /a/, /u/ and /i/ between the hemistichs, note the consonance obtained through the repetition of the dental consonants /t/ and /d/):

[87]*arkat bubūtī katim urʾu*[*d*]*ī*
[87]My hunger was chronic, my gullet constricted.

III, l. 3 (repetition of the vowel /e/ in the first hemistich):

[3][*en*]*nessu ezzetu abūbu-ma* […]
[3]His [pun]ishment furious, the deluge […].

7.1.1.1.4 Homoioteleuton

I, l. 34:

[34]*ana kī gaṣṣu kakka**šu** kabatta**šu** mušniššat*
[34]As brutal his weapons, so life-sustaining his feelings
Note also the assonance of the vowels /a/ and /u/ in this line.

II, l. 35:

[35]*ša ina libb**īšu** mussuk**at** eli il**īšu** damq**at***
[35]What in one's own heart seems abominable could be good to one's god!

7.1.1.1.5 Rhyme

I, ll. 52-4 (ABCB):

[51]*dalḫā têrētū'a nuppuḫā uddakam*
[52]*itti bārî u šā'ili alaktī ul pars**at***
[53]*ina pî sūqi lemun egerrû'a*
[54]*attīl-ma ina šāt mūši šuttī pard**at***
[51]My omens were confused, they were contradictory every day,
[52]With diviner and dream interpreter my way forward was unresolved.
[53]What I overheard in the street portended ill for me,
[54]When I lay down at night, what I dreamt was terrifying.

I 80-1 (AA):

[80]*sūqa abâ'a-ma turruṣā ubān**ātu***
[81]*errub ēkalliš-ma iṣabburā īn**ātu***
[80]As I went through the streets, I was pointed at,
[81]I would enter the palace, eyes were narrowed at me.

7.1.1.2 Syntactic Figures in *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*

Ludlul exhibits numerous parallelisms of various types, including synthetic, antithetic, synonymous and interrogative parallelisms. These are developed within a single line, couplet or stanza. While most of the observed parallelisms are of the synthetic type,[11] there are also many synonymous parallelisms.[12] The antithetic parallelisms are relatively few.[13] Some parallelisms are also of the grammatical type (e.g. V, ll. 12-14 and V, ll. 18-20).[14] There are few interrogative parallelisms

11 Synthetic parallelisms were observed in the following lines: **I**: 51/52; 9/10; 13/14; 43/44; 45/46; 52/52; 57/58; 59/60; 61/62; 71/72; 73/74; 75/76; 77/78; 79/80; 81-83; 84/85; 86/88; 89-90;91/92; 99/100; 101/102; 103/104; 111/112; 120. **II**: 4/5; 6/7; 8/9; 12/13; 19/20; 21/22; 25/26; 29/30; 51/52; 53-55; 56/57;60/61; 62/63; 64/65; 71/72; 73/74; 75/6; 77-79;86/87; 88/89; 91/92; 93/94; 95/96; 97/98; 99-101; 102/103; 106/107; 108/109; 110/111; 112/113; 117/118; 119/120. **III**: 69/70; 71/73; 80-83; 84/85; 86/87. **V**: 9-11; 39/40; 54-55; 56-58; 75-76;77-79.

12 Synonymous parallelisms were observed in the following lines: **I**: 29/30; 47; 105/106; 107/108; 109-110; 113/114; 115/116; 117/118; 119/120. **II**: 14/15; 16/18; 23/24; 27/28;; 58/59; 61; 62; 66/67; 68/69; 70; 84/85;104/105; 114/115. **III**: 7/8; 9/10; 74/75; 76-79; 88-89; 90/91; 92/93/; 94/95; 96/97; 98/99; 100/101. **IV**: a+1/ a+2; **V**: 12-14; 18-20; 30-33 // 34/36; 37/38; 60/61; 106/107; 113/114.

13 Antithetic parallelisms: **I**: 5/6; 7/8; 15/16; 17/18; 19/20; 21/22; 23/24; 25/26; 33/34; 93/94; 95/96; 97/98. **II**: 34/35; 39; 40; 41-42; 44/45; 46/47.

14 For a clear explanation of grammatical parallelism, see Annus, Lenzi 2010, xxxi.

(I, ll. 35-6 and II, ll. 36-8). In *Ludlul*, we can also observe the use of another syntactic figure: repetition. Repetition especially appears at both the beginning and end of the composition, that is, in sections characterised by a hymnic tone. The text starts with a 'lyrical repetition', namely two couplets featuring the delayed introduction of the name of Marduk; note also the 'lyrical repetition' in ll. 9-12, wherein a chiasmus adds poignancy and poetic quality to the passage (l. 10 *rittuššu rabbat* / l. 12 *rabbat rittašu*); furthermore, in the fifth chapter, there occurs a series of repetitions and enumerations that evoke the typical litany-like quality often found in hymns and prayers.[15] For instance, consider ll. 1-4 of *Ludlul* V, where the term *bēlī* is reiterated at the beginning of each line, followed by verbal forms ending with the suffix *-ni*. This repetition of *bēlī* at the beginning of each line can also be described as an instance of anaphora. Some repetitions occur in *Ludlul* III as well, where a narrative passage occurs, showing some similarity with narrative texts and epic (see e.g. the phrase in l. 21 *ašnī-ma šunata ana*[*ṭṭal*], "a first time I had a dream" and l. 29 *ašluš-ma šunata anaṭṭal*, "a second time I had a dream", which appears similar to the formula used to introduce the dreams of Gilgameš in SB *Gilgameš* IV).

Among the syntactic features observable in this poem, instances of word order inversion can also be included. However, true cases of hyperbaton (understood as the separation between the subject and its predicate through the insertion of other words) seem to be absent.[16] Instead the placing of the verb in a non-final position, often penultimate (here under *Anastrophe*) can be found. Often, moreover, verbs are placed at the very opening of the verses, in first position ('fronting'). Only two examples of anastrophe have been provided in the present study, since it is such a common feature in Akkadian poetry that it does not warrant special attention. However, it should be noted that it is attested numerous times within the current poem.

15 For an example of litanies and repetitions in hymns and prayers, see for example the repeated phrase in *Queen of Nippur, mamman ul ile''i* (mentioned in chapter 5, § 5.2.4.1.2), and the closing section of the *šuilla* prayer Ištar 2, where the word *ahulap* is repeated across ll. 27-30, 45-50, cf. Zgoll 2003, 43-4. Litany-like passages are also commonly attested in first-millennium Akkadian incantations, see Schwemer 2014, 274. As observed by Schwemer (2014, 274), phonetic figures, especially the repetition of formulas, allow for the emphasis of discourse and the creation of a meditative and solemn atmosphere. This type of language is particularly suited for the recitation of religious texts and the performance of incantations.

16 For a definition of Hyperbaton, see Plett 2010, 194; cf. Jiménez 2017, 282, with fn. 717 for the use of this device in Akkadian literary texts.

7.1.1.2.1 Parallelism in *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*

Synonymous Parallelism

I, ll. 29-30:

[29]*ēlu ap*[*kallu*] *mimma libbi ilī ibarri*
[30]*manāma i*[*na ilī*] *alaktašu ul īde*
[29]Sage lord, he divines the gods' inmost thoughts,
[30]None among the gods can comprehend his ways.

II, l. 61 (in one line):

[61]*labâna ītiqū urammû kišāda*
[61]They wrenched my nape tendons, they made my neck limp.

Synthetic Parallelism

I, ll. 43-4:

[43]*iddânni ilī šadâšu īli*
[44]*ipparku ištarī ibēš aḫīta*
[43]My own god threw me over, he disappeared,
[44]My goddess deserted, she vanished away.

Antithetic Parallelism

I, ll. 5-6:

[5]*ša kīma ūmi meḫê nāmû uggassu*
[6]*u kīma mānīt šēreti zâqšu ṭābu*
[5]Whose anger, like a raging tempest, is a desolation,
[6]But whose breeze is kind as the breath of morn.

7.1.1.2.2 Repetition in *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*

'Lyrical Repetition', i.e. Delayed Introduction

I, ll. 1-4:

[1]*ludlul bēl nēmeqi ila muštāla*
[2]*eziz mūšī muppašir urrī*
[3]*marduk bēl nēmeqi ila muštāla*
[4]*eziz mūšī muppašir urrī*
[1]I will praise the lord of wisdom, solicitous god,

[2]Furious in the night, pacified by day:
[3]Marduk! Lord of wisdom, solicitous god,
[4]Furious in the night, pacified by day.

III, ll. 35 and 38 (repetition with *variatio* in verbal forms):

[35]***iqbâ*** *aḫulap magal* ***šūnuḫ****-ma*
[35]She said, "Mercy on him! He has suffered greatly!"

[38]***iqbû*** *aḫulap magal* ***šum***[***ruṣ****-ma*]
[38]They said, "Mercy on him, he has suffered greatly!"

7.1.1.2.3 Anastrophe

II, l. 58 (fronting of the stative and finite verb in penultimate position):

[58]*paḫrū-ma ramānšunu ušaḫḫazū nullâti*
[58]They convened and urged themselves on with villainous talk.

II, l. 62 (fronting of the finite verb):

[62]*errub bītuššu rebû itamma*
[62]I'll take over his household! Vows the fourth.

7.1.1.3 Semantic Figures in *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*

The poem of *Ludlul* is extremely rich in metaphors and similes. The majority of these figures revolve around natural imagery, encompassing animals and natural phenomena. Additionally, images that draw from objects and human characters can be observed. There are relatively few metaphors, which mostly concern verbal forms (e.g. I, ll. 48, 105-6; II, ll. 75-9, 86), that is, the verb is used to describe an action or state that is different from its usual or conventional meaning, allowing for a deeper and more imaginative expression of the intended message.[17] The merisms attested in the *Ludlul* poem consist of both standard pairs of contrasting words (night/day, god/goddess, servant/maid),[18] and rarer merismatic pairs (brother/friend).[19]

17 For a thorough study on metaphors, included verbal metaphors, see Lakoff 1980.

18 This is the so called 'polar word-pair' type, the most commonly attested in the semitic literatures, cf. Watson 1986, 323; Longman III 1991, 464-6.

19 See Wasserman 2003, 84-85.

In addition, a noticeable pun occurs at the end of *Ludlul* I (see below); a few enumerations can be observed, all in the last chapter (ll. 56, 62-3, 65). A form of enumeration, developed over several lines, is the long list of names of the different gates appearing in *Ludlul* V (ll. 42-53).

7.1.1.3.1 Similes

Similes in *Ludlul* are expressed both with the particle *kīma/kī* and with the poetic terminative suffix *-iš*.[20]

Animals

I, l. 20:

[20](*u*) *kī araḫ būri ittanasḫara arkīšu*
[20]Like a cow with a calf, he keeps turning around watchfully.

Human beings

II, l. 42:

[42]*ina pīt purīdi uṣarrap lallariš*
[42]In a heartbeat he moans like a professional mourner.

Nature

IV, l. 81:

[81]*issuḫ* [*k*]*īma nalši mū*[*š*]*i elīya uštess*[*i*]
[81]He withdrew like dew of night, he removed it far from me.

Inanimate objects

II, l. 68:

[68]*lānī zaqra ībutū igāriš*
[69]They toppled my lofty stature like a wall.

20 The similes attested in the poem with the terminative suffix *-iš* are 20 over 42.

7.1.1.3.2 Metaphors

Nature

I, l. 7:

uzzuššu lā maḫār abūbu rūbšu
In his fury overpowering, his rage the deluge.

II, l. 120:

ša qerbi mūdê šamassun īrim
The sun of those close and who knew me was covered over.

Inanimate objects/*abstracta:*

I, ll. 84-5:

[84]*ina pīya naḫbalu nadī-ma*
[85]*u napraku sekir šaptīya*
[84]A snare was laid over my mouth,
[85]And a bolt was locking my lips.

I, ll. 105-6:

[105]*ūmu šutānuḫu mūšu gerrānu*
[106]*arḫu qitayyulu idirtu šattu*
[105]Sighing the day, lamentation the night,
[106]Moroseness the month, the year despair.

II, l. 79 (verbal):

[79]*mašâ-ma namušīšā šēpāya*
[79]My feet began to forget how to move.

7.1.1.3.3 Pun

I, l. 120:

[120]*arḫu innammaru inammira šamšī*
[120]A new moon will appear, my sun will shine!

This is a paronomasia, since the wordplay is produced through the similarity of sound between the two different verbs (*amāru* and *nawāru* respectively).

7.1.1.3.4 Enumeration

V, l. 62:

62[*sippī ši*]*gara mēdela dalāti*
62["To the threshold, the bolt] socket, the bolt, the doors.[21]

7.1.1.3.5 Merismus

I, ll. 84-5:

84*ana aḫî aḫī itūra*
85*ana lemni* (*u*) *gallê itūra ibrī*
84My brother became a stranger to me,
85My friend became malignant, a demon.

I, ll. 89-90:

89*šūpîš ina puḫri īruranni ardī*
90*amtī ina pān ummāni ṭapiltī iqbi*
89My slave cursed me openly in the assembly (of gentlefolk),
90My slave girl defamed me before the rabble.

III, l. 7:

7[*u*]*rra u mūša ištēniš anas*[*sus*]
7I was gro[an]ing day and night alike.

III, l. 8

8*uttu munattu malmališ šumr*[*uṣāni*]
8Dreaming and waking [I was] equally wretched.

7.1.1.4 Morphological figures in *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*

Few rhetorical figures that involve the repetition of the same morpheme within a verse (epanalepsis),[22] or between two verses (an-

21 The same sequence is attested in the Nabonidus' Ebabbar Cylinder, see the note on this line in Hätinen 2022.

22 For the definition of epanalepsis, see Marchese 1978, 82-3.

adiplosis and epanadiplosis),[23] are present. The device of polyptoton is apparently attested only once, but several instances of *figura etymologica* could be identified.

7.1.1.4.1 Anadiplosis

II, ll. 23-4:

[23]*aḫsus(-ma) ramānī supê (u)* ***teslīta***
[24]***teslītu*** *tašīmatī niqû (u) sakkû'a*
[23]I, for my part, was mindful of prayer and supplication,
[24]Supplication to me was the natural recourse, sacrifice my rule.

7.1.1.4.2 Epanalepsis

II, l. 2:

[2]*assaḫḫar-ma* ***lemun lemun****-ma*
[2]As I turned round about me, it was more and more terrible.

7.1.1.4.3 Epanadiplosis

In *Ludlul* III, ll. 35-6, we can observe a form of epanadiplosis, wherein the morpheme *iqbâ* is repeated both at the beginning and at the end of the first hemistichs in each line:

[35]***iqbâ*** *aḫulap* || *magal šūnuḫ-ma*
[36]*lā tapallaḫ* ***iqbâ*** || *ušaškin* […]
[35]She said, "Mercy on him! He has suffered greatly!"
[36]"Fear not!" said she, he has caused [a limit] to be set.

Incidentally, also note the consonance in *aḫulap* and *tapallaḫ*.

23 For the device of epanadiplosis, i.e. the repetition of the same morpheme at the beginning and at the end of a verse or set of verses, see Marchese 1978, 82.

7.1.1.4.4 Polyptoton:

IV, ll. i+9-1+10:

i+9[…] … ***bulluṭu*** *šakin* … […]
1+10[(…) ***uball]iṭanni*** *šēress*[*u* …]
i+9[…] reviving, […] was placed
1+10[… he rev]ived me, […] his punishment.

7.1.1.4.5 Figura Etymologica:

II, l. 102:

102*kal ūmi* ***rēdû ireddâ***[***nni***]
102All day long tormentor would torment [me].[24]

7.1.2 Rhetorical Figures in the *Babylonian Theodicy*

The *Babylonian Theodicy* is a wisdom dialogue divided into stanzas, which deals with ethical and theological problems. Two friends discuss the existence of divine justice, presenting opposing arguments. The most notable stylistic feature of this composition is that each stanza begins with the same syllable, forming an acrostic. The fact that the same sign is repeated at the beginning of each stanza, and not necessarily the same sound (e.g. KI for *ki* as well as for qi_2, BI for *bi* as for pi_2), suggests that the *Theodicy* was intended to be primarily read, rather than recited aloud.[25]

Indeed, the written nature of this composition could be supported by the relative scarcity of sound figures. In contrast to *Ludlul*, in fact, there appear to be few alliterations, rhymes, assonances or consonances in the poem of the *Theodicy*. The predominant rhetorical figure is clearly parallelism, while other figures of meaning, such as metaphor or simile, are relatively few, and for the most part expressed not through the particle *kī*/*kīma*, but with the terminative suffix *-iš*.

24 Other *figurae etymologicae* are, e.g. in *Ludlul* II, l. 19; *Ludlul* III, ll. 39, 47; *Ludul* IV, l. c+1.

25 While it is true that the poem seems to adhere closely to Akkadian meter, as evidenced by the vertical lines marking the feet of each verse in some manuscripts, this aspect does not necessarily contradict the likelihood of its primarily reading-based use. In fact, the meticulous graphical marking of the metric structure in certain sources could suggest an intention to visually convey it to the reader, possibly serving as an aid for comprehending such a difficult text. On the written nature of the *Theodicy*, see Izre'el 1992, 160; cf. Oshima 2014, 143.

Other figures occurring in the *Great Hymns and Prayers* are rare, such as enjambement (which is, however, scarce in Akkadian literature overall), with only one occurrence. Anadiplosis and epanalepsis are entirely absent, and there are no instances of repetitions. The absence of certain figures, such as the 'lyrical repetition', is not surprising, given that it is a rhetorical device commonly employed in religious poetry (hymns and prayers), particularly in the opening section of the text devoted to invoking the addressed god (i.e. the *laudes* section, see Chapter 1 for the typical structure of Akkadian hymns and prayers).

The absence of repetitive patterns and the distinctive structure of the text as a philosophical dialogue prevent it from displaying the litany-like form that is typical of hymns and prayers, or the 'formulaic' aspect characteristic of epic texts.

7.1.2.1 Phonological Figures in the *Babylonian Theodicy*

There are few alliterations in the *Theodicy*, while a considerable number of consonances and some assonances are found. In most cases, phonetic devices concern only one hemistich, and not the entire verse. As in *Ludlul*, and throughout Akkadian literature, the rhymes in the *Theodicy* are grammatical in nature. However, there are several instances of homeoteleuton, mostly produced through the repetition of pronominal suffixes.

As can be seen from some of the following examples, the present composition is rich in wordplay, more precisely, in paronomasias, which involve phonetic ambiguity. Many consonances can be observed in these cases.

The inference drawn from a close examination of this composition and the analysis of its phonetic elements suggests that although certain phonetic devices are undeniably evident, the author's predominant focus was centred on the initial acrostic. Perhaps additional phonetic figures would have distracted the audience from appreciating the acrostic. More likely, the text was primarily intended to be read rather than recited, and the phonetic figures would have been less noticeable in any case.

7.1.2.1.1 Alliteration

l. 200 (repetition of /k/ in the first hemistich and of /n/ in the second; a consonance is obtained, through the repetition of the velar consonants /k/ and /q/ in the entire verse)

200***k***a*ššāta* ***k***ullat* ***n***ēmeqi* ***n***išī tamallik*
200You are masterful, you teach the people all wisdom.

l. 281 (repetition of /š/ in the first hemistich):

281***š***arḫiš* ***š***a* ***š***arî idabbubū dumqīšu*
281Solemnly they speak well of a rich man.

l. 172 (repetition of /t/, both at the end, in the middle and at the beginning of some words, thus producing cases of alliteration and consonance):

172*aš-šī*[*bū****t****i* ***t****a*]*kšuda* ***t****ukul****t****ak*[*a lū mannu*]
172[You] reached old age, in whom did you put your trust?

Other cases of alliteration are found, for example, in ll. 81 (/t/), 204 (/š/), 140 (/b/).

7.1.2.1.2 Consonance

l. 68 (repetition of velars /k/ and /q/):

68*illu nussuqu milikka damqu*
68Most particular friend, your advice is excellent.

l. 79 (repetition of /t/):

79*kitta tattadû uṣurti ili tanāṣu*
79You have cast off truth, you have spurned divine design.

l. 218 (repetition of /š/):

218*rēšu našši baši ṣabûšu*
218His head is held high, he gets what he wants.

l. 288 (repetition of /r/, /ṣ/ and /m/, mostly in the first hemistich):

288*rēṣam-*(*ma*) *namrāṣa amur lū tīdi*
288Help me, see (my) distress, you should be cognizant of it.

7.1.2.1.3 Assonance

l. 207:

[207]*[kaṣrūt]i edlūti upattâ (ana) pānīya*
[207]He opened my eyes to [knot]ty and impenetrable things.

Note here the assonance created by the repetition of the vowels /u/ and /a/, along with the consonance produced by the rapid succession of the dentals /d/ and /t/ and the labial /p/. Furthermore, *kaṣrūti* and *edlūti* represent a case of homoioptoton (a type of homoioteleuton).[26]

l. 62:

[62]*gillat nēšu īpušu petâssu ḫaštu*
[62]For the atrocities the lion committed, a pit yawns for him.

The assonance produced by the repetition of /a/ and /u/ in the second hemistich is emphasized through the homoioteleuton in the first (*nēšu īpušu*).

ll. 127-32:

This series of lines presents a repetition of assonant words at the beginning of the verse: ([*u*]*btelli*, [*u*]*ptenni*, [*u*]*pteṣṣid*, [*u*]*pteḫḫir*).

7.1.2.1.4 Homoioteleuton

l. 238:

[238]*šaggā**šu** kakka**šu** ireddī**šu***
[238]The weapon of his deathblow is coming up behind him.

l. 252:

[252]*ina šapal ašpaltīya kitmusāku anāku*
[252]It is I who must (now) bow before my inferior.

26 "The use in a sentence or verse of various words in the same case and with similar case endings", so Lanham 1991, 82.

l. 253:

253*inâṣanni aḫurrû šarû u šamḫu*
253The riffraff despises me, as do the rich and proud.

l. 287:

287*rēmēnâta ibrī nissata šite''ē-(ma)*
287You are sympathetic, my friend, be considerate of (my) misfortune.

7.1.2.1.5 Rhyme

The opening lines of the present composition rhyme with each other (ll. 1-6), since they all display the pronominal suffix *-ka* at the end of the verse (*luqbīka, lušannīka, karšukka, ludlulka, malāka, ištīka*). It is difficult to determine whether this type of rhyme is intentional, or is a mere linguistic feature which should not be interpreted as a stylistic choice.

The same rhyme is found in ll. 45-7 and in ll. 177-9, again produced by the use of the suffix *-ka* in final position. Similar grammatical rhymes can be observed across ll. 31-2 (*nes*[*ânni*] and *rūq*[*anni*]), cf. ll. 295-6. Further grammatical rhymes, obtained through the repetition of the suffix *-šu*, are found in ll. 218-19, 246-7, 281-2.

7.1.2.2 Syntactic figures in the *Theodicy*

The poem of the *Theodicy* includes a variety of parallel lines, encompassing synthetic, antithetic and synonymous parallelisms. These are developed both in couplets as well as within individual lines, sometimes also extending to groups of three lines or more. Although most observable parallelisms in the text are synthetic in nature[27] and antithetic parallelisms appear relatively rarely,[28] it is the very structure of the text that embodies a form of antithetic parallelism. A few

27 Synthetic parallelisms are found in the following lines: 9/10; 14/15; 21/22; 23/24; 27/28; 29/30; 31/32;34/35; 39/40; 48-53; 59-64; 67/68; 70/71; 72/73; 74/75; 76/77; 78/79; 80/81; 82/83; 130/131; 133/134; 135/136; 139/140; 141/142; 158/159;160-163; 212/213; 214; 235-238; 265/266; 285/286; 287/288; 292; 293/294; 295/296.

28 Antithetic parallelisms are found in the following lines: 181/182; 183/184; 185/186; 221-224; 246/247; 249/250; 260/261; 262/263; 267/268; 269/270; 271/272; 273/274; 281-284. Synonymous parallelisms are few, namely in lines: 16/17; 25/26; 36/37; 43/44; 45/46; 54/55; 204/205; 206/207; 216/217; 233/234; 279/280.

interrogative[29] and grammatical parallelisms are also found.[30]

Indeed, through the continuous juxtaposition of arguments between the righteous sufferer and the devoted friend, an antithesis is created that characterises the entire composition. This emphasises the distinction between just and wicked behaviour, thereby offering clarity regarding the preferred course of action.[31] Ultimately, the righteous sufferer concedes that his misfortunes are a result of his sinful conduct, pledging to worship the gods and thereby embracing the counsel of the pious friend.

In the *Babylonian Theodicy*, while the verses displaying parallelisms form the majority, repetitions are notably absent.

In addition, as is typical of Akkadian literary texts, variations in the standard syntactic order of the sentence are observed: the text exhibits instances of hyperbaton and inversion of noun and adjective. It is plausible that, at least in some cases, these inversions serve metric purposes, specifically to ensure the final trochee (see e.g. l. 279, *etgura dabāba*).

One enjambement occurs in ll. 276-9, wherein the subjects of the phrase (Enlil, Ea and Mami) are separated from the verbal form (the stative *šarkū*, which opens l. 279, thus gaining a position of emphasis).

7.1.2.2.1 Parallelism

Synthetic Parallelism

In one couplet (ll. 9-10):

[9]*aḫurrâkū-ma zārû'ā šīmatu ubtil*
[10]*agarinnu ālittu itâr kurnūgi*
[9]I was the youngest child when fate carried off him who begot me,
[10]She who brought me into the world departed to the land of no return.

29 Interrogative parallelism occur in the following lines: 5-7; 164/165; 177/178; 251/252.

30 Note, for example, the grammatical parallelism in ll. 265-6, where all the hemistichs open with an imperative verbs, and end with nouns bearing genitive suffixes. The following couplet (267-8) displays a grammatical parallelism as well, since both verses share the same syntactic structure (third person plural verb + object + relative clause + object).

31 The *Babylonian Theodicy* does not intend in fact to express a nihilistic sentiment contrasting with orthodox religious doctrine. Instead, it underscores tradition by means of the contrast between the two interlocutors. On the meaning of the *Babylonian Theodicy* and its value as a reinforcement of standard doctrine, see Oshima 2014, 135-43, with references to previous interpretations. On the antithetical nature of the *Theodicy*, and of another famous wisdom dialogue, although parodic, i.e. the *Dialogue of Pessimism*, cf. Krašovec 1984, 8.

Across multiple lines (ll. 48-53):

48[*a*]*kkānu serrēmu ša iṭpupu šumuḫ šamm*[*i*]
49*ak-kabtî pakki ilī uzunšu ibši*
50*aggu lābu ša ītakkalu dumuq šīri*
51*ak-kimilti iltî šupṭuri ubil maṣḫassu*
52*ak-kabti bēl pāni ša uṣṣubūšu naḫāšu*
53*aqrâ ṣārira iḫīṭ ana māmi*
48The on[ager], the wild ass, that had its fill of lush wild grasses,
49Did it have a care for the weighty wisdom of the gods?
50The savage lion that fed himself from the choicest meat,
51Did it bring its flour offerings to appease a goddess's wrath?
52As to the rich magnate whose prosperity keeps increasing,
53Did he weigh out precious gold to the mother goddess?

In one line (l. 214):

214[*riddī te*]*mēš šumma taṭpil*
214You have spurned propriety, you have besmirched (every) code.

Antithetic parallelism (ll. 246-7)

246i*na qereb dunni rami bukuršu*
247*ilakkid labbiš rabî aḫi uruḫšu*
246While his firstborn sprawls in bed,
247The eldest son sprints ahead like a lion.

Synonymous parallelism

ll. 16-17:

16*nadnū-ma abbūni illakū uruḫ mūt*[*i*]
17*nāra ḫubur ibbirū qabû ultu ull*[*a*]
16Our fathers are given up that they go death's way,
17They will cross the river Hubur, as is commanded from of old.

7.1.2.2.2 Hyperbaton

l. 245:

245*išaddad ina miṭrati zārû eleppa*
245A father hauls a boat up a channel.

l. 250:

250*išarrak terdennu ana katî ti'ûta*
250The younger son makes provision for the destitute.

Note in both cases the position of the verb, placed at the beginning of the line for emphasis. Further examples of fronting (or anastrophe) occur in ll. 267-73.

Examples of anastrophe are also provided by the inversion of the standard order of substantive and adjective, that is, the adjective precedes the substantive instead of following it, such as in l. 262 *lillu māru pānâ i''allad*, "The first child is born a weakling", or in l. 277 *šarḫu zulummar kāriṣ ṭiṭṭīšin*, "Majestic Ea, who pinched off their clay".

7.1.2.3 Semantic Figures in the *Theodicy*

The composition exhibits numerous examples of metaphors and similes, drawn from the natural and the human world. All the similes, except one at l. 286, are conveyed through the terminal suffix *-iš.*

Several merisms of the 'polar word-pair' type are used. A possible paronomasia occurs in ll. 31-2, where the words *kūru* and *kurum* (probably a *status constructus* of a rare byform of *kurummatu*) appear at the beginning of the lines.

7.1.2.3.1 Similes

Animals

l. 228 (context broken):

228[*b*]*ūliš*
228Beastlike.

l. 247:

247*ilakkid labbiš rabî aḫi uruḫšu*
247The eldest son sprints ahead like a lion.

Human beings

l. 139:

139*bēra kīdī raqêš lurtappud*
139I will roam about the far outdoors like a fugitive.

l. 233:

[233]*šadla ṣurri īte*[*me ḫašikk*]*iš*
[233]He of wide comprehension has become like a deaf man.

l. 249:

[249]*ina sūqi zilullîš iṣayyad aplu*
[249]The heir strolls the streets like an idler.

l. 283:

[283]*šarrāqiš ulammanū dunnamâ amēla*
[283]They malign a poor man as a thief.

Nature

l. 37:

[37][*sa*]*mîš* (*m*)*urqaka nussuqa t*[*umaššil*]
[37]You render your choicest reasoning like a mountebank.

l. 58:

[58]*ginâtā-ma ammatiš nesi milik ili*
[58]If you are indeed fixed as the earth, the reasoning of the gods is far beyond (you).

Inanimate objects

l. 230 (broken context):

[230]*pūḫiš*
[230]Like a stand-in.

l. 286:

[286]*šarbābiš ušḫarammūšu uballûšu kīma lāmi*
[286]They make him go numb with fear, they snuff him out like an ember.

7.1.2.3.2 Metaphors

Nature

l. 56:

[56]*gišimmaru iṣ mašrê*, “O date palm, wealth-giving tree [referred to the pious sufferer]”.

l. 57 (broken context):

[57]*illuk …*, “Gem of … [referred to the pious sufferer]”.

l. 232:

[232]*šad ḫe*[*galli*] *īteni*[*šʾ ḫiṣib*]*šu*
[232]A mountain of pl[enty], its [yield] has withered [referred to the reasoning of the sufferer].

7.1.2.3.3 Merismus

l. 11:

[11]*abī u bāntī īzibū’innī-ma bal*(*i*) *tārû’a*
[11]My father and mother left me with no one to care for me!.

l. 164 (broken context):

[164]*māra u mārta luba’*[*’iʾ* …]
[164]Shall I seek son and daughter […] [the same pair occurs in ll. 158-9].

7.1.2.4 Morphological figures in the *Theodicy*

In the Babylonian *Theodicy* one polyptoton can be noticed, involving the verb *amāru*, which appears first as a stative, and almost immediately afterwards in the preterite: in the second hemistich of l. 288 one reads *amur lū tīdi*, “you should be cognizant of it” and in the second hemistich of l. 290 *zamar ul āmur*, “I have not seen help or succor for an instant”. Note, furthermore, the consonance occurring within l. 290, produced by the repetition of the phonemes /*m*/ and /*r*/.

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Glossary

abarša **I** "truly, certainly": *abarša* **Nabû 159** *a-bar-šá* (A)

abātu **I** "to destroy": **G** *i'abbat* **Ištar 100** (*rest.* [?])

abbūtu **I** "fatherhood": *abbūssu* **Nabû 218** *a-bu-us-su* (A)

abdu **I** "servant, slave": *abdukki* **Ištar 91** *ab-duk-ki* (A) – *abdūšu* **Nabû 150** *ab-du-ú-šú* (A)

abu **I** "father": *aba* **Ištar 92** *a-bi* (A) – *abbēya* **Nabû 122** *ab-bé-e-a* (A) – *abi* **Ištar 218** AD (A) – *abīki* **Ištar 14** *a-*[*bi-ki*] (B)

Adad "Adad": *Adad* **Ištar 18** ^{d}⌜*ad*$^{?}$-*di*$^{?}$⌝ (B); **Nabû 21** (*rest.* [?]); **23** (*rest.* [?])

adāru **II** "to be afraid (of), fear": **G** *ādiru* **Ištar 94** *a-di-ru* (A) – **N** *nadur* **Ištar 194** *na-dúr* (A)

adi **I** "until, as far as": *adi* **Ištar 64** *a-d*]*i*$^{?}$ (A [?]); **Nabû 116** ⌜*a*⌝-*di* (A), *a-di* (B_1); **186** *a-di* (A)

agû **II** "wave, flood": *agû* **Nabû 49** *a-gu-ú* (A)

aḫamma **I** "apart, separately": *aḫammu* **Nabû 185** *a-ḫa-mu* (A)

aḫāzu **I** "to take; marry; learn": **G** *aḫiz* **Ištar 119** *a-ḫi-*⌜*iz*⌝ (A) – **G** *aḫzī* **Ištar 170** *aḫ-zi* (A) – **G** *līḫuzū* **Nabû 218** *li-ḫu-zu* (A)

aḫītu **I** "side": *aḫīta* **Nabû 77** ⌜*a*⌝-[*ḫi*$^{?}$-*ta*$^{?}$] (A [?])

aḫrâtaš **I** "for ever after": *aḫrâtaš* **Nabû 118** *aḫ-*⌜*ra*⌝-*t*[*aš*] (A); **120** *aḫ-ra-*[*taš*] (A), ⌜*aḫ-ra*⌝-*ta*[*š*] (B_2); **178** *aḫ-ra-taš* (A)

aḫulap **I** "(it is) enough!": *aḫulap* **Nabû 156** *a-ḫu-lap*^{i}(KID) (A) – *aḫulapki* **Ištar 247** *a-ḫu-lap-ki* (A), *a*]-⌜*ḫu*⌝-*lap-ki* (B)

ai **I** "not": *ai* **Ištar 106** *a-a* (A); **109** *a-a* (A); **170** *a-a* (A); **173** *a-*⌜*a*⌝ (A); **175** *a-a* (A); **177** *a-a* (A); **178** *a-a* (A) – *ē* **Ištar 240** ⌜*e*$^{?}$⌝ (B [?])

akālu **I** "to eat": **G** *īkul* **Ištar 175** ⌜*i*⌝-[*ku*$^{?}$-*ul*$^{?}$] (A [?])

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akāšu **I** "to walk, go": **Gt** *itkušū* **Ištar 159** *it-ku-šú* (A) – **D** *ukkiš* **Nabû 98** *uk-kiš* (A)

alādu **I** "to give birth (to)": **G** *ālidīya* **Ištar 218** *a-li-di-ia* (A) – **G** *ālittīya* **Ištar 219** *a-lit*]-*ti-ia* (A)

alāku **I** "to go": **G** *illakū* **Ištar 191** ⌜*il*⌝-*l*[*a*]-⌜*ku*⌝ (A)

alālu **I** "work song": *elilūšu* **Ištar 154** *e-li-lu-šú* (A)

alamittu **I** "(a wild species of date palm)": *alamittu* **Nabû 179** *a-la-mit-tu*$_4$ (A)

ali **I** "where?": *ali* **Ištar 6** (*rest.* [?])

alkakātu **I** "ways of life; actions, behaviour": *alkakāti* **Nabû 158** *al-k*[*a-ka-ti* (A)

amāru **I** "to see": **G** *amāruk* **Nabû 25** *a-ma*]-*ru-uk* (A [?]); **27** (*rest.* [?]) – **G** *amra* **Ištar 86** *am-ra* (A)

amīru **I** "obstruction of the ear (through ear-wax)": *amīra* **Ištar 75** *a-mi-ru* (A)

Amna "Amna": *Amna* **Nabû 142** ^{d}*am-na* (A)

amû **I** "one-handed": *amû* **Nabû 79** *a-mu-ú* (A)

amurru **I** "Amurru": *amurru* **Ištar 28** (*rest.* [?])

ana **I** "to, for": *ana* **Ištar 12** ⌜*a*⌝-*na* (B); **25** *a-na* (A); **88** *a-na* (A); **90** *ana* (A); **96** *a-na* (A); **119** *a-na* (A); **157** *ana* (A); **168** *ana* (A); **176** *a-na* (A); **221** *ana* (A); **223** (*rest.*); **228** *ana* (A); **Nabû 37** *a-na* (A); **39** *a-na* (A); **51** *a-na* (A); **97** ⌜*a*⌝-*n*[*a*ʾ (A [?]); **118** *a-na* (A); **120** ⌜*a-na*⌝ (A); **146** ⌜*a*⌝-*na* (A); **147** *a-na* (A); **174** *a-na* (A); **175** *a-na* (A); **183** *ana* (A); **209** *a-na* (A); **213** (*rest.*); **215** (*rest.*); **221** *ana* (A); **223** *ana* (A)

anāḫu **I** "to be(come) tired": **G** *āneḫ* **Ištar 7** *a-n*[*é-eḫ*] (B)

anāku **I** "I; me": *anāku* **Ištar 57** *a-na-ku* (A)

anna **I** "yes, certainly": *anna* **Nabû 79** *an-nam* (A); **85** *an-nam* (A); **85** (*rest.* [?]); **86** *an-nam* (A), *a*[*n*ʾ-*nam*ʾ (A [?])

annu **I** "(word of) consent, assent, approval": *annukki* **Ištar 150** *a-nu-uk-ki* (A)

annû **I** "this, those": *annâti* **Ištar 118** *an-na-a-*⌜*ti*⌝ (A)

annummiš **I** "here, hither": *annummiš* **Nabû 208** ⌜*a-nu-míš*⌝ (A)

Anšar "Anšar": *Anšar* **Nabû 22** *an-šár* (A); **24** *an-šár* (A)

antuʾ "ear of barley": *an*(*n*)*ātū*(*šu*) **Nabû 181** *an-na-t*[*u*(-*šúʾ*)] (A [?])

Anu "An(um)": *āni* **Ištar 10** ^{d}*a-nim* (B)

Anunnakkū **I** "(the) gods": *Anunna* **Ištar 215** ^{d}*a-nun-na* (A)

anūnu **I** "fear, dread": *anūna* **Ištar 84** *a-nu-na* (A) – *anūnki* **Ištar 32** *a-nun-ki* (A)

Anzagar "Anzagar": *Anzagar* **Nabû 141** AN.ZA.[GÀR (A [?])

apālu **I** "to pay; answer": **N** *ippal* **Nabû 150** *ip-pa*[*l* (A)

appu **I** "nose": *appakina* **Ištar 227** *a*]*p-pa-ki-na* (A) – *appīya* **Ištar 73** ⌜*ap*⌝-*pi-ia* (A)

aqû **I** "to wait (for)": **D** *ūtaqqi* **Ištar 112** *ú-taq*-[*qí*] (A)

arāḫu **I** "to hasten": **G** *aruḫ* **Ištar 225** *a-ru-uḫ* (A)

arāmu **I** "to cover": **G** *arim* **Ištar 160** *a-ri-*⌜*im*⌝ (A)

arāru **I** "curse": **G** *irrar* **Nabû 186** *ir-ra-ár* (A)

ardu **I** "slave, servant": *aradka* **Nabû 53** ÌR-*k*[*a*] (A); **55** ÌR-*k*[*a*] (A); **103** ÌR-*ka* (A); **187** ÌR-*ka* (A); **189** ÌR-*ka* (A); **205** (*rest.*); **207** ÌR-*ka* (A) – *aradki* **Ištar 170** Ì[Rʾ-*kiʾ*] (A [?])

arka **I** "afterwards": *arka* **Nabû 180** *ar-ka* (A)

arkatu **I** "rear": *arkatuš* **Ištar 179** *ar-ka-tuš* (A)

arnu **I** "guilt, fault; penalty": *annašu* **Ištar 168** *an-n*[*a-šúʾ*] (A [?]) – *annīya* **Ištar 81** *an-nu-ú-a* (A) – *aranšu* **Nabû 97** *a-*⌜*ra*⌝-[*an-šú*] (A)

âru **I** "to go (up to)": **D** *luma'ir* **Nabû 124** *lu-ma-a'-i-ru* (A)

aṣû **I** "to go out": **Š** *šūṣû* **Nabû 77** *šu-ṣu-ú* (A) – **Š** *tušēṣâm-ma* **Nabû 103** [*tu*?-*še*?]-*ṣa*?-*ma* (A [?])

ašābu **I** "to sit (down); dwell": **G** *āšib* **Ištar 7** *la a-šib* (B)

ašamšāniš **I** "like a dust storm": *ašamšāniš* **Nabû 105** [*a*?-*šam*?]-⌜*šá*⌝-*niš* (A [?])

ašarēdūtu **I** "pre-eminence": *ašarēdūtu* **Ištar 235** *a-šá-re-du-tú* (A)

ašāru **I** "to muster, review": **G** *ītašar* **Nabû 108** ⌜*i*⌝-*ta-šar* (A)

ašāšu **IV** "to catch": **G** *āšiš* **Nabû 42** ⌜*a*⌝-*ši-ši* (A); **44** *a-ši-ši* (A)

āšibu **I** "sitting, dwelling; inhabitant": *āšib* **Ištar 7** *a-šib* (B)

ašru **III** "place, site": *ašar* **Nabû 184** *a-šar* (A)

ašuštu **I** "affliction, grief": *ašuštu* **Nabû 80** *a-šu-uš-tu*$_4$ (A)

atappu **I** "(small) canal, ditch": *atappu* **Ištar 46** ⌜*a*?⌝-*tap*-⌜*pu*⌝ (A [?])

atmanu **I** "cella, inner sanctum; temple": *atmanšu* **Nabû 210** *at-man-šu* (A)

atnu **I** "prayer": *atnūš* **Nabû 217** *at-nu-uš* (A)

attā **I** "you": *attā-ma* **Nabû 81** *at-ta-ma* (A); **83** *at-ta-ma* (A)

atwû **I** "speech, word; manner of speech": *atmê* **Ištar 74** ⌜*at*⌝-*me-e* (A)

awātu **I** "word; matter": *amātki* **Ištar 10** *a-mat-k*[*i*] (B)

awû **I** "to speak": **Š** *šūtamî* **Ištar 114** *š*[*u*?]-⌜*ta-mi*?-*i*⌝ (A)

ayyābu **I** "enemy": *ayyābi* **Nabû 113** *a-a-*⌜*ba*?⌝ (A [?])

ayyu **I** "which?": *ayyû* **Ištar 5** *a-a-ú* (B); **85** *a-a-ú* (A)

azāru **I** "to help": **G** *azāra* **Ištar 236** *a-za-ra* (A), *a-za-ra*] (B)

bakû **I** "to weep": **G** *ibakki* **Ištar 155** *i-*⌜*bak*⌝-*k*[*i* (A) – **G** *ibakkīka* **Nabû 151** (*rest.* [?]) – **Gtn** *ibtanakki* **Ištar 169** *i-tab-nak-*[*ki*?] (A [?])

balālu **I** "to mix (up); alloy": **D** *bullul* **Ištar 155** *bu-ul-lul* (A)

balangu **I** "(a large drum)": *balangu* **Ištar 145** *ba-la-a*[*n*?-*gu*? (A)

balāṣu **I** "to stare": **D** *balāṣa* **Nabû 216** *ba-la-ṣu* (A)

balāṭu **I** "life": *bulluṭu* **Ištar 89** *bul-lu-ṭu* (A)

balāṭu **II** "to live": **D** *bulluṭ*(*a*) **Ištar 220** *bu*?-*ul*?-*l*]*uṭ*? (A [?])

balu **I** "without": *baluk* **Nabû 100** *b*]*a-lu-*⌜*uk*⌝ (A); **102** *ba-l*]*u-uk* (A)

banû **IV** "to create; build": **G** *ibnâm-ma* **Ištar 188** *ib-na-ma* (A)

bānû **I** "creator, begetter": *bānīšu* **Nabû 186** *b*[*a*?-*ni*?-*šú*?] (A [?])

barāru **I** "to flicker": **Š** *ušabraršu* **Nabû 115** *ú-šab-ra-ár-*⌜*šú*?⌝ (A [?])

bārû **I** "diviner": *bārî* **Ištar 175** ^{lú}ḪAL (A)

barû **I** "to see, look at": **G** *tabarri* **Nabû 22** *ta-bar-ri* (A); **24** *ta-bar-ri* (A); **106** *ta-bar-*⌜*ri*⌝ (A)

bašāmu **II** "to create, form": **G** *bašim* **Nabû 174** *ba-šim* (A)

bašmu **I** "(mythical poisonous)": *bašmum-ma* **Ištar 48** *ba-aš-mu-*⌜*ma*⌝ (A)

bašû **I** "to be (at hand, available); exist": **N** *ibbaššī* **Nabû 99** *ib-ba-áš-*⌜*ši*⌝ (A); **101** *ib-ba-*⌜*áš*⌝-[*ši* (A) – **N** *ittabšû* **Nabû 46** *it-tab-šu-ú* (A); **48** *it-tab-šu-ú* (A)

bâ'u **I** "to go along": **G** *ibā'* **Ištar 178** *i-ba-a'* (A) – **G** *taba'ī* **Ištar 31** *ta-ba-'i* (A)

bēltu **I** "lady; mistress, proprietress (of)": *bēltī* **Ištar 121** GAŠAN (A)

belû **II** "to be extinguished, come to an end": **G** *ibli* **Nabû 51** *ib-li* (A)

bēlu **I** "lord; proprietor (of)": *bēla* **Nabû 117** *be-l*[*u*$_4$] (A), ⌜*be-lu*$_4$⌝ (B$_1$) – *bēlī* **Nabû 155** *be-lí*

(A) – *bēlu* **Nabû 9** (*rest.* [?]); **13** (*rest.* [?]); **17** (*rest.*); **29** (*rest.* [?]); **33** (*rest.* [?]); **37** (*rest.*); **41** *b*[*e-l*]u_4 (A); **45** *be-lu*$_4$ (A); **81** *be-lu*$_4$ (A); **91** ⌜*be-lu*$_4$⌝ (A); **99** *be-lu*$_4$ (A); **220** (*rest.*)

bēru **I** "distant": *birūti* **Ištar 23** *bi-ru-ti* (A)

biltu **I** "load; talent; yield; rent; tribute": *bilat* **Nabû 122** *bi-lat* (A), *bi*]-⌜*lat*⌝ (B_2) – *bilta* **Nabû 182** *bil-ti* (A)

birku **I** "knee": *birkāšu* **Ištar 97** (*rest.* [?])

bīru **I** "divination": *bīri* **Nabû 142** *bi-r*[*i* (A)

bitrû **I** "enormous, magnificent": *bitrê* **Nabû 128** *bit-re-e* (A)

bītu **I** "house": *bīt* **Ištar 223** (*rest.*); **Nabû 121** (*rest.* [?])

būlu **I** "animals, livestock": *būl* **Nabû 148** *bu-ul* (A)

būnu **II** "goodness": *būnūka* **Nabû 38** [*bu*ʾ]-⌜*nu*⌝-*ka* (A [?]); **40** [*bu*ʾ-*nu*ʾ]-*ka* (A [?]); **204** (*rest.*); **206** ⌜*bu-nu-ka*⌝ (A)

dabru **I** "aggressive": *dabri* **Nabû 58** *da-ab-ru* (A)

daddaru **I** "centaury": *daddariš* **Nabû 179** *da-da-riš* (A)

dadmū **I** "villages, settlements; the inhabited world": *dadmī* **Nabû 213** *da-ad-mu* (A); **215** ⌜*da*⌝-*ad-mu* (A)

dalālu **II** "to praise": **G** *adallal* **Ištar 1** (*rest.*) – **G** *dalāli* **Ištar 221** *da-la-li* (A) – **G** *dullā* **Ištar 237** *dul-la* (A) – **G** *ludlul* **Nabû 117** [*lud*]-⌜*lul*⌝ (A), *lud-lul* (B_1); **119** (*rest.*) – **G** *ludlulki* **Ištar 217** *lud-lul-ki* (A)

daltu **I** "door": *dalāt* **Ištar 210** (*rest.*)

dâlu **I** "to move, roam around": **G** *idallu* **Ištar 213** *i-dal-lu* (A)

damāmu **I** "to wail, moan": **Ntn** *iddanammum-ma* **Ištar 104** ⌜*id-da-nam*⌝-[*m*]*u-ma* (A)

damāqu **I** "to be(come) good": **G** *damiq* **Nabû 180** *da-mì-iq* (A)

damāṣu **I** "to humble o.s.": **G** *damāṣa* **Nabû 216** *da-ma-ṣu* (A)

damqu **I** "good": *damqātu* **Nabû 192** SIG_5.MEŠ (A)

danānu **II** "to be(come) strong": **D** *dunninī* **Ištar 171** *du-un-ni-ni* (A)

danānu **I** "power, strength": **G** *danān* **Nabû 174** *da-na-na* (A)

dašāpu **I** "to be sweet": **D** *udaššap* **Nabû 178** *ú-da-áš-š*[*ap*] (A)

dawû **I** "to jerk; convulse": **G** *idammu* **Ištar 183** *i-da-mu* (A)

dayyānu **I** "judge": *dayyāna* **Nabû 124** *da-a-a-n*[*u*ʾ] (A), *da*]-⌜*a*⌝-*a*-[*nu*] (B_2)

dimtu **II** "tear": *dimāšu* **Nabû 154** *di-ma-šú* (A) – *dimāti* **Ištar 155** *di-ma-ti* (A)

dipāru **I** "torch": *dipāru* **Ištar 52** *di-*⌜*pa*⌝-[*ru*ʾ] (A [?])

Duku "Duku": *Duku* **Ištar 12** DU_6.KÙ (B)

dumqu **I** "goodness, good (thing)": *dumuqšu* **Nabû 219** SIG_5-*šú* (A)

dunnu **I** "power": *dunna* **Ištar 20** *du-un-*⌜*na*⌝ (B [?])

dūru **I** "(city) wall, rampart": *dūru* **Nabû 174** *du-*⌜*ú*⌝-*r*[*u*] (A)

dušmû **I** "slave born in the house": *dušmâka* **Nabû 104** ⌜*du*⌝-*u*[*šʾ-maʾ-kaʾ*] (A) – *dušmûšu* **Nabû 149** *du-uš-mu-ú-šú* (A)

dūtu **I** "virility, manliness": *dūssu* **Ištar 165** *du-us-su* (A) – *dūtuš* **Nabû 106** *du-tuš* (A)

Ea "Ea": *Ea* **Ištar 13** ^{d}IDIM (B)

edēdu **I** "to be(come) pointed, spiky": **G** *edēdka* **Nabû 29** *e-de-e*]*d-ka* (A); **31** *e-de-ed-ka* (A)

edēqu **I** "to dress, clothe": **N** *nanduq* **Ištar 19** ⌜*na-an*⌝-*duq* (A)

ēdiš **I** "alone": *ēdiš* **Ištar 232** *e-diš* (A); **233** *e-diš* (A)

edû **II** "to know": **G** *īde* **Ištar 84** *i-d*[*i*] (A); **121** *i-de* (A) – **G** *īdi* **Ištar 79** *i-di* (A) – **G** *idû* **Ištar 199** *i-du*-[*ú* (A [?])

edû **I** "flood, wave": *edê* **Nabû 49** *e-de-e* (A)

eʾēlu **I** "binder": *eʾēla* **Ištar 76** *e-ʾe-li* (A)

egēru **I** "to lie (transversely) across": **Gt** *itgurat* **Ištar 163** *it-g[u²-rat²]* (A [?])

egû **III** "to be(come) lazy; be negligent": **G** *ēgi* **Ištar 77** *e-gi* (A) – **G** *tīgi* **Nabû 92** ⌜*ti²-gi²*⌝ (A [?]); **94** ⌜*ti²*⌝-[*gi²*] (A [?])

ekēku **I** "to scratch": **D** *ūtakkak* **Ištar 158** *ú-tak-ka-ak* (A)

ekletu **I** "darkness": *eklet* **Nabû 184** *ek-let* (A)

ela **I** "apart from, in the absence of": *ela* **Nabû 99** (*rest.*); **101** (*rest.*)

elēnu **I** "above, over": *elēnuššu* **Nabû 114** ⌜UGU-*nu-šú*⌝ (A)

elēpu **I** "to sprout, grow": **G** *lillipka* **Nabû 224** ⌜*lil²*⌝-*lip-ka* (A [?])

eli **I** "on, over, above; against; more than": *el* **Nabû 161** *el* (A) – *eli* **Nabû 45** UGU (A); **47** UGU (A) – *elīš* **Nabû 49** *e-liš* (A) – *elīšu* **Nabû 204** *e-li-šú* (A); **206** *e-li-šú* (A) – *elīya* **Nabû 79** (*rest.* [?])

Ellil "the god Enlil ": *Ellil* **Ištar 11** ᵈ+[e]*n-líl* (B); **36** ᵈ+*en-líl* (A); **242** ᵈ]+*en-líl* (A)

elû **III** "to go up, arise; (stat.) is high": **G** *talli* **Ištar 187** *tal-li* (A) – **D** *ulli* **Nabû 191** *ul-li* (A)

emēdu **I** "to lean on; impose": **D** *lummid* **Ištar 208** *lu-um-mid* (A) – **D** *ummad* **Ištar 87** *um-mad* (A)

emēqu **I** "to be wise": **Š** *šutēmuqu* **Ištar 246** *šu-te-mu-qu* (A), *šu-te-m]u-qu* (B)

emētu **I** "mother-in-law": *emēta* **Ištar 92** (*rest.* [?])

emu **I** "father-in-law": *ema* **Ištar 92** *ʾ-e-mi* (A [?])

enēnu **II** "to punish": **G** *tānunīšū-ma* **Ištar 101** *ta-nu-⌜ni-šú-ma⌝* (A)

enēnu **III** "to sin": **G** *enēnša* **Ištar 224** *e-nen-šá* (A)

ennettu **I** "sin; punishment": *ennessu* **Nabû 191** *e-né-es-su* (A) – *ennētī* **Nabû 91** *in-ni-ti* (A); **93** *in-n]i-ti* (A); **100** ⌜*in*⌝-*ni-ti* (A); **102** *in-ni-ti* (A)

ensû **I** "dream interpreter": *ensû* **Ištar 174** *en-su-ú* (A)

enšu **I** "weak": *enšu* **Ištar 172** *en-šu* (A)

entu **I** "high priestess": *enet* **Ištar 1** (*rest.*)

enû **III** "to change": **G** *enêšu* **Nabû 186** *e-né-šú* (A)

epēru **I** "to feed, provide for": **G** *epir* **Nabû 121** *e-pir* (A, B_2), *e-pir* (A) – **G** *lūpira* **Nabû 124** *lu-pi-ra* (A)

epēšu **II** "to do; make; build": **G** *epšū* **Ištar 230** (*rest.* [?]) – **G** *līpuš* **Nabû 200** *l]i-pu-uš* (A); **201** *l]i-pu-uš* (A)

eqlu **I** "field; terrain": *eqel* **Nabû 122** A².Š]À² (A [?]) – *eqlētu* **Nabû 208** A.ŠÀ.MEŠ (A)

erbe **I** "four": *erbê* **Nabû 211** *er-bé-e* (A) – *erbetti* **Ištar 29** *er²-bet²-t]u₄* (A [?]); **214** LIMMU (A)

eriātu **I** "cold weather": *iriyāti* **Nabû 174** *i-ri-a-ti* (A)

ešēru **I** "to be/go well; be straight, fair; direct o.s. (towards)": **Št** *lištēšer* **Nabû 210** *liš-te-šer* (A) – **G** *lūšer* **Nabû 77** *lu-šèr* (A) – **Št** *tušteššer* **Nabû 26** (*rest.* [?]); **28** (*rest.* [?])

ešeštu **I** "(a title of Nabû)": *ešešti* **Nabû 41** *e-še-eš-tu₄* (A); **43** *e-še-eš-tu₄* (A)

etēqu **I** "to go past; go through; cross over": **G** *ēteq* **Ištar 79** *e-te-e[q]* (A)

eṭēru **I** "to take away; save": **G** *eṭēra* **Ištar 84** *e-ṭe-ra* (A); **242** *e-ṭe-ru* (A) – **G** *eṭret* **Ištar 165** *eṭ-r[e-et]* (A)

ewû **I** "to become": **G** *īmū-ma* **Ištar 180** *i-mu-ma* (A)

ezēbu **I** "to leave, leave behind": **G** *ezib* **Ištar 117** ⌜e⌝-*zib* (A) – **Š** *šūzuba* **Ištar 83** *šu-zu-ba* (A); **242** *šu-zu-ba* (A)

ezēzu **I** "to be(come) angry, rage": **G** *ezēzu* **Nabû 117** *e-ʳze-zu*¹ (A); **119** *e-ʳze*¹*-z*[*u*] (A), *e*]*-ʳze*¹*-z*[*u*] (B_2) – **D** *uzzaza* **Ištar 182** *uz-za-za* (A)

Ezida "Temple of Nabu": *ezida* **Nabû 159** É.Z[I.DA (A)

ezziš **I** "furiously, fiercely": *ezziš* **Ištar 108** *e-zi-iš* (A)

gabarû **I** "copy; reply; opponent": *gabrâ* **Ištar 112** *gab-ra-a* (A)

gallû **I** "scion of": *gallû* **Ištar 94** *gal-lu-ú* (A)

gamālu **I** "to do a favour; spare": **G** *gamāla* **Ištar 243** [*ga-m*]*a-la* (B)

gamāru **II** "to bring to conclusion, complete": **G** *igdamar* **Nabû 108** *ig-ʳda-mar*¹ (A) – **N** *iggamir* **Nabû 111** *ig-ga-mir* (A)

ganānu **I** "to encircle, shut in": **D** *ugannan* **Nabû 58** *ú-gan-na-a*[*n*ʾ (A [?])

ganūnu **I** "storeroom": *ganūnšu* **Nabû 200** *ga-nu-un-ʳšú*¹ (A)

gašru **I** "very strong, powerful": *gašrat* **Ištar 233** *gaš-rat* (A)

gillatu **I** "sin, sacrilege": *gillatī* **Nabû 92** ʳ*gíl*¹*-la-t*[*i* (A); **94** (*rest.*); **100** *gíl-la-ʳti*¹ (A); **102** *gíl-la-t*[*i* (A) – *gillatīya* **Ištar 82** *gíl-la-tu-ú-ʳa*¹ (A) – *gillātūa* **Ištar 78** *gíl-la-tu-ú-*[*a*] (A)

gimru **I** "totality; costs, expenses": *gimrassunu* **Nabû 218** *gim-rat-su-nu* (A)

ginâ **I** "constantly; usually": *ginâ* **Nabû 90** *gi-na-a* (A); **116** *gi-na-a* (A)

gipšu **I** "uprising, welling up": *gipiš* **Nabû 49** *gi-piš* (A)

gīru **I** "fire(-god)": *Girri* **Ištar 19** ᵈGÍRA (B) – *girru* **Nabû 21** *gir-ri* (A); **23** *gir-ri* (A)

gullulu **I** "sin": **D** *ugallil* **Ištar 77** *ú-gal-li*[*l*] (A)

ḫabāšu **II** "to crush, comminute": **Nt** *ittaḫbaš* **Ištar 163** *it-taḫ-ba-áš* (A)

ḫallulāya **I** "centipede": *ḫallulāya* **Nabû 105** *ḫal-lu-la-a-a* (A)

ḫalqu **I** "lost; fugitive": *ḫalqātu* **Nabû 208** [*ḫalʾ-q*]*aʾ-a-tu*$_4$ (A [?])

ḫamāṭu **III** "to burn (up)": **Gt** *iḫtammaṭka* **Nabû 152** (*rest.* [?])

ḫasāsu **I** "to be conscious; remember": *ḫasis* **Ištar 167** *ḫa-sis* (A)

ḫaṣāṣu **I** "to snap off": **D** *tuḫaṣṣiṣī* **Ištar 23** *tu*]*-ḫaṣ-ṣi-ṣi* (A)

ḫašāḫu **I** "to need, desire": **G** *iḫšiḫ* **Nabû 110** *iḫ-ši-ʳiḫ*ʾ¹ (A)

ḫašāšu **II** "gather": **G** *iḫaššaš* **Ištar 156** *i-ḫá*[*š-šáʾ-aš*ʾ] (A [?])

ḫaṭû **II** "to do wrong, commit crime": **G** *aḫṭi* **Ištar 77** *aḫ-ṭi* (A)

ḫelû **II** "to be bright; cheerful": **Š** *šuḫlî* **Ištar 211** *šu-uḫ-li-i* (A) – **Š** *ušaḫlâ* **Nabû 175** *ú-šaḫ-*ˡᵃ*lá-a* (A)

ḫengallu **I** "plenty": *ḫegalla* **Nabû 18** *ḫé-g*]*ál-la* (A); **20** *ḫ*]*é-gál-la* (A)

ḫepû **II** "to break": **G** *ḫīpi* **Ištar 192** *ḫi-pi* (A)

ḫiādu **I** "to say, pronounce": **G** *iḫtidam-ma* **Nabû 151** *iḫ-ti-dam-m*[*a* (A)

ḫinzūru **I** "apple (tree)": *ḫinzūri* **Nabû 176** *ḫi-in-zur-ru* (A)

ḫīpu **I** "break(age)": *ḫīp* **Nabû 98** *ḫi-ʳip*ʾ¹ (A [?])

ḫiṣbu **I** "luxuriance, plenty": *ḫiṣba* **Nabû 18** *ḫi-iṣ-bu* (A); **20** *ḫi-iṣ-bi* (A)

ḫīṭu **I** "error; lack; crime; penalty": *ḫiṭātūa* **Ištar 78** *ḫi-ṭa-tu-ú-a* (A) – *ḫīṭu* **Ištar 114** *ḫi-ṭ*[*u*ʾ (A [?])

****ḫuḫummuʾ*** "(mng. uncertain)": *ḫuḫum* **Nabû 33** *ḫ*]*u-ḫu-um* (A); **35** *ḫu-ḫu-um* (A)

ḫupšu **I** "(member of) lower class": *ḫupša* **Nabû 125** *ḫu-up-šú* (A)

ḫurbāšu **I** "frost; terror": *ḫurbāšu* **Ištar 95** *ḫur-ba-šú* (A)

ḫussû **I** "(a vessel)": *ḫussāši* **Ištar 241** *ḫu-us-sa-ši* (A)

idu **I** "arm; side; strength; wage": *idāšu* **Ištar 164** *i-da-*[*a-šú*] (A) – *idāti* **Ištar 28** *i-da-a-ti* (A) – *idīki*

Ištar 26 (*rest.* [?]) – *idīša* **Ištar 244** *i-da-a-šá* (A) – *idīšu* **Ištar 103** *i-di-šú* (A) – *idīya* **Ištar 59** *i-di-ia* (A)

igāru **I** "wall": *igāri* **Ištar 100** *i-⌜ga⌝-ri* (A)

Igigû **I** "the (ten) great gods": *Igīgū* **Nabû 218** [^{d}*i-g*]*i-gu* (A)

ikkibu **I** "taboo": *ikkib* **Nabû 183** *ik-kib* (A)

illatu **I** "band, group": *elletkina* **Ištar 241** *el-let-k*]*i-na* (A [?]), *el-⌜let-ki-na⌝* (B [?])

illurtu **I** "handcuffs": *illurtaš* **Nabû 173** *il-lu-u*[*r-taš*$^{?}$] (A [?])

ilu **I** "god, deity": *ilī* **Ištar 17** DINGIR.‹DINGIR› (B); **85** ⌜DIGIR⌝.MEŠ (A); **226** DINGIR.MEŠ (A)

ilūtu **I** "godhead, divinity": *ilūtka* **Nabû 212** DINGIR-*ut-ka* (A); **214** DINGIR-*ut-⌜ka⌝* (A)

immu **I** "heat (of day), daytime": *immi* **Nabû 146** *im-mu* (A)

imṭû **I** "loss(es)": *imṭû* **Nabû 46** ⌜*im⌝-ṭu-ú* (A); **48** *im-ṭu-ú* (A)

ina **I** "in, on; by; from": *ina* **Ištar 16** (*rest.*); **81** *ina* (A); **83** *ina* (A); **85** *ina* (A); **87** *ina* (A); **114** *ina* (A); **118** ⌜*ina⌝* (A); **124** *ina* (A); **151** *i-na* (A); **155** *ina* (A); **159** *ina* (A); **161** *ina* (A); **169** *ina* (A); **189** *i-na* (A); **212** *ina* (A); **214** (*rest.*); **Nabû 49** *ina* (A); **51** *ina* (A); **52** *ina* (A), *ina* (A); **54** *ina* (A); **56** *ina* (A); **57** *ina* (A); **58** [*in*]*a* (A); **78** *i-na* (A); **85** *i-na* (A), ⌜*i*$^{?}$⌝-[*na*$^{?}$ (A); **95** *i-na* (A); **96** *i-na* (A); **100** (*rest.*); **102** (*rest.*); **104** (*rest.*); **142** *ina* (A); **143** *ina* (A); **148** *i-na* (A); **181** *i-na* (A); **182** *i-na* (A); **210** (*rest.* [?]); **211** (*rest.*); **220** *i-n*]*a*$^{?}$ (A); **222** (*rest.*)

īnu **I** "eye": *īnī* **Ištar 187** *i-ni* (A) – *īnīšu* **Nabû 203** (*rest.* [?]) – *īnīya* **Ištar 124** IGI (A)

irtu **I** "breast, chest": *iratuš* **Ištar 163** *i-ra-tuš* (A) – *irtuššu* **Ištar 177** *i*[*r*^{i}*-tuš-šú*] (A [?])

isqu **I** "lot; share": *isqētu* **Nabû 209** GIŠ.ŠUB.BA.MEŠ (A)

isqūqu **I** "(a coarse flour or groats)": *isqūqa* **Nabû 121** *is-qu-q*[*u*] (A), *is-qu-⌜qu⌝* (B_2)

iṣratu **I** "plan, ground-plan": *iṣrassunu* **Nabû 219** *iṣ-rat-su-nu* (A [?])

iṣṣūru **I** "bird": *iṣṣūriš* **Ištar 193** *iṣ-ṣu-riš* (A)

išaru **I** "straight; correct, normal": *išara* **Nabû 28** (*rest.*); **160** ⌜*i⌝*-[*šá-ra*$^{?}$ (A) – *išari* **Nabû 26** ⌜*i⌝-šá-ri* (A)

išdiḫu **I** "profit(able business)": *išdiḫi* **Nabû 34** *i*[*š-di-ḫ*]*u* (A); **36** *iš-di-ḫu* (A)

išdu **I** "foundation, base": *išdāšu* **Ištar 99** *iš-⌜da-a⌝-š*[*ú* (A) – *išdīšu* **Nabû 26** *iš-di-šú* (A); **28** *iš-di-šú* (A) – *išduk* **Ištar 7** ⌜*iš⌝-dúk* (B) – *išdūš* **Ištar 171** *iš-du-uš* (A)

išpiku **I** "stores (of crops); grain-bin": *išpikkīya* **Nabû 129** *i*]*š*$^{?}$*-pik-ke-e-a* (A)

ištānu **I** "North": *iltāni* **Ištar 27** II (A)

Ištar "Ištar": *Ištar* **Ištar 83** ⌜^{d}⌝⌜*iš-tar⌝* (A); **123** ^{d}*iš-ta*[*r* (A); **196** ^{d}*iš-tar* (A); **237** ^{d}*iš-tar* (B); **245** ⌜^{d}⌝⌜*iš⌝-ta*[*r* (B); **246** ^{d}*iš-tar* (A, B); **247** ⌜^{d}⌝*iš-tar* (B)

ištaru **I** "goddess": *ištarāniš* **Nabû 90** *iš-ta-ra-niš* (A) – *ištariš* **Ištar 112** *i*]*š-⌜ta⌝-riš* (A)

ištēn **I** "(um)": *ištīssu* **Ištar 181** *iš-ti-is-su* (A)

ištu **I** "from, out of; since, after": *ištu* **Ištar 188** *iš-tu* (A); **228** (*rest.*) – *ultu* **Ištar 91** *ul-tu* (A)

itti **I** "with": *itti* **Ištar 13** *it-ti* (B) – *ittīšu* **Ištar 94** (*rest.* [?]); **179** (*rest.* [?])

ittu **I** "peculiarity": *idāt* **Nabû 115** *i-da-at* (A, B_1)

izuzzu **I** "to stand": **G** *izziza* **Nabû 79** *i-zi-za* (A)

kabāsu **I** "to tread": *ukabbas* **Ištar 81** *ú-kab-ba-a*[*s*] (A)

kabattu **I** "liver": *kabattašu* **Ištar 165** *ka-bat-ta-šú* (A); **Nabû 153** *ka-*[*bat*$^{?}$*-ta*$^{?}$*-šú*$^{?}$ (A

[?]) – *kabtatki* **Ištar 148** *kab-ta-*[*at*ʾ*-ki*ʾ (A [?])

kabātu **I** "to be(come) heavy": **G** *iktabit* **Nabû 114** *ik-ta-*⌜*bit*⌝ (A)

kadrû **I** "present, greeting gift": *kadrê* **Ištar 240** *k*]*àd-re-e* (A), *kád-re-e* (B) – *kadrêa* **Ištar 217** *kàd*ʾ*-r*]*e-e-a* (A)

kalāma **I** "all (of it)": *kalāma* **Nabû 183** *ka-la-ma* (A)

kalû **II** "all, totality": *kal* **Nabû 175** *kal* (A); **213** (*rest.*); **215** (*rest.*) – *kala* **Ištar 81** [*ka*ʾ*-l*]*a*ʾ (A [?]) – *kalāšu* **Ištar 160** ⌜*ka*⌝*-la-a-*[*šú*ʾ] (A) – *kalíšin* **Ištar 78** *ka-li-ši-in* (A)

kalû **V** "to hold (back), detain": **G** *iklanni* **Ištar 60** *ik-la-an-ni* (A) – **G** *iktali* **Nabû 154** *ik-ta-*[*li*ʾ (A [?]) – **G** *taklāši* **Ištar 240** *tak*ʾ*-la-ši* (B [?])

kamāru **IV** "to pile up, accumulate": **G** *kāmir* **Nabû 34** *k*]*a-mir* (A); **36** ⌜*ka*⌝*-mir* (A) – **D** *tukammar* **Nabû 18** (*rest.* [?]); **20** (*rest.* [?])

kanāšu **I** "to bow down, submit": **G** *kunšāšī-ma* **Ištar 238** [*ku*ʾ*-u*] *n-šá-ši-ma* (B [?])

kânu **I** "to be(come) permanent, firm, true": **G** *kinnā* **Ištar 245** *ki-na* (A) – **G** *kinnī* **Ištar 171** *k*[*in-ni*] (A) – **D** *kunnā* **Ištar 99** *kun-na* (A) – **G** *likūn* **Nabû 217** *li-kun* (A)

karābu **II** "to pray, bless, greet": **G** *ikarrab* **Nabû 185** *i-ka*[*r-rab*] (A) – **Gt** *kitrabāši* **Ištar 229** *kit-ra-ba-ši* (A) – **D** *kurbā* **Ištar 241** [*ku*]-⌜*ur-ba*⌝ (B)

karāšu **II** "catastrophe, disaster": *karāši* **Ištar 173** *ka-ra-ši* (A)

karru **III** "(a mourning garment)": *karri* **Ištar 169** *kar-ri* (A)

karṣu **I** "slander": *karṣī* **Nabû 128** *kar-ṣ*[*í*ʾ] (A [?])

karû **II** "to be(come) short": **G** *ikri* **Ištar 164** *ik-ri* (A)

kasîš **I** "in bondage": *kasíš* **Ištar 107** *ka-siš* (A)

kaspu **I** "silver": *kaspi* **Nabû 122** *kàs-p*[*u*] (A), *kàs-*[*pi*] (B_2)

kasû **III** "to bind": **G** *kasâ* **Ištar 222** *k*]*a-sa-a* (A)

kašādu **I** "to reach, arrive; accomplish; conquer": **G** *ikšudu* **Ištar 112** *ik-šu-d*[*u* (A) – **G** *kašādi* **Nabû 147** *ka-šá-du* (A)

kâšim **I** "to you": *kâši* **Ištar 217** *ka-a-ši* (A)

kâšu **I** "to delay, linger": **G** *ikušša* **Nabû 182** *i-kuš-šu* (A)

katāmu **I** "to cover": **G** *katimšū-ma* **Ištar 93** *ka-tim-šú-ma* (A)

kâti **I** "you": *kâti* **Ištar 86** *ka-a-ti* (A); **178** *ka-a-ti* (A); **Nabû 89** *ka-a-ti* (A); **99** *k*]*a-a-ti* (A); **101** *k*] *a-a-ti* (A)

kawû **I** "outer": *kamâti* **Nabû 78** *k*[*a-ma-a-ti*] (A)

kī **I** "like; how?; as": *kī* **Ištar 15** *ki-*⌜*í*⌝ (B); **122** *ki-i* (A); **Nabû 77** *ki-i* (A); **78** *ki-i* (A); **127** *ki-i* (A)

kiāšu **I** "to help": **G** *kâša* **Ištar 236** *k*]*a-a-šá* (A), *ka-a-šá* (B)

kibru **I** "bank, shore, rim": *kibrāt* **Nabû 211** (*rest.*) – *kibrāti* **Ištar 214** *kib-ra*]*-a-ti* (A)

kibsu **I** "track, footprint": *kibsuš* **Ištar 171** *kib-su-uš* (A)

kīma **I** "like; when, as, that": *kīma* **Ištar 10** (*rest.*); **11** (*rest.* [?]); **14** *ki-ma* (B); **17** [*ki-ma* (B [?]); **18** (*rest.* [?]); **19** (*rest.* [?]); **23** (*rest.*); **86** *ki-ma* (A); **100** *ki-ma* (A); **187** *ki-ma* (A); **211** (*rest.* [?]); **218** *ki-ma* (A); **219** (*rest.*); **Nabû 13** *ki-ma* (A); **15** *ki-ma* (A); **34** (*rest.*); **36** *k*]*i-*⌜*ma*⌝ (A); **57** [*k*]*i-ma* (A); **217** (*rest.* [?])

kimṣu **I** "shin, lower leg": *kinṣāšu* **Ištar 97** *kin-ṣa-a-šú* (A)

kimtu **I** "family": *kimtašu* **Ištar 156** *kim-ta-šu* (A) – *kimtīya* **Nabû 121** *ki*ʾ*-im*ʾ*-t*]*i-ia* (A [?])

kingallu **I** "leader of assembly": *kingallu* **Nabû 140** *kin-gal-lu* (A)

kišādu **I** "neck; bank": *kišādāšu* **Ištar 98** *ki-šá-da-šú*

(A) – *kišādka* **Nabû 188** *ki-š*[*ad-ka*] (A); **190** *ki-š*[*ad-ka*] (A) – *kišassu* **Ištar 111** *ki-šad-su* (A)

kīšū **I** "pain(s)": *kīšīya* **Ištar 216** *ki-ši-ia* (A)

kišubbû **I** "waste ground": *kišubbûša* **Nabû 122** *ki-šub-bu-šá* (A)

kitmusu **I** "kneeling, squatting": *kitmusā* **Ištar 97** ⌜*kit*⌝*-mu-s*[*a*?] (A)

kittu **I** "steadiness, reliability, truth": *kināti* **Nabû 123** *ki-na-a-ti* (A)

kû **I** "your; yours": *kûm-ma* **Ištar 246** *ku-um-ma* (A, B)

kubukku **I** "strength": *kubukkuk* **Ištar 24** *ku-*⌜*bu*⌝*-uk-ku-uk* (A)

kullu **III** "to hold": **G** *killā* Ištar 245 *kil-la* (A), ⌜*kil-la*⌝ (B)

kullumu **I** "show": **D** *kullumat* **Ištar 84** *k*[*u*]*l-*⌜*lu*⌝*-mat* (A) – **D** *ukallam* **Ištar 223** *ú-kal-lam* (A)

kunnû **I** "cared for, cherished": *kunnîš* **Ištar 245** *ku*ʾ*-u*]*n-niš* (A)

kunukku **I** "seal": *kunukka* **Nabû 123** *ku-nu-uk-ka* (A)

kūru **I** "depression, torpor": *kūru* **Nabû 80** (*rest.* [?])

lā **I** "not, no; without, un-": *lā* **Ištar 7** *la* (B), *la* (B); **9** ⌜*la*⌝ (B); **86** *la* (A); **94** *la* (A); **119** *la* (A); **120** *la* (A); **161** *la* (A); **174** *la* (A); **178** *la* (A); **185** *la*ᵢ(MA) (A [?]); **191** *la* (A); **Nabû 21** *la* (A); **23** *la* (A); **53** *la* (A); **55** *la* (A); **92** (*rest.*); **94** (*rest.*); **127** *la* (A); **160** *la* (A); **186** *la* (A), *la* (A)

labānu **I** "to spread, stroke": **G** *libnāši* **Ištar 227** *líb-na-ši* (A)

lagāʾu **I** "scale, dirt, scum": *lagāʾa* **Nabû 106** *la-*⌜*ga*⌝*-mi* (A [?])

Laḫmu "Lahmu": *Laḫmū* **Nabû 219** [ᵈ*là*]*ḫ-mu* (A)

lallaru **I** "(professional) mourner": *lallarīšu* **Ištar 156** *làl-la-ru-šú* (A)

lallāru **I** "white honey": *lallāriš* **Nabû 178** *làl-la-riš* (A)

lalû **I** "plenty, exuberance": *lalê* **Nabû 133** *la-l*[*e*ʾ*-e*ʾ] (A [?])

lamassu **I** "(female) tutelary deity": *lamassa* **Ištar 238** *la-mas-sa* (A); **Nabû 191** ⌜*la-mas*⌝*-su* (A)

lānu **I** "form, stature": *lānī* **Ištar 58** *la-a-ni* (A)

lawû **II** "to surround; besiege": **G** *lamâni* **Ištar 75** *la-ma-a-ni* (A)

lemnu **I** "bad": *lemna* **Nabû 105** *lem-ni* (A) – *lemniš* **Ištar 198** *lem-niš* (A)

lēmu **I** "disobedient (one)": *lēmu* **Nabû 51** *le-e-m*[*u*] (A)

leqû **II** "to take, take over": **G** *liqê* **Ištar 216** (*rest.*)

lētu **I** "cheek; side": *lētka* **Nabû 188** *let-ka* (A); **190** *let-ka* (A)

lēʾîš "victoriously": *lēʾîš* **Ištar 197** *le-ʾi-iš* (A)

leʾû **I** "to be able, powerful": **G** *ileʾʾi* **Ištar 83** *i-le-e*ʾ*-*⌜*i*⌝ (A); **220** *i-le-ʾi* (A)

lēʾû **I** "powerful, competent": *lēʾî* **Nabû 58** ⌜*le*⌝*-ʾu-ú* (A)

libbu **I** "inner body; heart": *libbaša* **Ištar 199** *l*]*ìb-ba-šá* (A) – *libbašū-ma* **Nabû 152** *lìb-*⌜*ba*⌝*-*[*šú-ma* (A) – *libbi* **Ištar 118** ⌜*lìb-bi*⌝ (A); **192** *líb-bi* (A) – *libbuk* **Ištar 149** *lib-bu-uk* (A)

ligimû **I** "kernel, sprout": *ligimîšu* **Nabû 181** *li-gi-mì-šú* (A)

lillu **I** "idiot": *lillā* **Ištar 162** *l*[*i*] *l-*⌜*la*⌝ (A)

lippu **I** "wrapping": *lippi* **Ištar 187** *lip-p*[*u*ʾ (A [?])

lišānu **I** "tongue, language": *lišānšu* **Ištar 163** *li-šá-an-šú* (A)

līʾu **I** "bull": *lê* **Nabû 57** *le-e* (A)

lumnu **I** "evil, misery": *lumna* **Nabû 164** *lum-n*[*u* (A [?]) – *lumni* **Nabû 115** *l*[*um-n*]*u* (A), *lum-nu* (B_1) – *lumnu* **Nabû 116** *lu-*⌜*mun*?⌝ (A [?])

lūtu **I** "debility; (a disease)": *luʾtu* **Ištar 186** *lu-ʾu-t*[*ú*ʾ (A [?])

magāru **I** "to consent, agree": **D** *unamgarū* **Nabû 128** *ú-nam-ga-ru* (A)

magrû **I** "insulting": *magrâti* **Ištar 184** *ma-a*[*g-ra-ti*] (A)

maḫāru **I** "to face, confront; oppose; receive": **G** *māḫir* **Ištar 86** ⌜*ma-ḫír*⌝ (A) – **D** *muḫrāni* **Ištar 239** *muḫ-ra-ni* (A) – **D** *muḫrī* **Ištar 217** (*rest.* [?])

maḫḫûtiš **I** "to become frenzied, ecstatic": *maḫḫûtiš* **Ištar 161** *ma-ḫu-tíš* (A)

māḫiru **I** "opponent, antagonist, enemy; one who faces; recipient": *māḫirki* **Ištar 5** ⌜*ma*ʾ⌝-*ḫ*[*ir*ʾ-*ki*ʾ] (B [?])

mala **I** "as much as": *mala* **Ištar 82** *ma-la-a* (A); **Nabû 98** (*rest.* [?]) – *malāki* **Ištar 35** ⌜*ma*⌝-*la-ki* (A); **85** *ma-la-k*[*i*] (A)

māliku **I** "adviser, counsellor": *māliki* **Ištar 11** *ma-*⌜*li-ki*⌝ (B)

malû **II** "matted, dirty (body) hair": *malî* **Ištar 169** *ma-li-i* (A)

manāma **I** "somebody; who(so) ever": *manāma* **Nabû 96** *ma-*⌜*na-a-ma*ʾ⌝ (A [?])

mangu **II** "(a skin disease)": *mangu* **Ištar 59** (*rest.* [?]); **96** *man-gu* (A)

mānitu **I** "(gentle) wind, breeze": *manītaki* **Ištar 110** *ma-*⌜*ni-ta-ki*⌝ (A) – *manītu* **Nabû 175** *ma-ni-t*[u_4] (A)

manû **IV** "to count, calculate; recite": **G** *imnû* **Nabû 127** *im-nu-*⌜*ú*⌝ (A)

maqātu **I** "to fall": *ušamqat* **Nabû 125** *ú-šam-q*[*at*ʾ] (A [?])

marāḫu **I** "to allow to become spoiled": **N** *immarḫā* **Nabû 181** *i-ma-ar-ḫa* (A)

marru **I** "bitter": *mār* **Nabû 179** *ma-a-*[*ar*] (A)

marṣu **I** "sick; troublesome": *marṣu* **Nabû 89** *mar-ṣi* (A [?])

marṣūtu **I** "in his trouble": *marṣūti* **Ištar 157** *mar-ṣu-ti* (A)

mārtu **I** "daughter; girl": *mārat* **Ištar 221** *ma-ra*]*t* (A) – *mārtu* **Nabû 177** *mar-tú* (A)

māru **I** "son, descendant; boy": *mār* **Ištar 175** DUMU (A) – *māru* **Nabû 177** *ma-r*[*i*] (A); **185** *ma-ru* (A); **186** *ma-ru* (A)

maruštu **I** "evil, distress": *marṣatuš* **Nabû 152** (*rest.* [?])

masdara **I** "continuously, always": *masdara* **Nabû 90** *mas-*⌜*da*⌝-*ri* (A)

massû **I** "leader, expert": *maššû* **Ištar 6** *maš-šu-ú* (B)

maṣû **I** "to correspond, comply with (s.th.); be sufficient, suffice": **G** *imṣa* **Ištar 85** *im-ṣa-a* (A) – **G** *maṣât* **Ištar 10** ⌜*ma*⌝-*ṣa-at* (B) – **G** *maṣi* **Nabû 155** *ma-ṣi* (A)

mašû **II** "to forget": **G** *maši* **Ištar 167** *ma-ši* (A) – **G** *tamšî* **Ištar 91** *tam-ši-i* (A)

mati **I** "when?": *mati* **Nabû 116** *ma-t*[*i* (A), *ma-ti* (B_1)

mātu **I** "land, country": *māti* **Nabû 175** *ma-*tu_4 (A)

mayyālu **I** "bed, resting place": *mayyāli* **Ištar 189** *ma-a-a-l*[*i*ʾ (A [?])

meḫû **I** "storm": *meḫû* **Ištar 29** *me-ḫu-u* (A)

mekītu **I** "neglect, absence"?: *mekīti* **Ištar 82** *mi-ki-tú* (A)

mekû **I** "instruction": *mêki* **Ištar 80** *me-e-ki* (A)

mekû **V** "to neglect": **G** *imkû* **Ištar 168** *im-ku-ú* (A); **Nabû 97** *i*]*m-ku-ú* (A)

mêsu **I** "hurl down": **N** *immês* **Nabû 53** *im-me-es-su* (A); **55** *im-me-es-su* (A) – **N** *immês-ma* **Ištar 109** *im-*⌜*mes*⌝-*ma* (A)

mesû **II** "to wash, clean(se), purify": **D** *mussâ* **Ištar 244** *mu-us-sa-a* (A)

****meṣḫeru*** "youth?": *meṣḫeru* **Nabû 177** *meṣ-ḫe-ri* (A)

mêšu **I** "to disregard, scorn": **G** *emtēš* **Ištar 79** *em-te-eš* (A) – **G** *mēš* **Nabû 97** *me-e-šú* (A) – **G** *temešší* **Ištar 168** *tu-am-mé-šú* (A [?])

meṭlūtu **I** "manhood": *meṭlūti* **Ištar 20** ⌜*mé*⌝-*eṭ-l*[*u*]-⌜*ti*⌝ (A)

milku **I** "advice, counsel; resolution, intelligence": *milka* **Ištar 13** [*mi-il-k*]*a* (B)

mimma **I** "anything, something; everything, all": *mimma* **Nabû 98** (*rest.* [?])

mimmû **I** "all": *mimmê* **Ištar 82** *m*[*im*ʾ-*m*]*u*ʾ-*ú* (A [?])

minītu **I** "measure, dimension": *minātīšu* **Ištar 172** *mi*-[*na*ʾ-*ti*ʾ-*šú*ʾ] (A [?])

minsu **I** "why?": *minsu* **Nabû 162** *mìn-su* (A)

mīnu **I** "what?": *mīnâ* **Ištar 168** *mi-na-a* (A); **Nabû 79** *mi-na-a* (A); **97** (*rest.* [?]) – *mīni* **Ištar 96** *mi-ni* (A)

miṣru **I** "border": *miṣraki* **Ištar 9** *mi-iṣ-*⌜*ra-ki*⌝ (B)

mītu **I** "dead": *mīta* **Ištar 220** (*rest.* [?])

mūdû **I** "knowing, wise": *mūdî* **Nabû 158** *mu-de-e* (A)

mukallu **I** "(a priest or scholar)": *mukkalli* **Nabû 41** ⌜*muk*⌝-*kal-li* (A); **43** ⌜*muk*⌝-*kal-li* (A)

munû **I** "(a type of bed)": *manûššu* **Ištar 96** *ma-nu-šú* (A)

muqqu **II** "to weary, tire; wane": **D** *muqqā* **Ištar 97** *muq-qa* (A)

mūṣu **I** "exudation": *mūṣu* **Nabû 183** *mu-ú-ṣu* (A)

mūšu **I** "night": *mūša* **Ištar 158** *mu-šá* (A) – *mūši* **Nabû 143** ⌜*mu*⌝-[*ši* (A); **146** *mu-š*[*ú* (A)

mutqu **II** "head louse": *mutqu* **Nabû 114** *mut-qu* (A)

nābalu **I** "dry land, mainland": *nābalu* **Nabû 50** *na-ba-l*[*u*] (A)

nabû **II** "to name; nominate; decree": *nabû* **Ištar 9** *na-bu-ú* (B) – *tabbi* **Nabû 81** *tam-bi* (A); **83** *tam-bi* (A)

Nabû "Nabû": *Nabû* **Nabû 11** (*rest.*); **15** (*rest.*); **19** (*rest.*); **23** (*rest.*); **27** (*rest.* [?]); **31** (*rest.*); **35** (*rest.*); **39** [^{d}A]G (A); **43** ^{d}AG (A); **47** ^{d}AG (A); **55** ⌜^{d}⌝AG (A); **83** ^{d}AG (A); **93** (*rest.*); **101** ^{d}AG (A); **119** ^{d}A]G (A); **189** ^{d}AG (A); **206** (*rest.*); **214** (*rest.*); **222** (*rest.*)

nadānu **II** "to give": **G** *iddinšum-ma* **Ištar 182** *id-din-šu-ma* (A); **183** *id-din-šu-ma* (A) – **G** *liddinšu* **Ištar 105** ⌜*li*ʾ-*id*ʾ⌝-*din-šú* (A) – **G** *tanaddinī* **Ištar 13** *ta*-⌜*na-ad*⌝-*di-ni* (B)

nadītu **I** "'fallow' (i.e. childless) woman": *nadâtiš* **Ištar 146** *na-da-tíš* (A [?])

nadru **I** "wild, aggressive": *nadru* **Nabû 17** *na-ad-ri* (A); **19** *na-ad-ri* (A)

nadû **III** "to throw (down); lay down": **G** *idi* **Nabû 188** *i-di* (A); **190** *i-di* (A) – **N** *innadi* **Ištar 173** (*rest.* [?]) – **D** *uddû* **Ištar 230** *ud-du*-⌜*ú*⌝ (A)

nagālu **I** "to glisten, (be a)glow": **N** *nangul* **Nabû 152** *na-an-gul* (A)

nagāšu **I** "to go to(wards)": **D** *luttaggiš* **Nabû 78** *lut-tag-giš* (A)

naḫāsu **I** "to (re)cede; return": **G** *inaḫḫis* **Ištar 158** *i-na-aḫ-ḫi*-[*is*] (A)

nâḫu **I** "to rest": **G** *nūḫ* **Nabû 37** *nu-uḫ* (A); **39** *nu-uḫ* (A)

nakāpu **I** "to push, thrust": **Gt** *ittakkip* **Nabû 49** *it-ta*[*k-kip*] (A)

nakāru **I** "to be(come) different; (e)strange(d); hostile": **Gt** *ittakiršu* **Nabû 110** *it*ʾ-*t*]*a-kir-šu* (A [?]) – **Dt** *uttakkar* **Ištar 192** *ut*ʾ]-*tak-kàr* (A [?])

nakmu **I** "heaped (up)": *nakmu* **Nabû 77** *na-ak-mi* (A)

nakruṭu **I** "mercy": *nakruṭ* **Ištar 237** *na-a*]*k-ru-uṭ* (A), *nak-ru-u*[*ṭ* (B) – *nakruṭa* **Nabû 205** *na*]*k-ru-uṭ* (A); **207** *nak-ru-uṭ* (A)

nalbābu **I** "rage, fury": *nalbābuk* **Nabû 117** *na-al-ba-bu-uk* (A), *n*[*a-al-ba-bu-uk* (B_1); **119** *na-al-ba-bu-uk* (A)

nâlu **I** "to lie down (to sleep)": **G** *ittatīl* **Nabû 52** ⌜*it*⌝-*ta-til* (A) – *nâluš* **Ištar 212** *na-lu-uš* (A)

napištu **I** "throat, life": *napištašu* **Ištar 153** *na-piš-t*[*a-šu* (A); **177** *na-piš-ta-šú* (A) – *napšassu* **Ištar 102** *nap-šat*-⌜*su*⌝ (A)

naplaqtu **I** "slaughtering knife": *naplāqi* **Nabû 57** *nap-la-qu* (A)

nappašu **I** "air hole": *nappaša* **Ištar 101** (*rest.* [?]); **Nabû 187** *nap-pa-šu* (A); **189** *nap-pa-šu* (A)

napšuru **I** "appeasement, forgiveness": *napšura* **Ištar 243** *nap-šu-ra* (A) – *napšurka* **Nabû 10** *nap-šur-k*[*a* (A); **12** *n*] *ap-šur-ka* (A) – *napšurša* **Ištar 225** *nap-šur-šá* (A)

narbû **I** "greatness": *narbâk* **Ištar 1** (*rest.*) – *narbûka* **Nabû 220** *nar-bu-ka* (A); **222** *nar-bu-ka* (A)

nāriṭu **I** "marsh, swamp": *nāriṭṭi* **Nabû 52** *na-ri-iṭ-ṭu* (A)

nasāḫu **I** "to tear out": **G** *inassaḫ* **Nabû 126** *i-na-as-sa-ḫu* (A [?])

nasāku **I** "to throw (down)": **Š** *šussuk* **Ištar 160** *šu-us-suk* (A)

nasīku **I** "that was cast down": *nasīkāku* **Nabû 76** *na-si-ka-ku* (A)

naṣāru **I** "to guard, protect": **G** *aṣṣur* **Ištar 80** *aṣ-ṣu*[*r*] (A) – **G** *nāṣiri* **Ištar 88** *na-ṣi-*⌜*ri*⌝ (A)

našāru **II** "to pour out": **G** *tanaššar* **Nabû 18** *ta-na-aš-šar* (A); **20** *ta-na-aš-šar* (A)

našû **II** "to lift, carry": **G** *našākū-ma* **Ištar 195** *n*]*aʾ-šá-ku-ma* (A [?]) – **G** *našâti* **Ištar 14** [*na-šá*]-*a-ti* (B)

nawāru **I** "to be(come) bright, shine": **G** *inammir* **Ištar 179** *i-na*[*m-mirʾ* (A [?]) – **G** *limmir* **Nabû 203** *li*]*m-mir* (A); **211** *lim-mir* (A) – **Š** *ušnammar* **Ištar 51** *uš*ʾ]-⌜*nam*⌝-*mar* (A [?])

nawirtu **I** "brightness, light": *namrat* **Nabû 184** *nam-rat* (A)

nawru **I** "bright, shining": *namrūtu* **Nabû 204** (*rest.*); **206** ZÁLAG.MEŠ (A)

neʾellû **I** "roam around": **G** *neʾellíšu* **Ištar 176** *né-ʾe-li-šú* (A)

nekelmû **I** "frown at": *nekelmûk* **Nabû 25** *né-*⌜*kel*⌝*-mu-uk* (A); **27** *né-kel-mu-uk* (A)

nepelkû **I** "be(come) wide (open)": **Š** *šupalkî-ma* **Ištar 210** *šu-pal-ki-ma* (A)

nesû **II** "to be distant; withdraw": **G** *nesīš* **Nabû 50** *né-si-iš* (A) – **Š** *šussi* **Nabû 202** *šuʾ-u*]*sʾ-si* (A [?])

nêšu **I** "to live, revive": **G** *nêša* **Ištar 243** *n*[*é-e-šá* (B)

nêʾu **I** "to turn back": **G** *ineʾʾi* **Nabû 126** *i-né-eʾ-i* (A) – **G** *nêʾa* **Ištar 21** *né-ʾu-u* (A)

Ningunnu "Ningunnu": *Ningunnu* **Nabû 145** ^{d}*nin-gùn-nu* (A)

Ninšiku "Ninšiku": *ninšīku* **Ištar 13** ^{d}[*nin-ši-kù*] (B)

Ninurta "Ninurta": *Ninurta* **Ištar 17** ^{d}*nin-ur*]*ta* (B)

niqittu **I** "anxiety": *nikitta* **Ištar 194** *niʾ-kiʾ-i*]*tʾ-ti* (A [?])

nīru **I** "yoke, crossbeam": *nīr* **Ištar 195** *ni-ir* (A) – *nīrka* **Nabû 17** *nir-ka* (A); **19** *nir-ka* (A)

nissatu **I** "wailing, lamentation": *nissatu* **Nabû 80** *ni-is-sa-t*[u_4 (A)

nišu **I** "people": *nīšīšin* **Ištar 237** *ni-ši-ši-in* (A) – *nišū* **Nabû 221** (*rest.* [?]); **223** (*rest.* [?])

niṭlu **I** "look; view": *niṭilšin* **Nabû 203** *ni-ṭil-šin* (A)

nubû **I** "lament, wailing": *nubêšu* **Ištar 157** *nu-bé-e-šú* (A)

nuḫāšu **I** "luxuriant, prosperous": *nuḫāš* **Nabû 180** *nu-ḫ*[*ášʾ*] (A [?])

nuḫšu **I** "abundance, plenty; fertility": *nuḫši* **Nabû 131** *nu-uḫ-*⌜*ši*⌝ (A)

nupāru **II** "heart, (frame of) mind": *nupāršu* **Nabû 211** *nu-par-šu* (A)

nūru **I** "light": *nūra* **Ištar 223** *nu-ú-ra* (A)

padû **I** "to spare, set free": *pedâ* **Ištar 236** ⌜*pi*⌝-[*d*]*a*-[*a* (B) – *pidīšu* **Ištar 173** *pi-di-šú* (A)

pādû **I** "forgiving": *pādûk* **Nabû 21** *pa-du-uk* (A); **23** *pa-du-uk* (A)

paḫāru **II** "to gather": **G** *ipḫura* **Ištar 157** *ip-ḫu-ra* (A)

palāḫu **I** "to fear, revere": **G** *pāliḫša* **Ištar 87** *pa-liḫ-šá* (A)

palāqu **I** "to slaughter, strike down": **G** *palqu* **Nabû 57** *pal-qu* (A)

palkû **I** "wide, broad": *palkû* **Nabû 41** *pal-ku-ú* (A); **43** ⌜*pal*⌝*-ku-ú* (A)

pānu **I** "front": *pān* **Ištar 27** *pa-ni* (A)

paqādu **I** "to entrust; care for; appoint": **G** *piqdīšū-ma* **Ištar 88** [*piqʾ-d*]*iʾ-šu*-[*ma*] (A [?])

parakku **I** "cult dais; sanctuary": *parakkī* **Ištar 230** ⌜*pa*⌝*-rak-ki* (A)

parāmu **I** "to shred": **G** *pārim* **Nabû 113** *pa-ri-*⌜*im*⌝ (A)

parāsu **I** "to cut (off); decide": **G** *iparras-ma* **Ištar 179** *i-par-ra-as-ma* (A)

parāṣu **I** "to breach; lie": **G** *apruṣ* **Ištar 80** [*ap*]-⌜*ru*⌝*-uṣ* (A)

parāʾu **I** "to cut off, slice through": **G** *parāʾi* **Nabû 51** *pa-ra-aʾ-a* (A)

pasāsu **I** "to erase": **N** *ippassas* **Ištar 114** *ipʾ*]-*pa-as-sa-as* (A [?])

pašāḫu **I** "to cool down, rest": **G** *lipšaḫā* **Nabû 38** *lip-šá-*⌜*ḫa*⌝ (A); **40** *lip-šá-ḫa* (A) – **D** *puššiḫī* **Ištar 216** *pu-uš-ši-ḫi* (A) – **D** *puššuḫa* **Ištar 220** *pu-uš-šu-ḫa* (A)

paṭāru **I** "to loosen, release": **N** *lippaṭir* **Nabû 202** *líp-pa-ṭir* (A) – **Gt** *liptaṭṭirā* **Ištar 172** *lip-ta-aṭ-ṭi-ra* (A)

pāṭu **I** "border; district": *pāṭ* **Nabû 34** (*rest.* [?]); **36** *paṭ* (A [?])

perʾu **I** "bud, shoot": *perʾu* **Nabû 180** *pe-er-ʾu* (A) – *pirʾa* **Ištar 239** [*pi-ir*]-⌜*ḫa*⌝ (B)

petû **II** "to open": **G** *petê* **Ištar 26** (*rest.*) – *pitê* **Ištar 210** *pi-te-e* (A) – **Š** *šupte* **Nabû 187** *šu-u*[*pʾ-teʾ*] (A [?]); **189** *šu*-[*upʾ-teʾ*] (A [?]) – **G** *tapattî* **Ištar 101** *ta-pat-t*[*e* (A)

pīqa **I** "on (one) occasion": *pīqāma* **Ištar 184** *pi-qa-ma* (A)

pirittu **I** "terror": *pirittu* **Ištar 147** *pi-rit-tu*$_4$ (A)

pisnuqu **I** "feeble, wretched": *pisnuqiš* **Nabû 178** *pi-is-nu-qiš* (A)

pītu **I** "opening, aperture": *pīt* **Ištar 27** (*rest.*)

pû **I** "mouth": *pāiš* **Ištar 173** *pa-iš* (A) – *pī* **Nabû 58** ⌜*pi-i*⌝ (A) – *pīya* **Ištar 74** *pi-ia* (A)

pulḫu **I** "fearsomeness; fear": *pulḫūšu* **Nabû 114** *p*[*u-u*]*l-ḫu-šú* (A)

purīdu **I** "leg": *purīdīki* **Ištar 27** (*rest.* [?])

pušqu **I** "narrowness; straits": *pušqi* **Ištar 83** *pu-uš-qí* (A)

pūtu **I** "forehead, brow": *pūta* **Nabû 115** ⌜*pu*⌝*-t*[*uʾ*] (A [?]) – *pūtī* **Ištar 61** *pu-ú-*⌜*ti*⌝ (A [?])

qablu **II** "battle": *qabli* **Ištar 16** *qab-li* (B)

qabû **II** "to say, speak, command": **G** *aqbi* **Ištar 185** *a*[*qʾ-biʾ*] (A [?]) – **G** *liqbû* **Nabû 219** *liq-bu-ú* (A) – **G** *taqbi* **Ištar 184** *taq-bi-i* (A)

qadāšu **I** "to be(come) pure": **D** *quddišā* **Ištar 244** [*qud-d*]*i-šá* (B [?])

qadmu **I** "former time": *qadmīššu* **Ištar 113** *qàd-mi-šu* (A)

qâlu **I** "to pay attention; be silent": **G** *iqâl* **Nabû 90** *i-*⌜*qal*⌝ (A) – **G** *qâli* **Ištar 114** ⌜*qaʾ-li*⌝ (A)

qanû **I** "reed, cane": *qanê* **Ištar 23** (*rest.* [?])

qâpu **I** "to fall down, collapse": *iquppu* **Ištar 100** *i-qu-up-*⌜*pu*⌝ (A)

qaqqaru **I** "ground, earth": *qaqqari* **Ištar 81** *qaq-qa-ri* (A)

qatû **II** "to come to an end, finish": **D** *uqatti* **Ištar 174** *ú-qa-at-ti* (A)

qātu **I** "hand": *qāssu* **Ištar 170** *qat-su* (A); **Nabû 53** ŠU{II}*-su* (A); **55** ŠU{II}*-su* (A); **212** ŠU*-su* (A); **214** ŠU*-su* (A) – *qātāšu* **Ištar 162** *qa-t*[*a-a-šú*] (A) – *qātuš* **Ištar 239** ⌜*qa-tuš*⌝ (A), *qa*-[*tuš* (B)

qerēbu **I** "to be/come close": **G** *qerub* **Ištar 90** ⌜*qé-ru*⌝-[*ub* (A); **224** *qé-ru-ub* (A)

qibītu **I** "speech; command": *qibīt* **Ištar 10** *qí*]-⌜*bit*ʔ⌝ (B [?]) – *qibītukka* **Nabû 82** *qí-bi-tuk-ka* (A); **84** *qí-bi-tuk-ka* (A); **192** ⌜*qí*⌝-*bi-tuk-ka* (A)

qību **I** "command; statement": *qībukki* **Ištar 151** *qí-bu-uk-ki* (A)

qinnu **I** "nest": *qinna* **Nabû 30** *qin-n*]*u* (A); **32** *qin-nu* (A) – *qinni* **Nabû 34** (*rest.* [?]); **36** *qin-ni* (A [?])

qīštu **I** "gift, present": *qīšāti* **Nabû 217** *qi*ʔ]-*šá-a-ti* (A [?])

qû **I** "flax; thread, string": *qê* **Nabû 51** *qé-e* (A) – *qûki* **Ištar 22** *qu-u-ki* (A)

qunnabru **I** "fetters": *qunnabrašu* **Nabû 173** *qu-un-nab-ra-šu* (A)

qurdu **I** "warriorhood, heroism": *qurdi* **Ištar 237** [*qu*]*r*-⌜*di*⌝ (B)

raʾābu **I** "to shake, tremble": *iraʾʾubā* **Ištar 162** *i-ra-ʾu-ú-bá* (A)

rabāṣu **I** "to sit, be recumbent": **G** *rabiṣ* **Ištar 94** *r*[*a*ʔ-*bi*ʔ-*iṣ*ʔ (A)

rabbu **I** "soft, gentle": *rabbu* **Ištar 149** *rab-b*[*u* (A)

rabû **II** "to be big, to grow": **G** *rabêšū-ma* **Nabû 182** *ra-bé-šú-ma* (A) – *rabûtu* **Ištar 29** *ra-bu-tu*$_4$ (A)

raggu **I** "wicked, villainous": *ragga* **Nabû 160** *rag-ga* (A) – *raggi* **Nabû 163** *rag-gi* (A)

ramāmu **I** "to roar, growl": **G** *irammum* **Nabû 57** *i*-⌜*ram-mu*⌝-*um* (A)

ramānu **I** "self": *ramānīya* **Ištar 212** *ra-ma-ni-ia* (A) – *ramānšu* **Ištar 167** *ra-ma*[*n-šú*] (A)

ramû **III** "to slacken, become loose": **D** *urammi* **Ištar 222** *ú*-⌜*ram*⌝-*mi* (A)

râmu **I** "love": **G** *tarmî* **Ištar 12** *tar-mi-i* (B)

rapšu **I** "wide, extended": *rapša* **Nabû 42** *rap*-⌜*šá*⌝ (A); **44** *rap-šá* (A)

raqû **I** "to hide, give refuge to": **N** *irraqu* **Nabû 109** *ir-ra-qu* (A [?])

rašû **I** "to acquire, get": **G** *aršī-ma* **Ištar 194** *ar-ši-ma* (A) – **G** *irši* **Ištar 92** *ir-ši* (A) – **G** *rišâ* **Ištar 238** *ri-šá-a* (A, B) – *rišî* **Ištar 219** *ri-ši-i* (A) – **G** *rišīšu* **Nabû 205** *ri-ši-šú* (A); **207** *ri-ši-šú* (A)

rašubbatu **I** "terrifying appearance": *rašubbatuk* **Nabû 118** *r*[*a-š*]*ub-ba-tuk* (A); **120** *ra-š*]*ub-ba-tuk* (A)

redû **I** "to accompany, lead, drive, proceed": **G** *ireddûni* **Ištar 66** *i-red-du-n*[*im-ma*ʔ] (A [?])

rêmu **I** "to be merciful, have compassion on": **G** *rēm* **Nabû 205** (*rest.* [?]); **207** [*re*]-⌜*e*⌝-*mì* (A [?])

rēmu **I** "womb; compassion": *rēma* **Ištar 219** *re-e-ma* (A) – *rēmiš* **Ištar 42** *re-míš* (A [?]) – *rēmu* **Ištar 159** *re-e-mu* (A); **Nabû 99** (*rest.* [?]); **101** (*rest.* [?])

rēṣūtu **I** "help, assistance": *rēṣūtīya* **Nabû 176** *re-ṣu-ti-ia* (A)

rēštû **I** "first, pre-eminent, prime": *rēštû* **Nabû 37** *r*]*eš-ti-i* (A); **39** *reš-ti-i* (A)

rēšu **I** "head; beginning; slave": *rēšiš* **Ištar 245** *re-ši-iš* (A), ⌜*re*⌝-*ši-iš* (B)

rību **I** "earthquake": *rību* **Nabû 29** *ri-i-bi* (A); **31** ⌜*ri*⌝-*i-bi* (A); **96** ⌜*ri*⌝-*bi* (A)

riddu **I** "(good) conduct": *riddi* **Ištar 119** *ri*[*d*ʔ-*di*ʔ (A [?])

rigmu **I** "voice, cry, noise": *rigmuški* **Ištar 209** *rig-muš-ki* (A)

ritpāšu **I** "very wide": *ritpašā* **Ištar 15** ⌜*rit-pa*⌝-*šá* (B)

rittu **I** "hand": *rittīka* **Nabû 104** *r*]*it*ʔ-*ti-ka* (A [?])

ruāqu **I** "to be distant, go far off": **G** *rūqšu* **Nabû 50** *ru-uq-šú* (A)

rūbu **I** "anger, turmoil": *rubbu* **Ištar 90** *ru-ub-bu* (A)

rušumtu **I** "wet mud, silt": *rušumti* **Nabû 52** *ru-šum-du* (A)

rūʾu **I** "colleague, friend": *ruʾû* **Ištar 181** *ru-u*$_8$*-i* (A)

sabāʾu **I** "to rock, quake; lurch": **G** *sābiʾu* **Nabû 9** *sa-bi-*[*ʾu* (A); **11** *sa-bi-*⌜*ʾu*⌝ (A)

saḫāpu **I** "to envelop, overwhelm": **G** *isḫup* **Ištar 58** *is*]*-ḫu-up* (A)

saḫāru **I** "to go around, turn; search; tarry": **Gtn** *lissaḫḫur* **Ištar 207** ⌜*li-is-saḫ-ḫur*⌝ (A) – **D** *suḫḫira* **Nabû 188** *suḫ-ḫi-ra* (A); **190** *suḫ-ḫi-ra* (A)

sakāpu **I** "to push down, off, away": **G** *tassakip* **Nabû 103** *ta-as-sa-*⌜*kip*⌝ (A)

salāmu **II** "to be(come) at peace (with s.o.), amicable": **D** *sullumi* **Ištar 90** *sul-lu-mi* (A)

salātu **I** "family, clan": *salāssu* **Ištar 157** *sa-la*[*t-su*] (A)

samnu **II** "oath": *samnaki* **Ištar 80** *sam*$^{+am}$*-na-ki* (A)

sanāqu **I** "to check; approach": **G** *tasanniq* **Nabû 187** *ta-sa-niq* (A); **189** *ta-sa-niq* (A)

sanqu **I** "checked": *sanqu* **Ištar 120** *sa-*[*an-qu* (A [?]); **Nabû 185** *sa-an-qa* (A); **186** DIM$_4$ (A)

santak **I** "continuously, regularly": *santak* **Nabû 123** *sa-an-tak* (A)

serqu **I** "strewn offering": *sirqīšu* **Ištar 174** *sír-*[*qi-šú*] (A)

seʾû **I** "to press down": **G** *seʾâ-ma* **Ištar 98** *se-ʾa-ma* (A)

siāqu **I** "to be(come) narrow": **G** *isīq* **Ištar 164** *i-siq* (A) – **G** *sīq* **Ištar 172** *si-qí* (A)

simakku **I** "(a shrine)": *simakšu* **Nabû 201** *si-ma-ak-šú* (A)

Sîn "the moon(-god)": *Sîn* **Ištar 14** ^{d}30 (B); **221** ^{d}30 (A)

sīqiš **I** "narrowly": *sīqiš* **Ištar 107** *si-qiš* (A)

sukku **I** "shrine, chapel": *sukkī* **Ištar 230** *su*]*k*$^{?}$*-ki* (A [?])

sullû **I** "to appeal": *sullû* **Ištar 246** *su-u*]*l-lu-u* (A), *su-*⌜*ul*⌝*-*[*lu-u* (B)

sulummû **I** "peace-making, peace(-treaty)": *sulummû* **Ištar 8** *su-lum-m*[*u-ú*$^{?}$] (B [?])

summiš **I** "like a (male) dove": *summeš* **Ištar 104** *su-um-meš* (A)

suppû **II** "pray": **D** *suppû* **Ištar 246** [*su*]*-up-pu-ú* (B)

supû **I** "prayer, supplication": *supû* **Ištar 113** *s*[*u-pu*]*-*⌜*ú*⌝ (A)

surri **I** "as soon as": *surri* **Ištar 64** *sur-ru* (A [?]); **Nabû 37** *sur-ri* (A); **39** *sur-ri* (A)

sussullu **I** "chest, box": *sussulli* **Ištar 209** *su-us-su-li* (A)

ṣabāru **I** "to twinkle; blink; mutter": **G** *tiṣbarī* **Ištar 76** *ti-iṣ-ba-ri* (A)

ṣabātu **I** "to seize, take; hold": **G** *iṣbassu* **Ištar 96** (*rest.* [?]) – *iṣbat* **Ištar 59** *iṣ*$^{?}$*-ba*$^{?}$*-a*]*t*$^{?}$ (A [?]) – **G** *iṣbatanni* **Ištar 186** (*rest.* [?]) – **N** *ittaṣbat* **Ištar 74** *it-ta-aṣ-b*[*at*] (A) – **G** *ṣabissu* **Ištar 95** *ṣa-bit-su* (A)

ṣabtu **I** "captured; taken": *ṣabta* **Ištar 222** (*rest.*)

ṣarāpu **I** "to burn, fire; dye (red)": **D** *ṣurrup* **Ištar 160** *ṣur-ru-up* (A) – **D** *uṣṣarrip* **Nabû 153** *uṣ-ṣar-ri-ip* (A)

ṣarāpu **II** "to be loud, resound": **D** *ṣurrupū* **Ištar 154** *ṣur-ru-pu* (A)

ṣarpiš **I** "loud and bitterly": *ṣarpiš* **Ištar 155** (*rest.* [?])

ṣênu **I** "to load (up)": *ṣenâti* **Ištar 73** *ṣé-na-ti* (A [?])

ṣēriš **I** "(lit.)": *ṣēriš* **Nabû 46** *ṣe-riš* (A); **48** *ṣe-riš* (A)

ṣerretu **I** "nose-rope, leading rope": *ṣerressun* **Ištar 30** ⌜*ṣer*⌝*-ret-su-un* (A)

ṣēru **I** "back, upperside; steppe, open country": *ṣērīšu* **Ištar 159** *ṣe-ri-šú* (A)

ṣiātu **I** "distant time": *ṣâti* **Nabû 221** *ṣa-a-ti* (A); **223** *ṣa-a-ti* (A)

ṣibittu **I** "seizure": *ṣibittim* **Ištar 223** *ṣi-bit-t*]*u*$_4$ (A)

ṣimdu **I** "binding; (yoke-)team": *ṣindu* **Nabû 132** *ṣi-in-˹du˺* (A)

ṣīru **I** "exalted, supreme, splendid, outstanding": *ṣīrat* **Ištar 232** *ṣi-rat* (A) – *ṣīru* **Ištar 11** *ṣi-i-*[*ru*] (B)

ṣītu **I** "exit; (sun-)rise; issue": *ṣīt* **Ištar 228** (*rest.*) – *ṣītiš* **Ištar 211** *ṣi-ti-iš* (A)

ṣuṣû **I** "reed-thicket": *ṣuṣê* **Nabû 210** *ṣu-ṣe-e* (A)

ša **I** "who(m), which; (s)he who, that which; of": *ša* **Ištar 100** *šá* (A); **112** *ša* (A); **120** *šá* (A); **152** *šá* (A); **178** *ša* (A); **223** (*rest.*); **Nabû 26** (*rest.* [?]); **28** (*rest.* [?]); **30** (*rest.*); **32** *šá* (A); **57** *šá* (A); **123** *ša* (A); **163** *šá* (A); **183** *šá* (A)

šabāsu **I** "to be angry": **G** *tassabus* **Nabû 45** *ta-as-sa-˹bu˺-us* (A); **47** *ta-as-sa-bu-us* (A)

šâbu **I** "to tremble, quake": **G** *išâb* **Ištar 183** *i-šá-a*[*b* (A); **Nabû 88** *i-šá-bi* (A)

šadādu **I** "to drag": **G** *šadāda* **Ištar 21** ˹*šá˺-da-˹da˺* (A) – **G** *šaddāku* **Ištar 195** (*rest.* [?]) – **G** *šadid* **Ištar 22** *šá-˹di˺-id* (A)

šadû **I** "(i)": *šadî* **Ištar 23** KUR.MEŠ (A) – *šadûššin* **Ištar 231** *šá-du-ši-in* (A)

šadû **II** "east; easterner; east wind": *šadû* **Ištar 28** (*rest.*)

šagīmu **I** "roaring, clamour": *šagimmuk* **Nabû 21** *šá-gi*]*m-mu-uk* (A); **23** *šá-gi*]*m-mu-˹uk˺* (A) – *šagīmuk* **Ištar 18** ˹*šá-gi˺-muk* (A)

šaḫāṭu **I** "to jump (on); attack; escape": **G** *ištaḫiṭ* **Ištar 186** *iš-taḫ-ḫi-iṭ* (A)

šaḫšaḫḫu **I** "slanderer, scandalmonger": *šaḫšaḫḫī* **Nabû 126** ˹*šaḫ-šaḫ˺-*[(*ḫi*)] (A)

šakānu **I** "to put, place, lay down": **G** *šakinma* **Ištar 113** *šá-kin-ma* (A)

Šakkan "Šakkan": *šakkan* **Nabû 148** ᵈŠA[KAN? (A)

šalāmu **II** "to be(come) healthy, intact": **G** *šalāmu* **Ištar 228** *šá-la-mu* (A)

Šalaš **I** "Šalaš": *Šalaš* **Ištar 243** ᵈ*šá-la-aš* (A)

šalbābu **I** "wise?": *šalbābu* **Nabû 45** *šal-ba-ba* (A); **47** *šal-ba-ba* (A)

šâlu **I** "to ask": **N** *iššâl* **Ištar 170** *iš-šá-al* (A)

šalummatu **I** "radiance": *šalummatki* **Ištar 152** *šá-lum-mat-ki* (A)

šamāmū **I** "heavens": *šamāmī* **Ištar 49** *šá-ma-me* (A); **Nabû 33** *šá-ma-mi* (A); **35** *šá-ma-mi* (A)

šamāru **II** "gloat": **Gt** *ištammar* **Nabû 89** *iš-˹tam-mar˺* (A) – **Gt** *lištammar* **Nabû 212** *liš-tam-mar* (A); **214** *liš-tam-mar* (A); **225** *liš*ʾ*-ta*]*m-˹mar˺* (A [?])

Šamaš **I** "Šamaš": *Šamaš* **Ištar 15** ˹ᵈ˺UTU (B)

šamšu **I** "sun; sun-god; (sun-)disc; gold": *Šamši* **Ištar 211** ᵈUTUʾ]-˹*ši*ʾ˺ (A)

šamû **I** "sky, heaven": *šamê* **Ištar 210** AN*ʾ*]-˹*e*ʾ˺ (A [?]); **Nabû 118** AN-*e* (A); **120** AN-*e* (A)

šanû **I** "second, next": *šanû* **Nabû 133** ˹KI˺.2.KAMᵛ (A [?])

šapālu **I** "to be(come) deep, low": **Š** *šušpula* **Ištar 21** (*rest.* [?])

šaptu **I** "lip; rim": *šaptī* **Ištar 184** *šap-ti* (A) – *šaptīki* **Ištar 76** [*šap*ʾ*-ti*ʾ]*-ki* (A) – *šaptīša* **Ištar 244** *šap*]*-ta-šá* (A), *ša*[*p-ta-šá* (B)

šaqû **II** "to be(come) high, elevated": **D** *šuqqâ* **Ištar 241** *šuq-qa-a* (A), *š*[*uq-qa-a* (B) – **Š** *šušqâ* **Ištar 21** (*rest.*)

šarāḫu **I** "to take pride in, make splendid": **D** *ušarriḫā* **Nabû 221** *ú-šar-ri-ḫa* (A); **223** *ú-šar-ri-ḫa* (A)

šāru **I** "wind; breath": *šār* **Ištar 28** IM (A); **161** IM (A) – *šārū* **Ištar 29** (*rest.* [?])

šarû **I** "rich": *šarûti* **Nabû 129** *šá-ru-ti* (A)

šarūru **I** "brilliance": *šarūrī* **Ištar 14** *šá-ru-ri* (B)

šassūru **I** "womb": *šassūru* **Nabû 82** *šà-sur-ra* (A); **84** *šà-sur-ra* (A)

šasû **I** "to shout, call (out); read (out)": *šasê* **Ištar 215** *šá-se-e* (A)

šâši **I** "to her": *šâši* **Ištar 229** ⌜*ša*⌝-*a-ši* (A)

šašmu **I** "(single) combat": *šašmi* **Ištar 16** *šá-áš*]-*mu* (B)

šâšu **I** "(to/of) him": *šâšu* **Ištar 88** *šá-a-šú* (A); **Nabû 209** *šá-a-šu* (A)

šāt **I** "who(m), which; of": *šat* **Nabû 143** *šat* (A)

šattu **I** "year": *šatti* **Ištar 176** *šat-ti* (A); **Nabû 116** *šat-ti* (A)

šēdu **I** "protective deity; luck": *šēdi* **Ištar 88** *še-e-di* (A)

šēpu **I** "foot": *šēpāšu* **Ištar 162** GÌR-*šú* (A) – *šēpīki* **Ištar 25** *še-pi-ki* (A) – *šēpuk* **Ištar 7** (*rest.* [?])

šērtu **I** "guilt, crime; punishment": *šērta* **Ištar 195** (*rest.* [?]); **Nabû 14** (*rest.* [?]); **16** ⌜*šèr*ʾ-*ti*ʾ⌝ (A [?]) – *šērtaša* **Ištar 225** *šeʾ*-*e*]*r*ʾ-*ta-šá* (A [?])

šēru **II** "morning": *šēru* **Nabû 176** *še-e-ru* (A)

šêṭu **I** "to miss (accidentally); neglect, despise, commit crime": *ešēṭ* **Ištar 77** *i-šeṭ* (A) – *išēṭu* **Nabû 98** ⌜*i*⌝-*še-ṭu*$_4$ (A)

šeʾu **I** "barley; grain": *û* **Nabû 181** ŠE-*am* (A)

šēzuzu **I** "very fierce": *šēzuzu* **Nabû 184** *še-zu-zu* (A)

šiāmu **I** "to fix, decree": *išīmši* **Ištar 243** *i-šim-ši* (A)

šibbu **I** "belt": *šibbu* **Nabû 25** (*rest.* [?]); **27** (*rest.* [?])

šibqū **I** "scheme, plan; trick, plot": *šibqī* **Nabû 51** *šib-qí* (A)

****šīdītu***ʾ "maiden?": *šīdītu* **Nabû 177** *ši-d*[*i-tú*ʾ] (A [?])

šigmu **I** "noise": *šigmiš* **Nabû 57** *ši-i*[*g-miš*] (A)

šiknu **I** "act of putting": *šíkin* **Ištar 25** *ši-*⌜*kin*⌝ (A)

šilûtu **I** "neglect, carelessness": *šilâti* **Ištar 195** *še-la-a-ti* (A [?])

šināti **I** "them": *šināti* **Ištar 185** (*rest.*)

šingu **I** "village, farmstead": *šingi* **Nabû 210** *š*]*i-in-gi* (A)

šinnatu **I** "similarity, equality (with = gen.)": *šinnatuk* **Ištar 6** ⌜*šin-na*⌝-*tuk* (B)

šinnu **I** "tooth": *šinšu* **Nabû 113** *ši-in-šú* (A [?])

šipāru **I** "regulations": *šiparraki* **Ištar 79** *ši-par-ra-ki* (A)

šipru **I** "sending, mission; work": *šipraki* **Ištar 11** *šip-*⌜*ra*⌝-*ki* (B)

šīru **I** "flesh; body; entrails (omen)": *šīrī* **Ištar 186** *ši-i-ri* (A)

šuātu **I** "lady, mistress": *šuʾēti* **Ištar 215** *šu-e-ti* (A)

šubeʾû **I** "to rush upon": **Š** *šubeʾê* **Ištar 26** *šu*]-*bé-ʾe-i* (A)

šubtu **I** "seat, dwelling": *šubat* **Ištar 245** [*š*]*u-bat* (B); **Nabû 131** *šu-bat* (A); **133** *šu-bat* (A) – *šubatki* **Ištar 12** *šu-b*[*at-ki*] (B)

šudlupu **I** "sleepless; troubled": *šudlupa* **Nabû 13** *šu-ud-lu*]-*pa* (A); **15** *šu-u*]*d-lu-pa* (A)

šuḫarruru **II** "to be deathly still": **Š** *ušḫarrir* **Nabû 107** *uš-ḫa-ri-ir* (A)

šukāmu **I** "scribal art": *šukāmi* **Nabû 42** *šu-ka-a-mu* (A); **44** *šu-ka-a-mu* (A)

šukênu **I** "To prostrate": **Š** *šukennāši* **Ištar 226** *šu-ki-na-ši* (A)

šumma **I** "if": *šumma* **Ištar 111** ⌜*šum-ma*⌝ (A)

šumu **I** "name; son; line of text": *šumki* **Ištar 169** *šu-um-ki* (A) – *šumšu* **Nabû 116** ⌜*šum-šú*ʾ⌝ (A [?]) – *šumu* **Ištar 231** ⌜*šu-mu*⌝ (A)

šurbû **I** "very great": *šurbû* **Nabû 220** *šur-bu-ú* (A); **222** *šur-bu-ú* (A)

šurdû **I** "allowed to flow, leaking": **Š** *šurdû* **Nabû 115** *šúr-du-ú* (A), *šú*[*r-du-ú* (B_1)

šuršurru **II** "(a fruit)": *šuršurrū* **Nabû 176** *šur-šú-ru* (A)

šūt **I** "who(m), those who(m)": *šūt* **Nabû 164** [*š*]*u*ʾ-⌜*ut*⌝ (A [?])

šūtu **II** "south, south wind": *šūti* **Ištar 26** I (A)

tabāku **I** "to pour (out); lay flat": **N** *ittatbakā* **Ištar 164** *it-ta-at-ba-ka* (A) – **G** *tabkā* **Ištar 166** *tab-ka* (A)

tadmīqu **I** "good quality dates": *tadmīqša* **Nabû 180** *ta-ad-mì-iq-šá* (A)

tāḫāzu **I** "battle; combat": *tāḫāzi* **Ištar 16** MÈ (B)

talīmu **I** "favourite brother": *talīmīki* **Ištar 15** *t*[*a*ʾ-*li*ʾ-*mi*ʾ-*ki*ʾ] (B [?])

****taltaltu*** "pollen?": *taltalti* **Nabû 78** *tal-tal-ti* (A)

tamāḫu **I** "to grasp": **G** *tamḫu* **Nabû 30** *tam-ḫu* (A); **32** *tam-*⌜*ḫu*⌝ (A)

tānēḫu **I** "moaning, distress": *tānēḫu* **Nabû 46** *ta-né-ḫu* (A); **48** *t*[*a-né-ḫu*] (A)

tanittu **I** "(hymn of) praise": *tanittaka* **Nabû 221** *t*]*a-nit-ta-ka* (A); **223** *ta-ni*]*t-ta-ka* (A)

tappû **I** "companion, partner": *tappû* **Ištar 181** *tap-pu-u* (A)

taqqītu **I** "offering, libation": *taqqāti* **Ištar 175** *ta-qà-a-ti* (A)

tarāku **I** "to beat, thump; be dark": **G** *itarrak* **Ištar 153** *i-tar-rak* (A)

tarāṣu **I** "to stretch out": *littarriṣū* **Nabû Gtn 204** *li*]*t-tar-ri-ṣu* (A); **206** *lit-tar-ri-ṣu* (A)

târu **I** "to turn, return; become (again)": **G** *litūrā* **Nabû 208** *li-tu-ra* (A) – **D** *utār* **Nabû 182** ⌜*ú*⌝-[*tarʾ*] (A [?])

taššītu **I** "insult": *taššīta* **Ištar 185** *taš-ši-tú* (A)

tayyāru **I** "returning; relenting": *tayyār* **Nabû 184** *ta-a-*⌜*a*⌝-[*ar*] (A)

tebû **I** "to get up, arise, set out": **Š** *šutbi* **Nabû 54** ⌜*šu*⌝-*ut-bi* (A); **56** ⌜*šu*⌝-*ut-bi* (A)

teleʾû **I** "very competent": *teleʾû* **Nabû 91** *ti-le-é-*⌜*a*⌝-*um* (A); **93** *ti-*⌜*le-é-a*⌝-*u*[*m* (A)

temēšu **I** "forgiving": *temēš* **Nabû 156** *ti-me*[*š* (A) – *temēšu* **Nabû 92** *ti-mé-e-šú* (A); **94** *ti-m*[*é-e-šú* (A)

teslītu **I** "appeal, prayer": *teslīssu* **Nabû 217** *tés-lit-su* (A) – *teslīti* **Ištar 86** ⌜*te*⌝-*es-li-t*[*i*] (A)

tespītu **I** "prayer": *tespīti* **Ištar 87** *te-*[*es-p*]*i-*[*ti*] (A)

tēšû **I** "confusion, chaos": *tēšû* **Ištar 93** *te-šu-ú* (A)

tīrānu **II** "mercy": *tīrāna* **Nabû 205** *ti-ra-nu* (A); **207** *ti-ra-nu* (A) – *tīrānī* **Nabû 38** *ti-ra-a-ni* (A); **40** *ti-ra-a-ni* (A)

tuqumtu **I** "battle": *tuqunti* **Ištar 16** *t*[*u*]-*qu-un*-[*ti* (B), *tu-qu-un*]-*t*[*i*] (A)

tuša **I** "it could have been that": *tušāma* **Nabû 157** *tu-šá-ma* (A)

tutturu **I** "leaf": *turturreš* **Ištar 180** *tur-tur-re-eš* (A)

ṭābu **I** "good; sweet": *ṭābi* **Ištar 161** *ṭa-a-bi* (A); **189** *ṭa-a-bi* (A) – *ṭābta* **Nabû 92** ⌜*ṭa*⌝-*ab-tú* (A); **94** *ṭa-a*]*b-tú* (A) – *ṭābu* **Ištar 221** *ṭa-a-bu* (A)

ṭapultu **I** "slander, denigration": *ṭapultuʾ* **Nabû 129** *ṭa-*⌜*pul*ʾ-*ti*⌝ (A [?])

ṭarādu **I** "to send off, despatch; **G** send away": *ṭurdī* **Ištar 76** *ṭùr-di* (A)

ṭēmu **I** "(fore)thought, plan(ning); understanding; instruction": *ṭēnšu* **Nabû 110** (*rest.* [?])

u **I** "and, but, also": *u* **Ištar 8** *ù* (B); **16** *u* (B); **20** *ù* (A); **21** *ù* (A); **65** ⌜*ù*⌝ (A); **78** *ù* (A); **114** ⌜*ù*⌝ (A); **120** *u* (A); **169** *u* (A); **239** *ù* (B); **243** *u* (A); **Nabû 80** (*rest.*); **146** *u* (A); **158** *ù* (A); **163** *u* (A); **210** *ù* (A); **216** *ù* (A)

uḫḫuru **I** "late, remaining": *uḫḫurši* **Ištar 89** *uḫ-ḫur-ši* (A)

uḫinnu **I** "fresh date(s)": *uḫenša* **Nabû 179** *ú-ḫe-en-šá* (A)

ul **I** "not": *ul* **Ištar 79** *ul* (A); **80** *ul* (A); **89** *ul* (A); **92** ⌜*ul*⌝ (A); **99** *ul* (A); **121** *ul* (A); **125** *ul* (A); **166** *ul* (A); **167** *ul* (A); **196** ⌜*ul*⌝ (A); **Nabû 87** ⌜*ul*⌝ (A); **99** *ul* (A); **100** (*rest.* [?]); **101** *ul* (A); **102** (*rest.* [?]); **126** *ul* (A); **141** *ul* (A)

ullíš **I** "later, thereafter; before?": *ullíš* **Ištar 113** *ul-liš* (A)

ummu **I** "mother": *umma* **Ištar 92** (*rest.* [?]) – *ummātišu* **Nabû 86** (*rest.* [?]) – *ummi* **Ištar 219** (*rest.*)

ummu **II** "heat; fever": *ummāti* **Nabû 175** *um-ma-*⌜*tu*$_4$⌝ (A)

ummulu **I** "twinkling": *amlat* **Ištar 165** *am-lat* (A)

ūmu **I** "day": *ūmšu* **Ištar 47** *u*$_4$*-um-šú* (A)

unnīnu **I** "supplication, petition": *unnīni* **Ištar 159** ⌜*un-ni*⌝-[*ni*] (A)

upāṭu **I** "(nasal) mucus": *ubāṭa* **Ištar 73** *ú-*⌜*ba*⌝-[*ṭa*ʔ] (A [?])

uppu **II** "(a type of) drum": *uppu* **Ištar 144** *up-p*[*i* (A [?])

urḫu **I** "way, path": *uruḫšu* **Ištar 178** ⌜*ú*⌝-[*ru*ʔ*-uḫ*ʔ*-šú*ʔ] (A)

urpatu **I** "cloud": *urpatu* **Nabû 25** ⌜*ur*⌝*-pa-tu*$_4$ (A); **27** *ur*]-⌜*pa-tu*$_4$⌝ (A)

urru **I** "daytime": *urra* **Ištar 158** *ur-ra* (A)

uršānu **I** "warrior, hero": *uršān* **Ištar 17** *ur-šá-an* (B)

uršānūtu **I** "heroism": *uršānūtu* **Ištar 234** *ur-šá-nu-tú* (A)

urullu **I** "foreskin": *urullātišu* **Nabû 183** *ú-ru-la-ti-šú* (A)

ūsu **I** "usage, custom, good practice": *ūsu* **Ištar 120** *ú-si* (A)

uṣṣuṣu **I** "interrogate": **D** *uṣṣiṣ-ma* **Nabû 141** *uṣ-ṣi-iṣ-ma* (A)

ušumgallu **I** "great dragon": *ušumgallu* **Nabû 17** (*rest.* [?]); **19** *ú*ʔ*-šum*ʔ*-gal*ʔ*-l*]*u* (A [?])

utnēnu **I** "supplication, prayer": *utnēnšu* **Nabû 216** *ut-nen-šú* (A)

uznu **I** "ear; wisdom, understanding": *uznāki* **Ištar 15** [*uz-na-k*]*i* (B [?]) – *uznāšu* **Ištar 166** *uz-na-a-šú* (A) – *uznāya* **Ištar 75** *uz-na-a-a* (A) – *uznī* **Nabû 42** *uz-ni* (A); **44** *uz-ni* (A)

uzzu **I** "anger, rage": *uzzaka* **Nabû 17** *uz-z*]*a-ka* (A); **19** *uz-za-ka* (A)

wabālu **I** "to carry, bring": **G** *libla* **Ištar 148** *lib-la* (A) – **D** *lubbabil* **Nabû 76** *lu-ub-ba-bil* (A) – **G** *tabla* **Ištar 161** *tab-*[*la*ʔ] (A [?])

wadû **I** "to know": **G** *uʾaddī-ma* **Ištar 166** *ʾu-a-di-ma* (A [?]); **D** *uddû* **Ištar 230** *ud-du-*⌜*ú*⌝

wapû **I** "to be(come) visible, appear": **Št** *lištēpâ* **Nabû 213** *liš-te-pá-a* (A); **215** *liš-te-pá-a* (A)

waṣābu **I** "to add, increase": **G** *uṣbaššši* **Ištar 242** [*uṣ*ʔ]*-ba-áš-*[*ši*ʔ (B)

wašāru **I** "to sink down": **D** *umaššir* **Ištar 222** (*rest.*) – **D** *ušširūšu* **Ištar 181** *uš-*[*ši*ʔ*-ru*ʔ*-šú*ʔ] (A [?])

wašru **I** "submissive; humble, obedient": *ašru* **Nabû 185** *áš-ru* (A); **186** *áš-ru* (A)

zabālu **I** "to carry, deliver": **D** *uzabbil* **Ištar 177** *ú-zab-bil* (A)

zakāru **I** "to speak, say; name; talk; swear": **G** *azzakir* **Ištar 185** *az-za-kir* (A)

zakru **I** "named, mentioned": *zakru* **Ištar 231** *zak-ru* (A)

zakû **I** "(m)": *zakâ* **Nabû 121** *za-ka-a* (A)

zāmânû **I** "hostile; enemy": *zāmânī* **Nabû 125** *za-ma-ni* (A) – *zāmânû* **Nabû 157** *za-ma-nu-*⌜*ú*⌝ (A)

Zāqīqu "Zāqīqu": *zāqīqu* **Nabû 143** *za-qi-qu* (A)

zārû **I** "scattering": *zārûšu* **Nabû 185** *za-ra-šú* (A)

zēru **II** "seed(s)": *zerā* **Ištar 239** *ze-r*]*a* (A), *ze-ra* (B)

ziāqu **I** "to blow, waft, gust": **G** *lizīqaššu* **Ištar 110** *li-zi-*⌜*qa*⌝*-šú* (A)

zību **I** "food offering": *zībīkin* **Ištar 240** *zi-bi-ki-in* (A)

zikru **I** "utterance; name": *zikir* **Ištar 221** (*rest.* [?]) – *zikirki* **Ištar 9** ⌜*zi*⌝*-k*[*ir*?*-ki/šu*$_2$] (B [?])

zumru **I** "body; person": *zumuršu* **Nabû 202** *zu-mur-šú* (A)

zunnu **I** "rain": *zunna* **Ištar 50** [*z*]*u-*⌜*un-na*⌝ (A)

zunzunu **I** "(a locust)": *zunzunu* **Nabû 144** *zu-un-zu-na* (A)

Plates

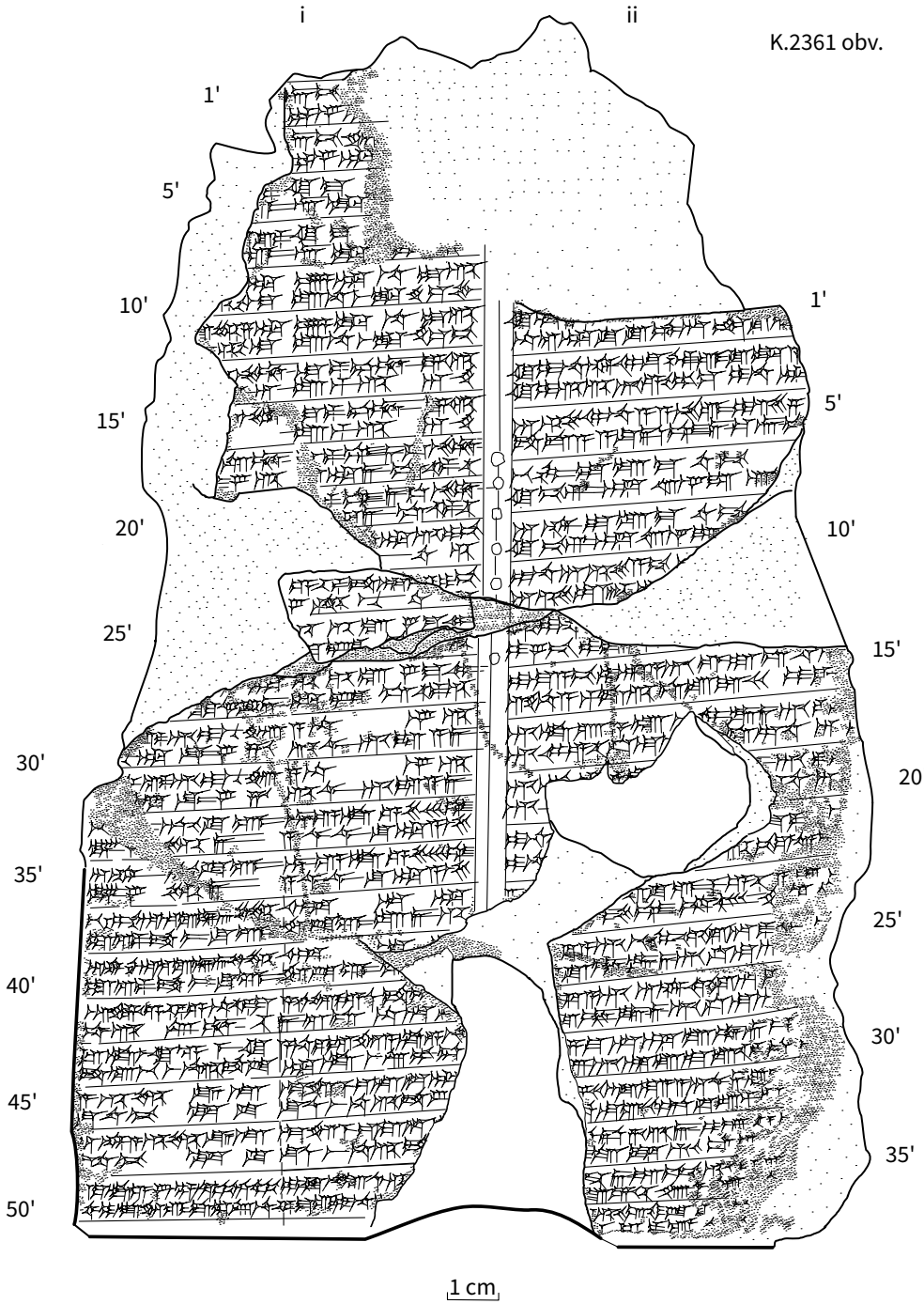
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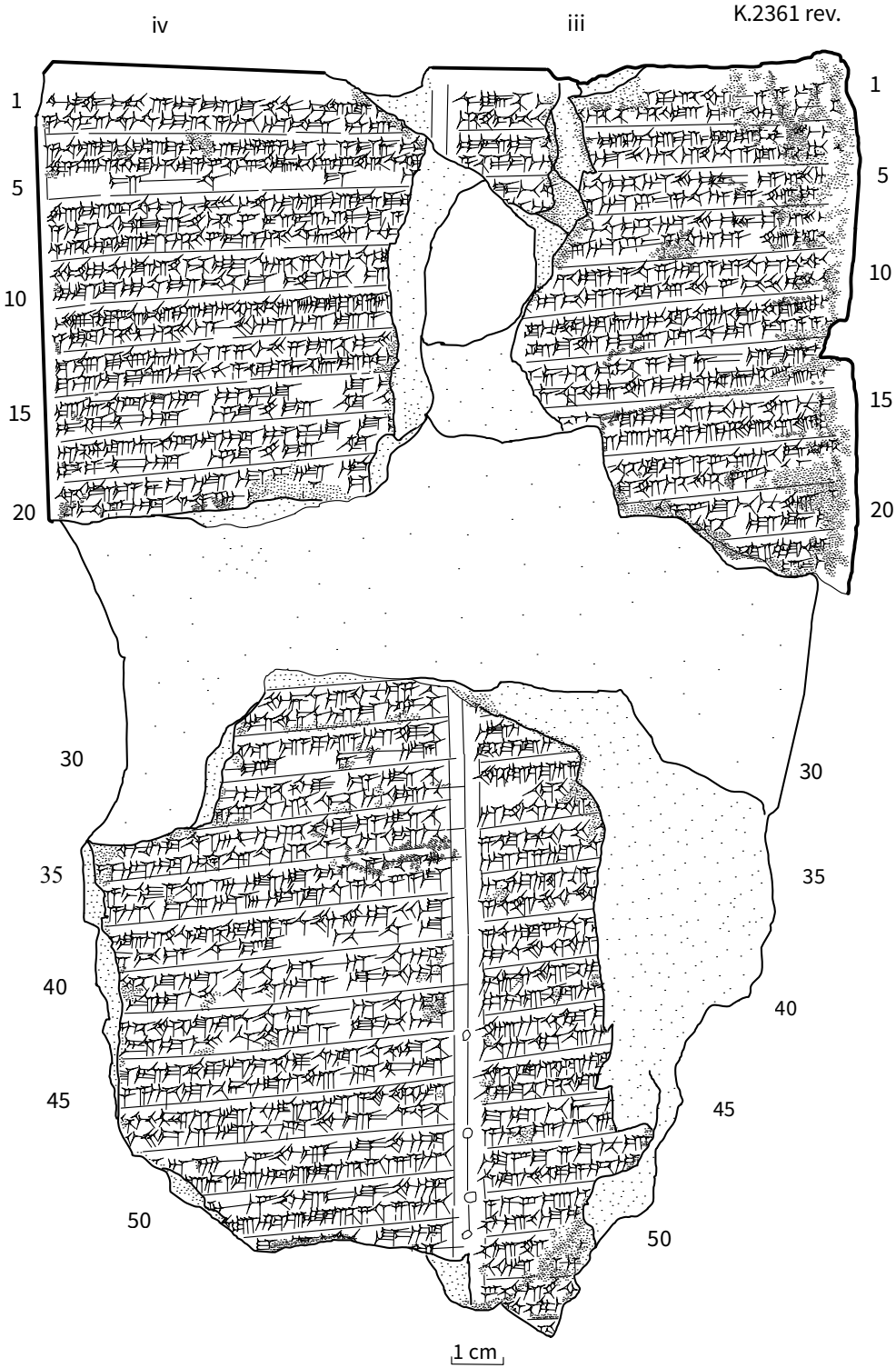
Plate 2



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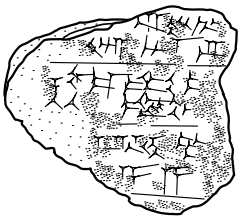

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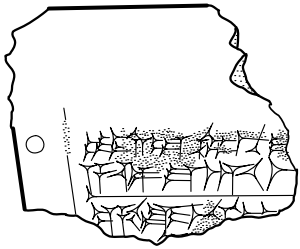

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Index of Subjects

Adverbial case endings **27**, 30, 101, 104, 107, **135**, 170, 181, 191, 193, 199, 203-4, 263, 273, 277
Apocope of final vowels **30**, 42-3, 137, 170, 292
Aramaic 100, 129, 181
Assyrianism 137
Catch line 23
Commentaries (ancient) 18, 35, 214, 218, 212, 224, 234, 252
Genre **4-9**, 12, 14-15, 31, 121, 207, 215, 219-20, 224, 229, 233-4, 247, 250-1, 254-5, 259, 266, 275-6, 291, 297-8
Hapax legomenon/legomena 34, 42-3, **50**, 58, 95, 100, 108, 135, 178, 229, 271, 283, 295, 297
Hymno-epic dialect 22, **26-7**, 30, 34, 42, 58, 89, 101, 135, 139, 170, 178, 193, 200, 277, 289, 291-3
Intratextuality, intratextual connections 215, 221, 227, 247, 260, 265
Intertextuality 120, **215-18**, 220-1, 227, 229, 231, 236-7, 241, 255, 292
Late Babylonian features 45-6, 103
Lexical, lexical lists 4, 28, 34, 58, 94, 96-7, 106, 112-13, 115, 117-18, 120, 123, 180, 182, 194, 196, 212, 214-15, 218, 229-33, 235-6, **237**, **239**, **241**, **243-7**, 257, 276, 284, 292-3
Metric 25-6, 29, 33-4, **39-42**, 58, 81, **131-4**, 255, 289, 291, 297, 309, 314
Caesura (metrical break) 25-6, 39, 41, 58, 88-9, 131-4, 255
Final trochee 25, 39, 40, 132, 314
Vierheber 25-6, 291
Overhanging vowels 29, 30, 42, 45, 92, 103, 122, 193, 292
Penitential prayers 30-1, 50, 97, 101, 108, 110, 135, 138, 141-2, 145, 176, 179, 180-1, 187-8, 191, 202, 292
Diĝiršadabba prayers 13, 30, 49, 98, 115-16, 143, 174, 176-7, 180, 184, 188, 200, 205, 208, 226, 292
Šuilla prayers 13, 28, 34, 89, 96, 101, 104, 112, 129, 167, 172, 174, 180-1, 183, 205-6, 207, 211, 213, 254, 298, 302
Rhetoric, rhetorical devices 3-4, 13-14, 29, 58, 108, 146, 224, 231, 232, **249-59**, 264, 286, 289, 293, 295-8, 307, 309-10

Alliteration 29, 254, 258-9, **260-1**, 276, 296, 298-9, 309, 310-11
Anastrophe 28, 258, 266, **272**, 302, 304, 316
Enumeration 49, 142, 176, **231-2**, **234-7**, **242**, 244-5, 258, **276-7**, **285**, 292, 302, **305**, **307**
Hyperbaton 302, 314, **315**
Metaphor 29, 32, 49, 90, 92, 94, 98-9, 115, 117-18, 120, 141, 167, 183-4, 194, 208-9, 227, 253, 258, **274-5**, **277**, **280-1**, 290, 296, 298, 304, **306**, 309, **317-18**
Parallelism, *parallelismus membrorum* 16, 29, 33, 50, 88-90, 99, 100, 105, 110-11, 118, 123, 135, 203, 209, 213, 252-3, 258, **264-9**, 286, 289, 296, 298, **301**, **303**, 309, **313-15**
Schemes **258**
Simile 29, 49, 94, 100, 184, 206, 254, 258, **273-5**, **277-9**, 290, 296, 298, 304, **305**, 309, 316
Trope 228, **258**, 292
Rubrics 5, 12-13, 23, 128, 147, 154, 166
Sammeltafel 6, 12
School, school tablet 5, 17, 18-19, 21-2, 34-5, 214, 229-30, 237, 251, 293, 246
Subscripts 10
Structure of hymns and prayers **12-13**, 46-74, 138-9
Invocatio **13**, 46,
Laudes **12**, 140, 310
Preces **13**, 46
Wisdom, Wisdom literature 6, 12, 30, **31-4**, 47, 49, 50-1, **54**, **57**, 58, 110, 114, 119-21, 129, 141, 167, 169, 179, 193, 196, 199, 202, 208, 214-15, 217, 223, 228, 238, 251, 277, 291-3, 295-8, 309, 314

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