

TEXTS FROM THE BABYLONIAN COLLECTION

Volume 3

William W. Hallo, Editor

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Volume 3

A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE
ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN GOD-LISTS,

AN: ^dA-NU-UM
AND
AN: ANU ŠÁ AMĒLI

by

Richard L. Litke

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FOREWORD

The publication of the present work has a long and complicated history. When Ferris J Stephens retired from the curatorship of the Babylonian Collection in 1962, and I arrived to take his place, one of the first problems confronting me was a large backlog of unfinished and half-finished manuscripts. These included dissertations written under the direction of Stephens or of Albrecht Goetze, and monographs and collections of copies prepared by former students and other collaborators. I therefore decided to bring the authors in question back to New Haven to finish their manuscripts where possible, or to enlist other collaborators for the same purpose where it was not. To this end, applications were successfully made to the National Endowment for the Humanities for summer grants—five in all during the period 1968–77—which eventually resulted in, or contributed materially to, the publication of a dozen monographs (BIN 3, YNER 4–7, and YOS 11–14 and 17–18, as well as B. Buchanan's ENES).

Richard L. Litke's *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists, AN: ^dA-nu-um and AN: Anu šá amēli* was not included in this program. Its problems were of a different order. Litke's copies were superlative, and his edition incorporated virtually all the published duplicates, notably those from the British Museum published by L.W. King in CT 24–25. He had the benefit of comments not only from Stephens, his advisor, but also from other experts, such as Benno Landsberger, as I can verify from my service as the latter's initial assistant (1954–56) under his Guggenheim Foundation grant. But the existence of numerous unpublished duplicates and the occasional resort to non-An=Anum parallels meant that his edition, however helpful as a first attempt, could not be regarded as definitive. For so crucial a testimony to the religions of antiquity, it seemed better to delay matters long enough to incorporate the balance of the relevant material.

The author himself had meantime withdrawn to private life in Walla Walla, Washington, where he was in no position to make the desired changes. Nor did he consider coming back to New Haven for the purpose. However, once located with the help of the late Warren C. Cowgill, my colleague in Linguistics, the author was more than willing to cooperate in any way possible to help others achieve it. Indeed, over the many years that have intervened, he has never failed to support each decision made here to this end.

The first of these was the preparation of an index to Litke's edition by Maria deJong Ellis in 1970. The second was taken the following year, when, on the occasion of the XIX^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (RAI) in Paris, my late colleague Jacob J. Finkelstein approached

W.G. Lambert with the suggestion that he take on the task of bringing the edition up to date. This invitation, which I seconded, was duly accepted and, for the next ten years, Lambert prepared detailed commentaries on each of the first three tablets (chapters) of the series and sent them to me for review. The last of these submissions was in 1981.

From the first, the essential importance of the Litke edition was widely recognized, especially in connection with the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* (RLA), which had resumed publication with volume 3 in 1957 under the general editorship, first of Ernst Weidner and Wolfram von Soden, then, from 1976 on, of Dietz Otto Edzard. Edzard requested and secured permission to receive a copy of Litke's dissertation for the RLA (permission otherwise routinely denied), and the results are visible in RLA 4ff. More recently, the same courtesy was extended to Jacob Klein for the same purpose.

Subsequently it became apparent that other duties were preventing Lambert from completing his edition in the near future. In its admirably thorough coverage, moreover, it was turning from a straightforward edition into a major commentary on the text. Nevertheless, it was hoped that the original plan could be carried through to completion. That sentiment was conveyed to Lambert by letter of August 2, 1994, and in person by myself and Ulla Kasten, Museum Editor for the Babylonian Collection, on the occasion of the XLV^e RAI in Berlin in 1994.

If it has now been decided to opt for another solution, it is in part because there were no new results from these exchanges of ideas, and in part because the progress of technology has made it feasible to reproduce the original manuscript without setting it anew in type.¹ The book has been supplied with this foreword at one end and the index at the other, and with headers for ready identification of each tablet (chapter). Otherwise, Litke's text appears here exactly as submitted in 1958. It is obvious that in the forty years that have intervened, the progress of Assyriology has been enormous. Hence any attempt at even the most partial updating of the material would be doomed to the same lengthy delays already experienced. It is hoped that with the publication of the dissertation, the author's great patience and forbearance will be, to some extent, vindicated, and that an early completion of Lambert's painstaking commentary will be stimulated.

The series *Texts from the Babylonian Collection* (TBC) was inaugurated in 1985 with a gift from the late Barbara Clay Debevoise, long a benefactress of the Collection, and is here carried forward with a grant from her daughter, Elizabeth Debevoise Healy. It is well suited for the purpose of presenting YBC 2401 to the scholarly world. The parallels from other collections incorporated in the edition have nearly all appeared in print elsewhere. In those few cases where unpublished parallels were utilized, this has been done with the permission of the appropriate authorities as indicated *ad locc.*

1. The alternative of converting the original typescript—with the exception of the preface, list of abbreviations, and introduction—to printed type by means of Optical Character Recognition (OCR) had to be rejected because of the expense and the considerable risk of errors entailed.

When Anton Deimel published the first great compendium of Mesopotamian divine names in 1914, he called it *Pantheon Babylonicum*. This edition of An-Anum could hardly be entitled "Pantheon Assyricum," but like K. 4349, its duplicate in the British Museum, YBC 2401 is the work of one and the same Middle Assyrian scribe, Kidin-Sin, the son of the royal scribe called simply "the Sutean" (*su-ti-e*). In K. 4349, both are called A.BA, literally "abecedarian," perhaps a hint that they could also write Aramaic on parchment or papyrus.² Both may have been active in the time of Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.),³ but whether they worked for his library, or indeed whether there was such a library, has been questioned.⁴

Deimel counted 3300 discrete names of deities in 1914. By 1950, the second edition of his *Pantheon* brought the number up to 5580 (or 5367 after subtracting cross-references).⁵ YBC 2401 explains 2123 of these in its seven tablets; the addition of *An-Anum ša amēli* brings the total to 2280, or more than 40% of those catalogued by Deimel. It truly deserves the designation of *tupkallu* (*dubgallu*) or "monster tablet" reserved for the prototypes of its London duplicate⁶ and of the "Tale of the Fox" and perhaps other fables.⁷ On the occasion of the XLV^e RAI, Litke's edition is now finally offered to the entire field of ancient Near Eastern studies. It should open a whole new window on the scholars of the Middle Assyrian court, and on the invisible world about them as conceived by them, their predecessors, and their successors throughout ancient Mesopotamia.

William W. Hallo

2. W.W. Hallo, *Origins* (Leiden: Brill, 1996) 39f.

3. H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 2, 1968) 31f., Nos. 50f.; M. Heltzer, *The Suteans* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1981) 89; R. Zadok, "Suteans and Other West Semites during the Latter Half of the Second Millennium B.C.," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 16 (1985) 59–70, esp. p. 61.

4. W.G. Lambert, "Tukulti-Ninurta I and the Assyrian King List," *Iraq* 38 (1976) 85–94, esp. p. 85, n. 2; O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur* (2vv., *Studia Semitica Upsaliensia* 6, 8) (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1985–86), esp. Part I, pp. 41f.

5. W.W. Hallo, "Albright and the Gods of Mesopotamia," *Biblical Archaeologist* 56 (1993) 18–24, esp. p. 21.

6. W.G. Lambert, "Götterlisten," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 3 (1969) 473–79, esp. p. 475.

7. W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960) 186–209 and 337, esp. pp. 208f., line 17; cf. also H. Vanstiphout, "The Importance of 'The Tale of the Fox,'" *Acta Sumerologica* 10 (1988) 191–227.

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PREFACE

For a study of the religion and culture of the Assyro-Babylonians, the explanatory series An:^dA-nu-um possesses unique importance. Because it contains not only a systematic catalog of the ancient pantheon of these peoples, but also an explanation of the relationships of the numerous deities within the pantheon to one another, such a list is an invaluable aid to the proper understanding of almost every type of written document that has come down from ancient Mesopotamia.

Although a large number of duplicate texts of this ancient god-list have been published, the imperfect condition of most of these texts has always caused some uncertainty as to the arrangement of the material within the series; and the numerous lacunae in this important work have often detracted from its general usefulness. From time to time, efforts have been put forth to reconstruct the series, but the difficulties involved have limited such efforts. There has been, therefore, a real need for texts of the series that are more complete and that can provide a means of locating the position of the many texts that have already been published.

To meet this need, the text YBC 2401 (which is here presented for the first time) is of special importance. Because it contains all of the canonical tablets of the series, written on one large tablet, and because it is better preserved than most of the other duplicate texts of this work, YBC 2401 provides not only a suitable control for the location of the various fragmentary duplicates of the series, but it also provides a means of restoring the greater part of the contents of this work.

It is the objective of the present report to present a fresh reconstruction of both An:^dA-nu-um and the smaller list An : Anu šá amēli, based upon this new text and all other known duplicates of the two series. It is hoped that such an undertaking will prove helpful in the understanding of an ancient civilization among whom religion played such a dominant role.

It is a pleasure for the writer to express, at this point, his appreciation to all those who have made this work possible. To Dr. Ferris J Stephens of Yale University, a special debt of gratitude is owed for his constant interest and guidance during the period of research, as well as for his numerous suggestions during the time of the final preparation of this report. Also, the writer owes much to Dr. Landsberger of the University of Chicago, who so kindly gave much of his valuable time to the reading of the preliminary copy of the text of the present reconstruction. Their helpful counsel and valuable suggestions have immeasurably enriched the restoration contained in the following pages (without being responsible in any way for errors that this work

may contain). The writer wishes to express his appreciation to Mr. R. D. Barnett of the Department of West Asiatic Antiquities at the British Museum, for permission to quote from the unpublished texts K. 2110, K. 11194, and 45639. Finally, the writer expresses his thanks in a special way to his wife for the typing of the manuscript of this report.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| ABL | R. F. Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters |
| ABRT | J. A. Craig, Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts |
| ADD | C. H. W. Johns, Assyrian Deeds and Documents |
| AfK | Archiv für Keilschriftforschung |
| AfO | Archiv für Orientforschung |
| AG | K. Tallquist, Akkadische Götterepitheta (St. Or. 7) |
| AJA | American Journal of Archaeology |
| AJSL | American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures |
| ANET | J. B. Pritchard ed., Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament |
| AnOr. | Analecta Orientalia |
| Ao | AO. 5376 (TCL 15 25ff.) |
| AOS | American Oriental Society |
| AS | Assyriological Studies (Chicago) |
| ASOR SS | American Schools of Oriental Research, Supplementary Series |
| BA | Beiträge zur Assyriologie |
| Babyl. Misc. | F. H. Weissbach, Babylonische Miscellen (WVDOG 4) |
| BASOR | Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research |
| BASOR SS | BASOR, Supplementary Series |
| BE | The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania |
| Belleten | Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten |
| BIN | Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies |
| BL | G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, The Babylonian Laws |
| BSGW | Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften |
| CAD | The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago |
| CH | Codex Hammurapi |
| Clay PN | A. T. Clay, Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period (YOR 1) |
| CT | Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum |
| de Genouillac Kich | H. de Genouillac, Premières recherches archéologiques à Kich |
| EA | L. Abel and H. Winckler, Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna |
| eme | Emesal Vocabulary, dimir : dingir : ilum (MSL IV 4-10) |
| Enûma-eliš | The Epic of Enûma-eliš (line numbering according to R. Labat and the restorations in ZA 47 1ff.) |
| Fara II | A. Deimel, Die Inschriften von Fara II (WVDOG 43) |
| Fauna | B. Landsberger, Die Fauna Mesopotamiens |
| Gilg. | The Epic of Gilgameš (line numbering according to R. C. Thompson) |
| Haupt AV | P. Haupt Anniversary Volume |

| | |
|-------------|--|
| ITT | H. de Genouillac, Inventaire des tablettes de Tello conservées au musée impérial Ottoman |
| JAOS | Journal of the American Oriental Society |
| JCS | Journal of Cuneiform Studies |
| JRAS | Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society |
| KAH | Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts |
| KAR | Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts |
| KAV | Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts |
| KK | B. Landsberger, Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer (LSS 6 1/2) |
| KUB | Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi |
| LKU | A. Falkenstein, Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk |
| LSS | Leipziger semitistische Studien |
| Maqlû | G. Meier, Maqlû (AfO Beiheft 2) |
| MAT | S. A. Smith, Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts |
| MAOG | Mitteilungen des Altorientalischen Gesellschaft |
| MBI | G. A. Barton, Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions |
| MSL | B. Landsberger, Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon |
| MVA(e)G | Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft |
| NF | Neue Folge |
| NS | Nova Series |
| OBI | H. V. Hilprecht, Old Babylonian Inscriptions (BE 1) |
| OECT | Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts |
| OLZ | Orientalistische Literaturzeitung |
| Or. | Orientalia |
| PBS | University of Pennsylvania. The University Museum. Publications of the Babylonian Section. |
| PSBA | Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology |
| R | H. Rawlinson, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia |
| RA | Revue d'Assyriologie |
| Rec. Dhorme | Recueil Edouard Dhorme |
| RHR | Revue de l'histoire des religions |
| Rit. acc. | F. Thureau-Dangin, Rituels accadiens |
| RLA | Reallexikon der Assyriologie |
| SAK | F. Thureau-Dangin, Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften |
| SBH | G. Reisner, Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen |
| ŠL | A. Deimel, Šumerisches Lexikon |
| SLT | E. Chiera, Sumerian Lexical Texts |
| SRT | E. Chiera, Sumerian Religious Texts |
| STC | L. W. King, The Seven Tablets of Creation |
| St. Or. | Studia Orientalia |
| TCL | Textes Cunéiformes. Musée du Louvre |
| Th.-D. Hom. | F. Thureau-Dangin, Les homophones sumériens |
| TAD | S. Langdon, Tablets from the Archives of Drehem |
| TuL | E. Ebeling, Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier |
| VS | Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin |
| WO | Die Welt des Orients |
| WVDOG | Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft |

| | |
|-----|--|
| YBT | Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts |
| YOR | Yale Oriental Series, Researches |
| ZA | Zeitschrift für Assyriologie |

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

When portions of the series An :^dA-nu-um were first published,¹ the scope of the series involved was unknown. In the titles given to these texts, it was simply stated that they were “mythological” texts, and a more exact appraisal of their nature was left to future scholars. With the appearance of other duplicate fragments of this work,² it became increasingly evident that these broken texts represented parts of a major series—a series that presented a systematic explanation of the Assyro-Babylonian pantheon, as worshiped in late Assyrian times.

The task of restoring this ancient document was greatly facilitated by the publication of CT 24 and 25. These were quickly followed by the helpful analyses by Meissner,³ which provided a means of properly placing many of the fragments published in CT 24 and 25. But it was not until the appearance of Zimmern’s “Zur Herstellung der grosser babylonischen Götterlisten An = (ilu) Anum”⁴ that the actual scope and general arrangement of the series became clear. Zimmern based his reconstruction upon the discovery that the emesal god-list, K. 171 (II R 59), represents an abbreviated dialectal series that closely parallels the series An :^dA-nu-um. With this smaller list as a guide, he was able to determine the position of many previously unlocated fragments of the larger work and to discover that the series was divided into approximately six tablets when complete.⁵

The new text, YBC 2401, largely confirms the work of Zimmern (although some of his conclusions are subject to modification); and it now makes the reconstruction of the series attainable on a much wider scale than was formerly possible.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOD-LISTS IN MESOPOTAMIA

The earliest examples of god-lists that have yet been unearthed are to be found among the “school tablets” from Fara.⁶ Paleographically, these represent a period approximately during or

1. II R 54–58 and III R 67–69.

2. See especially CT 24 and 25, in which King not only republished the material that had previously appeared in II R and III R, but also included a large number of other texts of the series. A few other fragments have also appeared in other publications, e.g., cf. KAV 50, 51, et al.; RA 17 183 (Rm. 930) and 194 f. (Ki. 1904-10-9, 61); and SLT 121.

3. *OLZ* 12 197 ff.; *OLZ* 13 61 ff. and 97 ff.

4. *BSGW* 63 pp. 83 ff.

5. However, since Zimmern’s reconstruction was presented only in outline form, its general usefulness has been quite limited.

6. Deimel, *Fara* II 1–9.

just before the time of Ur-^dNazi,⁷ indicating the great antiquity of the practice of compiling lists of gods. Written at a time when the Mesopotamian system of writing had only recently passed beyond the stage of simple pictographs, the Fara god-lists, nevertheless, exhibit an impressive array of deities that probably numbered over five hundred names.⁸

The ancient lists from Fara, with their surprisingly imposing pantheon, have yet to be fully analyzed; in fact, many of the names therein can be read only with great difficulty because of the archaic nature of the script. There are certain features, however, of these ancient lists that may be linked with later inventories of divine names. For example, even at this early date, the custom of beginning each list with the name of Enlil seems to have been mandatory.⁹ The second place in the pantheon was occupied by the goddess Inanna,¹⁰ and Enki was listed third.¹¹ The names of Nanna¹² and Utu¹³ also appear near the beginning of these lists. The order of these important gods in the Fara texts compares favorably with the ranking of the same names in later lists; but, generally speaking, there seems to be no real traceable ties between the ancient god-lists from Fara and later traditions such as that contained in the series An : ^dA-nu-um.

It seems safe to say that during the long interval of time between the period represented by the Fara texts and the time of the third dynasty of Ur, the compilation of god-lists was a practice not unknown to the people who inhabited Babylonia. Direct evidence for such activity must await the results of future excavations; but indirect evidence may be found in the fact that there were at least four different traditions of such lists in existence during the Isin-Larsa period. These are exemplified in the Nippur lists,¹⁴ the Old Babylonian list,¹⁵ the "Weidner god-list,"¹⁶ and a small unpublished fragment of an Old Babylonian list, now in the possession of the Copenhagen National Museum.¹⁷

At the present time, the relationship between these various traditions seems quite tenuous and difficult to analyze; nor does it seem possible to discover any demonstrable ties between them and the older Fara god-lists.¹⁸ The four lists doubtless reflect the local cult traditions in as

7. *Fara II* p. 5*. (For the reading of Ur-^dNazi instead of Ur-^dNanše, cf. Tablet III 67 below.)

8. *Fara II* p. 7* no. 1, a.

9. Cf. *Fara II* 5 i 1; 6 i 1; and 7 i 1 f. The traces in 1 i 1 would seem to point to a restoration of 'An' as the first name, but Deimel (*Fara II* p. 7*) regarded this reading as virtually impossible. Later lists, of course, usually give An/Anu the first place and Enlil the second; but in the Fara lists the name of An is almost unmentioned (cf. An.na in *Fara II* 23 v 6).

10. Cf. *Fara II* 1 i 3 and 7 i 3 f. In the later lists, Enlil is followed by the goddess Dingir.maḥ/Belit-ili.

11. Cf. *Fara II* 1 i 4; 5 i 2; and 6 i 2. In 7 i 5 f., Enki may have appeared under the name of <Dingir>.nun (cf. also *Fara II* p. 9*).

12. Cf. *Fara II* 1 i 5. In 5 i 5 and 6 i 5, the name of this deity is given as ^dEn.zu.

13. *Fara II* 1 i 6.

14. SLT 122, 123, 124.

15. AO. 5376, TCL 15 25 ff.

16. Especially KAV 63 and 65; cf. *AJK* 2 1 ff.

17. No. 10049.

18. Each of these traditions, in so far as they are preserved, exhibits a few superficial similarities to each other as well as to the Fara lists. For example, both the Nippur lists and the "Weidner list" place Enlil high in the

many religious centers—possibly representing the ranking of the deities and sub-deities as worshiped in the respective religious centers.¹⁹ In this respect, since the various leading gods probably represent older patron deities of distinct political units, the ranging of the pantheon in these lists may ultimately reflect the play and counterplay of political fortunes in early Babylonia even more than the independent development of theological concepts.²⁰

At least one of these older lists, however, demonstrates clear ties with the series An : ^dA-nu-um, for the Old Babylonian list AO. 5376 quite obviously belongs to the same tradition that produced the later series. A comparison of the two lists based upon a relative ranking of a few of the more important gods of the pantheon may convey the superficial impression that the two lists have little or nothing in common;²¹ but a more careful study of the various names that are grouped together in both lists quickly reveals the fact that AO. 5376 is in reality an Old Babylonian forerunner of An : ^dA-nu-um.²²

Between the text AO. 5376 and the later canonical list, there must have been a number of intermediate lists; but texts of these intermediate forms of the series are not to be found among tablets that are currently available.²³ In fact, even examples of the Babylonian copies of the final form of the series are scarcely represented among extant tablets.²⁴ Practically all of the copies of the later series are texts written by Assyrian scribes, and it is probable that these represent copies made directly or indirectly from Babylonian originals²⁵ that are, of course, now lost.

In its final form, the series An : ^dA-nu-um represented a bulky list that was divided into six or more tablets. For purely practical reasons, some of these were subdivided by certain scribes, resulting in a larger total number of tablets in some temple or scribal collections.²⁶ A late

pantheon (although An now takes the first position); and the names of Nanna and Enzu are not far from the beginning. But these and other similarities seem coincidental, being merely the result of the understandable tendency to list the most highly revered deities first.

19. The center represented by the Nippur lists seems safely located by the provenience of the tablets involved and the Old Babylonian list AO. 5376, TCL 15 25 ff., possibly represents the tradition of Babylon (cf. the prominence given to Marduk in lines 89 ff.). But the original location of the other two traditions seems less certain.
20. On the other hand, the development of a canonical series such as An : ^dA-nu-um seems to have taken place only after the earlier city-states had given way to larger political units.
21. E.g., cf. de Genouillac, *RA* 20 96 and Jean, *RA* 28 180 f.
22. Cf. Jacobsen, *AS* 11 98 n. 168. Note that, even though the relative ranking of a few of the major deities may vary somewhat in the two series, entire groups of deities are parallel in these two lists. For example, AO. 5376:1-30 has been directly incorporated into An : ^dA-nu-um, Tablet I 96-137 (with only a few modifications and additions); AO. 5376: 31-37 represents the rudimentary form of Tablet I 1-28 of An : ^dA-nu-um; AO. 5376:38-50 corresponds to Tablet I 148-179, etc.
23. Unless the various texts of the "Smaller An : ^dA-nu-um" (see p. 5 below) represent precursors of the larger series.
24. The script of the unpublished fragment no. 45639 (in the British Museum, see under Tablet III 206 below) indicates that it represents at least one probable Babylonian exemplar of the series.
25. Cf. the colophon of CT 24 17 iv 46.
26. For example, the scribe who compiled YBC 2401 copied from a tradition that subdivided the first tablet of the series (see under Tablet I 204 below). This accounts for the fact that the remaining tablet numbers, as given in this large text, are always one number higher than that of most of the other exemplars. Note also that KAV

development in the formation of the series was the addition of the material designated in the present work as Tablet VII—material not contained in either the Old Babylonian forerunner or in the parallel emesal list.²⁷

In its final state, the usual form of the series, obviously, was the collection of six or more single tablets, but there are two exemplars that contained the whole series on one large tablet. This type of text, of course, represents a highly useful tool in the work of restoring the series, because it preserves the traditional sequence of the various individual tablets much better than the single tablet editions whose important colophons are all too frequently unpreserved. YBC 2401 represents one of these larger tablets.²⁸ Because it was written in a much smaller script than usual and was copied upon a clay tablet of larger proportions than most clay tablets,²⁹ this unusual text was able to accommodate the contents of all of the original tablets of the series and still maintain the original format of these tablets.³⁰ The place where each of the original tablets ended is indicated in this text by the use of summaries and double ruled lines. A similar text of this type, containing the entire series on a single clay tablet, is the “Great God-List” of the British Museum.³¹ This text, however, does not completely follow the format of the original tablets. In order to include at least two other series in addition to An : ^dA-nu-um on this large tablet,³² the scribe was forced to crowd his material. Whenever possible, therefore, he allotted two entries to each line and, as a rule, omitted dittos in the second half of the lines as well as certain minor explanatory details.

A number of fragmentary texts of other series have also been published.³³ Unfortunately, however, it is probably still too early to envisage a practical reconstruction of most of these. In fact, it is not an easy task even to determine which fragments belong to which series. One of these series, An : Anu ša amēli, is so nearly completely preserved, however, that it seems feasible to include a restoration of it along with the present reconstruction of An : ^dA-nu-um.

The existence of this smaller series was suspected by Zimmern,³⁴ but, because the beginning of the series was unpreserved in the texts that were available to him, its status was somewhat

51 r. 26 gives “tablet 5” as the number of the section that corresponds to the third tablet in the other texts. KAV 51, therefore, probably represents a tradition that subdivided two of the first three tablets. The so-called “ninth tablet” of the series, however, (CT 24 18) cannot be explained on this basis. It represents a fragment of an unrelated series, and has nothing to do with names of deities; see Zimmern, *BSGW* 63 124 f.

27. CT 25 40 f. (K. 204) represents an example of a one-tablet copy of this material. In YBC 2401, the additional section is listed as the last tablet in the series An : ^dA-nu-um; but in the “Great God-List,” K. 4349, it is separated from the series by material from another series (see CT 24 34–37, in which plates 34–36 represent sections of the “Smaller An : ^dA-nu-um,” cf. pp. 5 ff.).

28. See Preface.

29. For the details as to the size of YBC 2401, see p. 16.

30. Note that in the colophon of YBC 2401 xii 95, the scribe states that he copied from the “older tablets” (*ana pi-i pup-pi*^{MES} LIBIR.RA.MEŠ).

31. CT 24 20–50. It is interesting to note from the colophon in CT 24 46:9 that this text was copied by the scribe [m]Ki-din-^dSin, the same scribe who copied the text YBC 2401.

32. See pp. 5 ff.

33. Especially in CT 25.

34. See *BSGW* 63 125 n. 2.

obscure. Zimmern correctly based his supposition upon the colophon of CT 24 46 3–5, which states that in the “Great God-List,” the scribe wrote (*al-ta-^rtar^r*) ^dAn(DIŠ) : Anu ša amēli in combination with (*il-te-niš*) An : ^dA-nu-um. The beginning of this series is now given by YBC 2401, which finally clarifies its status and justifies its treatment as a separate series.³⁵ A restoration of this list reveals that it is the result of a tradition that was completely independent from An : ^dA-nu-um; between the two series there seem to be no traceable ties.³⁶

In the “Great God-List,” there is evidence of the existence of still another series besides An : ^dA-nu-um and An : Anu ša amēli.³⁷ Even though this third series is only partly preserved, it is clear that it belongs to the same stemma as An : ^dA-nu-um, although (as was the case with the text AO. 5376³⁸) the relative order of the various main deities and families may very slightly from the larger list. This series (which, for convenience, may be designated the “Smaller An : ^dA-nu-um”) is less detailed than the main series, and often merely gives abbreviated summaries.³⁹ This may favor the possibility that the “Smaller An : ^dA-nu-um” represents a later extract series based upon the material in the larger series. However, the fact that the smaller series follows a slightly different tradition in the order of the main deities would seem to argue against this assumption and may point instead to the possibility that the “Smaller An : ^dA-nu-um” actually represents a transcript of one of the precursors of An : ^dA-nu-um, occupying a position about midway between the Old Babylonian list AO. 5376 and the later canonical series.⁴⁰ This third series may have been mentioned in the colophon of the “Great God-List,”⁴¹ which, provisionally, may be restored as follows:

1. ŠU.NIGIN DIŠ.10.DIŠ.10.^rDIŠ^r. [10.x MU.BI An ^dA-nu-um]
 2. a-di An ^dA-nu-[um labīru/šeḥru ù]
 3. ^dAn(DIŠ) Anu ša amēli ^rša^r
 4. qaq-qu-ru im-ti-^rda^r
 5. il-te-niš al-ta-^rtar^r
1. “A grand total of ^rx^r [names (of) An : ^dA-nu-um],
 2. up to [the old/small] An : ^dA-nu-[um and]
 3. ^dAn : Anu ša amēli ^rwhich^r,
 4. (since) there was too much space,
 5. I wrote in combination therewith.”

Besides An : ^dA-nu-um and the two smaller series, An : Anu ša amēli and the “Smaller An : ^dA-nu-um,” a number of other god-lists were known to the later Assyrian scribes. The origin of most

35. In YBC 2401, the smaller series is separated from the main series by a blank space of about five lines and two pairs of ruling lines.

36. For the organization and contents of this list, see p. 15.

37. CT 24 34–36. It is possible that KAV 64 and CT 24 19 are also fragments of this same series. If so, CT 24 19 would constitute the initial section of the series. Other fragments that are possible duplicates of this series include CT 24 9 K. 11035; CT 24 49 K. 4349E; and CT 25 8 obv.

38. See pp. 3 f.

39. E.g., cf. CT 24 36:34–49.

40. See n. 23.

41. CT 24 46:1–7.

of these other lists is unknown, and their scope is uncertain. Some of the fragments of these appear to belong to an elaborate series characterized by numerous explanations of the geographical relationships of various deities.⁴² This series, or type of series (which may be provisionally designated "type F," because of the emphasis it places upon foreign deities), exhibits a form closely resembling that of An :^dA-nu-um, but the two traditions should be distinguished from each other. How many other separate series are involved in the numerous fragments published in CT 25 is, as yet, difficult to determine.

THE INNER STRUCTURE OF THE SERIES AN :^dA-nu-um

The series An :^dA-nu-um can hardly be correctly classed as a lexical text for it makes no attempt to list Sumerian and Akkadian equivalents. It is, instead, an explanatory list that seeks to clarify the offices and relationships of the numerous members of the pantheon. Unlike most lexical texts, this series is not even Akkadian in its composition, but rather, Sumerian. Failure to recognize these facts has led some to make forced Akkadian translations of the Sumerian explanations and has sometimes obscured the meaning of these explanations.

The brief explanations contained in An :^dA-nu-um characterize the deities in various ways. Sometimes, the explanation involves a descriptive statement of the family relationship of the deity with respect to a previous entry. In other instances, the occupation of a deity within the household of another god is elucidated. The explanations often amount to nothing more than simple identifications with other deities, or merely give alternate names (as indicated by dittos, unless only one entry is involved, in which case the main name of the deity may be repeated⁴³) by which these deities⁴⁴ were also known.

The scribes obviously followed a general plan or outline in presenting the material contained in the series, although the plan was not inflexible. The nearly two thousand names contained in the series are generally presented as subordinate members within the circles of the more important gods, and the names of the greater gods thus form the major divisions in the series.⁴⁵

As each name appears in the list, it is followed by whatever alternate names that deity may have possessed. Usually, the name of the spouse of the god is given next; and after this, a list is given of any sons or daughters or servants the god may have had. If the name of the god becomes too far removed from any of the names of his wife, children or servants by the multiplicity of entries, his name is sometimes repeated (in a genitive construction) to avoid ambiguity.⁴⁶ (This latter type of explanation, however, should be distinguished from the entry in which an

42. Especially CT 25 9-14; 16-18; and 35-37.

43. Tablet I 237 may be cited as an example.

44. The names of Enlil in Tablet I 149 ff. and of Ea in Tablet II 129 ff. are good examples of this practice.

45. In certain sections of the series, however, some names are quite loosely attached to the circle in which they are found. Especially is this evident in Tablet V and in the later sections of Tablet VI.

46. The form of such an entry would be: dam.bi ^dX.ke₄ "his wife, (that is) ^dX's." For an example, see Tablet I 185 where ^dEn.zi.kalam.ma is described as dam.bi ^dEn.lil.lá.ke₄ (variant: ^dEn.lil.li). Failure to recognize this principle has led to some confusion. E.g., Tallquist (AG 307 and 467) mistakenly viewed the material in Tablet I 185 as evidence that ^dEn.zi.kalam.ma is equated with Enlil, in spite of the genitive construction (note Tablet I 300 where ^dEn.zi.kalam.ma is equated with ^dNisaba).

additional identification is appended to the explanation of the family relationship. Such an entry may be recognized by the omission of the genitive construction.⁴⁷)

In detailing the members of the household of a god, the names of any children that the god may have possessed were usually placed by the scribes immediately after the name of the spouse. Usually, whatever servants the deity may have had in his household were listed next; although this procedure was not necessarily always followed. Occasionally, the chief servant of the household claimed the more important place, and his name was therefore registered before those of any of the children of the main god. In listing the various servants belonging to a god, the scribes do not appear to have followed any particular order, indicating the relative rank of titles used, nor have the scribes assigned the same types of servants to every deity. Chief in rank among the servants and officials in the retinues of the various gods was obviously the sukka; but only important deities appear to have had a sukka in their entourage.⁴⁸ Other servants in the divine household included the gu₄.DÚB,⁴⁹ the dingir.gub.ba,⁵⁰ the ni.duḥ,⁵¹ etc.

In giving the abbreviated details contained in the explanatory side of each column, the series makes use of certain forms that merit special attention. In particular, the sign MIN exhibits certain peculiarities that should be noted. In a broad sense, MIN corresponds to the modern ditto marks, and for this reason it is transliterated in the present work with ditto marks; but merely identifying MIN with ditto marks does not neatly explain all of the possibilities of this sign. Several problems of interpretation arise when one is confronted with a section like Tablet I 336-339:

| | | | |
|------|----------------------------|--|------------------|
| 336. | ^d Nin.ka.is | | ^d ŠIM |
| 337. | ^d (si.ri.si)ŠIM | | " |
| 338. | ^d "KAŠ | | " |
| 339. | ^d "KAŠ.GIG | | " |

47. See Tablet I 332 where ^dIr.ra.gal is not only explained as "her(=^dNin.SAR) husband," but also is equated with ^dNerigal. See also the complex entries in Tablet I 239 (where ^dNin.u₄.zal.li is explained as the sister of ^dNin.urta as well as the wife of the deity in line 238) and Tablet I 241 (where ^dKAL is explained as both the wife of ^dInim.ma.ni.zi and the daughter of ^dNusku). This usage explains the variants in Tablet I 326, where the text in D reads: ^dNin.NINDÁ+GUD | dam.bi ^dIM "dNin.NINDÁ+GUD is her spouse (and is) also ^dIM." Here, text A varies with ^dNin.NINDÁ+GUD | dam.bi ^dIM.ke₄ "dNin.NINDÁ+GUD is his spouse, (that is) of ^dIM." These two texts thus vary in content as well as in form.

48. The sukka does not appear in the series as a "messenger"; that function seems reserved for the lú.kin.gi₄.a. The office of the sukka is amplified in Tablet I 32-41 where ^dNin.šubur as the sukka of An is portrayed under a number of different names and offices. In this section, ^dNir.šubur is the "man of the double doors," "the sukka who gives the staff," "the counselor of An," and "overseer of the house of An." From this, it appears that the sukka was actually the "grand vizier" of his overlord, exercising great authority in his household.

49. Note that KAV 64 ii 16 f. gives the Akkadian equivalent of gu₄.DÚB as *mu-un-dal-ku* "counselor."

50. The exact function of the dingir.gub.ba is not clear. The verbal noun gub.ba may, of course, be passive in the sense of "stationed," "appointed," "set (at doing something)," etc.; but a translation of "the god who is stationed/ appointed etc." does not amplify the duties of such a functionary. Zimmern described such gods as "Standortgötter" (BSGW 63 110 et al.).

51. The reading for the signs NI.GAB ("doorkeeper") has been given variously as ni.du₈, i.du₈, súl.du₈, etc. I am indebted to Dr. Landsberger for the suggestion that his records lead him to the reading of ni.duḥ.

It is obvious that the dittos in the second half of these lines indicate that these names are alternate names for ^dŠIM (or gods that are identified with ^dŠIM). But what is the significance of the dittos before KAŠ and KAŠ.GIG?⁵² A comparison of similar contexts in the series discloses the simple and logical principle that dittos may be placed before a name or a sign to indicate that the pronunciation gloss of the previous line is to be repeated.⁵³ Thus line 338 above should be read ^dSiris_x(KAŠ) and not ^dSiris.kaš. The name in line 339 may be more complex,⁵⁴ but the same principle applies.

A related usage of the sign for dittos is illustrated in Tablet II 159 f.:

| | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| 159. | ^d Nin.ur ₄ .ra | | " |
| 160. | ^d "DUG.QA.BUR | | " |

The dittos in the second half of the lines are clear; they simply indicate that these are names of En.ki. But the dittos before ^dDUG.QA.BUR may be difficult. Fortunately, texts outside the series clarify this line and help to elucidate the principle involved. In CT 25 48:7, the pronunciation of ^dDUG.QA.BUR (when applied to ^dĒ-a) is given as ^dNun.úr.ra. This should be placed with CT 12 21 93058 r. 1, which gives the pronunciation of this complex as nun.ur.ra and again identifies the name with ^dĒ-a. This means, then, that the dittos in Tablet II 160 indicate that ^dDUG.QA.BUR is an ideogram for the name ^dNun.ur₄.ra and has the same pronunciation.⁵⁵ A similar case is found in Tablet II 254 where ^d"DI.KUD is clearly an ideogram for ^dMa-da-nu of line 253, as is indicated by texts outside the series.⁵⁶ In fact, wherever other texts provide a control for the names involved,⁵⁷ it seems clear that the general principle is to place dittos in front of an entry to show that it has the same pronunciation as the previous name. If the preceding name has a pronunciation gloss, this gloss is carried over and applied to the following name. If there is no gloss involved, the second name may be regarded as an ideogram for the first.

A related use of the dittos (and possibly an outgrowth of the previously mentioned usage) is exemplified by Tablet II 185 f.:

52. Such a problem may at first seem quite elementary, but a more careful appraisal reveals several possible interpretations. Tallquist (AG 449) reads the name in line 338 as ^dSiris.kaš and the name in line 339 as ^dSiris.kaš.gig, although a different and more logical interpretation of the dittos is possible here. Since the dittos are used so often in the series to indicate the repetition of glosses, a misunderstanding of this basic usage could frequently lead to misread names.

53. E.g., cf. Tablet I 149–151; Tablet II 135 f., 307 f., 349 f., 352 f., et al.

54. One might reasonably question whether the entry is to be read ^dSiris_x(KAŠ.GIG) or ^dSiris_x(KAŠ).gig. The latter reading may seem better because the dittos in front of KAŠ may be used to show that KAŠ continues to have the same value that it did in line 338. Arguing against this assumption, however, is the fact that the explanation half of the column indicates that ^dKAŠ and ^dKAŠ.GIG are both identified with ^dŠIM (read ^dSiris). This would point to the conclusion that ^dKAŠ.GIG should be regarded as an ideogram that has the same pronunciation as ^dKAŠ and ^dŠIM.

55. Note, however, that the complex DUG.QA.BUR is used in the series as an ideogram for a number of other names—each time with a different pronunciation; see under Tablet II 26, 65, 156, 160; Tablet I 152 and 167.

56. This is controlled by KAV 63 ii 22 (which is restorable from its five-columned duplicate, KAV 47 ii 15).

57. E.g., see under Tablet II 347, 354; Tablet VI 196–201, et al.

| | | | |
|------|-------------------------|--|---------------------|
| 185. | ^d Asar.lú.ḫi | | ^d Marduk |
| 186. | ^d "Nam.ti.la | | ^d Marduk |

In the list of ^dMarduk names found in Enûma eliš VI 152, the name ^dNam.ti.la is explained as one of the alternate names of ^dAsar.lú.ḫi.⁵⁸ This may lead to the conclusion that, in line 186 above, ^dNam.ti.la is actually an ideogram for ^dAsar.lú.ḫi. The context in Enûma eliš, however, favors the explanation that the dittos merely show a close identification of the second name with the first; whether this identification was considered so close that ^dNam.ti.la might be regarded as an ideogram, is perhaps a matter of subjectivity.⁵⁹ This usage is possibly further illustrated by Tablet II 154: ^d"(gi-^rbi¹-[ir])ĒN. In this entry, the dittos can hardly indicate that ^dĒN is to receive the same pronunciation as the name in the previous line because this would nullify the force of the gloss. But the dittos may point to an identification of ^dĒN with the enigmatic name in line 153 (this would mean that Tablet II 153–155 presents three names of ^dEn.ki in his function as the god of incantations).

It has sometimes been assumed that dittos before an entry should be interpreted as indicating that the complete name of the preceding line is to be repeated in front of the name that has the dittos.⁶⁰ There is no indication, however, that such a practice was followed by the scribes who wrote the present series.⁶¹ There is abundant evidence, however, that the scribes followed a practice of repeating the name instead of using dittos, wherever they desired to indicate that a former name should be repeated. Tablet II 276–278 is an example of such scribal usage:

| | | | |
|------|-----------------------|--|----|
| 276. | ^d Īd | | ŠU |
| 277. | ^d Īd.gal | | ŠU |
| 278. | ^d Īd.silim | | ŠU |

Because entries such as these just quoted are not exceptional,⁶² and because the large number of duplicate texts of the series reveal a remarkable unanimity of scribal practice on this point, one is forced to conclude that dittos are not used in this series to indicate that the name in the previous line is to be brought down and repeated in front of the name thus written. Dittos before an entry are used rather to indicate:

58. For the reading of the name ^dAsar.lú.ḫi, see under Tablet II 185 below.

59. Clearly, a reading of ^dAsar.nam.ti.la (cf. AG 265 and 388) seems excluded here.

60. Cf. ^dNin.Z.má.laḫ₇(DU.DU), Landsberger, WO 1 362 note 3b, instead of ^d"MÁ.LAḫ_x(DU.DU); Am.ma.kur.kur, AG 260, instead of ^d"KUR (the signs AM.MA in CT 25 8:10 probably constitute a gloss; the dittos, therefore, merely indicate a repetition of this gloss); ^dNin.ma.da.šub, AG 413, instead of ^d"KA×ŠU; etc.

61. Since there are a great number of duplicate texts of the series—representing several different formats, and, since there is evidence of a great deal of scribal variation among the various texts, one would expect to find at least occasional examples in which one text exhibits dittos where another text writes out the expected repetition of a previous name. But such examples are next to impossible to find. A notable exception occurs in Tablet VII 88 f., where two texts (representing a common tradition), understandably enough, write ^d"gal and ^d"ḫuš.a instead of ^dNam.tag.ga.búr.búr.gal and ^dNam.tag.ga.búr.búr.ḫuš.a. But this lone example may merely reflect an instance of scribal inertia when faced with a long name made up of long signs.

62. See also Tablet I 164 f.; 232–235; 311 f.; Tablet II 310 f.; Tablet III 24 f.; 33 f.; 176–178; et al.

1. The previous pronunciation gloss is to be repeated.
2. The pronunciation of the previous name is to apply to the name preceded by dittos (i.e., the name preceded by dittos is an ideogram for the previous name).
3. The name preceded by dittos is to be closely identified with the previous entry.

The sign ŠU, as used in this series, also presents certain difficulties. A typical example of its usage is found in Tablet I 70–72:

| | | |
|-----|------------------------------|--|
| 70. | ^d Giš.gidir.si.sá | ŠU |
| 71. | ^d Eš.bar.an.na | ŠU |
| 72. | 2 gu ₄ .DÚB | ^d Nin.šubur.ke ₄ |

The usual interpretation of the sign ŠU, in contexts such as this, assumes that this sign indicates that the entry is the same in Akkadian as it is in Sumerian,⁶³ or that it is to be “pronounced as written.”⁶⁴ Perhaps, this interpretation of the sign cannot be greatly improved upon; but there are certain contexts in the present series that seem to add some new details on the question as to how the sign was used, and some of these contexts suggest the need for further study on the exact force of this ubiquitous sign.⁶⁵

The ultimate solution to this and other problems related to the interpretation of the Assyro-Babylonian god-lists does not seem to be helped by assuming that An :^dA-nu-um is a lexical series (i.e., primarily interested in giving Akkadian equivalents of Sumerian forms),⁶⁶ nor does it seem justifiable to regard the total Sumerian format of the series as completely ideographic (in which even Sumerian grammatical forms are taken as ideograms for Akkadian grammatical constructions).⁶⁷ Whatever the final explanation of the sign ŠU may be, it would seem that its explanation should not be made on either of these two assumptions.

63. E.g., cf. Hallock, *AS* 11 75.

64. E.g., Jacobsen, *AS* 7 98 n. 168.

65. One might even seriously wonder what language ŠU actually represents. It would seem that the conventional interpretation of such contexts assumes that it must be Akkadian. But this assumption is not without problem when applied to the series An :^dA-nu-um where the explanations are quite consistently presented as Sumerian in form (e.g., cf. the statement 2 gu₄.DÚB | ^dNin.šubur.ke₄ in line 72 of the example quoted above). If ŠU is actually Akkadian (as it may well be), it would represent a borrowing from other more, strictly Akkadian contexts. Certainly, the scribes would be more than familiar with its usage from its frequent occurrence in other explanatory or lexical series. Appearing, however, in a Sumerian work, the sign ŠU would then seem to be ideographic in its force—a scribal borrowing that reverses the usual process.

66. Instead of presenting Akkadian equivalents for Sumerian gods, the series is more concerned with (in spite of the somewhat misleading impression created by its opening line) the clarification of the relationships that existed between the various members of the pantheon, regardless of whether they were Sumerian or (as is more rarely the case) Akkadian deities. In fact, the series lists both Sumerian and Akkadian names together (although the latter are in the minority) with no apparent regard for their ultimate origin, nor any real regard for their Akkadian equivalents.

67. Cf. Tallquist, *AG* passim. If the explanations contained within the series were intended to be Akkadian (but written ideographically), certainly some portions of these explanations would be written in Akkadian. But the only Akkadian statements that appear are a few inserted gloss lines that explain in Akkadian the significance of a preceding Sumerian line as, for example, in Tablet I 35a, 36a, 37a, 38a, etc.

If the sign ŠU were used to indicate that the entry involved is to be pronounced as written, the perplexing situation arises in which numerous entries are explained with ŠU that could hardly have been pronounced in any other way than that in which they are written (i.e., names that have accompanying pronunciation glosses,⁶⁸ or that are written with unambiguous signs,⁶⁹ or that are obvious Akkadian names⁷⁰). Other entries, on the other hand, that should be pronounced as written, or at least pronounced the same in Akkadian as in Sumerian, are not written with an expected ŠU.⁷¹ In fact, some entries with ŠU not only have glossed readings but add an Akkadian identification.⁷² The occurrence of such contexts seems to justify the raising of the question as to whether the significance of the sign is as yet fully understood. Although the exact force of ŠU in these contexts may be elusive, and a real understanding of its meaning must await further study, it may be helpful, nevertheless, to appraise some of its apparent usages in the present series.

The first and most important way in which ŠU is used involves lists of two or more names followed by a numerical summary. In such contexts, ŠU is practically mandatory in all duplicates of the series,⁷³ whether the names are Sumerian or Akkadian. The lines quoted above from Tablet I⁷⁴ furnish one example of this usage. A further example, which seems especially instructive, involves a list of four obvious Akkadian names in Tablet II 263–267:

| | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 263. | ^d Mi-na-a-i-kul-be-lí | MU é.sag.íl.ke ₄ |
| 264. | ^d Mi-na-a-iš-ti-be-lí | ŠEM é.sag.íl.ke ₄ |
| 265. | ^d Mu-kil-me-e-ba-la-ti | ŠU |
| 266. | ^d Na-din-me-e-qá-ti | ŠU |
| 267. | 2 udug | é.sag.íl.ke ₄ |

In the case of the first two names, the sign ŠU apparently does not appear because each profession consisted of only one entry. But lines 265–267 represent a list of at least two names, which are summarized and, therefore, followed by ŠU. This particular example is interesting because of the obvious Akkadian derivation of the names involved, and because it seems to illustrate the principle that in such contexts (where a list of two or more deities is followed by a summary), the sign ŠU always occurs in this series.⁷⁵ This principle seems to be independent of

68. E.g., Tablet I 245, 274, 275; Tablet II 315, 349, 352, 408, et al.

69. E.g., Tablet I 77, 96, 97, 100, 101, 106, 189, 303, et passim.

70. E.g., Tablet II 260 (with an additional gloss!), 265, 266, 273, 274, 303, et al.

71. E.g., Akkadian names: Tablet I 73, 74, 203, 288; Tablet II 170, 246, 248, 253, 255, 263, 264, et passim. Entries with glosses but without an expected ŠU: Tablet I 337; Tablet III 24, 35, 37, 97, 98, 207 ff., et al.

72. E.g., Tablet III 268–270. Similarly, but without gloss, in Tablet I 327 and possibly Tablet V 62. This construction, however, is quite rare; see p. 13.

73. Except in the “Great God-List” (see p. 4), which usually crowds out the details of the explanatory half of the line. A notable exception to the rule that lists of names followed by a summary also contain ŠU in the explanatory side of each line, is found in Tablet I 4–24. In this case, dittos were used because the scribes wished to indicate that the various names summarized in line 24 were also individually equated with A-nu-um and An-tum of line 3. Note that the comparable list in the circle of Enlil (Tablet I 96–138) uses the sign ŠU.

74. See p. 10.

75. Examples of lists followed by summaries (and therefore containing the sign ŠU in each line) may be found

either the derivation or the pronunciation of the name in the entry. Because the majority of instances in which ŠU occurs in this series are to be found in just these summarized lists, this usage would seem to be quite important for the determination of its ultimate meaning. A few instances occur in which a summary is presented for only one name; these also contain the sign ŠU.⁷⁶ It is probable, however, that this type of context is actually to be understood merely as a variant of the larger summarized list.

A second important way in which ŠU is often used is illustrated by Tablet II 253, 254:

| | | |
|----------------------------|--|--|
| 253. ^d Ma-da-nu | | gu.za.lá ^d Marduk.ke ₄ |
| 254. ^d "DLKUD | | ŠU |

These lines exemplify the format often used in presenting an entry that is an ideogram for the previous entry.⁷⁷ In such cases, the explanatory section quite often contains ŠU (although, occasionally, dittos are given).⁷⁸ In one respect, this type of entry may resemble the summarized list mentioned above. In neither context is there an appropriate detail of explanation that the scribe would have cared to record. He wished to make no statement that was peculiar to that line. In the summarized list, the explanation is made at the end of the list for all entries at one time. In the ideographic entry (as in line 254 above), the explanation that applies to the entry is already given in the previous line and needs no repetition. The previous explanation would still apply because the second name is equal to the first (this may explain why the scribes often used dittos in place of ŠU in such contexts⁷⁹). But, although there was no explanatory detail that the scribes desired to place opposite such entries, they, nevertheless, scrupulously avoided blank spaces in the explanatory side of the column. In such places, where no appropriate identification nor explanation could be recorded nor dittos placed, the sign ŠU is always used.

However, the fact that the scribes manifested some uncertainty in such contexts as to whether the appropriate entry should be dittos or ŠU⁸⁰ seems instructive. This would indicate that the scribes themselves felt some inherent relationship between the two signs—at least in contexts containing ideographic entries referring to the preceding name. When the scribe wrote the sign for dittos, he meant that the previous explanation applied equally to its ideogram. When he

quite frequently throughout the series, except in Tablet VII. Typical examples are Tablet I 55–69, 75–82, 85–88, 89–91, 93–55, 96–138, et passim.

76. This usage is illustrated by Tablet I 267: ^dInim.du₁₀.ga | ŠU 1 gu₄.DÚB ^d[Nin.líl.lá.ke₄]. Similar examples may be found in Tablet I 272, 273; Tablet II 99, 100, 259, et al. A further development of this usage is probably to be found in the rarer occurrence of ŠU without the number but with the professional title, as in Tablet V 15: ^dLugal.hé.gal | ŠU sukka^d[Lugal.bàn.da] (cf. also Tablet I 354). However, when no number is found in this type of explanation, the consistent practice of the scribes is to omit ŠU (cf. Tablet I 32, 35, 36, 48, 49, 73, 74, et passim).

77. See p. 8 f. As is pointed out on p. 8, ^dDLKUD is here ideographic for the name ^dMa-da-nu

78. For other examples, see Tablet I 325, 347, 363; Tablet II 65; Tablet III 190, et al. Examples of dittos occurring in the explanatory side of the line (in otherwise similar contexts) are Tablet II 305, 308, 333, 347; Tablet III 87 et al.

79. See under n. 78.

80. Other examples where ŠU and dittos interchange are Tablet I 325, 329, 337; Tablet II 333; Tablet V 35, 39, 240, and 288 f.; see also under n. 78.

wrote ŠU, he apparently meant that there was no new explanation that could be made for the entry because the pertinent statement had already been made in the preceding entry.

A less common but possibly related usage of the sign concerns entries that have no explanations and are only loosely attached to the circle in which they are listed. Often, in fact, such entries show no discernible ties with the circle at all and no relationships with the entries that precede or follow (except, of course, with the name of a spouse or servant that may immediately follow). A typical context is found in Tablet V 46–52:

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| 46. ^d Ip-te-(bi-it)bitam | | sukka ^d Uraš.ke ₄ |
| 47. ^d (ni.ta)Nita | | ŠU |
| 48. ^d Ki.gu.la | | dam.bi.SAL |
| 49. ^d Za.ba ₄ .ba ₄ | | ŠU |
| 50. ^d Ba.ú | | dam.bi.SAL |
| 51. ^d Pap.sukka ^d | | sukka ^d Za.ba ₄ . ^r ba ₄ . ^r ke ₄ ^r |
| 52. ^d U.gur | | sukka ^d GÌR.UNU ₇ .GAL |

In line 49, the god ^dZa.ba₄.ba₄ certainly represents an important deity within the pantheon; but the scribes give no identification here that equates him with any other deity, nor do they give any explanation of his function. His name is listed solely for its own value. His wife and sukka^d, of necessity, receive explanations, but there is none for ^dZa.ba₄.ba₄. Such entries, which are somewhat uncommon, at least have ŠU in the second half of the line; blank spaces in the second half of the column are carefully avoided.

A fourth and rarer use of ŠU is exemplified in contexts that have an additional (usually Akkadian) name in the explanatory side of the line. One such occurrence is found in Tablet III 268–270:

| | | |
|---------------------------------|--|------------------------|
| 268. ^d (na-aq-bu)BAD | | ŠU ^d É-a |
| 269. ^d (šu.la.at)BAD | | ŠU ^d Šá-maš |
| 270. ^d (ha.ni.iš)BAD | | ŠU ^d IM |

The fact that such contexts are quite rare in the series,⁸¹ leads one to suspect that the extra names in these lines possibly represent late additions. This possibility seems stronger in contexts that (as in lines 268–270 above) exhibit Akkadian names. It seems evident that the question of the pronunciation of the entry is not involved in the explanatory side of such lines (in doubtful cases, as in lines 268–270 above, the exact pronunciation is taken care of by means of glosses). But what is the force of the extra name in each line?

A closer study of such entries reveals that they usually represent names that are only remotely related to the contexts in which they are found (otherwise there would be no need for the additional identifications). Such entries probably are essentially not very different from the type mentioned above.⁸² Logically, such entries originally may have contained only ŠU in the second half of the line. Later, as a means of convenience in distinguishing gods that were only loosely

81. Other examples may be found in Tablet I 193, 337; Tablet III 267, 271–278; and possibly Tablet V 62. The context shows that Tablet III 267–278 actually form one unit.

82. See extracts from Tablets III and V above.

placed together, the additional designations were added. These may have even originally appeared as glosses, which later became part of the text.

Wherever such entries are repeated in the series in a more logical place (i.e., where they are not merely loosely attached to a given circle), the entry takes on a completely different form. For example, ^{d(na-aq-bu)}BAD | ŠU ^{dĒ-a} in line 268 above, appears in Tablet II 168 as: ^{d(na-aq-bu)}BAD | ". In the latter context, the entry simply represents another name in the list of the names of ^{dĒ-a}; therefore dittos are proper for the explanatory side of the line. In the former case, dittos could not be used because the entry occurs among a group of unrelated deities. ŠU appears here to have been the most logical entry that could have been used. The addition of ^{dĒ-a} served, then, to indicate the circle to which the entry actually belonged.

It seems clear that the question of the meaning of the sign ŠU should be re-examined. Merely listing the various types of contexts in which it may occur does not explain its ultimate meaning. At the same time, the fact that the general principles governing its usage may be listed, and the fact that these principles seem to have nothing to do with such details as to whether the name in question is Sumerian or Akkadian, appear to throw some doubt upon the older interpretation that ŠU means that "the name is to be pronounced as written," or that "the name is the same in Akkadian as in Sumerian." Whatever the real force of ŠU may eventually prove to be, it would seem that its actual significance should be studied in the light of its usage in the large number of contexts that are available in the series An : ^dA-nu-um. Scribal custom in this series appears to follow well-established principles, which should point the way to a better understanding of the meaning of the sign:

1. In summarized lists, ŠU is mandatory. (This principle accounts for the greater part of all occurrences of ŠU in the present series.)
2. In lines containing an ideographic entry for a preceding name, ŠU interchanges with dittos in the explanatory section of the line.
3. Names that are given with no explanation and that are only loosely attached to the circle in which they are found are listed with ŠU. (This practice is, of necessity, uncommon in the present series, which emphasizes explanations, but it may parallel many occurrences of ŠU in some of the lexical series.⁸³)
4. Entries that contain ŠU may in rare instances also have a second explanation. Because this type of entry usually shows no close relationship with adjoining entries, it may actually represent a sub-type of no. 3 above, and the additional explanation may serve a very utilitarian purpose.
5. In the majority of cases where ŠU occurs, the way in which it is used seems to favor the interpretation that for the entry so designated, there is no specific explanation that the scribe wished to make; there seems to be no statement that would be peculiar to that entry.

83. In the various lexical series, it may be possible that ŠU serves to indicate that there is no (Akkadian) explanation for the entry involved; the sign would thus have little to do with how the entry is to be pronounced.

Glosses comprise another interesting facet of the present series. Because the series is restored from so many duplicate texts, it is natural that the presence of glosses, as well as alternate readings, should be a matter of special interest. Not only are new glosses important,⁸⁴ but the interpretation of older glosses in the light of new contexts and new duplicates assumes a significant place in further studies concerning the Sumerian and Akkadian syllabaries. In the present series, however, there are occasional examples of glosses that seem to have no direct bearing upon the pronunciation of the signs or names near which they are written. That is, glosses occur that not only fail to reflect any known value of the sign with which they are written, but that do correspond to the signs in a duplicate text. It seems possible that many such glosses actually present evidence of a scribal desire to give alternate readings that were found in the various duplicate texts used by the scribes in making their copies.⁸⁵ In the present series, therefore, scribal usage in the case of glosses, as well as in the case of dittos and the sign ŠU, merits careful study and may throw additional light upon scribal usage in other documents. At least, the numerous duplicates composing the present series and the connected text that is now possible should provide a helpful aid in determining the various principles of such usage.

THE SERIES AN : ANU ŠÁ AMĒLI

The form of the series An : Anu šá amēli⁸⁶ differs greatly from that of the larger series An : ^dA-nu-um. The latter series is arranged as a purely Sumerian text with all explanations given as abbreviated Sumerian statements. But An : Anu šá amēli is more properly an Akkadian list. All the explanations that it contains are strictly Akkadian. The larger series is careful to clarify the status of each god within the pantheon and to explain the relationships of the various gods to each other. The smaller list, on the other hand, shows little interest in the status or relationships of the various gods with respect to each other. The difference between the two lists is especially marked as to the order in which the major deities are presented. An : Anu šá amēli follows an order that is completely divergent from that of the larger list.⁸⁷ In fact, there seems to be no observable connection of any sort between the two documents.

The structure of the smaller series is simple. The first column presents a list of approximately 160 Sumerian gods.⁸⁸ The second column gives a list of about twenty deities, with which the names in the first column are identified. The third column of the document reveals that each of the deities in the first column is identified with the deity in the second column only within the scope of certain relationships (expressed by šá⁸⁹ plus an Akkadian word in the genitive). Thus, the first three lines might be interpreted as follows:

84. See p. 18.

85. For possible examples of such a practice, see under Tablet I 120, 188, 196; Tablet III 39; Tablet V 293; and Tablet VI 103.

86. See p. 4.

87. Anu and Enlil are, as might be expected, listed first in this smaller series; but the order of the other deities is completely different. The third place belongs to Ninlil, and Sin occupies the fourth. After these follow: ^dNin.gal, ^dŠamaš, ^dA.a, ^dAdad, ^dPap.sukkal, ^dNinurta, and ^dNerigal. Ištar is listed in the twelfth place; Marduk in the fifteenth place; and Ea in the seventeenth place.

88. This means that An : Anu šá amēli is less than a tenth of the size of An : ^dA-nu-um.

89. ŠÁ in text B (K. 4349); A (YBC 2401) writes ŠA.

1. "An is Anu of man.
2. ^dDi.meš is Anu of women.
3. ^dA-nu is Anu of the king."

The relationship thus expressed may include concrete objects, but more often the emphasis is upon the abstract.⁹⁰ For example, ^dDara₃.gal in line 17 is equated with "Enlil of kings," but ^dDur.an.ki in line 14 is "Enlil of decisions." A number of the explanations recur again and again. Thus, there is "Anu of the land" (line 6), "Enlil of the land" (line 13), "Ninlil of the lands" (line 22), etc. There is "Enlil of decisions" (lines 14–16) and "Sin of decisions" (line 25). Other terms that are repeated include: *nap-ha-ri* (lines 8, 18, and 19); *kiš-šat šamê* (line 11); *šamê* (line 20); *šamê u eršeti* (lines 24, 88, and 120); *kul-la-ti* (lines 9 and 113); *nišê* (line 23); *ni-ši* (line 43); et al.

With its Akkadian explanations, this series exhibits a form that is unusual among god-lists. Only a few other texts resemble it in this respect, but these are not duplicates. One such text contains a Babylonian list of gods that are identified with Marduk.⁹¹ Another text contains a more elaborate format than An : Anu šá amēli, because it adds a pronunciation column.⁹² The latter text may not be an exact duplicate, but it exhibits a number of ties with An : Anu šá amēli that are so striking that they can hardly be accidental. For the most part, however, the series An : Anu šá amēli is in a class by itself—an interesting class, but distinct.

THE NEW TEXT YBC 2401

The impetus for the present study has been largely provided by the unpublished text YBC 2401.⁹³ On the basis of size alone, this huge tablet draws the attention and invites a careful study of its lengthy columns. But in addition to its striking dimensions, this text merits special consideration because of its contents, for it contains the entire series An : ^dA-nu-um, as well as the smaller series An : Anu šá amēli, all on one tablet.

The text YBC 2401 is written upon a large baked tablet of reddish-brown clay that has been coated with a smooth cream slip. Its dimensions of approximately 12×15 inches (30.5 × 39.5 × 4.6 cm—tapering to 1.8 cm on the sides) make it one of the largest clay tablets known and in a class, along with its sister-tablet, K. 4349 (CT 24 20 ff.), quite apart from most other tablets. It is written on both faces and contains twelve columns, of which the lower half of the last column is unused. The various columns (with the exception of the last) average about 185 lines in length. Some idea of the excessively small size of the script used can be gained from the fact that about twelve lines of text are crowded to the inch.

Each of the twelve columns is separated from adjoining columns by a single vertical line, and is divided into two subcolumns by another vertical line. In addition, each column begins and ends with a vertical line (which is largely obscured by the initial and final wedges of each column), which was obviously intended to aid the scribe in aligning his material. Throughout

90. For a discussion of the material contained in these Akkadian explanations, see King, CT 24 pp. 6–8.

91. CT 24 50 no. 47406.

92. CT 25 47 Rm. 483 and 48.

93. Cf. preface, pp. 1 and 4.

the tablet, horizontal ruling lines are also used to separate larger units of material.⁹⁴ Before the line that corresponds to the end of each of the original seven tablets, a double horizontal line is drawn, then a summary follows, and finally another pair of horizontal lines is drawn. At the close of the first series, a pair of horizontal lines is made, then a space large enough to contain about four or five lines is left blank, and finally another pair of horizontal lines is drawn. The end of both series is indicated by a pair of ruling lines superimposed by two Winkelhakens in the middle and the sign BAD at the end (the beginning of the lines may also have been superimposed by BAD, but this is not preserved). The surface of the tablet is dotted by a number of circular holes, which extend about 10 to 17 mm into the tablet and measure 1 mm in diameter.⁹⁵

Unfortunately, the tablet has not been perfectly preserved. Of unknown provenience, it was broken into a number of large fragments before it was acquired by the Babylonian Collection of Yale University some years ago. In a number of places these breaks have marred the surface and destroyed many lines. Fortunately, many of these broken sections are restorable with the aid of duplicate texts, but several large gaps in the tablet (and consequently in the series) remain.⁹⁶

At the close of the tablet, and separated from the last line of the series by a space that is equal to about fifteen lines, the scribe placed his colophon. This colophon, which is not as detailed as the one in CT 24 46:1–11, reads as follows:

95. *ana pi-i tup-pi*^{MEŠ} LIBIR.RA.MEŠ

96. ^m*Ki-din*^d*Sin* LÚ.DUB.SAR

97. A ^{<m>}*Su-ti-e* LÚ.DUB.SAR.LUGAL

98. IN.SAR IGI.KÁR

95. "According to the text of the old tablets.

96. Kidin^dSin, the scribe,⁹⁷

97. the descendent of Sutie, the royal scribe,

98. wrote (and) collated (this tablet)."

The advantages of possessing a text that contains all the original tablets on a single tablet are obvious. The new text not only provides a useful control for the exact sequence of the various original documents composing the series, but it also provides a means of locating the position of numerous small fragments of the series,⁹⁸ which could hardly have been placed otherwise. In addition to these controls, however, the new text also restores large sections of the series that were heretofore unknown.⁹⁹ The new text, furthermore, contributes a large number of variant

94. As in K. 4349. The horizontal lines in YBC 2401, however, do not necessarily always coincide with those of K. 4349.

95. The purpose of these holes is not clear, but they seem to have been noted also on the surface of other tablets, cf. *A/O* 6 13; KAV 1, 26, 30, 94, 218, et al. These holes may reflect some technique associated with the process of baking larger tablets, or they may represent the marks left upon the tablet by supports that were used during the lengthy process of writing the tablet.

96. The most serious of these gaps occurs in Tablet IV 57–68 (with the adjoining fragmentary lines), and 194–231 (plus the fragmentary lines 232–245).

97. Cf. n. 31.

98. Especially in CT 25 and in KAV.

99. Especially: Tablet II 344–376; Tablet III 254–260; Tablet IV 9–41; 232–296; Tablet V 18–30; 260–280; Tablet VI 1–20; 37–42; 61–64; 73–75; 159–174; 197–215; 238–287; and 303–314.

readings for entries that were previously known, but which could profit from a fresh appraisal in the light of another text. Numerous sections that were mutilated in previously published texts are now restorable with the aid of YBC 2401.

Of special note is the fact that the new text contains numerous glosses, many of which are entirely new.¹⁰⁰ Some of these new glosses produce new readings for the signs involved,¹⁰¹ others deal with the pronunciations of god names. One, in particular, reopens the question of the reading of the name ^dKA.DI;¹⁰² others modify older readings usually given to certain signs.¹⁰³ In many respects, the new glosses provide significant material for further study in the Sumerian syllabary.

The text YBC 2401 presents an opportunity for a fresh approach to the problem of reconstructing the series An : ^dA-nu-um. In fact, it is safe to say that any extensive reconstruction of the series would have been impossible without the aid of this tablet or one similar to it. But, while the material in YBC 2401 answers many questions and settles some problems, it awakens new questions and creates different problems. It is hoped that the present work, however, may be of some use in helping to answer some of the many questions that still remain concerning the religious life of the Assyro-Babylonians.

100. Interesting examples of new glosses may be found in Tablet II 349, 352, 400, 404; Tablet III 37; Tablet V 247, 251, 281, 287, 290–292; Tablet VI 39, 58, 60–62, 76, 203–214, 220–227, and 244–256.

101. E.g., see Tablet II 349, 352, and 404.

102. See Tablet V 287.

103. E.g., see Tablet VI 205, 206, 208 and 209.

CHAPTER II

A RECONSTRUCTION OF AN : ^dA-nu-um

The system of transliteration followed in the present work for designating Sumerian homophones is based upon that of Thureau-Dangin's *Les homophones sumériens*.¹ Homophones not listed therein have been indicated with the index letter x and then followed by the most common value of the sign in parenthesis. For Akkadian values, the transliteration follows that of von Soden's *Das akkadische Syllabar*.

The lines of text which are contained in the various duplicates are indicated by the vertical lines at the left of the reconstructed text. Dotted sections in these vertical lines indicate omissions of the lines involved in the exemplar concerned.

In citing the various duplicates, capital letters have been used to designate those texts that appear to be duplicates of the series. Small single letters indicate excerpt tablets, and pairs of small double letters indicate texts of other series that are frequently quoted. The Old Babylonian forerunner is cited throughout as Ao, and the dialectal emesal god-list is cited as eme.² The symbols used in designating the various texts are listed at the beginning of each tablet in the series.

1. Cf. also CAD 6 p. v.

2. The line numbering of eme conforms to Dr. Landsberger's restoration of this text as contained in MSL IV.

SOURCES USED IN RECONSTRUCTING TABLET I

- A YBC 2401
 B K. 4349 (CT 24 20 ff.)
 C K. 4340+79-7-8, 294 (CT 24 1 ff.)
 D K. 4333 (CT 24 2 ff.)
 E VAT 10812 (KAV 50)
 F K. 12786 (CT 25 46)
 G 2NT 349 (unpublished text; see under Tablet I 48)
 a K. 4338B (CT 24 19)
 aa K. 7662 (CT 25 7)
 ab K. 4339 (CT 25 9-14)
 ac Bu. 89-4-26, 77 (CT 25 28)
 Ao AO. 5376 (TCL 15 25 ff.)
 eme Emesal list (see MSL IV)

TABLET I

| B | C | |
|---|---|----------|
| | | 1. An |
| | | 2. An |
| | | 3. An.ki |

1. In this section, C is more convenient to follow than B, since B conserves space by omitting dittos and assigning two names to a line wherever possible. The line corresponds to text a i 1 (cf. p. 10 footnote 37).

2. B adds an extra name which was probably KI-t[um]. This name (= eršetum) would identify Antum with the earth and represent her as the logical counterpart of Anum "Heaven." This would help explain the equation in the following line.

3. B i 3 writes ^dA-nu u "an"-[tu]. It is evident that C begins the list of the 21 en ama a.a (see line 24 below) here, while B begins with the next line. Since the name in line 3 is essential to the summary in line 24 in order to make up the uneven number of "21," the arrangement of the

| B | C | |
|---|---|----------------------------|
| | | 4. d(ú.ra.áš) IB |
| | | 5. ^d Nin. IB |
| | | 6. An.šár.gal |
| | | 7. ^d Ki.šár.gal |
| | | 8. An.šár |

text in C seems more logical. Without line 5, B actually contains only twenty names in this section, in spite of the summary in B i 14. C, on the other hand, has only nineteen names here, since lines 16 and 17 were omitted for some reason—possibly by scribal mistake. This section is much abbreviated in Ao, being represented only by Ao:32-34. Furthermore, these names are listed by Ao immediately after the name of Anu (Ao:31), which suggests the probability that these names were formerly (at least in the old Babylonian period) considered as merely representing additional names of Anu. In the section preceding the name of Anu, Ao gives a long list of names (Ao:1-30) which evidently is intended to represent the ancestors of Anu, but which in the present series appears immediately before the names of Enlil (cf. lines 96 ff. below). The name An.ki seems to be a compound name corresponding to both Anum and Antum and representing the pair as a unit, i.e., "Heaven and Earth."

4. = Ao:34. Gloss only in text a i 2. The excerpt tablet a gives only the male names of the pairs in this section and identifies each one with ^dA-nu-um. This clarifies the dittos in C, indicating that for each of these names the reader is to understand either ^dA-nu-um or An-tum as the sense requires (cf. further under line 24 below). Text a adds ^d" (= A-nu-um) šá iš-šik ik-ri-bi (cf. AG 203).

5. This ^dNin. IB (= ^dNin.uraš) is certainly to be kept separate from ^dNin. IB (= ^dNin.urta).

6. The names in this and the following lines appear to express cosmological concepts. For a few lines, there is a play upon AN and KI as complementary forces. Cf. text a i 3 which explains [An].šár.gal as: ^d" (= A-nu-um) šá kiš-šat AN. KI. Note the omission of the determinative before AN in these lines.

8. Cf. CT 24 49 K. 4349E:7 (a fragment of K. 4349 but belonging to the "Smaller An : ^dA-nu-um") which glosses An.šár with ^dA-nu, and equates the name with ^dEn.lil. An.šár is doubtless to be identified with the deity of the same name who figures prominently in Enūma-eliš. Text a i 4: An.šár | ^dA-nu (hi.bi). In this line, text a seems to give An.šár a different description than that of An.šár.gal in a i 3. But the broken space (indicated by the gloss hi.bi) quite likely contained nothing more than the sign U₄ (cf. a i 1); the dittos at the end of the line, therefore, would serve to indicate that the explanation in the previous line is to be repeated in a i 4.

| | B | C | |
|---|---|---|---------------|
| | | | 9. dKi.šár |
| | | | 10. dEn.šár |
| | | | 11. dNin.šár |
| | | | 12. dDu.rí |
| | | | 13. dDa.rí |
| A | | | 14. dLàḫ.ma |
| | | | 15. dLa.ḫa.ma |
| | | ⋮ | 16. dE.kur |
| | | ⋮ | 17. dGá.ra |
| | | ⋮ | 18. dA.la.la |

9. Cf. aa:5, where dKi.šár is in a section that appears to be some sort of a "female" counterpart to the excerpt list contained in text a. Cf. under line 4 above.

10. dEn.šár and dNin.šár also appear among the en ama a.a of Enlil; see under lines 116 f. below.

12. Cf. KAR 22:23; 233 r. 15. Text aa omits dDu.rí but contains dDa.rí. Since the other names in this section of aa appear to be feminine (i.e., = Antum), it is probable that here dDu.rí = Anum and dDa.rí = Antum.

14. dLàḫ.ma certainly forms a pair with the following dLa.ḫa.ma. In KAR 22:24, this same pair occurs as dLàḫ.mu and dLa.ḫa.mu; and these are certainly to be identified with a similar pair found in Enûma-eliš (e.g., I 10 et al.) But whether this pair is to be equated with other deities bearing similar names is not clear. For example, cf. dLàḫ.mu (written dLàḫ.me) whose "lions" were made by Esarhaddon (MAOG 3 1/2 23:5; similarly, KAH I 75:24). Note also the enigmatic equation of dLàḫ.ma and dLa.ḫa.ma with dGu₄ in KAV 54:8 f. (= r. 6 f.; KAV 52:6 f.); see OLZ 23 245.

15. aa:7 presents (instead of the expected dLa.ḫa.ma) dLàḫ.(la.ḫa.ma)ma.

16. Text = B. The name is probably to be restored also in A i 8. The arrangement in A and B suggests that dE.kur was regarded as a male name, forming a pair with the following dGá.ra. These two names occur also in KAR 233 r. 16 as dE.kur and dGa.ar.

17. Text = B. After several lines of dittos, A begins here with traces of the end of 'ri', showing that A had [dGá.]ri.

18. Cf. also KAV 54:2; KAR 321:4; 22:25; 233 r. 16; ZA 23 374:84. dA.la.la appears to have played a significant role in the Hurrian/Hittite theogony; cf. the epic, "Kingship

| | A | B | C | |
|--|---|---|---|---------------------------|
| | | | | 19. dBe.li.li |
| | | | | 20. d"(= A.la.la)ALAM |
| | | | | 21. d"(= Be.li.li)ALAM |
| | | | | 22. dEn.uru.ul.la |
| | | | | 23. dNin.uru.ul.la |
| | | | | 24. 21 en ama a.a |
| | | | | An.na.ke ₄ .ne |

in Heaven" (KUB 33 120:8, 12 et al.). See also Pope, El in the Ugaritic Texts 56 f. But the identification of dA.la.la with dLugal.du.ku.ga in TCL 6 47:3 (= RA 16 145:3) and with dEn.ki in TCL 8 r. (lower right in the "picture," = RA 16 145) seems to be based on late cult speculations and is of little value here.

20. The arrangement of the text in C seems quite ambiguous. The force of the dittos is clearer in B and in text a i 9 f. However, it is not certain whether the dittos in lines 20 and 21 signify that ALAM was regarded as an ideogram for the two names dA.la.la and dBe.li.li, or whether the names involved here were dA.la.la.alam and dBe.li.li.alam. The name in CT 25 23 D. T. 115:5 is written d(A.la.la)ALAM, which would favor the possibility that ALAM was merely an ideogram for the two names in lines 18 f. However, this possibility is weakened by the fact that this section of the series obviously reckoned lines 20 f. as distinct names essential to the total of the 21 en ama a.a (see line 24 below).

22. = Ao:33. CT 25 23 D. T. 115:6: dUru.ul.[la].

24. For the beginning of this list, cf. note 3 above. C exhibits the plural ending; A and B omit it. For a similar summary, cf. the list in the family of Enlil in line 138 below and CT 16 13:25. The latter text follows with an Akkadian translation: be-el a-bi um-mi šá dEn.lil; but a duplicate text (46296, mentioned in CT 16 13 footnote 2) gives be-li instead of be-el (which may represent a late Assyrian nominative plural form of bēlum and thus may conform more closely to the basic Sumerian phrase involved). The significance of the designation en ama a.a, which has the Akkadian translation be-el/lí a-bi um-mi, is perhaps not as simple as it may at first appear. It has been generally assumed (cf. Zimmern, BSGW 63 107 and Tallquist, AG 251) that this group of deities represents the Väter-Mütter of Anum (although Tallquist suggests the alternate possibility that the term involved "ältere Entwicklungsstufen" of Anum). If this interpretation is valid, then the words ama a.a must be regarded as being in apposition to the word en; and the actual translation of the line would be, "21 exalted ones, the fathers and mothers of Anum." Several other factors, however, complicate the picture. As is mentioned under line

| A | B | C | | |
|---|---|---|------|---|
| | | | 25. | d ¹ Nin.ì(i).li dam An.na.ke ₄ |
| | | | 26. | d ¹ Nin.úr.SAL.la dam bàn.da An.na.ke ₄ |
| | | | 27. | d ¹ Nammu ama d ¹ En.ki.ga.ke ₄ |
| | | | 27a. | SAL.agrig.zi é.kur.ra.ke ₄ |
| | | | 28. | d ¹ Ama.ù.tu.an.ki d ¹ Nammu |
| | | | 29. | d ¹ Nin.(ša.ar)šar _x (BÁR) An-tum d ¹ Iš-tar |

3 above, these names (in a more abbreviated list) appear in Ao as additional names of Anum himself. In text a i l ff., the male names of each of these pairs are also equated with Anum. In fact, this older tradition is still preserved in the present series by the use of the dittos in lines 4-23, which would indicate that these pairs are still all identified with the one pair, Anum and Antum. This suggests that line 24 intends to sum up "21 exalted ones, father and mother pairs who belong to the circle of (and are identified with) Anum" (the summary mentions only Anum, but the dittos in lines 4-23 reveal that Antum is to be included as well).

25. Gloss only in aa:10. The name is certainly a variant of d¹Be-lit-i-li, and NIN should be read Belit. The Sumerian form would be d¹Nin.dingir.e.ne, as in Tablet II 4. Hence, the spouse of Anu is here listed as d¹Belit.i.li = Dingir.maḥ (Tablet II 1) = d¹Ištar (CT 25 30 r. 7, 10, 12; cf. lines 29 f. below). The present line corresponds to Ao:35, where the name is again written with LI (instead of an expected li). On the form of the genitive in An.na.ke₄, see Poebel, GSG par. 372.

26. A i 25: d¹Nin.úr.SAL.li. It is possible that this variation is the result of dittography—the scribe being influenced by the sign LI in the line above.

27. = Ao:36. The sign is, of course, KIL X ḪAL. For the value Nammu, see CT 29 46:21. d¹Nammu is doubtless to be kept separate from d¹KIL X ḪAL.ra, who appears in B x 38 (CT 24 36) among a list of utukku deities. The name is certainly not to be equated with d¹E-a (as in AG 307); she is here clearly presented as the "mother of Enki." See CT 16 13 ii 36 where d¹Nammu has this same epithet. It is not clear, however, whether she should also be identified with d¹KIL X ḪAL (= d¹Nazi) in Tablet III 67.

27a. A and B: é.kur.ke₄. Text = C.

28. Ao:37 gives d¹Ama.tu.an.ki, with which it ends the Anu section. C has dittos instead of repeating d¹Nammu.

29. Gloss in C; A gives the gloss as šar. Cf. also CT 29 46:19, which glosses d¹BÁR with ša.ra. B varies with d¹Nin.šar. d¹Nin.šar is again identified with Ištar (Inanna) in Tablet IV 254.^x The name is probably to be distinguished from d¹Nin.SAR/mú who appears in line 328 below as the gir.lá of é.kur. Doubtless, she is also to be kept separate from a deity of the same name who was a gu₄.DÚB of d¹En.ki (Tablet II 310).

| A | B | C | | |
|---|---|---|------|---|
| | | | 30. | d ¹ Nin.ì.li " |
| | | | 31. | d ¹ Šim.bi.zi " |
| | | | 32. | d ¹ GA.(¹ ka.ka ¹) _{GA} d ¹ Nin.šubur sukkal An.na.ke ₄ |
| | | | 32a. | giš.gidir(PA) maḥ šu.du ₃ .a |
| | | | 33. | d ¹ "Me.ninnu(50).an.na d ¹ Pap.sukkal |
| | | | 34. | d ¹ Ig.gal.la d ¹ Nin.šubur lú.giš.ig.maš.tab.ba. ke ₄ |
| | | | 35. | d ¹ Ka.ba.a.ni.An.na. d ¹ Nin.šubur sukkal gi ke ₄ .nu.kúr.ru sum.mu |
| | | | 35a. | suk-kal-[lu na-din] šib-ṭi |

32. The gloss (cf. CT 24 p. 12) indicates a reading of d¹Kà.kà. The name may be compared with one of the names of d¹Nin.kar.ra.ak which is similarly glossed (see Tablet V 146). However, these two identically written names must be kept separate. d¹Kà.kà here is probably to be identified with the sukallu of An.šár in Enūma-eliš III 2. d¹Nin.šubur is usually, as here, a member of the Anu circle (and consequently of Ištar); but in Ao:413, he appears in the Nerigal section, while below in Tablet II 291, he appears again in the Enki circle.

32a. The force of the present line is to identify d¹Kà.kà with d¹Nin.šubur in the specific function of "the one who holds the great scepter." C i 31 appears to have had ṛgiš.PA maḥ šu¹.du₇.a.

33. The dittos are not an essential part of the name, since they are omitted by C. Apparently, they identify this deity with d¹Kà.kà of line 32 above (thus possibly explaining the difficult line in CT 29 45:15). The name is then equated with d¹Pap.sukkal, who is also known to be identified with d¹Kà.kà (see Hallock, AS 7 16:26). d¹Pap.sukkal appears again in the circle of d¹Za.ba₄.ba₄; see Tablet V 51.

34. C omits d¹Nin.šubur and gives dittos instead. C i 36 then adds an illegible Akkadian translation (as in lines 35a, 36a, etc.).

35. A and B abbreviate: d¹KA.ba.ni.nu.kúr.ru.

35a. A and B omit the Akkadian gloss line which appears in C. The conjectured restoration of this line is based upon the assumption that gi = šibṭu (cf. IV R 24:27a, 28a); therefore, the expected verbal form corresponding to sum.mu should here be nadin.

| A | B | C | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 36. dZà.gal.la dNin.šubur ad.gi ₄ .gi ₄ An.na.ke ₄ |
| : | : | : | 36a. ma-lik dA-ni |
| | | | 37. dŠár(šá.ár).kin dNin.šubur á.gál é An.na.ke ₄ |
| : | : | : | 37a. mu-ir bît dA-ni |
| | | | 38. dŠár.gi ₄ .a dNin.šubur sukkal.di.ri.a.bi.da. ke ₄ |
| : | : | : | 38a. suk-kal-lu a-ḫi-iz di-e-ni |
| : | : | : | 39. dEn.ḫun(ḫu.un) "(= dNin.šubur) |
| : | : | : | 40. dEn.ḫun.gá.KU " |
| | | | 41. dNIN.ŠUBUR " sukkal.maḫ An.na. ke ₄ |
| | | | 42. dNIN.ŠUBUR " [dPap].sukkal |

36. C: dZà.an.gal.la. The dittos (in B and C) clearly represent dNin.šubur (as is evident from the arrangement in B). A, in fact, writes out dNin.šubur in this and in the following lines.

36a. The Akkadian gloss line appears in C i 40.

37. A and B omit E.

37a. Akkadian gloss line in C i 42.

38. The Sumerian explanation may be analyzed as: DI = dīnu "judgment"; RI = aḫāzu "to seize"; A is a nominalizing ending; bi.da is a conjunction; ke₄ is the genitive ending (which unreasonably may have been added under the influence of the Akkadian translation). A varies with: di.bi.ri.da.ke₄, which seems less satisfactory than C. B gives the name as dŠár.gi.a.

38a. The Akkadian gloss line appears in C i 44.

39. B omits this line and the next here and inserts them a few lines later (= B i 31). The left half of the column is broken here in A, but it seems certain that A likewise omitted these two names at this point.

41. The dittos (preserved only in C; A probably had [dNin.šubur]) are enigmatic here. They probably give a clue that the name is here actually an ideogram for another name such as dIlabrat; cf. Abel and Winckler, EA 240 7 f., 10; K. 3179 + Sm. 1861. ii 22-24 (see OLZ 11 184).

42. A preserves the end of the line and is then broken for a few lines. C omits [dPap].sukkal.

| A | B | C | E | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | 43. [d]rŠubur'.ḫa.mun " |
| | | | | 44. dSag.íl " |
| | | | | 45. dNIN.ŠUBUR " |
| | | | | 46. dAma.ság.nu.di dām.bi.SAL |
| | | | | 47. dNin.ká.gal " |
| | | | | 48. dÉ.gù ^(gu) .bi.du ₁₀ .ga udug é.a.ke ₄ |
| | | | | 49. dPap.pap dumu.SAL dNin.šubur |
| | | | | 50. dḪé(ḫe.tu).du ₇ lú.ká An.na.'ke ₄ ' |

43. Traces in B i 30; C i 49; and E:1 (which begins here). This line corresponds to Ao:414 which has dḪa.mun.šubur.

45. A third dNIN.ŠUBUR at this point seems puzzling. It is probable that it represents an ideogram with a different reading than in lines 41 and 42 above. In the light of line 49 below (as given in text G; see under note 48 below), the other name may have been the Akkadian equivalent for dSukkal.maḫ.

46. Cf. KAR 132 i 14 which has dAma.ság.nu.du₇.

47. In the second half of the line, A has dittos; E appears to repeat the name given in the previous line; B seems to omit the line. The gloss gu, which appears in E, actually goes with the line below it (cf. E iii 4, 5 where the gloss a.maš belongs to line 5).

48. Gloss in E; cf. above under note 47. This line corresponds to Ao:415. I am indebted to Dr. Landsberger for the readings of the unpublished text G, and to Dr. Carl Haines, Director of the Joint Expedition to Nippur, for permission to quote from it. Although this fragment (2NT 349) from the Second Nippur Expedition may be small, it helps to restore and control this otherwise quite broken section in the family of dNin.šubur. In the second half of the line, G has here ra-bi-is bi-ti.

49. E follows a more expanded tradition in listing the daughters of dNin.šubur. The arrangement of A and G is followed here. In the second half of the line, G gives dumu.SAL dSukkal.maḫ.

50. E omits AN after KA and devotes two lines to one name, giving its glossed Sumerian form and also the Akkadian equivalent, dḪi-it-tum. Since the gloss ḫe.tu can hardly be a pronunciation gloss for dḪé.du₇ (the sign DU would have been used in such a gloss rather than ṬU), it may be an indication of a variant in one of the texts used by the scribe (cf. p. 31 above); or it may point to the Akkadian equivalent for dḪé.du₇, as given in the second half of the line in E; cf. CAD 6 208a. But the designation of lú.ká "gateman" for one

| A | B | E | G | | |
|---|---|---|---|-----|---|
| | | | | 51. | ^d Nin.ḫé.du ₇ .bi ŠU |
| | | | | 52. | ^d Nin.ki.ta ŠU |
| | | | | 53. | ^d SAL.ša ₆ .ga ŠU |
| | | | | 54. | 5 dumu.SAL ^d Nin.šubur.ke ₄ |
| | | | | 55. | ^d Á.ḫé.LUL ŠU |
| | | | | 56. | ^d ['x.x.x.x'] ŠU |
| | | | | 57. | [] [ŠU] |
| | | | | 58. | [] [ŠU] |
| | | | | 59. | [] [ŠU] |
| | | | | 60. | [] [ŠU] |
| | | | | 61. | [] [ŠU] |
| | | | | 62. | [] ŠU |
| A | | | | 63. | ^d []['x'] ŠU |
| | D | | | 64. | ^d Maš.[x].['x'] ŠU |
| | | | | 65. | ^d Maš.[x].['ul'].la ŠU |
| | | | | 66. | ^d Men.kù.ta.è ŠU |
| | | | | 67. | ^d ù.LI(nu).ša ₄ (šá) ŠU |

of these "daughters" seems out of place. G omits the added explanation altogether. Quite probably this extra description, "gateman of An," belongs to ^dNin.šubur of the previous line.

52. Lines 52-56 = G:5-8.

54. G:6 gives: 5 dumu.SAL.meš ^dSukkal.[maḫ]. E i 13

f.: 5 ám dumu.SAL [^d]'Nin'.šubur.ke₄.

55. With this line, the list of "fourteen sons of ^dNin.šubur" begins.

64. In A, the traces of the last sign in the name appear to be those of a sign like AMA or MEN.

67. Glosses in D. The sign NU is apparently a gloss in D; but in A, it appears as a part of the text. However, A seems to have too small a space in front of NU to accommodate the two large signs ù.li. The possibility must be reckoned with that A and D here preserve two separate traditions: ^dù.li.ša₄ and [^dù].nu.ša₄. The gloss of NU in D would then reflect an attempt by the scribe to represent a textual variant in his copies (cf. p. 31 above), although some would view

| A | D | | |
|---|---|-----|--|
| | | 68. | ^d ù.UD.DU.maḫ.dib ŠU |
| | | 69. | 14 dumu.meš ^d ['Nin'].[šubur.ke ₄] |
| | | 70. | ^d Giš.gidir(PA).si.sá ŠU |
| | | 71. | ^d Eš.bar.an.na ŠU |
| | | 72. | 2 gu ₄ .DÚB ^d Nin.šubur.[ke ₄] |
| | | 73. | ^d Ma-gi-ru gu.za.lá.akkil |
| | | 74. | ^d Bīt-še-mi udug é.a |
| | | 75. | ^d Duru ₂ .(du.ru.na) _{na} ŠU |
| | | 76. | ^d ù.li.u ₄ ŠU |
| | | 77. | ^d Lú.an.na ŠU |
| | | 78. | ^d Ka.tar.an.['na'] ŠU |
| | | 79. | ^d Mul.(i.ku.u) _{AŠ+GÁN} ŠU |
| | | 80. | [^d]An.ta.sur.ra ŠU |
| | | 81. | ^d Ki.gul.la ŠU |
| | | 82. | 7 [gu ₄].['DÚB'] An.na.ke ₄ |

this gloss as a pronunciation gloss for LI (cf. Deimel, *ŠL* Lautwerte, 2d ed., no. 59:3 pp. 9, 120).

68. To read UD.DU here as è does not seem to offer any real help in the understanding of this strange name. A appears to have DI in place of UD.DU.

73. The name possibly represents an Akkadian loanword.

74. Another name of Akkadian extraction.

75. A i 70: ^dDúr.ru.na. The name may occur also in the Fara texts; cf. Deimel, *Fara II* no. 61 ii 3 (as ^dKU).

76. A i 71: [^d]ù.tu.ud.

78. D i 14: ^dKa.tar.an.ki. On the reading TAR, instead of SIL, cf. Gudea, *Cyl. A xxix 16*: ka.tar.ra.bi "its fear."

79. Gloss in D i 15.

80. D i 16 omits determinative; A i 75 is broken here, but it appears to have ample space for the expected determinative. This name calls to mind the ancient shrine in the territory of Lagash mentioned by Entemena; see *BIN II* 1:155.

81. A i 76: [^d]Ki'.gu.[la]. The name appears among those of the sons of ^dEn.ki (see *Tablet II* 284 below) and also as the name of the wife of ^dNita in *Tablet V* 48. Probably, the latter deity is to be distinguished from the one in the present line.

| A | B | D | | |
|---|---|---|------|--|
| | | | 83. | ^d Sag.kud zabar.dib An.na.ke ₄ |
| | | | 84. | ^d Nin.pa.mul.e.si dam.bi.SAL |
| | | | 85. | ^d Ninda.u ₆ .di.du ₁₀ ^(du) ŠU |
| | | | 86. | ^d En.du ₆ .kù.ta.è.dè ŠU |
| | | | 87. | ^d Nin.ki.šár ^(šá) .ra ŠU |
| | | | 88. | 3 muḫaldim(MU).gal An.na.ke ₄ |
| | | | 89. | ^d En.(ga.ra) _g ara _x (GA+NI) ŠU |
| | | | 90. | ^d Šubur.á.zi.da ŠU |
| | | | 91. | 2 utul.gal An.na.ke ₄ |
| | | | 92. | ^d Igi.sig ₇ .sig ₇ NU.GIŠ.SAR.gal An.na.ke ₄ |
| | | | 93. | ^d En.nu.un.silim.ma ŠU |
| | | | 94. | ^d Giš.[x.x].silim.ma ŠU |
| | | | 95. | 2 èn.tar.tar An.na.ke ₄ |
| : | | | 95a. | mu-še-du-u šá ^d A-ni |
| | | | 96. | [^d]En.ki ŠU |

83. In ab ii 34. ^dSag.kud is identified with ^dNin.urta. Cf. further KAV 46:12 (= KAV 63 i 46), which gives the pronunciation of ^dSag.kud as sa.ag.ku.ud, and Kraus, JCS 3 75 note 30.

85. A i 79 appears to vary here, having [^d]Nin.ʿù.[x].

86. Text = D i 21. B i 55 mistakenly writes GA after KÙ; but TA, as the *lexis difficilis*, is preferred here.

88. For the value MU = muḫaldim, cf. MSL II p. 47 line 172 and Tablet V 222a below.

96. This line corresponds to Ao:1; and it is evident that in the older tradition reflected by Ao, the present section was considered as the list of predecessors for both Anu (Ao:31) and Enlil (Ao:38). In the later tradition, this section was removed from Anu and given to Enlil to make up his 42 en ama a.a (see line 138 below), while Anu was given a list of "fathers and mothers" (see line 24 above) that was more in harmony with the theogony of the epical works. However, the older tradition represented by Ao seems quite consistent with Babylonian theology, since Enlil was certainly

| A | B | D | | |
|---|---|---|------|---------------------------|
| | | | 97. | ^d Nin.ki ŠU |
| | | | 98. | ^d En.ul ŠU |
| | | | 99. | ^d Nin.ul ŠU |
| | | | 100. | ^d En.mul ŠU |
| | | | 101. | ^d Nin.mul ŠU |
| | | | 102. | ^d En.LU ŠU |
| | | | 103. | ^d Nin.LU ŠU |
| | | | 104. | ^d En.DU ŠU |
| | | | 105. | ^d Nin.DU ŠU |
| | | | 106. | ^d En.da ŠU |

regarded as Anu's son (cf. even the famous vase inscription of Lugalzaggisi, OBI 87 iii 16). Considerable confusion has arisen from an attempt by some to equate the ^dEn.ki of the present line with the more familiar ^dEn.ki (= ^dÉ-a) of Eridu. That this identification is not valid is seen from the fact that in both Ao (see Ao:76) and the present series, ^dEn.ki (^dÉ-a) receives separate and full treatment, whereas the ^dEn.ki of the present line represents merely a shadowy half-cosmological name that figures very briefly in this formal list of the "fathers and mothers" of Enlil; see also MSL IV p. 4 note 2. It would, therefore, be quite out of place to attempt to reconstruct an "Eridu" tradition out of the Ao list merely because Ao begins with the name of ^dEn.ki. Cf. also CT 16 13:11-25 for a comparable list of "fathers and mothers" of Enlil. The text UM 29-16-86 (published by Kramer in BASOR 94 5), which represents text "B" of the Sumerian "Death of Gilgamesh" (cf. ANET 51), also includes an abbreviated list of these "fathers and mothers" (lines 14-18) starting with ^dEn.ki and ^dNin.ki. In spite of its abbreviated form, it seems to add one name not found in the present list: ^dEn.mu.ʿxʿ.lá (line 17). Similar abbreviated lists are found in VS II 11 r. ii 2-7 and in Smith, MAT pp. 11 f. lines 30-33. Eme presents only two names of this list: ^dEn.ki and ^dNin.ki (eme:2 f.).

98. Ao (3-6) reverses the order here, giving ^dEn.mul and ^dNin.mul before ^dEn.ul and ^dNin.ul. For ^dEn.ul and ^dNin.ul, cf. BA 10/1 84 r. 4 and CT 16 13 ii 13 f.

99. Cf. KAR 4 r. 15 f.

100. ^dEn.mul and ^dNin.mul also occur in UM 29-16-86 (cf. under note 96 above) line 14 and VAT 55 + 171 etc.:7 (= SBH p. 85 no. 48).

105. The name occurs also in Deimel, Fara II no. 1 iii 7.

| A | B | D | | |
|---|---|---|------|--|
| | | | 107. | ^d Nin.da ŠU |
| | | | 108. | [^d En.bulug ₃] ŠU |
| | | | 109. | ^d Nin.bulug ₃ ŠU |
| | | | 110. | [^d En]. ^{ga} ŠU |
| | | C | 111. | ^d Nin. ^{ga} ŠU |
| | | E | 112. | ^d [En].ug ŠU |
| | | | 113. | ^d Nin.ug ŠU |
| | | | 114. | ^d En.garaš ₃ (GA+KAS) ŠU |
| | | | 115. | ^d Nin.garaš ₃ ŠU |
| | | | 116. | ^d En(^{ga} .[ar]).šár ŠU |
| | | | 117. | ^d Nin.šár ŠU |
| | | | 118. | ^d En.nun ŠU |
| | | | 119. | ^d Nin.nun ŠU |
| | | | 120. | ^d En.kur ŠU |

107. Certainly to be kept separate from the ^dNin.da that appears in line 317 below as a variant for ^dIr.da (see CT 24 10:5).

108. = Ao:17. Cf. CT 16 13 ii 15 f.

109. = Ao:18. Cf. Deimel, Fara II no. 1 vi 27.

110. = Ao:15.

111. = Ao:16.

112. Corresponds to E ii 1.

113. To be kept separate from ^dNin.UG in the Šamaš circle; see Tablet III 141.

114. E ii 3 preserves the traces of a gloss (possibly ^{ga}.[ra]). See Tablet III 36 for a similar gloss.

115. Not necessarily to be equated with the spouse of the son of ^dSin in Tablet III 36.

116. = Ao:13. Cf. line 10 above, where the name occurs among the "fathers and mothers" of Anu. The name also occurs in the Fara texts (e.g., Deimel, Fara II no. 1 x 10) and in King, STC 73 ii 1-3. The gloss is partly preserved in E ii 5.

118. = Ao:7 and E iii 1.

119. = Ao:8.

120. = Ao:9. E iii 3: ^dEn.(kur)kúr. Since A i 99 and C ii 10 (and probably B i 74) agree with Ao, it is possible that the gloss in E represents more than a pronunciation gloss. The scribe may be indicating that he knew of the other tradition here; see p. 31 above.

| A | B | C | E | |
|---|---|---|---|--|
| | | | | 121. ^d Nin.kur ŠU |
| | | | | 122. ^d En.(a.ma.áš)amaš ŠU |
| | | | | 123. ^d Nin."(= a.ma.áš)amaš ŠU |
| | | | | 124. ^d En.kin.gal ŠU |
| | | | | 125. ^d Nin.kin.gal ŠU |
| | | | | 126. ^d En.kù.gál ŠU |
| | | | | 127. ^d Nin.kù.gál ŠU |
| | | | | 128. ^d En.an.na ŠU |
| | | | | 129. ^d Nin.an.na ŠU |
| | | | | 130. ^d En.u ₄ .ti.la ŠU |
| | | | | 131. ^d Nin.u ₄ .ti.la ŠU |
| | | | | 132. ^d En.da.šurun ₃ ŠU |

121. = Ao:10. ^dNin.kur is to be distinguished from a deity with a similar name who appears in a ^dBe-lit-ili/Ištar list (CT 25 30:5).

122. Gloss = C ii 12. E iii 5 gives the gloss as a.maš.

123. ^dNin.amaš is paired with ^dEn.da.šurun₃.ma in Ao:21 f. (i.e., Ao omits ^dEn.amaš and ^dNin.da.šurun₃.ma); cf. lines 132 f. below.

124. = Ao:11. A i 101 presents [^d]^{ga}.en.gal, which is obviously corrupt.

125. = Ao:12. A i 101: ^dNin.en.gal.

126. Text = C ii 16 f.; A i 102 and B i 77 have ^dEn.kù.ga, ^dNin.kù.ga; E iii 9 f.: ^dEn.kù.gal, ^dNin.kù.gal.

127. See under note 126.

128. = Ao:25.

129. = Ao:26. Distinguish from the *^dNin.an.na > ^dInanna. On the latter, cf. CT 25 31:16 where the name occurs in a list of ^dIštar-kakkabi names.

130. Text = C ii 20 f., which agrees with Ao:27 f. and CT 16 13 ii 21 f. A i 104 and B i 79 have ^dEn.ú.ti.la and ^dNin.ú.ti.la. E (perhaps by scribal omission) iii 13: ^dEn.ti.la. Cf. also K. 3931:33 (Smith, MAT 12) and V R 52 i 8.

132. Cf. under note 123 above. For the actual reading of the name, note the phonetic writing in de Genouillac, Kich II plate 14 no. C-72 14, where the name is written ^dEn.da.šú.^{ga}.ma. The name is usually written (as here) ^dEn.da.šú.^{ga} X GUD.ma; but, in the older texts, it appears as ^dEn.da.šú.^{ga} X GUD.ma (e.g., cf. Ao:21). In UM 29-16-86:16 (cf. above under note 96), this pair occurs as ^dEn.ninda.šú.^{ga} X GUD(!).ma (although the reading of ninda seems suspect here in the

| A | B | C | | |
|---|---|---|------|---|
| | | | 133. | ^d Nin.da.šurun ₃ .ma ŠU |
| | | | 134. | ^d En.du ₆ .kù.ga ŠU |
| | | | 135. | ^d Nin.du ₆ .kù.ga ŠU |
| | | | 136. | ^d En.me.šár.ra ŠU |
| | | | 137. | ^d Nin.me.šár.ra ŠU |
| | | | 138. | 42 àm en.ama.a.a ^d En.líl.lá.ke ₄ |
| | | | 139. | ^d Zi.sum.mu Nibru(EN.LÍL.KI).a. šà.ga.ke ₄ |

light of the present line) and ^dNin.'da'.ĤAB X GUD(!).ma. Cf. further CT 25 7 K. 7762:3; VS II no. 11 r. ii 4; and CT 16 13 ii 17 f. But whether the present name is to be identified with a deity of the same name who appears as one of the doormen of ^dERES.ki.gal (KAR 142 iv 12) is not clear.

134. = Ao:23 and UM 29-16-86 (see above under note 96):

15. As with ^dEn.da.šurun₃.ma of line 132, the name of ^dEn.du₆.kù.ga occurs among the doormen of ^dERES.ki.gal in KAR 142 iv 13 and K. 48 (Craig, ABRT 2 no. 12):28. Cf. also CT 16 13 ii 19 f. and Smith, MAT 12:32.

135. = Ao:24. Cf. also CT 25 33 K. 4209:5.

136. = Ao:29; UM 29-16-86 (see above under note 96):17; and CT 16 13 ii 23 f. This name represents a well-known deity. In late times, he appears to have been identified with Anu, Dumuzi, and Kingu (see TCL 6 47 and TuL 29). He appears occasionally as a deity in the underworld, but probably in the sense of a "captive" deity. See Thureau-Dangin, RA 16 147-151. Cf. further SBH p. 146:35, 42.

137. = Ao:30.

138. Cf. CT 16 13 ii 25 (see above under note 24) and UM 29-16-86 (see above under note 96):18. A i 108 omits àm. Ao lists only thirty names and includes among them two which are not mentioned in the present list: ^dEn.bir and ^dNin.bir (Ao: 19 f.). VS II no. 11 r. ii 6, after listing eight of these names, describes them as: "mother of Ninlil, father of Mullil." Following this line, it lists separately ^dEn.u₄.ti.la and ^dEn.me.šár.ra. In view of the statement in VS II no. 11 r. ii 6, it seems doubtful that this section intended to give a list of the "ancestors" of Enlil (cf. the "father" of Enlil who appears in line 147 below). The real intent of the line may have been instead: "42 mothers, equivalent to Ninlil, and fathers, equivalent to Enlil" (this would assume that ^dEn.líl is here considered as representing both Enlil and Ninlil; cf. An = ^dA-nu-um and An-tum in lines 1 f. above) or simply: "42 lords, mother-father pairs belonging to the family of Enlil." See further under notes 24 and 96 above.

139. For similar lists of the children of ^dEn.me.šár.ra, cf. AO. 6479 (= RA 17 55 ff., republished by Thureau-Dangin,

| A | C | | |
|---|---|------|---|
| | | 140. | ^d Ad _x (ZA-tenû).gir. šeg ₉ .bar.ke ₄ |
| | | | ḥaš |
| | | 141. | ^d šeg ₉ .bar.gim ₄ .gim ₄ a šà.'bar.ra'.ke ₄ |

Rit. acc. 3 ff.; also = TCL 6 no. 44 r. i) iii 3 ff.; K. 4806 (= IV R 23 no. 1; cf. Rit. acc. 24 ff.) i 1-6; and O. 175 (= RA 16 145):10 ff. (cf. RA 16 150) and reverse (emblems with names, cf. RA 16 154). For the present line, AO. 6479 iii 4 f. gives the name with an Akkadian explanation and identification (with ^dNin.imma_x(SIG₇); cf. line 306 below):

4. ^dZi.sum.mu Nibru.ki šà.ga.ke₄

5. ^dNin.imma_x(SIG₇) šà ki-riš Ni-ip-pú-ru

This means that ^dZi.sum.mu was the name of ^dNin.imma_x(SIG₇) in Nippur. But, in O. 175, the deity is explained (in line 10) as: ^dZi.sum.mu ^dGu.la ^dNIN.NIBRU.KI nādinat(SUM-at) napišti(ZI) ^dA-nim; "^dZi.sum.mu is ^dGu.la, the mistress of Nippur, the one who gives the life of Anu." From these identifications, it appears that ^dZi.sum.mu was regarded as a goddess. In the second half of the present line, the sign A may not be redundant (as might appear from AO. 6479:4, quoted above). It seems, instead, to be in opposition to a.šà.bar.ra in line 141, and may mean here "the Nippur territory."

140. The first sign is not BI (as it seems in King's copy of C ii 30); in A i 110, it is clearly ad_x(ZA-tenû) (see MSL III 97 line 8). This corresponds to AO. 6479 iii 5 f.: ^dAd_x(ZA-tenû).gir.ḥuš(!).ra.ke₄ : ^dŠu.zi.an.na šà ap-si-i. Thureau-Dangin (Rit. acc. p. 52 note 37) suggested that the sign "engur" was to be restored here after ^dAd_x(ZA-tenû).gir.ḥuš (thus making the correspondence with ap-si-i clearer); but, in the light of the present line, if anything is to be restored to AO. 6479:5, it seems that it should be šeg₉.bar. In O. 175:11, the name (with some variation) is explained as: ^dŠà (Thureau-Dangin, RA 16 150, here reads Ib).gir.ḥuš ^dŠu.zi.an.na An-tum gāmilat(ŠU.GAR-at) napišti(ZI) ^dA-nim; "^dŠà.gir.ḥuš is ^dŠu.zi.an.na, An-tum, the one who grants the life of ^dAnu." From this identification with ^dŠu.zi.an.na, in both texts, it appears that ^dAd_x(ZA-tenû).gir.ḥuš is to be regarded as a female deity. In the "picture" on the reverse of O. 175, in the upper right, the name appears in the expected form: ^dAd_x(ZA-tenû).gir.ḥuš, but in obv. 17, the name appears as ^dAd_x(ZA-tenû).gir.gid.da. Apparently, the name of this goddess could be written in a number of ways.

141. C ii 31: ^dšeg₉.bar.gim₄.gim₄.me. AO. 6479 iii 7 f. explains this name as:

7. ^dšeg₉.bar.ra.gim₄.gim₄.me a.šà.mar.ra.ke₄

8. ^dEn.nu.gi šà-kin eq-li

i.e., "^dEn.nu.gi, the establisher of the field." The correspondence here of MAR = šakānu is understandable, but it is surprising to find MAR where the series An : ^dA-nu-um presents BAR. In the series, a.šà.bar.ra seems to be in opposition to line 139 and signifies "the outer" territory. O. 175:

| A | C | | |
|------|---|---|--|
| 142. | d _{Ur} .bàd (ba.ad). dumu (du.mu) | lú.[sukud]. ¹ da ¹ .ke ₄ | |
| 143. | d _{Ur} .bàd.da.gub.gub. bu | dumu.[é.šà].ba.ke ₄ | |
| 144. | d _{Gub} .ba.ga.ra.ra.è | dumu.uru.gibil.ke ₄ | |
| 145. | d _E .bar.ra.DU.DU | dumu u ₄ .30.kám u ₄ . na.a | |
| 146. | 7 àm dumu.meš | d _{En} .me.šár.ra.ke ₄ | |

ll f. agrees with AO. 6479, but further identifies d_{En}.nu.gi with d_{Sin}(EŠ); cf. under Tablet III 86.

142. A i 112: [d]¹Ur¹.bàd.¹na¹. Text = C ii 32 as restored by AO. 6479 iii 9 which has: d_{Ur}.bàd.da en sukud. da.ke₄: d_{Kù}.sù be-lu ša-qu-u. That is, he is identified with d_{Kù}.sù "the lofty lord." O. 175:12 similarly identifies him with d_{Kù}.sù and further with d_{Tu}.tu "who knows the pure waters." (In these late cult texts, d_{Kù}.sù appears to be considered as a male deity; but in line 298 below, the name is listed among those of d_{Nisaba}.)

143. A i 113: d_{Ur}.ba.dù.gùn.gùn.nu. Text = C ii 33 with restoration from AO. 6479 iii 10 which has: d_{Ur}.bàd.gùm.gùm dumu é.šà.ba.ke₄: d_{Nin}.sar DUMU É.ŠA.BA. O. 175:13 similarly equates him with d_{Nin}.sar and further identifies him with d_{Nerigal}(d_U.GUR); but O. 175 r., in the "picture" (left middle), has d_{Ur}.bàd.da.gùm.gùm.

144. A i 114 varies: [d]¹Tum¹.ma.gara (GA+NI).è. AO. 6479 iii 11 f.: d_{Tum}.ma.ga.ra.ra.è dumu urū.gibil.la.ke₄: d_{Nin}.ka.si DUMU URU eš-ši; i.e., this deity is identified with d_{Nin}.ka.si "the son of the new city." O. 175:14 adds an equation with d_{Nin}.gir.zi.da "who brings fermented wine (KAS. DIN.NAM)."

145. In AO. 6479 iii 13 f., he is identified with

d_{Nusku}:
13. d_A.bar.ra.DU.DU dumu u₄.30.kám u₄.na.àm
14. d_{Nusku}(d_{PA+KU}) DUMU še-la-še-é bu-um-bu-li
"d_{Nusku}, son of the thirtieth (day of the month), of the bubbulu (the interval between the disappearance of the moon and its reappearance; cf. RA 16 152)." Cf. K. 4806 i 4 f. (IV R 23 no. 1). In O. 175:14 f., he is not only identified with d_{Nusku} but also with d_{Nin}.urta, d_{Sin}(d_{EŠ}), and d_{Nabu}(d_{AG}) "the chief of the divine attendants (DINGIR.GUB.BA.MEŠ) who, before d_{Da}.gan [guard] d_{En}.me.šár.ra for all eternity." For the interchange between É and A in d_E.bar.ra.DU.DU and d_A.bar.ra.DU.DU, see under note 355 below.

| A | C | | |
|------|--|---|--|
| 147. | d _{Lugal} .du ₆ .kù.ga | a.a d _{En} .[líl].lá.ke ₄ | |
| 148. | d _{En} (en.lil).líl | d _{En} .líl | |
| 149. | d _{EN} (il.lil).líl | " | |
| 150. | d ₁₁ (= il.lil) ₅₀ | " | |

147. Here, d_{Lugal}.du₆.kù.ga is described as "the father of Enlil"; but his exact relationship to the names in lines 96-138 is not clear. For other references to this deity, cf. CT 25 33 K. 4209:3; KAV 218 A ii 28, 36 (<d>Lugal.AN.du₆.kù.ga); CT 13 36:13; and TCL 6 47:3.

148. The glosses in this and the following line show that d_{En}.líl had two common pronunciations (in which the second, Illil, represents assimilation of the nasal). The fact that this deity was known among the Hittites under names based upon the form Illil (e.g., cf. d_{El}-le-el, KUB 33 93 iv 4 et al.) may show that this second pronunciation goes back much earlier than late Assyrian times. On the other hand, the existence of a form such as Illinos in Greek writings (e.g., see Clay, AJSL 23 269 note 1) could only reflect late usage among the Assyro-Babylonians. d_{En}.líl in the present series appears carefully distinguished from other deities who may have been otherwise identified with him for political reasons (chiefly Marduk and Aššur), unless Aššur occurs in line 166 below.

149. In A i 119, the traces do not favor a restoration (for A) of [d_{En}].¹líl¹. For this entry, A possibly had either [d_{En}.li].¹il¹ or [d_{Il}.li].¹il¹.

150. Since the numerical designation of the various chief deities was no late innovation, the indication of Enlil by the number "50" is instructive. This numerical system doubtless was intended to represent little more than a convenient way of indicating relative rank in the pantheon and providing a simple means of writing the names of the deities involved. (One might attempt to explain this numerical system by referring to the designation of d₃₀ for the moon god as representing thirty days of a full month, or naively explaining Ištar's number "15" as representing one half the number of her father, the moon god. But this seems totally inadequate as a method of explaining the bulk of the remaining deities so designated. It is much simpler to see in the numerical system nothing more than an indication of relative rank.) The number "50" places Enlil in a position just below the highest, since, the ranking was on the basis of the sexagesimal system. This means that Enlil's number reflects a common tradition in Babylonia, in which he was ranked below Anu (who was "d₆₀"; see CT 25 50:6). Note also CT 12 2 r. 17ab; 3:lab, where "50" is explained as referring to d_{En}.líl, and as such has the pronunciations of nin.nu.u and il.lil. In CT 13 32 r. 12, the name has a gloss of ha-an-ša-a, which would be Akkadian for the number 50.

| | | | | |
|---|---|------|---|---|
| A | C | 151. | d ₁₁ (= il.lil) _{SI} | " |
| | | 152. | d ₁₂ DUG.QA.BUR | " |
| | | 153. | d ₁₃ Nun.nam.nir | " |
| | | 154. | d ₁₄ Kur.gal | " |
| | | 155. | [^d]E.lum | " |
| | B | 156. | [^d]'x' | " |
| | | 157. | d ₁₇ U ₅ | " |
| | | 158. | [^d]'(um'.bi.sag) _{ALAL} | " |
| | | 159. | d('eš') _{AB} | " |
| | | 160. | [^d X].maḥ | " |

151. Text = C ii 41. A i 121 varies, giving a name ending with the sign ŠID. Whether any other signs preceded ŠID cannot be determined because of the broken condition of A at this point.

152. The complex DUG.QA.BUR appears among the names of other deities besides Enlil (e.g., Dingir.maḥ, Tablet II 26; d₁₁Lil, Tablet II 65; and d₁₂En.ki, Tablet II 156, 160, 162, 164); but these should all be carefully distinguished from each other. Note CT 12 21 93058:18 f., where this sign group is explained in successive lines as pa-ḥa-rum "potter" and d₁₂En.lil. This same Akkadian meaning plus the Sumerian reading ba.ḥar is given for the group and is identified again with Enlil in AO.7661 ii 48 (TCL 6 37 = AS no. 7 p. 43). Cf. also line 167 below. The scribe who wrote texts A and B regularly writes DUG.LIŠ.BUR for this sign group—the LIŠ apparently serving as a graphic variant for QA in this complex.

153. = Ao:39 (d₁₃Nu.nam.nir). Cf. CT 25 23 D. T. 115:12 and ZA NF 5 250.

154. = Ao:40. Cf. CT 25 23 D. T. 115:16. d₁₄Kur.gal is mentioned in a dedication cylinder as the spouse of d₁₅Mārat-bīti; see MAOG 3 1/2 32. In KAV 47:14 (= KAV 63 ii 21), he is equated with d₁₆Mar.tu.

155. Note that eme:5 presents d₁₇E.lum as the emesal for d₁₈Alim(A+IGI+PIRIG).

156. The traces in A i 126 fit a sign like GĪR or ḪUŠ, but hardly UG.

158. Possibly = Ao:46. For a similar gloss of um.bi.sag for ALAL, see Tablet VI 128, (where the gloss actually represents the sign name; cf. MSL II p. 75 line 562).

159. = Ao:41. Gloss partly preserved in A i 129.

| | | | | |
|---|---|------|--|--------------|
| A | B | 161. | d ₁₉ EZEN.sag | " |
| | | 162. | [^d]'BALAG.DI' | " |
| | | 163. | d ₂₀ Dara ₃ .gal | " |
| | | 164. | [^d]'Dara ₃ '.dím | " |
| | | 165. | d ₂₁ Dara ₃ .dím.dím | " |
| | | 166. | [^d]'ŠUR | " |
| | | 167. | d ₂₂ DUG.QA.BUR | " |
| | | 168. | [^d X].['x'].u ₄ .da | " |
| | | 169. | d ₂₃ Nam.zu | " |
| | | 170. | [^d X.x].['x'] | " |
| | | 171. | d ₂₄ Dur.an.ki | " |
| | D | 172. | []['x'] | " [e]-lam-tu |

161. = Ao:42, where it is clear from the old Babylonian script that the sign EZEN is involved.

162. = Ao:43.

163. = Ao:44.

164. Cf. Tablet II 144, where the name occurs among the names of d₂₅En.ki.

165. Cf. Tablet II 145, where the name occurs among the names of d₂₆En.ki.

166. It is possible that the entry may actually be [^d]'AŠ'.šur, in A i 136.

167. The appearance here of a second d₂₇DUG.QA.BUR (written d₂₈DUG.LIŠ.BUR in A and B; see above under note 152) is enigmatic. It is possible that dittos have been mistakenly omitted, by the scribe, in front of the complex in one (or both) of these lines. As is mentioned above under note 152, this sign group has the value of baḥar, when applied to Enlil; but which of the two lines should receive this reading? Perhaps in line 152, the complex represents an ideogram for d₂₉Enlil, while in the present line it has the value of d₃₀Baḥar. However, this possibility cannot be controlled with the present texts. For other deities having this same ideogram, see under note 152 above.

170. The traces of the final sign in A i 140 may favor a restoration of the sign RA.

172. The explanation of [e]-lam-tu in A i 142 corresponds to NIM.MA.KI in D ii 4. It seems that D had only one more name for Enlil, but just which one cannot be determined. (D adds to this additional name the explanation su.bir₄.ki.

| A | B | D | | |
|---|---|---|------|---|
| | | | 173. | d _{Hé.àm.gi.na} [" |
| | | | 174. | [] . 'x' [" |
| | | | 175. | d _{Dam.gàr} [" |
| | | | 176. | d _{Nin.líl.LI} d _{Nin.líl dam.bi.SAL} |
| | | | 177. | d _{UN.íl} " |
| | | | 178. | d _{SAL+KU(e.gi).tum.} " |
| | | | | ma.al |
| | | | 179. | d _{SU.KUR.RU} " |
| | | | 180. | d _{Sù.ud} " |
| | | | 181. | d _{Nin.uru.mu.un.du} " |
| | | | 182. | d _{Bur.šu.šal} " |
| | | | 183. | d _{Bur.šu.sikil} " |

A also seems to have one name less than B in this section of Enlil names.

176. = Ao:48 and eme:6. Cf. KAV 63 i 4 (= KAV 65 r. i 4; see AfK 2 9 note 3) which explains d_{Nin.líl} as d_{Mu-lil-tu}. The form d_{Nin.líl.LI} seems to be only a variant form of d_{Nin.líl} (cf. An : Anu šá amēli 22); but if it is a variant form, it is certainly a fuller form and as such, it may lead one to raise a question as to the force of the added syllable. The sign LI may be explained as containing the Sumerian subject element (hence, d_{Nin.líl.le}), but the addition of such subject elements would seem to be an uncommon phenomenon among the names in the present series.

178. = Ao:49. Gloss in D ii 8, which also has SAL+KU instead of NIN (cf. the normal NIN in D ii 10). B i 108 gives NIN (probably making no distinction between NIN and SAL+KU). Cf. also An : Anu šá amēli 23.

179. = Ao:50.

180. B i 109 contains both lines 179 and 180. If SU+KUR+RU has the value of súd (as Scholtz suggests, ZA 41 304), this may explain why A omits line 179, and D, line 180.

181. D ii 10: d_{Nin.uru.mu.un.dù}.

182. The name occurs again among the names of d_{Dam.ki.na}, spouse of d_{En.ki}; see Tablet II 183. Cf. the gloss in Tablet II 111.

183. Also occurs among the names of d_{Dam.ki.na}; see Tablet II 184.

| A | B | C | D | | |
|---|---|---|---|-------|--|
| | | | | 184. | d _{Šu.zi.an.na} dam.bàn.da d _{En.líl} . |
| | | | | | lá.ke ₄ |
| | | | | 184a. | um.me.ga.lá d _{En.zu} . |
| | | | | | na.ke ₄ |
| | | | | 185. | d _{En.zi.kalam.ma} dam.bi d _{En.líl.lá.ke₄} |
| | | | | 186. | d _{Sig₄.za.gin.na} d _{Be-lit-i-lí} |
| | | | | 187. | d _{Maškim.ge₆.lú.har.} d _{Šul.pa.è} |
| | | | | | ra.na |

184. B i 122 has d_{BAD.lá.ke₄} instead of d_{En.líl.lá.ke₄}. In another text (ZA NF 5 251 f.), d_{Šu.zi.an.na} is described as: dam.bàn.da a.a d_{En:líl.lá.ke₄}. In CT 25 49:1, she is described as: d_{Be-lit-DIN.TIR.KI} e-ṭi-'ra'-[at napišti] (see OLZ 14 153). Note also KAV 46:19 where her name is elucidated as [šū].zu.'an'.na, and where she is identified with d_{Gu.la}. See also under note 140 above. In Ao, she occurs quite widely separated from the Enlil section, but still in context with some of the same names as are found here (see Ao:335).

184a. Represents a further explanation for d_{Šu.zi.an.na}, but the texts all vary slightly here. A i 153: um.me.ga d_{En.<zu>.na}; B i 112: um.me.ga.lá d_{En.zu.ke₄}; D ii 14: um.me.da d_{En.zu.na.ke₄}; E iv 2 f.: um.ga.lá d_{En.zu.na.ke₄}.

185. = Ao:336. In this line, d_{En.zi.kalam.ma} appears as the name of the spouse of d_{En.líl}. This may represent another wife besides d_{Nin.líl}; hence she is listed here separately. See line 300 below, where she is identified with d_{Nisaba}. A i 154 and B i 113 have d_{En.líl.le} instead of d_{En.líl.lá.ke₄} (which is found in D ii 15 and E iv 4).

186. Text = A i 155 and D ii 16. B i 114 has Dingir.maḫ instead of d_{Be-lit-i-lí}; and E iv 5 gives d_{BE-i-lí}. The latter form of the name is read by some d_{Be-lí-lí} (e.g., cf. AG 271 and ZA 30 191), identifying her with the "sister" of Dumuzi who is mentioned in CT 15 47:30). In the light of the other readings given for this line, it seems clear that BE in E is to be understood as an ideogram for belit (unless E should be emended to read d_{Be-<lit>-i-lí}). Texts in which the name has been read d_{Be.lí.lí} should possibly be re-examined from this standpoint. Certainly, a clear distinction is to be made between this name and d_{Be.li.li} in line 19 above. d_{Sig₄.za.gin.na} occurs also in Ao:51 (d_{Sig₄.za.gin}) and K. 13703:2 (CT 25 46).

187. = Ao:52. D ii 17: d_{Šul.pa.è.a}. Note RA 13 12 no. 5:3 where the name is written d_{Šul.pi.e}. For d_{Šul.pa.è}, see OLZ 22 13 note 1; AG 437, 467 f.; ZA 38 85 (where Poebel

| A | B | D | | |
|---|---|---|------|---|
| | | | 188. | ^d Lum.ma ŠU |
| | | | 189. | ^d Ha.da.ni.iš ŠU |
| | | | 190. | 2 udug é.kur.ra.ke ₄ |
| | | | 191. | ^d En.líl.lá.zi nu.banda é.kur.ra.ke ₄ |
| | | | 192. | ^d Ur. ^d En.zu.na nigír èš.bar.a.ke ₄ |
| | | | 193. | ^d Da.gan ŠU ^d En.líl |

reads ^dSul.kún.è.a); II R 47 65e (where a reading of u.e.pā is given for this name); KAV 63 iii 47 (cf. Weidner, AfK 2 75); Tablet II 46 f.; and Tablet IV 269 (where the name occurs in the "Ištar tablet" and is again identified with ^dMaškim.ge₆.lú.har.ra.na). The first name in the present line is described in K. 266:42 (CT 25 22; = Tablet VI 121 below) as ilû lim-nu-um "the evil god." Cf. further CT 18 48:27cd; and CT 19 27 i 6. Both D ii 17 and E iv 6 f. give the name as ^dMaškim.ge₆.lú.har.ra.an.na. B i 115 (possibly by scribal oversight) omits ge₆.

188. This and the following three names evidently represent a group of deified early kings; see Jacobsen, AS no. 11 98 f. note 168). ^dLum.ma seems to be another name for É.an.na.tum, king of Lagash; see Poebel, PBS IV 1 p. 166. In ac (= "Smaller An : ^dA-nu-um"):3, the name appears as ^dLum.ba^(ma), in which the gloss may reflect a variant textual tradition. The old Babylonian list Ao:53, however, also has ^dLum.ma.

189. = Ao:54 and ac:4. Jacobsen, AS no. 11 98 f. line 39 and note 168, reads ^dHa.tá.ni.iš. Apparently, this name represents a deified ruler from Hamazi (see Jacobsen, AS no. 11 97 f. note 166).

190. ac:5: 2 àm udug é.kur.[ra.ke₄].

191. = Ao:55. B i 118: [^dEn].líl.za. If this line is to be equated with eme:18 (which has ^dMu.ul.líl.zi | ^dEn.líl.zi), then eme varies here in the order, placing this name after the Nusku section. A reading similar to that of eme is found in V R 52 i 28. See further, ZA NF 5 251. A i 159 gives a slight variation for the explanation: [nu].^dbanda¹ ^dEn.líl.lá.ke₄. On the office of the nu.banda, see Landsberger, JCS 9 122. ^dEn.líl.lá.zi also represents a deified ruler; cf. KK 28 note 13.

192. = Ao:56. This entry also represents the deification of a historical figure; see KK 28 note 13. A i 160 ends this line with AN.BAR.ke₄ instead of èš.bar.a.ke₄.

193. = Ao:57. See K. 252 i 14 (III R 66) where ^dDa.gan appears in a list of deities worshipped in the temple of Aššur; cf. also KAR 214 i 11. On the cult of Dagan, see Dossin, Syria 21 161 f.; Dhorme, RHR 138 129 ff.; Rec. Dhorme 745 ff.; and Schmökel, Der Gott Dagan. Here ^dDa.gan is identified with ^dEn.líl.

| A | B | D | | |
|---|---|---|------|--|
| | | | 194. | ^d NIN.KÙ.GI dam.bi ^d En.líl.lá.ke ₄ |
| | | | 195. | ^d Ša.la.aš [""] |
| | | | 196. | ^d Nin.me.dím.ša ₆ (ša ₄) "" |
| | | | 197. | ^d Nin.u ₆ .di.šár.ra "" |
| | | | 198. | ^d Nin.múš.za.gìn.na "" |
| A | | | 199. | ^d Ib.du ₆ .kù.ga ^d Iš.ḡa.ra |

194. The order of this and the following lines is based on B i 121. The variation existing here among the several exemplars possibly indicates that they were copying from a section containing an early mutilation. In the original text, the scribe must have tried to include the following material: (1) ^dNIN.KÙ.GI was the spouse of ^dDa.gan; (2) as such she was the spouse of ^dEn.líl; (3) therefore, she was to be equated with ^dNin.líl; (4) furthermore, she was to be especially identified with ^dŠa.la.aš, as well as with several other deities. The resultant text produced some confusion as is seen in the explanation column of A i 162: [dam] ^dNin.líl.lá.ke₄ (probably a corruption from *^dNin.líl dam ^dEn.líl.lá.ke₄). D ii 23 reverses the names of ^dNIN.KÙ.GI and ^dŠa.la.aš⁴ (of the next line), and explains: dam.bi ^dNin.[líl] "his spouse, who is ^dNin.líl." D also places dittos in the middle of ^dNIN.KÙ.GI to show that her name was an ideogram for ^dŠa.la.aš. The primacy of ^dNIN.KÙ.GI over ^dŠa.la.aš is inferred from Ao:58 where only the former name occurs; but the name must still be viewed as an ideogram for the latter; cf. ab i 34: ^dNIN(ša.la.aš).KÙ.GI | ^dŠa.la šá šadi(i). See further under note 195 below, and An : Anu šá amēli 59.

195. From ab i 34 (quoted under note 194 above), it appears that ^dŠa.la.aš is to be identified with ^dŠa.la, and therefore also with the spouse of Adad; see Rm. II,32 (CT 25 21) r. 7 f. (= Tablet III 240 below). Note that ^dNIN.KÙ.GI (ideogram for ^dŠa.la.aš, see under note 194 above) is also identified with ^dŠa.la in line 59 of An : Anu šá amēli. Cf. further MAOG 1/3 pp. 9, 11, 14.

196. Text = D ii 25. In the light of the way in which the name is written in B i 122, it seems that the gloss in D may have been used by the scribe to indicate a textual variation among the texts available to him. This name occurs again among those of the spouse of Adad; see Tablet III 241 (written without NIN).

197. Text = B i 123. In ab i 39, the name appears (in a ^dŠa.la.aš list) as ^dNin.ù.ki.šár.ra. D ii 26 combines both readings as ^dNin.u₆.di.ki.šár.ra, which possibly represents inclusion of an older glossed reading.

198. = ab i 40.

199. The first name is omitted by B (see B i 124), an omission which seems justified by Ao:59, where this present

| | | | |
|-----|------|--------------------------------------|--|
| B D | 200. | d ^{Gag.gag} | ["] |
| | 201. | d ^{Be-lit-bi-ri} | ["] |
| | 202. | d ^{E-ta-mi-tum} | ["] |
| | 203. | d ^{Taš-me-zi-ik-ru} | SAL.sukkal d ^{Be-[lit-bi-ri-ke₄]} |
| | 204. | <d>An.(a.an.bu)bu | dumu é.[] |
| | 205. | d ^{U₄.GIŠGAL.lu} | d ^{Nin.urta dumu.sag} d ^{Enlil(BAD). 'lá'.} [ke ₄] |

section begins with a name corresponding to line 200. Išhara is here introduced as a member of the Enlil circle; but cf. Tablet III 279 (where she appears in the Adad circle); Tablet IV 276 (in the "Ištar tablet"); and line 301 below (where, as d^{Gag.gag}, she is identified with d^{Nisaba}). Cf. further AfO 12 1 ff.; KAV 42 i 31 (= KAV 43 i 12); KAV 48 ii 8.

200. = Ao:59, which has d^{Gag.ga}. Cf. line 301 below where she is equated with d^{Nisaba}.

201. In Ao:60, the name is written d^{Be-la-at-bi-ri}. Note the writing of the name as d^{Be-lit-be-ri}, Tablet IV 280 below, and possibly d^{NIN-bi-ri}, PSBA 34 52. This and the next two lines are repeated later in Tablet IV 277 ff.

202. = Tablet IV 278. Cf. also K. 2121:5 (CT 25 45).

203. = Tablet IV 280. D ii 32: d^{Taš-me-zi-ik-ri}.

204. According to King's copy, it appears at first glance that D ii 33 has d^{A.AN.BU.BU}. However, the old Babylonian prototype Ao presents at this point (line 61) <d>An.bu; therefore D must be read <d>An.(a.an.bu)bu. B i 127 has [<d>An]. 'bu' d^{EN-bu-ul}, in which the latter name (= d^{Bel-bu-ul}) probably represents an Akkadian explanation. B followed with a summary line which probably represents the end of a subtablet in one tradition. Since A ends Tablet I with the words dub 2 kám.ma (A ii 146), it is probable that A also represents a copy of the same tradition which divided Tablet I into two subtablets. Cf. further p. 7 note 26 above.

205. = Ao:63 which has d^{U₄.ta.GIŠGAL.lu}. D ii 34: d^{U₄.URU.lu}. On the reading of B i 130, see OLZ 12 201. In deciding the eventual reading of the complex GIŠGAL.lu in this line, one must note that the emesal text devotes two lines to this name (eme:7 f.): [d^{Umun.lu.a} (which Landsberger. MSL IV p. 4, emends to d^{Umun.IB*.a}; but, if GIŠGAL has some value such as ulu, [e.g., cf. Falkenstein, ZA NF 15 116:9] or lu, [cf. Falkenstein, ZA NF 11 13 (line 14), 29], perhaps the emendation is not necessary) and [d^{Umun.kal.a}. The name also occurs in ab iii 6 in a d^{Nin.urta} section

| | | | |
|-----|------|-----------------------------------|-----|
| B D | 206. | d ^{40(ni.min).DU} | " |
| | 207. | d ^{Ša.ĪI X U(du. 'bur')} | ["] |
| | | ru | |
| | 208. | d ^{Kur.da.ru} | ["] |
| | 209. | d ^{Zi.ni.ki} | ["] |
| | 210. | [d ^{Zi}].zi.da | ["] |
| | 211. | d ^{Dimgul(MÁ+MUG).} | ["] |
| | | kalam.ma | |
| | 212. | [d ^X].ŠAR | " |

(which helps to restore several broken lines in the present list). d^{Nin.urta} apparently was equated with a number of various deities. In ab iii 31 (as d^{U₄.GIŠGAL.lu}), he is identified with d^{Mermeri(IM X IM X IM X IM}, glossed with me.er.me.er) = d^{Adad} (cf. Tablet III 210 below); in ab ii 12, d^{Nin.urta} = d^{Nabu(AG)}; and in 47406 (CT 24 50):3, he is identified with d^{Marduk}. In KAR 142 i 22-25, d^{Nin.urta} is identified with such deities as, d^{Na-bi-um}, d^{Za.ba₄.ba₄}, and d^{GIR.UNU₇.gal}. Attention has often been called (e.g., AfK 2 12 note 8) to the fact that, in late times at least, the name d^{Nin.urta} was actually pronounced Inurta > Inušta (= Enušta). However, there is evidence to support the possibility that the name was also pronounced as written: d^{Nin.urta}; cf. the phonetically written d^{Ni.in.nu.ur.ta} in ZA 45 36. This would present the possibility that there were two pronunciations of his name in vogue—much as was the case for Enlil, see lines 148 and 149 above.

206. = Ao:64 and ab iii 7; but cf. CT 25 25:15 (= Tablet III 110 below) where the name occurs in a Šamaš list.

207. = ab iii 8. Ao:65: d^{Ša.BIR.nun}. On the signs involved in D ii 36 and B i 131, see OLZ 12 200 and OLZ 13 63. Cf. K. 2100 i 37 (CT 25 17) where ĪI X U is again glossed with du.bur.

208. Possibly an Akkadian name. In ab iii 10, the name occurs as d^{Kur.da.ri}.

209. B i 132 and D ii 38 both present d^{Zi.ni.ku}; but see ab iii 9 which clearly has d^{Zi.ir.ki} (= II R 57 54c, which has d^{Zi.ir.ku}). The latter text may indicate that an emendation is to be made here to read d^{Zi.ir(!).ku} instead of d^{Zi.ni.ku}. The entry seems to represent an Akkadian name. A ii 1 preserves the traces of two vertical heads of a name, or an explanation, following the dittos.

210. The text can be restored from ab iii 13 and B i 133.

211. = ab iii 14.

212. Instead of [d^X].ŠAR, the name may prove to be merely [d^{ŠAR}]. In A ii 4, the long horizontal stroke before

| | | | |
|-----|-------|--|---|
| A D | 237. | dNin.níg.gi.na | dNin.níg.「NE.RU」 |
| : | 238. | dKU(!).SUD(!).NUN. KU.TU dumu.an.na | ŠU |
| : | 239. | dNin.u ₄ .zal.le | dam.bi nin dNin. urta.ke ₄ |
| : | 240. | dInim.ma.ni.zi | sukkal dNin.urta.ke ₄ |
| : | 241. | d([du].「ni」)KAL | dam.bi dumu.SAL dPA+ TÚG.ke ₄ |
| : | 242. | dNin.kar.nun.na | MAŠ.ŠU.GAL dNin. urta.ke ₄ |
| : | 242a. | | šeš dInim.ma.ni.zi. ke ₄ |

below seems strange. D iii 18 gives only one name for the daughter of dNin.urta: dNin.níg.gi.na. The arrangement of the text here = A ii 28 and 29.

237. The first name = Ao:69.

238. = Ao:71. For the reading of the name, see under Tablet III 95. Here, dKU.SUD.NUN.KU.TU appears in the circle of dNin.urta only as the brother-in-law of dNin.urta. In Tablet III 95, he appears among the sons of dNIN.MAR.KI; in Tablet VI 230, he is equated with dMAR.TU; and in An : Anu šá amēli 106, he is identified with dSumuqan(dGIR). dKU.SUD.NUN.KU.TU was apparently viewed as an ideogram for dSumuqan/Saman/Šašan. Cf. CT 12 37:46a (= CT 12 35:29a), where the name is explained as: <d>Šum-man-nu šá GUD "Šummanu of cattle."

239. = Ao:70 and eme:10. The line describes dNin.u₄.zal.le as the wife of dKU.SUD.NUN.KU.TU and the sister of dNin.urta.

240. = Ao:72; cf. K. 4349E:10 ("Smaller An : dA-nu-um" CT 24 49).

241. = Ao:73. Gloss is partly preserved in D iii 22. The name is probably to be read dDuni/Duna and should be compared with Ea : A : nâqu IV 295 (= Hallock, AS no. 7 p. 26). A ii 32 (as in Ao:73) simply writes dKAL. This dKAL, who is the wife of dInim.ma.ni.zi and the daughter of dNusku, is certainly to be distinguished from other deities written with this sign. On dPA+TUG (= dNusku) cf. line 252 below.

242. = Ao:74 and eme:11.

242a. A ii 33 ends the line with dInim.ma.ni.zu. This half line further identifies dNin.kar.nun.na as the "brother

| | | | |
|-----|------|---|---------------------------|
| A D | 243. | dKinda.zi | dam.bi.SAL |
| | 244. | d"ŠU.I | ŠU |
| | 245. | dKA(ki.ri).ùr.ùr | ŠU |
| | 246. | dBara ₂ .sig ₅ .ga. nibru(EN.LÍL.KI) | ŠU |
| | 247. | 2 bara ₂ .sig ₅ .ga | dNin.urta.ke ₄ |
| | 248. | dNin.dir | ŠU |
| | 249. | dNin.uru.bar.ra | ŠU |

of dInim.ma.ni.zi; hence eme:11 is to be restored to read [dUmun.kar].nun.na, and not [dGašan.kar].nun.na (cf. AG 409 and MSL IV p. 4). dInim.ma.ni.zi and dNin.kar.nun.na are also closely associated together in astronomical texts. Cf. K. 7145:7 (CT 29 47).

243. Ao:75 and A ii 34 begin the name with URI instead of KINDA. These two signs are interchangeable in such contexts; see Kraus, JCS 3 80 f. note 50. Since dKinda.zi is the wife of the "barber of dNin.urta," her own name of "the true hairdresser" seems quite fitting; cf. OLZ 12 200.

244. The dittos (in A ii 35; D iii 26 omits them) would indicate that dŠU.I is here an ideogram for dKinda.zi.

245. Gloss in D iii 27. For the value KA = kiriz (= "nose"), see MSL II p. 56 line 305. For ùr.ùr (= muššu') "to smear on, to anoint," etc., cf. D. T. 57 r. 9 f. (= JRAS 1927 538). The name appears to denote an individual who "anoints the nose (with perfume?)." The significance of the name may be important for the understanding of the profession bara₂.sig₅.ga (see line 247 below) which is involved in the present entries. The name dKA.ùr.ùr also occurs in CT 24 35 x 6 (a section of K. 4349 but belonging to the "Smaller An : dA-nu-um"). Read here dKiriz.ùr.ùr.

246. D iii 28a: dBara₂.si.[ga.EN.LÍL.KI]. The name also appeared in CT 24 35 x 7, which can be restored from the present line.

247. D iii 28b: ŠU 2 bara₂.si.ga. The significance of this professional epithet is somewhat uncertain. SIG₅.GA (written phonetically as SI.GA in D) = damqu, which here should connote something like "sweet, pleasant," etc. Since several of the deities so designated contain the element UR ("anoint" or "smear") as a part of their name (cf. lines 245 and 250), the occupation here may well involve those who work with perfume and cosmetics. BARA₂ may here have a semantic relation to the phrase i.giš.bara₂.AG "refined oil," cf. Oppenheim, AOS 32 129.

248. = CT 24 35 x 8, which can be restored from this line.

249. = CT 24 35 x 9.

| | | | |
|---|---|--|--|
| A | D | 250. ^d Nin.KA.ùr.ra | ŠU |
| | | 251. '3' bara ₂ .sig ₅ .ga | ^d Nin.EN.LÍL.KI.ke ₄ |
| | | 252. ^d PA+TÚG sukka ₁ .maḥ | ^d En.líl.lá.ke ₄ |
| | | 253. ^d É.kur.ri.sù | ^d PA+TÚG |
| | | 254. ^d [En.zà].ga | " |
| | | 255. [^d Sag.ga.šu.è].a | " |
| | | 256. [^d PA+TÚG] | " |

250. = CT 24 35 x 10, which has ur₄ instead of ùr. The name should probably be read ^dNin.kiri₃.ùr.ra; cf. line 245 above.

251. D iii 31 gives the explanation as: [x].'x'.ga ^dNin.líl.lá.ke₄.

252. ^dPA+TÚG is to be read ^dEnšada/Enšadu when viewed as a Sumerian deity; as an Akkadian deity, the complex representations ^dNusku. In YBT 1 53:271, ^dPA+TÚG is given the pronunciation [^dX].šà.du (Dr. Stephens has recently collated this line and tells me that the damaged sign could just as easily be read EN as IM) which should be compared with <d>(en.šà.da)PA+TÚG in CT 25 7:23, and ^dEn.šà.du₁₀ in eme:12. In YBT 1 53:270, ^dPA+TÚG is given the Akkadian pronunciation of [^d]Nu'-us-ku, which should be compared with CT 11 17 iv 12, CT 25 7:22, and KAV 63 i 5 (see AfK 2 9). Apparently, ^dPA+TÚG served as an ideogram for both names at an early date (note that the old Babylonian forerunner Ao had two lines in this section devoted to ^dPA+TÚG; see Ao:131 and 135). In the popular etymology of the Assyrians (CT 25 49 r. 4), his name was explained as: re-'u-ú a-kil tē-e-mi mu-šá-pu-ú[], in which, it appears that PA = aklu and KU/TÚG = tēmu, as well as PA+TÚG = re'ú, etc. (cf. OLZ 14 153). Schneider, AnOr. 19 no. 499, is concerned about the relationship between ^dNusku and ^dNin.urta; but, as Falkenstein, OLZ 46 354 f., has pointed out, there is little reason for such concern; the two deities were both regarded as sons of Enlil, hence, brothers. Therefore, in such lists as the present one, ^dNusku often closely follows ^dNin.urta. Cf. further CT 25 50:16 (where the "number" of ^dNusku is given as "10"); Schwenzner, AfO 9 46; Lewy, Or. 17 146 ff.; AG 432 ff.; and line 145 above.

253. = Ao:132, which writes the name ^dÉ.kur.ri.si.

254. Restored from Ao:133; = eme:13 (= ^dEn.PA, read ^dEn.zág). Distinguish this name from ^dEn.zag = ^dNabu; cf. Tablet II 244.

255. Restored from Ao:134. Possibly = eme:14, which repeats ^dEn.PA.

256. Restored from Ao:135, which here repeats ^dPA+TÚG, thus indicating that the Akkadian ^dNusku had at that time already entered the Sumerian pantheon.

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| | 257. [^d Sa.dàr.nun.na] | [dam.bi.SAL] |
| | 258. [^d Nin.me.šu.du ₇] | ["] |
| | 259. [^d Nin.ki.ág.nun.na] | ["] |
| | 260. [^d Dumu.ZU.AB] | ["] |
| | 261. [^d Um.x.gál.la] | ["] |
| | 262. [^d Nin.ka.aš.bar.an. ki] | ["] |
| C | 263. ^d 'En.líl'.[zi] | [nu.bandá ^d En.líl.lá. ke ₄] |
| | 264. ^d BALAG. ^d En.líl | [ŠU] |
| F | 265. ^d Nin.líl.da.gal.di | ŠU |
| | 266. 2 gu ₄ . 'DÚB' | [^d En.líl.lá.ke ₄] |
| | 267. ^d Inim.du ₁₀ .ga | ŠU 1 gu ₄ .DÚB ^d [Nin. líl.lá.ke ₄] |
| | 268. ^d Ur. ^d Za.ba ₄ .ba ₄ | ŠU |

257. Restored from Ao:136 and the explanatory column of eme:15; see also KAV 65 r. i 6 (cf. Weidner, AfK 2 9 note 5), where the name is written ^dSa.dàr.nun.an.na. Concerning her name, see the popular etymology in CT 25 49 r. 5 (cf. Ungnad, OLZ 14 154).

258. Restored from eme:15. The name appears somewhat later (line 147) in Ao.

259. Restored from Ao:137 (= eme:16).

260. Restored from Ao:138, which has ^dDumu.ZU.'AB'; omitted by eme.

261. Restored from Ao:139, which has ^dUm.'x'.'gál.la'; omitted by eme.

262. Restored from Ao:140 (= eme:17).

263. The fragmentary traces in C iii 1, which correspond to the present line, can be restored by eme:18; cf. also line 191 above.

266. The restoration of the explanatory side of the line is conjectural (cf. AG 270, 298, 413).

267. The restoration of the final name is completely conjectural.

268. Another instance of a deified ancient king; see Jacobsen, AS no. 11 pp. 106-109 note 217. On the reading of the name, note that a musical instrument was later named after this king; and the pronunciation of this instrument is

| | | | | |
|---|---|------|--|--|
| C | F | 269. | d ^u .ma.ni.di.di | ŠU |
| | | 270. | d ^u ₄ .KA.nun.sá | ŠU |
| | | 271. | 3 gu ₄ .DÚB | d ⁿ Nin.urta.[ke ₄] |
| | | 272. | d ^B BALAG.e.diri | ŠU 1 gu ₄ .DÚB d ^{PA} + TÚG.[ke ₄] |
| | | 273. | d ^A Ad.du ₁₀ .nun | ŠU 1 gu ₄ .DÚB d ^{Sa} . dàr.nun.[na.ke ₄] |
| B | | 274. | d(a(!).lad _{KAL X BAD}) | ŠU |
| | | 275. | d(ir(!).ḫa.an) _{MUŠ} | ŠU |
| | | 276. | d ^A Alad _X (KAL X BAD). ša ₆ .ga | ŠU |
| | | 277. | d ^L Lamma.ša ₆ .ga | ŠU |
| | | 278. | d ^U Udug(!).GA.GA | ŠU |

given as giš.ur.za.bi.tú in Tablet III of the series Diri
: DIR : sijaku : watru; see ZA NF 8 147.

269. F:4: [d]^u.ma.ni.di.nim.

270. One thinks of gu₄.di (= šasû); hence here, *d^u₄.gù.
nun.di. But F:5 gives [d^u₄].KA.nun.sa₆, which rules out a
reading of di for DI.

273. F:7: [d^AAd].du₁₀.[nun].

274. Gloss in C iii 10 (cf. Weissner, OLZ 12 200); = Ao:
141, which has d(a.la.du)KAL; therefore read d^AAlad. The list
of the six utukku of É.kur begins here.

275. = Ao:142 and eme:19 (which has d^šše.ra.aḫ as the
emesal equivalent). The gloss which occurs in C iii 11 cer-
tainly appears as sa.ḫa.an; and this has led to the assump-
tion that the god Š/Saḫan is involved here (see AG 440 and
Ungnad, OLZ 14 152). However, since the god Saḫan occurs
later in the series (as an important name for d^Mmar-tu, see
Tablet VI 238-241, 244), he may not be intended here. I am
indebted to Dr. Landsberger for the suggestion that SA should
be emended to IR, in the gloss in C (see also his eme:19, MSL
IV p. 5). Thus he would read here ir(!).ḫa.an and associate
the reading with nirah > nirḫan > irḫan "snake" (cf. also
Fauna p. 61 note 1; but see Ebeling, MAOG 10/2 38). The
emesal list contains only this one name of the present list
of utukku and describes him as udug é.šár.ra.ke₄ (see line
280 below which has é.kur.ra.ke₄).

278. Read d^UUdug.kà.kà; the forerunner Ao:143 here pre-
sents d^UUdug.ka.ka.

| | | | | |
|---|---|------|---|---|
| B | C | 279. | d ^L Lamma.GA.GA | ŠU |
| | | 280. | 6 udug | é.kur.ra.ke ₄ |
| | | 281. | d ^K Kal.ka | ni.duḫ.gal é.kur.ra. ke ₄ |
| | | 282. | [d ^É É.ig].dab.ba | " |
| | | 283. | d ^N Nimin(40).min.tab. ba | dám.bi.SAL |
| | | 284. | [] | d ^N Nimin.min.tab |
| | | 285. | d ^M Ma.na.an | ŠU |
| | | 286. | [] | [] |
| | | 287. | [d ^š ŠE].TIR | " |

279. Ao:144 has d^LLamma.ka.ka; therefore read d^LLamma.kà.
kà.

280. Ao has only four of these utukku, omitting the
equivalents of lines 276 and 277.

281. This line corresponds to Ao:308; hence this present
section was given a different place in the old Babylonian
forerunner. As to the pronunciation of the name, cf. the
alternate spelling of Ur.d^KKal.kal (VS 16 103) which appears
in VS 9 158 r. 4 as Ur.Ka.al.ka.al. On the reading ni.duḫ
for ni.GAB, see p. 15 note 51 above.

282. Restored from Ao:309 (which, however, writes d^ÉÉ.ig.
dab.zu).

283. = Ao:310, which writes the name as d^NNin.min.tab.ba.
This and the following lines are very compressed in B, which
sometimes writes as many as three names to a line here.

284. = B ii 11a.

285. = B ii 11b and C iii 20. It is possible (at least
from King's numbering of the broken space in C iii 20-25)
that C may have had an extra line in this section; but this
cannot be controlled with certainty from King's copy. If
there was another entry in C, it is assumed here that it was
C iii 21; but this is purely hypothetical.

286. = B ii 12a and C iii 22.

287. = B ii 12a; C iii 23; and Ao:320. d^šŠE.TIR is here
an ideogram which stands for d^AAšnan in Sumerian and d^EEzinnu
in Akkadian. Since d^EE-zi-nu-ú appears phonetically written
in line 288, it is probable that the Sumerian d^AAšnan is meant
in the present line. Note the entry in 81, 4-28:9 (JRAS 1905
829 plate I): e-zi-nu | ŠE.TIR | še.e.tir.ru.ú | d^AAš.na.an.

| | B | C | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 288. ^d E-zi-nu-ú |
| | | | 289. ^d ṽLugalṽ.[ki.sá.a] |
| | | | 289a. |
| A | | | 290. ^d Nin.u ₆ .[x.x] |
| ⋮ | | | 291. ^d Nin.kalam.zi. |
| ⋮ | | | ṽgálṽ.ṽxṽ |
| ⋮ | | | 292. ^d Ig.kú.ga |
| ⋮ | | | 293. ^d Ḫa.ià |
| ⋮ | | | 294. ^d Nisaba(ŠE+NAGA) |
| ⋮ | | | 295. ^d ŠID |

288. = B ii 12b and C iii 24.

289. = B ii 13 and C iii 25. The first name restored from Ao:311 and eme:20. On the reading of the name ^dḪa.ià, see Jacobsen, JCS 7 38 note 17.

289a. = A ii 75. B ii 13 included this half line with the material of line 289; but it is clear from the spacing in C iii 26 that C made this a half line by itself.

290. A and B omit two of the names in this section. Since both have broken surfaces in the left column here, it is difficult to ascertain accurately which two of the names were omitted. However, B ii 14 retains the equivalent of line 293; and this would mean that A and B probably omitted either lines 290 and 291 or line 291 and 292. These omitted lines are arbitrarily assumed to be 290 and 291.

291. In C iii 28, the name seems to end with the traces of one more small sign, possibly LA; but the space would prohibit a sign like LI.

292. Ao:312: ^dIg.kug.

293. = Ao:321. On the reading of the name, see note 289 above.

294. = Ao:322 and eme:21 (where she appears as ^dGašan.nisaba). The name is written ^dNi.sa.ba in CT 17 34:27-30 and ^dNi.is.sa.a.ba in JRAS 1919 190 line 24. The older pronunciation apparently was ^dNidaba; cf. CT 11 49:16. Here, she appears especially as the spouse of ^dḪa.ià; seven of her other names are also listed. She is apparently to be identified, as well, with ^dNisaba.gal (cf. eme:22) and ^dNisaba.ur.sag in lines 320 f. below.

295. Text = C iii 32. B ii 15 presents ^dŠE. Obviously, both ^dŠID and ^dŠE are here to be considered as

| | A | B | C | |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | 296. ^d UL.šár.ra |
| | | | | 297. ^d Nun.bar.še.gùn.nu |
| | | | | 298. ^d Kù.sù |
| | | | | 299. ^d Ama.me.dib |
| | | | | 300. ^d En.zi.kalam.ma |
| | | | | 301. ^d DÙ.DÙ |
| | | | | 302. ^d UN.ga.ša ₆ .ga |
| | | | | 303. ^d Ḫa.mun.an.na |

ideograms for ^dNisaba. ^dŠE may even represent a shortening of the more complete ideogram ^dŠE+NAGA.

296. The name is read by some (e.g., AG 284) as ^dDu₇.šár.ra and compared (e.g., cf. Schroeder, ZA 30 287) with Dusares the god of the Nabateans; but this seems unconvincing. ^dUL.šár.ra is here one of the names of the goddess Nisaba and as such can scarcely have any ties with the later Dusares.

297. = Ao:323, which probably is to be restored to ^dNun.bar.ṽše.gu.nu (similarly, Barton, MBI 4 1:12, 14). See also An : Anu šá amēli 99.

298. = Ao:328. Tallquist, AG 344, rightly objects to the reading ^dKù.sig₈ which some (cf. ZA 36 180) have given this deity. Considerable confusion has surrounded this name (cf. Zimmern, BSGW 63 pp. 92, 109); and the exact status of this deity in the pantheon seems poorly understood. Text A now removes some of the uncertainty by revealing that ^dKù.sù represents one of the names of Nisaba. The appearance of ^dKù.sù in certain late cult texts as a male deity (e.g., cf. AO. 6479 iii 9, Rit. acc. p. 5 where ^dKù.sù is described as be-lu ša-qu-u "the lofty lord") may be disregarded here in view of the clearer status which she now has in the present series. See also line 324 below where ^dKù.sù appears as the sang₂.maḫ of Enlil.

300. = Ao:336. This name also is presented as a goddess, in spite of the initial EN (that EN may be used in female names is evident from the fact that in the Ur III tablets, high priestesses of Ur were often given names beginning with EN; see Landsberger, OLZ 34 125); see also line 185 above where she appears as one of the wives of Enlil. Here, the name is given as one of the names of Nisaba.

301. In the light of line 200 above (where ^dDÙ.DÙ occurs as one of the names of Išhara), the name should probably be read ^dGag.gag. For more names of Nisaba, see lines 320 ff. below.

303. Cf. KAV 64 iv 13 (possibly = "Smaller An : ^dA-nu-um") where ^dḪa.mun.an.na is described as a DÙB.nita of Šamaš.

| A | B | C | |
|---|---|---|--|
| | | | 304. 2 gu ₄ .DÚB |
| : | : | | 305. d _{KÙ.GI.bàn} .[da] |
| | | | 306. d _{Nin.imma_x} (SIG ₇) |
| | | | 306a. um.mi.a d _{En.líl.lá} |
| | | | dub.sar.za.ga é. |
| | | | kur(!).ra.ke ₄ |
| | | | 306b. um(!).me.ga.lá d _{En} . |
| | | | zu.na.ke ₄ |
| | | | 307. d _{Giš.hur.maḅ.sù.sù} |
| | | | 308. d _{Nin.tu.babbar.re} |
| | | | 309. d _{Muš.me.gul.gul} |
| | | | 310. d _{Sag.gul.gul} |

305. = Ao:319. Unfortunately, the title or function of d_{KÙ.GI.bàn.da} is broken away in C iii 41. He appears again in line 316 below as the husband of d_{Nin.imma_x}(SIG₇). For the reading of the name, see An : Anu šá amēli 129.

306. = Ao:313 and eme:24. For the reading d_{Nin.imma_x} instead of d_{Nin.sig₇}, see MSL II p. 63 line 404 and MSL IV p. 5 line 24. Note that the emesal reading (eme:24) is d_{Gašan.nam.mu}, a reading which corresponds favorably with d_{Nin.imma_x}. Apparently, the name is to be distinguished here from male^x deities bearing the same name, e.g., KAV 63 iii 43 and CT 25 49 r. 2 (where the name is explained as: bel nab-nit bu-un-na-ni-e bel nim-ma [šum-šu]; cf. Ungnad, OLZ 14 153). That the name occurs in the d_{En.zu} list of K. 2114 (CT 25 42):9 may be explained as a later development arising from the relationship described in line 306b below. Cf. further under line 139 above. Here, the name certainly represents a goddess, see lines 306b and 316 below.

306b. d_{Nin.imma_x}(SIG₇) is presented here as "the wet nurse of d_{En.zu}," a role only in keeping with a female deity. B ii 22 writes the final name as d_{En.zu.ke₄}.

308. To be compared with line 16 of Tablet II where the name appears in the list of the names of d_{Belit-ili}.

309. = Ao:314, which gives d_{Muš.me.gul.gul}. Text A now provides a means of controlling the difficult line in B ii 24 (cf. AG 411 and Zimmern, BSGW 63 pp. 94 f.), and possibly clarifies eme:25. The latter text offers d_{Nin.gúl(!).gúl(!)} (with d_{Šen.gúl(!).gúl(!)} in the emesal column), and therefore represents either a textual variant for this and the next line or a name omitted by A and B.

310. Cf. under line 309 above.

| A | B | C | D | |
|---|---|---|---|--|
| | | | | 311. d _{A.ba₄.ba₄} |
| | | | | 312. d _{A.ba₄.ba₄.sig₅.ga} |
| | | | | 313. d _{Munus(SAL).sa₁₁.a} |
| | | | | 314. d _{Nin.pirig} |
| | | | | 315. d _{Nin.me.nigin.šu} . |
| | | | | du ₇ |
| | : | | | 316. d _{KÙ.GI.bàn.da} |
| | | | | dam.bi.nita |

311. = Ao:315. The appearance of d_{A.ba₄.ba₄} in this list of d_{Nin.imma_x}(SIG₇) names elucidates an otherwise troublesome line in KAV 46:9 (= KAV 63 i 43) which seems to equate d_{Za.ba₄.ba₄} with d_{Nin.imma_x}(SIG₇). Weidner, AfK 2 13 note 7, was correct in suspecting^x that the original tradition behind the text of KAV 46:9 certainly had nothing to do with d_{Za.ba₄.ba₄} (who appears later in Tablet V 49 below). The line in question is to be emended to read: il.ba.ba | d_{*A.ba₄.ba₄} | "*a-a-ú pi-sa-an MIN-na-bi | d_{Nin.imma_x}(SIG₇).

312. Text = D iv 1. A ii 95 and B ii 25 both have sig₆ instead of sig₅; but D seems more convincing here in view of d_{A.ba₄.ba₄.sig₅} in the forerunner (Ao:318). The additional explanation in the right half of the line occurs only in D. The traces of the sign read 'x' at first remind one of líl and lead one to consider this entry as depicting the "sister of d_{Nin.líl}" (cf. AG 441); but the phrase "sister of Ninlil" would be written nin d_{Nin.líl.lá.ke₄}. More convincing would be a restoration of nin d_{Nin.úrta¹.ke₄}.

313. Text = D iv 2; A ii 96 has d_{NIN.sa₄}. That the sign SAL is probably to be read here as munus is inferred from the corresponding emesal line (eme:26), which should be emended to read d_{Nu.nus_x(NUNUZ).sá(!).a}, instead of d_{Nu.nus_x.gùn.a} (see MSL IV p. 5 line 26).

314. Text = D iv 3. A ii 97 and B ii 26 have d_{Nin.UG}. BI, but Ao:316 clearly has d_{Nin.pirig}; therefore the final BI in A and B must represent an old scribal error for the sign GA. A and B should be read d_{Nin.pirig₃.ga(!)}.

315. D iv 4 omits NIN and gives d_{Me.nigin.šu.du₇}.

316. = Ao:319. Cf. also line 305 above. For the reading of the name, see under An : Anu šá amēli 129 (where he appears in a list of d_{En.ki} names). In the present line d_{KÙ.GI.bàn.da} is listed as the husband of d_{Nisaba}, but in Tablet IV 104, he appears as a servant in the household of Ištar. The fact that d_{Nin.imma_x}(SIG₇) is described here as having a husband is further proof that the deity involved in this section was regarded as a goddess and is to be distinguished from other deities bearing this name. Cf. under line 306 and 306b above.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|----------------------------------|
| A | D | | |
| | | 317. ^d Ir.da má.laḫ.gal | dimgul(MÁ+MUG) sír. |
| | | | ra.ke ₄ |
| | | 317a. | na-si-iḫ tár-kul-lu |
| | | 318. ^d En.nu.gi | gu.za.lá ^d En.líl.lá. |
| | | | ke ₄ |
| | | 319. ^d ŠEŠ. (ú.ru.ma.áš) maš | ^d En.nu.gi |
| | | 320. ^d Nisaba dam.bi | gu.za.lá ^d Nin.líl. |
| | | | lá.ke ₄ |

317. Text = A ii 100. D iv 5 presents ^dNin.da; but this is not to be preferred above the reading in A, since Ao:317 agrees with A. Note also that Ao includes the name among those of ^dNin.imma₇ (SIG₇) (= Ao:313-318). ^dNin.da (in D) is to be viewed as a simple textual variant and not to be identified in any way with the ^dNin.da who appears among the ancestors of ^dEn.líl (cf. line 107 above).

317a. = D iv 6. On this Akkadian gloss line, cf. Salonen, Wasserfahrzeuge p. 113.

318. = Ao:324. Note the popular etymology in CT 25 49 r. 3 which explains the name of ^dEn.nu.gi as "lord of the (under)world; lord of no return." In Tablet III 86, there is evidence of identification of ^dEn.nu.gi with ^dEn.zu.

319. = Ao:325, which has instead ^dŠEŠ.gal. The gloss in the present line = D iv 8 and shows that the name is to be read ^dUru₃.maš, while the name in Ao should be read ^dUru₃.gal. D merely has dittos in the second half of the line instead of repeating the name as A ii 102 does. Cf. Tablet II 87 below where ^dUru₃.maš appears in the household of ^dBe-lit-i-lí.

320. Text = A ii 103, which varies from D here. D iv 9 omits the name of ^dNisaba and places ^dNisaba.ur.sag in this line instead. In the next line, A ii 104 identifies ^dNisaba.ur.sag with <d>An.nisaba.gal, while D iv 10 identifies [^d]Nisaba.gal with ^dNisaba.ur.sag by means of dittos. The arrangement of the lines as here presented is slightly emended to reflect these facts and to represent the probable original arrangement of the material here. This assumes (thus supporting Weidner, AfK 2 78 note 4) that ^dNisaba was also called <d>An.nisaba.gal and ^dNisaba.ur.sag, and that she was the spouse of ^dEn.nu.gi as well as the guzāllu of Niplil. D iv 9 varies in the explanatory column: gu.za.lá ^dEn.líl.lá.ke₄. This would seem to say that the goddess being described is represented as "his wife, namely of the guzāllu of Enlil"; and this statement also would be true (cf. line 318). On this point, eme:22b agrees with A. For more on ^dNisaba, cf. note 294 above.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| A | D | | |
| | | 321. <d>An.nisaba.gal | *" |
| | | 322. ^d Nisaba.ur.sag | " |
| | | 323. ^d Geme ₂ .du ₆ .kù.ga | dumu.SAL ^d En.nu.gi |
| | | | ke ₄ |
| | | 324. ^d Kù.sù | sanga ₂ .maḫ ^d En.líl. |
| | | | lá.ke ₄ |
| | | 325. ^d "GUD | ŠU |
| | | 326. ^d Nin.NINDA X GUD | dam.bi ^d IM |

321. Cf. under note 320 above. Ao:327 presents ^dAn.nisaba.gal here, which indicates that the AN sign in A ii 104 is not to be taken as a determinative. Similarly, cf. KAV 65 iv 11 where ^dAn.nisaba.gal occurs in a line that corresponds with <d>An.nisaba.gal in its duplicate, KAV 63 v 2 (see Weidner's collation of this line in AfK 2 78 note 4). Cf. also Schroeder, ZA 33 138. The emesal text (eme:22) lists only this one name for the guzāllu of Ninlil.

323. The name seems to mean "maid of the holy shrine." D iv 11: ^dGeme₂.AN.du₆.kù.ga.

324. = Ao:328. Cf. line 298 above where ^dKù.sù is included among the names of ^dNisaba. Note also BA 10/1 105: 4 where ^dKù.sù is similarly described as the sanga₂.maḫ of ^dEn.líl.

325. In line 326, ^dNin.NINDA X GUD is listed as the husband of the deity in the present line, while in Ao:329, he immediately follows ^dKù.sù indicating that in the forerunner also, he was regarded as the husband of ^dKù.sù. This fact points up the significance of the dittos in the present line, clearly revealing that ^dGUD here is an ideogram for ^dKù.sù of line 324. Thus ^dGUD in this line is a goddess, who is eventually to be identified with ^dNisaba (see line 298 above). As such, this name is to be distinguished from other deities written with the same ideogram (e.g., cf. Tablet VI 203-209). In the present line, the use of the sign ŠU (D iv 13 gives dittos in place of ŠU; but A ii 107 places the dittos in front of the ideogram instead) is interesting. On the usage of ŠU in such contexts, see also pp. 21, 25, 26 above.

326. = Ao:329 and eme:23. A ii 108 preserves a variant (and probably corrupt) tradition for this line, giving the explanation as, dam.bi ^dIM.ke₄ "his spouse, namely of ^dIM." The entry in eme:23 agrees with D iv 14 that ^dNin.NINDA X GUD should be viewed as a male deity (the husband of ^dKù.sù) and identified with the weather god. For scribal practice involved in the organization of this line, see pp. 13 f. (espec. note 47). Zimmern (see BSGW 63 92 f.) was correct in deciding that the second half of the present line indicates

| | | | |
|-----|------|---|---|
| A D | 327. | d ^a KA X ŠU.kù.ga | dumu.SAL d ^a Kù.sù.ke ₄ |
| | 328. | d ^a Nin.SAR | gír.lá é.kur.ra.ke ₄ |
| | 329. | d ^a "MU | " |
| : | 330. | d ^a "GÍR | " |
| | 331. | d ^a Unu ₃ .du ₁₀ .du ₁₀ | " |
| | 332. | d ^a ír.ra.gal | dam.bi d ^a GÍR.UNU.GAL (= d ^a Nerigal) |

that d^aNin.NINDA X GUD is to be equated with d^aIM. But Zimmern was led into perplexity over this line by assuming that d^aKù.sù was a masculine name and that d^aNin.NINDA X GUD was therefore "his" spouse. When confronted by the evidence that the present line identifies d^aNin.NINDA X GUD with d^aIM, and that eme:23 gives the name a masculine reading in emesal. Zimmern too quickly dismissed the line as some sort of scribal confusion.

327. Text = A ii 109. D iv 15 has d^aKA X NUN.kù.ga. Dr. Landsberger suggested (in an oral communication) that he would prefer to find here KA X SA (= sum₄, cf. MSL II p. 56 line 319, = šaptu "lip") and would emend the name to read *d^aSum₄.kù.ga.

328. = eme:27. That the name is not d^aNin.EZEN/KEŠDA is seen from Ao:330 which clearly has d^aNin.SAR. Dr. Landsberger suggests a possible reading of d^aNin.mu. This name is to be distinguished from d^aNin.šar_x (BÁR), one of the names of the wife of Anu (cf. line 29 above).

329. The dittos indicate that d^aMU is an ideogram for d^aNin.SAR. To pick out only one sign of the preceding name and place it in the present line, making d^aNin.mu (as in AG 415; similarly, d^aNin.gir in AG 404) is to misunderstand the significance of dittos in this series. A ii 111 puts ŠU in place of the dittos in the second half of the line.

331. D iv 19: d^aUnu₃.dù.dù.

332. = Ao:331. d^aír.ra.gal (on the reading, see K. 8220: 7 RA 17 159) is here described as the husband of d^aNin.SAR and is further equated with d^aNerigal. This explains the fact that d^aNin.SAR and d^aír.ra.gal are often listed together (cf. the astronomical text K. 7145:11 CT 29 47). A ii 113 (as in line 326 above) seems to present a corrupt variant by ending the line with ke₄. This would give an incorrect explanation that the deity of the present line is the husband of d^aNerigal (see also pp. 13 f. above, note 47). On the reading of d^aGÍR.UNU.GAL, see Landsberger, JCS 9 121 note 4 (who questions the reading of this name as d^aNè.iri₁₁.gal). See also Tablet VI 10.

| | | | |
|-----|------|---|---|
| A D | 333. | d ^a "ŠUL | d ^a GÍR.UNU.GAL (= d ^a Nerigal) |
| | 334. | d ^a Pa.geštin.du ₁₀ ^(du) | lú nisag(MÚR).gá(šá ni.qi.ri.e') |
| | 335. | d ^a Á.ga.ni | dam.bi.SAL |
| | 336. | d ^a Nin.ka.si | d ^a ŠIM (= d ^a Siris) |
| | 337. | d ^a (si.ri.is)ŠIM | " |
| : | 338. | d ^a (= si.ri.is)KAŠ | *" |

333. The dittos here indicate that d^aŠUL is an ideogram for d^aír.ra.gal. The reading of d^aír.ra.šul (AG 329) is unconvincing here.

334. The corresponding line in Ao (line 334) offers d^aPa₅.tin.du₁₀ and places the name more directly in the circle of d^aNin.ka.si. The name also occurs as d^aPa.te.en.du₁₀ in SBH p. 91:11 (= p. 137:66) where it is similarly in context with d^aNin.ka.si. A ii 115 deviates here completely, giving d^aPA.AN.GÉ (which may be either d^aUgula.an.ke₄ or d^aGarza.gé). Concerning the gloss in D iv 22, cf. OZ 12 200. The second half of the line appears in A ii 115 as lú nisag(MÚR).ke₄.

335. Text = A ii 116. D iv 23 varies completely, giving the name as d^aŠA.NE. In A, the sign A is written oddly, having either a winkelhaken or a diagonal stroke immediately following an otherwise regularly written ID.

336. = Ao:332 and eme:28. A ii 117 draws the sign ŠIM as though it were actually BI.IŠ. Perhaps the existence of a d^aBI.IŠ (in such forms as d^aBI.IŠ-ilu, see Clay, PN 167) should be re-examined in this light. It is obvious from a comparison of A ii 117 f. that A intended BI.IŠ to be a simple graphic variant of ŠIM. D iv 24 omits d^aŠIM, replacing it with ŠU, which should provide an instructive example of the use of ŠU; cf. pp. 26 f. above. Apparently, there is considerable confusion in the various traditions concerning d^aNin.ka.si and d^aSiris. Here they are identified with each other and portrayed as feminine (cf. eme:28 which has d^aGašan.ka.si); but in KAV 63 iii 22 (a later copy of the single-columned old Babylonian text, VAT 7759 iv 12 = AfK 2 4) d^aNin.ka.si appears as the wife of d^aSiris (dam d^aSi.ri.si, although this might also be interpreted as nin(!) "sister" d^aSi.ri.si). In other texts, d^aNin.ka.si seems to be a masculine deity (e.g., cf. Rit. acc. p. 5 iii 12 where d^aNin.ka.si = mār āli eš-ši). Cf. further, Weidner, AfK 2 72 note 8.

337. = Ao:333. Gloss = D iv 25. D has ŠU in the right half of the line, while A ii 118 has dittos. For d^aSiris, see Poebel, ZA 39 157.

338. The dittos here show that the pronunciation gloss si.ri.is is to be repeated; therefore d^aKAŠ is to be read

| A | D | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ⋮ | | 339. d ₁₁ (= si.ri.is) KAS̄. | *" |
| ⋮ | | GIG | |
| ⋮ | B | 340. d ₁ Me.ḥuš.a | ŠU |
| ⋮ | | 341. d ₁ Men.kù | ŠU |
| ⋮ | | 342. d ₁ Men.me.te | ŠU |
| ⋮ | | 343. d ₁ Ki.tuš.ka.zal | ŠU |
| ⋮ | | 344. d ₁ Nu.šilig(URU X IGI).ga | ŠU |
| ⋮ | | 345. 5 dumu.meš | d ₁ Nin.ka.si.ke ₄ |
| ⋮ | | 346. d ₁ Nin.ma.da | muš.laḥ ₄ ṣud _x (KA X ŠU) ¹ .dè An.na.ke ₄ |

d₁Siris. A reading of d₁Siris.kaš for this line (cf. AG 449) results from a misunderstanding of dittos with glosses, cf. pp. 15 f. above. A omits this line possibly because it was merely another ideographic method of writing d₁Siris. For d₁KAS̄, cf. Poebel, ZA 39 157. D iv 26 f. has ŠU in the second half of these lines instead of the expected dittos.

339. Cf. under note 338 above. The dittos indicate again that the previous gloss of si.ri.is is to be repeated here. The entry, however, is not unambiguous. It might logically be read either as d₁Siris_x(KAS̄.GIG) or d₁Siris_x(KAS̄).gi₆ (see p. 16 note 54 above). The former reading may be preferred here, since the explanatory column identifies all these entries (by dittos) with d₁Siris.

340. Here the list of the sons of d₁Nin.ka.si begins. Text = B ii 47 (which is only partly preserved) and D ii 28 (which abbreviates the name to d₁Me.ḥuš). For similar names ending in ḥuš.a, see Tablet VII 14, 89, 117. A ii 119 gives the odd variant d₁Me.ḥuš.sá, but this may be corrupt for *d₁Me.ḥuš.si.sá. The present entry is doubtless to be distinguished from another deity of the same name who is identified with d₁Ištar in K. 2109:8 (CT 25 30).

341. D ii 29: d₁Me.kù.

342. Text = A ii 121, with which B ii 48 probably agreed. D ii 30 varies, giving the entry as d₁KA X ME(e.me).te.

345. Text = A ii 122b, 123b. D iv 32 gives the unconvincing total of "9" for the sons of d₁Nin.ka.si. It is not easy to determine the reason for this large total unless D went back to line 336 and included the names of d₁Nin.ka.si herself as well.

346. = eme:29. D iv 33 gives the second half of the line as muš.laḥ₄.e.dè An.na.ke₄. For the value šud_x(KA X ŠU), see MSL II p. 57 note 329.

| A | B | C | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 347. d ₁ KA X ŠU |
| | | | ŠU |
| | | | 348. d ₁ Nin.ma.ra |
| | | | lú.kin.gi ₄ .a |
| | | | 348a. |
| | | | mār šip-ri |
| | | | 349. d ₁ Nin.ma.dib.dib |
| | | | ŠU |
| | | | 350. d ₁ Nin.amaš.kù.ga |
| | | | ŠU |
| | | | 351. 2 sipa ùz.sig ₇ .sig ₇ |
| | | | d ₁ En.líl.lá.ke ₄ |
| | | | 352. d ₁ Nin.KA.amaš.a |
| | | | dam d ₁ Nin.amaš.kù.ga. |
| | | | ke ₄ |
| | | | 352a. |
| | | | dumu.SAL d ₁ Ama.a.ra. |
| | | | zu.ke ₄ |
| | | | 353. d ₁ Nin.A.ḪA.KUD.DU |
| | | | nin(a-ḫat) d ₁ En.líl. |
| | | | lá.ke ₄ |

347. Text = A ii 125. The dittos before d₁KA X ŠU indicate that it is an ideogram for d₁Nin.ma.da. D iv 34 replaces the ŠU, in the second half of the line, with d₁Nin.ma.da.

348. D iv 35 ends the line with KE₄. A ii 126 omits gi₄ by scribal error.

348a. Represents a translation gloss in D iv 35b, giving the Akkadian equivalent of lú.kin.gi₄.a "messenger."

350. = eme:30.

352. Text = D iv 38. A ii 129 and B ii 55 follow a slightly variant tradition here: d₁Nin.amaš.e | dam d₁Amaš.kù.ga.ke₄.

352a. Text = D iv 39. A ii 129b: dumu.SAL d₁Amar.ra.zu.ke₄, with which B ii 55b agrees (but omits RA). The writing of the name in A and B may represent a phonetic writing for the ideographic entry in D, i.e., the name is probably *d₁Amarazu and not *d₁Amar.azu. For d₁Ama.a.ra.zu (also written d₁Ama.ra.a.zu) and d₁Amar.ra.zu, cf. further under Tablet III 41 where she appears as one of the daughters of d₁En.zu.

353. = Ao:340, which has: d₁Nin.A.ḪA.BU.KUD.DU. The name was spelled in a number of different ways by the ancient scribes and has been read in a number of ways by modern scholars. Lambert, RA 46 57 f. traces the history of the development of this name and points out that in late texts the name eventually became d₁Nin.A.ḪA.DU. In KAV 63 i 28, the name is explained as d₁Nin.gi.ṣ¹ (cf. Weidner, AfK 2 12 note 1, who, however, could not give a final reading for the last sign). Now, it is known that the name is to be read d₁Nin.girim (hence KAV i 28 = d₁Nin.gi.ṣ¹); see Goetze, JAOS 65 234 and JCS 9 17. Cf. CT 25 49 r. 1 where the name is

| A | B | D | | |
|---|---|---|--|---|
| | | | 354. ^d A.gúb.ba | ŠU sukka ₇ da ₇ .da ₇ .ga |
| | | | 354a. | Eridu(NUN.KI).ga.ke ₄ |
| | | | 355. ^d É.ta.e ₁₁ (DUL+DU).dè | dam.bi.SAL |
| | | | 356. ^d IG-lu-lim | lú.ká.gal.ke ₄ |
| | | | 357. ^d Lú.giš.sù.ga | ŠU ^d U.GUR (= ^d Nerigal) |
| | | | 358. ^d Lú. ^d En.líl.lá | udug é.kur.ra.ke |
| | | | 359. ^d Lú. ^d Nin.líl.lá | udug é.ki.ùr.ke ₄ |
| | | | 360. ^d Lú. ^d Nin.urta | udug é.šú.me.DU.ke ₄ |
| | | | 361. ^d Lú. ^d PA+TÚG | udug é.me.lam.ḥuš.a. ke ₄ |
| | | | 362. ^d Da.da.gu.la | lú.balag.ga.tuš.a nam.maḥ.dingir.e tu.mu.un.tuk.tuk.a |

explained as: be-lit te-lil-ti GASAN a-li-kát su-li-e (see Ungnad, OLZ 14 153). Cf. further ZA NF 5 260 note 1 and MVAG 1918/2 32. The gloss in the present line (a.ḥat "sister") is in D iv 40. B ii 56: nin.bi ^dEn.líl.lá.ke₄.

354. A ii 131 may be interpreted as ^dA.^dgub.ba' instead of ^dA.^dgúb.ba'. The word sukka₇ is omitted by D iv 41. For the reading UD.UD = da₇.da₇, see TCL 6 35 iii 16 and Thureau-Dangin, Hom. 5 note 9.

354a. The arrangement of this line is still indicated by the traces in D iv 41 f., which preserves the blank space at the beginning of the line.

355. Corresponds to Ao:341: ^dÉ.ta.e₁₁(DUL+DU).dè. D iv 43 preserves enough of the traces of the first sign to suggest the strong possibility that it too began with É; but A ii 132 and B ii 58 follow a textual tradition that began this name with the sign A. This interchange between É and A occurs occasionally elsewhere in the present series (cf. line 145 above; Tablet II 315; Tablet IV 183; et al.) and may suggest that the value É = 'à (von Soden, Syllabar p. 60) may also have been known in Sumerian. See also Sollberger, AfO 17 11 note 4.

357. ^dLú.giš.BU.ga in B ii 60. On the late practice of writing ^dU.GUR for ^dNerigal, see Weidner, AfK 2 72 note 3.

359. A ii 136 omits é.

361. A ii 138 omits the final a in the temple name.

362. A ii 139 omits ga. The name occurs also in the old Babylonian list VAT 8084 (AfK 2 6) r. 6. In the present

| A | B | | |
|---|---|--|---|
| | | | 363. ^d "NAR |
| | | | 364. ^d U ₁ .maš |
| | | | 365. ^d AŠ.daḥ |
| | | | 366. 2 dingir.gub.ba |
| | | | 367. ^d Da.da |
| | | | 368. ^d UG.nim.ma |
| | | | 369. ^d E.ta.lak |
| | | | 370. |
| | | | 371. Dingir.maḥ |
| | | | 372. dub 1 kám.ma An ^d A-nu-um 2 ŠU 28 mu.bi |

entry, he is given a compound epithet: "the man who sits at the harp (and) who plays it in a way befitting the majesty of god."

363. To be distinguished from ^dNAR (= ^dDunga₂) who is equated with ^dEn.ki; cf. K. 4366:10 (CT 25 48) and Tablet II 304 below. Here, the dittos indicate that ^dNAR is ideographic for ^dDa.da.gu.la.

366. A ii 142 omits ra.

367. For the second name, C iv 5 gives [^d]É.ta.la.ak. In KAV 63 iii 34 (= KAV 65 iii 11), ^dDa.da = ^dMAŠ (i.e., ^dNinurta). Cf. Tablet IV 157 below where ^dDa.da appears as one of the messengers of ^dIštar.

370. C iv 7: 3 lú.si.gar.ra.ke₄.

371. = C iv 8. This is the "catch-line" for the next tablet.

372. = C iv 9 plus the summary in A ii 146 and B ii 73. A omits im; B omits ŠU. The count according to B was 148 entries; A gives 149. Line 72 of B contains only the one sign BE = gamru "complete." A calls this dub 2 kám.ma "the second tablet." This means that A followed a tradition which divided the first tablet into two subtablets. Cf. under line 204 above and see p. 7 note 26 above.

SOURCES USED IN RECONSTRUCTING TABLET II

A YBC 2401

B K. 4349 (CT 24 20 ff.)

C K. 4332 (CT 24 12-17)

D VAT 10934 (KAV 150)

| | |
|-----|--|
| E | VAT 10826 (KAV 149) |
| F | K. 4349X (CT 24 50) |
| G | K. 13682 (CT 25 41) |
| H | VAT 10924 (KAV 153) |
| I | VAT 12931 (KAV 59) |
| J | K. 13672 (CT 25 43) |
| K | 82-3-23,5217 (CT 25 40) |
| L | K. 4349B col. i (CT 24 48) |
| aa | K. 2109 + K. 8944 + K. 13689 col. i (CT 25 30) |
| ab | VAT 11515 (KAV 64) |
| ac | K. 4366 (CT 25 48) |
| ad | K. 4209 (CT 25 33) |
| Ao | AO. 5376 (TCL 15 25 ff.) |
| eme | Emesal list in MSL IV |

TABLET II

| A | B | C | |
|---|---|---|--|
| | | | 1. Dingir.maḥ ^d Be-lit-ì-lí |
| | | | 2. ^d Nin.maḥ " |
| | | | 3. ^d Nin.hur.sag.gá " |
| | | | 4. ^d Nin.dingir.re.e.ne ["] |

1. Tablet II begins with a long list of the names of Dingir.maḥ (that the DINGIR is not determinative is seen from eme:31 which has here 'dim.me.er.maḥ'). The present line = Ao:113 and ab (= "Smaller An : ^dA-nu-um") iii 24. Col. i of aa presents a number of names from this present list and identifies them with both ^dBe-lit-ì-lí and Ištar. In the second half of the present line, A ii 147 and B ii 74 write ^dBe-lit-DINGIR.MEŠ.

2. = Ao:114 and eme:32.

3. = eme:33. C does not use dittos in this list, but gives consecutive numbers to the names instead.

4. In ^dNin.dingir.re.e.ne is doubtless to be seen the Sumerian prototype of ^dBe-lit-ì-lí. B ii 76 omits re.

| A | B | C | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 5. ^d Nin.en.lugal.e.ne ["] |
| | | | 6. ^d Nin.PÚ.sag ["] |
| | | | 7. ^d Nin.du ₁₃ (du).sag ["] |
| | | | 8. ^d Nin.nam.tar.tar.re ["] |
| | | | 9. ^d Nin.ka.aš.bar.ra ["] |
| | | | 10. ^d Nin.ka.aš.bar.an. ["] |
| | | | ki |
| | | | 11. ^d Nin.šu.u ₄ .aš.bar. ["] |
| | | | re |
| | | | 12. ^d Nin.sag.mú.mú ["] |
| | | | 13. ^d Nin.šen.šen.kù ["] |
| | | | 14. ^d Nin.gú.en.na ["] |
| | | | 15. ^d Nin.du ₆ (du).babbar. ["] |
| | | | ra |
| | | | 16. ^d Nin.tu.babbar ["] |
| | | | 17. ^d Nin.tu.babbar(ba. ["] |
| | | | ab).ra |

6. ab iii 29 has an extra name here: ^dNin.du.PÚ.ra.

7. Gloss in C i 7.

8. ab iii 32 ends the name with ra. A ii 154 ff. preserves only the determinative and the traces of a few lines beginning with NIN for lines 8-21.

9. B ii 78 ends the name with re. Concerning the signs AŠ(!).BAR in B, see CT 24 p. 18.

12. Possibly = Ao:118, which gives ^dNin. EZEN X KAŠ.EZEN X KAŠ'. If the identification with Ao is correct, then the name in the present line should be read ^dNin.sag.EZEN.EZEN; but the equation is not certain.

14. The name appears in CT 24 36 x 36 (a portion of K. 4349, but belonging to the "Smaller An : ^dA-nu-um") as an utukku of a deity whose name is missing. Quite probably two different deities with the same name are involved here.

15. Text = C i 12, which agrees with the old Babylonian forerunner Ao:117. B ii 81 varies, giving ^dNin.tu.tu.re.

16. Text = C i 13. B ii 81b agrees, but ends the name with re.

17. Text = C i 14. Concerning the gloss, see under note 21 below.

| A | B | C | G | | |
|---|---|---|---|-----|---|
| | | | | 18. | d ¹ Nin.(tur)túr ["] |
| | | | | 19. | d ¹ Nin.TU(túr) ["] |
| | | | | 20. | d ¹ Nin.(di.im)dím ["] |
| | | | | 21. | d ¹ Nin ¹ .MEN(mi).na " be-lit me-a-am-mi |

19. = Ao:116. Gloss in C i 16. The gloss, as usual, may be a pronunciation gloss indicating a reading of d¹Nin.tur(TU); but this is not without difficulties. The question naturally arises: Why would the scribe in C i 16 use a different and more unusual sign for a pronunciation gloss than he used in his preceding line, if he meant to indicate the same pronunciation? One may consider the possibility that the gloss here indicates a variant textual tradition, although this possibility is not completely convincing. The gloss must remain somewhat enigmatic in this line. G:2a has dittos at the end of the name, which may have served to indicate a repetition of a possible gloss that appeared in the broken line preceding it; but this cannot be controlled. Since G obviously is a fragment of a tablet giving more complete explanations in the right half of each line, it may not represent an actual duplicate. The present entry should correspond to eme:34; see MSL IV p. 6 note 34.

20. Gloss in C i 17.

21. Gloss and Akkadian explanation in C i 18. B ii 83 offers be-lit ma-a-mi. The name also occurs phonetically written as d¹Nin.me.en.[na] in Langdon, TAD no. 49:8, which raises a question as to the force of the gloss here. Such a gloss may be taken (as it usually is) to indicate the simple pronunciation of the sign involved, especially when this is unusual or different from the common value of the sign. This would lead to a reading for the present line of d¹Nin¹.mi(MEN).na. However, in the light of d¹Nin.me.en.[na] (referred to earlier in this note), one might consider the possibility that the scribes occasionally used glosses to give only the first part of the pronunciation of the sign involved. This possibility might provide an explanation for a number of the entries in the present series, in which the gloss, as written, seems incomplete in giving the pronunciation of rather common signs; e.g., consider ba.ab for UD in line 17 above; a for AN in line 41 below; ba for BAR in line 286 below; sa for SAG in Tablet III 95; e for NIN in Tablet III 85, et passim; ni for NIN in Tablet III 27, 28, et passim; etc. In fact, some entries remain quite enigmatic apart from some explanation such as this (e.g., see Tablet VI 309). It might be argued in all such cases that the scribe really did not possess a simple sign that could have been used for a pronunciation gloss. When, for example, he was confronted with the common sign NIN and wished to indicate that it had a reading of nin rather than ereš (or even egi, cf. MSL II p. 65 lines 419-422; MSL III p. 126 note 338-340;

| B | C | G | | |
|---|---|---|-----|--|
| | | | 22. | d ¹ Nin ¹ .TUR.ZA ^{(zi.} TUR.ZA ["] |
| | | | | iz(!).na).NA |
| | | | 23. | d ¹ Nin.KA X TU.KA X TU ["] be-lit ša-qu-ma- |
| | | | | te |
| | | | 24. | [^d Nin].ŠÉŠ " be-lit šu-ši |
| | | | 25. | [^d A]. ¹ ru ¹ .ru ["] |
| | | | 26. | d ¹ Nin."DUG.QA. ["] |
| | | | | BUR ^{(ba(!).ha.} ar(!)) |

Tablet I 178), the scribe would not normally think of using some uncommon sign such as nin(MUŠ) or nin(NIGIN) to indicate the correct reading. But the sign NI could serve as a simple gloss to indicate an unambiguous reading in such cases (as in Tablet III 36, 82, 105, et passim), and E could serve as a simple abbreviated gloss for ereš (as in Tablet III 85; Tablet V 3, 133-136, 141-144, et passim). The present entry, therefore, could be read d¹Nin¹.men(mi).na, in which the final na simply indicates (in the expected form) a genitive suffix, and the gloss gives an abbreviated pronunciation for the sign MEN. Cf. further under Tablet V 3.

22. On the gloss in C i 19, see CT 24 p. 18, where King corrects the miscopied sign MA to IZ; see also OLZ 12 201. G:5 adds as an explanation Be-lit-DINGIR.MEŠ d[].

23. KA X TU is here a graphic variant for URU X TU = šeg₅; hence the name should be read d¹Nin.šeg₅.šeg₅. G:6 adds, in the explanatory column, Dingir.maš d¹Ištar Be-lit[].

24. = Ao:120. For the second half of the line, B ii 85 gives " be-lit KU-ši.

25. = Ao:115. Note KAV 63 v 2, where <d> An.nisaba.gal (see Tablet I 321) is equated with d¹A.ru.ru (see Weidner's collation of this line, AfK 2 78 note 4).

26. The dittos (in B ii 86) are enigmatic. There would be no purpose in indicating an identification of the name in the present line with that of the preceding line, since all these names are already identified with each other. On the other hand, if the dittos were intended to show that the present name was ideographic for the preceding name, there would be less reason for a pronunciation gloss (preserved in C i 23). Perhaps the dittos in B represent a reference to a gloss in a tradition no longer preserved in extant texts. The complex DUG.QA.BUR, which is here glossed with ba.ha.ar, appears also in the names of other deities; cf. Tablet I 152, 167; and lines 65 and 156 below.

| B | C | E |
|-----|---|-----|
| 27. | [^d URUDU].NAGAR. kalam.ma | ["] |
| 28. | ^d URUDU.NAGAR. dingir.re.e.ne | ["] |
| 29. | [^d]Šà.zu.dingir.e.ne | ["] |
| 30. | ^d Nagar.nam.LÚ. GIŠGAL.lu | ["] |
| 31. | ^d Nagar.šà.ga | ["] |
| 32. | ^d Zi.gu.la | ["] |
| 33. | ^d Lú.gu.la | " |
| 34. | ^d Šu.gal.an.zu | " |
| 35. | ^d En."arḫuš.(di. im) dím | " |
| 36. | ^d Níg.zi.gál.dím. dím.ma | " |

27. In CT 29 46:5, ^dURUDU.NAGAR is glossed with ti.bi.ra; but it is possible that this gloss does not necessarily apply to the present line.

28. B ii 87 omits re.

30. On the reading of LÚ.GIŠGAL.lu, cf. under Tablet I 205; and note 32 below.

31. See line 114 below, where ^dNagar.šà.ga appears in the list of the children of Dingir.maḫ. Here, the name is identified with Dingir.maḫ herself.

32. C i 28 varies here, giving ^dSa₇^(sa).LÚ.GIŠGAL (cf. Tablet I 205).

33. = Ao:121. Beginning with the sign LÚ, this name seems strange in this list of the names of Dingir.maḫ, since female names in this series do not begin with the male determinative. Perhaps before LÚ, the name originally began with another sign which is now lost. For a few lines, the main contribution of E is the restoration of the dittos in the explanatory column.

35. Gloss in C i 31. The dittos in B ii 91 are puzzling, unless this name is to be understood as ideographic for the previous name.

36. C i 32 ends the name with me instead of ma. For the meaning of the name, see ZA 44 19.

| A | B | C | E |
|---|-----|--|---------------------------------|
| | 37. | ^d Mud.(ke.eš)kés.da | " |
| | 38. | ^d Ama.ù.tu.da | " |
| | 39. | ^d Ama.du ₁₀ .(du.ba. ad)bad | " um-mu pi-ti-a-at bir(!)-ki |
| | 40. | ^d Lál.ḫur(ḫu.ur). gal.zu | " |
| | 41. | <d>An ^(a) .ni | " |
| | 42. | <d>An.ni.uru ₂ (ú.ru). gal | " |
| | 43. | ^d A.ma | " |
| | 44. | ^d Ma.ma | " |

37. Gloss in C i 33.

38. Text = B ii 92b and A iii 1. C i 34 has ^dAma.tu.u₄.da.

39. Gloss and Akkadian explanation in C i 35. In King's copy of C, the line appears to end with BU-ki, but note the collation of this line by Zimmern and Meissner in OLZ 12 199 and 201. The sign is not BU, but should be corrected to BIR. B ii 93 renders the Akkadian explanation as um-mu pi-ta-at bar-ki. Cf. line 111 below. In E:7, the sign BAD is written queerly, resembling NAGAR more than BAD. However, what appears to be SAL before the BAD sign in E is shaded and may actually be the traces of a previous sign. E probably agreed with the other texts here.

40. Gloss in C i 36.

41. Gloss in C i 37. For glosses which seem to give only abbreviated indications of the pronunciation, see under note 21 above. In the present entry, the scribe had no simple sign which he could use as a pronunciation gloss to indicate that AN was not to be taken as a mere determinative (unless he used AN itself—which was sometimes done). But since AN was followed by a sign beginning with the letter n, the sign A would convey an unambiguous indication of the pronunciation. Note here that names beginning with the element An, usually omit the determinative (cf. <d>An.nisaba.gal, Tablet I 321; <d>An.ta.sur.ra, Tablet I 80 [variant for ^dAn.ta.sur.ra]; and An.na.ke₄, Tablet I 24, 25, 26, et passim).

42. Apparently an expansion of the previous name. Text = C i 38, which is to be restored to read [^dAN]ni'. uru₂(ú.ru).gal. A iii 5 offers <d>An.ni.EN(ú.ru').[gal]; and B ii 95 agrees with A (but without a gloss). The sign EN in A and B is to be read uru_x, see MSL II p. 64 line 416a.

| A | B | C | E | | | |
|---|---|---|---|-----|---|--------------------------------|
| | | | | 45. | d ^d Ma.mi | " |
| | | | | 46. | d ^s Sul.pa.è | ŠU dam.bi. (mu.us. sà) nita |
| | | | | 47. | d ^u U ₄ .al.TAR | d ^s Sul.pa.è |
| | | | | 48. | d ^l Lugal.ùr.ra | " |
| | | | | 49. | d ^l Lugal.u ₄ .da | " |
| | | | | 50. | d ^l Lugal.igi.gùn.gùn. nu | " |
| | | | | 51. | d ^l Lugal.me | be-en-nu |
| | | | | 52. | d ⁿ Nam.en.na | " |

45. Distinguish from d^dMa-mi-tum, the spouse of dⁿNerigal; see Tablet VI 3. The names of Dingir.maḥ end here.

46. = Ao:122. Second half of the line = C i 42 (on the reading dam, see OLZ 12 201). A iii 9 and B ii 97 both present merely dam.bi. Poebel (ZA 38 85) would read d^sSul.kùn.è. a. Cf. further under Tablet I 187.

47. = Ao:123. Text = A iii 10 (restored with the help of B ii 97) and E:15. A list of the four other names of d^sSul.pa.è (which is elsewhere written d^sSul.pa.è.a) begins here. In astronomical texts, both d^sSul.pa.è and d^uU₄.al.TAR are identified with d^mMarduk; see III R 53 no. 2 (cf. ZA 43 140).

48. = Ao:124.

49. = Ao:125.

50. The names of d^sSul.pa.è end here.

51. A list of five "bennu" deities begins with this line. Apparently, these represent demons of some type of sickness, possibly epilepsy (see Driver and Miles, BL 1 p. 479). In the later contracts dealing with the transfer of slaves, the word occasionally occurs in assurances by the seller that the slave being sold is not afflicted with bennu (e.g., cf. Johns, ADD no. 208 r. 4; no. 211 r. 10, et passim). Even in CH, there is a law which specifically states that a purchaser of a slave might return the slave if the affliction of be-en-ni should befall (im-ta-qú-ut) the slave (par. 278). Note also Maqlû ii 57, where the word is listed among a number of fearful pestilences and is described as the "product" (riḫūtu) of d^sSul.pa.è.a (in fact, this section in Maqlû seems to indicate that the "bennu" deities are actually forms of d^sSul.pa.è.a. This would mean that the list of "bennu" deities continues the list of names begun in line 47 above).

| A | B | C | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|-----|---|---|
| | | | | 53. | d ^a A.gá.gig.du ₁₁ .ga | " |
| | | | | 54. | d ^e En.ùr.ta | " |
| | | | | 55. | d ^s Sul.pa.è.ta.re.a | " |
| | | | | 56. | d ^s Sul.pa.è.dar.a | ŠU |
| | | | | 57. | d ^s Sul.pa.è.amaš | ŠU |
| | | | | 58. | d ^t Tu.ud.ug ₅ .ga | ŠU |
| | | | | 59. | 3 dingir.gub.ba | é.maḥ.ke ₄ |
| | | | D | 60. | d ^b Bara ₂ .ul.li.gar.ra | d ^p Pa ₄ .nigin ₃ .gar.ra dumu.a.ni |
| | | | | 61. | d ^b Bara ₂ .pa ₄ .nigin ₃ . [gar.ra] | " |

53. The name indicates some sort of a cipple or a monster; cf. Fauna 180c.

54. In keeping with the meaning of bennu (see under note 51 above), this name possibly involves the idea of falling from a roof or a high place.

56. A iii 19 gives d^sSul.pa.è.ta.'dar'.[a], but Ao:296 makes it clear that C i 52 is correct in omitting the sign TA. B ii 102 agrees with A, but adds the sign 𒄠, which is probably to be emended (as Meissner, OLZ 12 202, observes) to indicate instead the mark of division.

57. Ao:297 (with d^sSul.pa.è.amaš.a) shows that A iii 20 is nearer to the correct form here and that B ii 102 should be emended to read d^sSul.pa.<è>.amaš.

59. C i 54 varies, giving 3 am <dingir>.gub.ba é.maḥ.a.ke₄.

60. = Ao:126, which gives d^bBara₂.ul.e.[gar].ra. A iii 22 varies, giving d^bBara₂.ul.li.gar.ra. The second name appears in a number of different orthographies, exhibiting, in particular, a number of various methods of writing nigin. The name in the present line = C i 55, which gives nigin₃(U+UD+KID). For this complex, B ii 104 writes U+UD+RU; and A iii 22 has U+UD+RU+KID. In ab ii 16, the complex is written UD+U+KID, while in an Akkadian translation line, ab ii 17 presents UD+KID. Note also line 84 below, where A iii 44 abbreviates the sign to U+UD. Evidently, all of these are to be regarded as graphic variants of nigin₃. The name possibly occurs also in KAV 63 iii 12 (see AfK 2 72 note 2). In C i 55, the explanation is given as dumu.ni instead of dumu.a.ni.

61. Text = A iii 23. B ii 105 gives d^bBara₂.ul.li.gar.ra, but this seems to be mere dittography.

| A | B | C | D |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 62. ^d Pa ₄ .nigin ₃ .gar.ra |
| | | | 63. ^d Nin.pa ₄ .nigin ₃ . gar.ra |
| | | | 64. ^d Lil |
| | | | 65. ^d "(= Lil)DUG.QA.BUR |
| | | | 66. ^d Nin.á.dam.kù.ga |
| | | | 67. ^d Nin.šud _x (KA X ŠU). dè.KA.ša ₆ |
| | | | 68. ^d Aš.šir.gi ₄ |

64. = Ao:127. This is certainly the same deity who is known also as ^dLil-lu. Cf. CT 25 12:21 where ^dLil-lu appears in a Ninurta list. C i 60 gives [dumu Dingir].^rmaḥ¹.a.ke₄. The arrangement in C i 59-61 suggests that C may have listed still another son of Dingir.maḥ before the name of ^dLil.

65. The names of a number of deities were represented by the sign group DUG.QA.BUR (in B, the graphic variant LIŠ instead of QA occurs); and, apparently, a number of different readings are to be assigned to this complex, depending upon which specific deity it represents. Here, the dittos indicate that DUG.QA.BUR is ideographic for ^dLil/Lillu; and this must be compared with 93058 r. 3 (CT 12 21), where the complex has the gloss lil-lu. Similarly, the same gloss occurs for this complex in TCL 6 37 ii 50 (= AS no. 7 p. 43). In this is to be seen the illustration of an important function of dittos in the present series—indicating that the name which has dittos in front of it should be regarded as ideographic for the name of the preceding line. Note that in the Enki list below, this same sign group again occurs several times preceded by dittos (see especially note 160 below) and each time has a different value (controlled by glossed readings) appropriate to the context. Therefore the present ^dDUG.QA.BUR (= ^dLil) is to be carefully distinguished from other deities written with these same signs. Cf. further Tablet I 152 and 167 (in the Enlil list); Tablet II 26 (where the complex occurs as a component in one of the names of Dingir.maḥ); and lines 156, 160, 162, and 164 below (representing various names of Enki). For the second half of the present entry, D i 5 gives [^dLil]-lu instead of ŠU.

66. See Tablet V 136 where the name appears as one of the names of ^dNin.kar.ra.ak.

67. For šud_x(KA X ŠU), cf. MSL II p. 57 note 329.

68. B ii 110 has ^dAš.šir instead of ^dAš.šir.gi₄ (as in A iii 30). The name is apparently written with either GI or

| A | B |
|---|--|
| | 69. ^d Giš.ḥur.an.ki |
| | 70. ^d Lisin(NE.SI ₄) |
| | 71. ^d Nin.sikil.lá |
| | 72. ^d KU.an.na |
| | 73. ^d KU.ki.ta |
| | 74. ^d KU.ta.abzu(ZU.AB) |
| | 75. ^d KU.ki. ^r ta ¹ .abzu |
| | 76. ^d Ir.ḥa.an.GUL |

GI, cf. ab ii 13 f. and see under note 99 below. In CT 25 12:22, he is equated with ^dNin.urta. In Ao:128, the place where his name should occur (after ^dLil and before ^dGiš.ḥur.an.na, the wife of ^dAš.šir.gi) is occupied by ^dUru_z.maš (see line 87 below). Possibly, therefore, these two deities are to be equated.

70. = Ao:356. The complex ^dNE.SI₄ (or ^dNE.GÜN) is now known to have the value ^dLisin. Weidner, AfK 2 10 note 2) knew of the gloss in Harper, ABL 14 no. 1449:2 (li.si), but apparently considered the gloss only from the angle that the second half of the gloss indicated a reading of si₄ for GÜN; and then he stopped with the enigmatic possible equation of li = NE. Thureau-Dangin (RA 19 178:27) treated the gloss as though the whole gloss indicated the reading of NE, and suggested ^dLisi.gùn. In keeping with the use of such glosses, however, it is apparent that the gloss li.si should apply to the whole name, either to indicate a reading of ^dLi.si₄ or to indicate that ^dNE.GÜN is an ideogram which has a value of ^dLisin (similar to the way in which ^dU.GUR = ^dNerigal, etc.). Dr. Landsberger indicates (see MSL IV p. 6 note 37) that the equation ^dNE.SI₄ = li.si occurs also in the series "Proto-diri." Apparently this reading for the complex was known in Ur III; at least, this may be inferred from such spellings as ^dNE.SI₄.na, cf. Schneider, AnOr. 19 p. 40 no. 262. See also Kraus, Symbolae Koschaker 52 note 4 and Jacobsen, Cuneiform Texts in the National Museum, Copenhagen, p. 25.

71. = eme:37 and Ao:357 (which gives ^dNin.sikil.la). Cf. also KAV 63 i 9 (= KAV 65 r. i 9).

72. Cf. CT 25 14:14. KU in this and the following three lines may actually be éš "rope," etc. The list of the sons of ^dLisin begins with this line.

73. Cf. CT 25 14:15.

74. On the analogy of the previous pair of names and the following name, the present line is probably to be emended to read ^dKU.<an>.ta.abzu. Cf. OIZ 12 202.

| A | B | J | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 77. ^d Ki.tuš.kèš ŠU |
| | | | 78. ^d Làl.an.na ŠU |
| | | | 79. ^d Úr.nun.ta.è ŠU |
| | | | 80. 8 dumu.meš ^d Lisin(NE.SI ₄).ke ₄ |
| : | : | : | 81. [^d A.dam].kù dingir 'gub'. [ba Dingir.maḥ.ke ₄] |
| : | : | : | 82. [^d X].ki.gar.ra sukkal Dingir.maḥ.ke ₄ |
| : | : | : | 83. [^d X].nir.an.na sukkal ^d Šul.pa.è.ke ₄ |
| : | : | : | 84. [^d X].'x'.nir sukkal ^d Pa ₄ .nigin ₃ . gar.ra.ke ₄ |
| | | | 85. [^d X.x].gál sukkal ^d Á.dam.kù.ga. ke ₄ |
| | | | 86. [^d]Dam.u ₅ (!).[x] 'sukkal ^d Giš.ḥur.x. x'.ke ₄ |

77. In the first line of J, the name was written [^dKi.tuš].kiš.ki. This text also appears to add an extra name to each of these lines, which may have been either a further identification or possibly the name of the wife of each of these sons of ^dLisin. B ii 116 omits the expected KI from kèš.

78. J:2: [^d]Làl.an.

80. J varies slightly here, making these the sons of the wife of ^dLisin (^dNin.sikil.[lá.ke₄]). Then J (line 5) gave a second summary which obviously summed up the extra eight names which were given in the explanatory column beside each one of the sons of ^dLisin.

81. Text = J:6. Although the name is omitted by A and B, they both list the sukallu of this deity in line 85 below; hence the name must have been omitted here by scribal oversight.

84. A iii 44 abbreviates nigin₃ to U+UD; cf. under note 60 above.

85. See note 81 above.

86. The traces (especially in A iii 46) are poorly preserved here. What is preserved resembles 'dGiš.ḥur.x.x', which reminds one of line 69 above (^dGiš.ḥur.an.ki). But the traces do not favor this name.

| | B | |
|--|---|--|
| | | 87. ^d Uru ₃ .maš nigír.gal [Dingir. maḥ.ke ₄] |
| | | 88. ^d Sa.pàr.nun.na nigír Kèš.[ki] |
| | | 89. ^d En.gal.DU.DU nigír kur.ra.[ke ₄] |
| | | 90. ^d Nigir.kur.ra nigír er-še-[ti] |
| | | 91. ^d Lugal.igi.pirig nigír Adab(UD.NUN. KI).[ke ₄] |
| | | 92. ^d Sag.šu.ta.šub.šub. ŠU ba |
| | | 93. ^d Ka.zal.šu.KID.DU. ŠU DU |
| | | 94. ^d Ad.gi ₄ .gi ₄ ŠU |
| | | 95. ^d "Gu ₄ .DÚB ŠU |
| | | 96. ^d É.kur.AB.diri ŠU |
| | | 97. ^d Nin.a.ru.ru ŠU |
| | | 98. 6 gu ₄ .DÚB Dingir.maḥ.ke ₄ |

87. = Ao:128 (cf. under note 68 above). Note that ^dUru₃.maš appears in Tablet I 319 in the household of Enlil and is there identified with ^dEn.nu.gi the throne-bearer of Enlil and husband of Nisaba. However, the entry in Ao (line 325) which corresponds to Tablet I 319 gives that name as ^dUru₃.gal, while the present entry is given in Ao:128 as ^dUru₃.maš. In other words, the forerunner still distinguished between two separate deities (^dUru₃.gal and ^dUru₃.maš) whose names in later times came to be both written alike. Therefore it is probable that the two deities should still be distinguished from each other: the one (Tablet I 319) = ^dEn.nu.gi the husband of ^dNisaba; the other (the present entry) = the nigír.gal of a deity whose name is missing (possibly Dingir.maḥ).

95. The dittos are in B ii 130 and are difficult to explain, unless the name is to be read ^dAd.gi₄.gi₄.gu₄.DÚB; but this would involve a rare usage of dittos in the present series (see pp. 15 ff. above).

96. A iii 56 begins the name with E instead of É.

| | | | |
|---|------|--------------------------------------|--|
| A | B | | |
| | 99. | ^d Šà.tùr.nun.ta.è | ŠU 1 gu ₄ .DÚB ^d Aš. |
| | | | šir.ke ₄ |
| | 100. | ^d Aš.pa ₄ .ḫuš | ŠU 1 gu ₄ .DÚB ^d Pa ₄ . |
| | | | nigin ₃ .gar.ra.ke ₄ |
| | 101. | ^d NIN.TÙR | ša-su-ru |
| | 102. | ^d ŠÀ.TÙR | " |
| | 103. | ^d Ù.mu.un.ḫuš | šu-ú-lu |
| | 104. | ^d A.tu.gu.la | ní.te an.na tuš.a |
| | 105. | ^d A.tur | ama.sík.lá.ke ₄ |

99. Also in ab ii 12-14. B ii 13 appears to write the first name as ^dŠà.tùr.nun.KID.è; but in the light of A iii 58, the KID is to be corrected to TA; see also OLZ 12 202. Note that A iii 58 writes the last name as ^dAš.šir; but in A iii 30 (= line 68 above), the name is written ^dAš.šir.gi₄.

100. Also in ab ii 15-17, which renders the name [^dAŠ].pa₄.du₁₀. A iii 59 writes nigin₃ as U+UD+RU; see note 60 above. Note that ab translates the Sumerian gu₄.DÚB with the Akkadian mu-un-dal-ku; cf. also p. 15 note 49 above.

101. = eme:35. The explanation ša-su-ru appears to give the pronunciation of both ^dNIN.TÙR and ^dŠÀ.TÙR (in the following line); see OLZ 12 202. This would indicate that the present ^dNIN.TÙR is to be distinguished from ^dNin.tùr and ^dNin.tur(TU) in lines 18 f. above (whose pronunciations are controlled by glosses). ^dNIN.TÙR in the present entry may eventually prove to be the equivalent of the ^dŠe.en.tur of the emesal list (see MSL IV p. 6 note 34) and probably has nothing to do with Dingir.maḫ. In ab ii 18, the name is written ^dTU.TU. The sign TÙR is not made the same in A iii 60 f. as it is in A iii 58.

102. The dittos indicate that the pronunciation ša-su-ru is to be repeated for ^dŠÀ.TÙR. Note that aa:12 substantiates this conclusion by giving šá-su-rù as a pronunciation gloss for ^dŠÀ.TÙR.

103. ab ii 20 renders the name as ^dU X MU^(si.gul).ḫUL and then explains it as du-ul-lu. However, this variant and explanation is no less puzzling than the explanation šu-ú-lu in the present line.

104. In ab ii 21 f., this name is explained as ní.te Dingir.maḫ.ke₄; with the Akkadian explanation pa-liḫ ^dNIN.DINGIR.MEŠ (= ^dBēlit-īlī). With this line, the names of the sixteen children of Dingir.maḫ begin; see line 123 below.

105. The sign LAL after ama.sík is puzzling in A iii 64. Possibly this should be omitted as may be seen from a similar line in ab ii 23 f. which gives: ^dNin.(tu)tur ama.sík

| | | | | |
|---|---|-------|--------------------------------------|---|
| A | | 106. | ^d Egi(SAL+KU).lá | me.te é.maḫ.ke ₄ |
| | | 107. | ^d Níg.kú.maḫ.a | MU Kèš.ke ₄ |
| | | 108. | ^d Bur.u ₅ .kaš | ŠIM Kèš.ke ₄ |
| | | 109. | ^d Zar.za.ru | ur sag.Kèš.ke ₄ |
| | F | 110. | ^d Zu.ur.mu.zar.mu | dumu é.šà.ba.ke ₄ |
| | C | 111. | ^d Nin.bur.(šá.al)šal | ama.du ₁₀ .bad.ke ₄ |
| | : | 111a. | | [um-mu pi-ti-a]-'at' |
| | : | | | bir-ki |

Dingir.maḫ.ke₄, and translates: ^dNin.(tu)tur ši-ib-ti ^dBēlit-īlī(^dNIN.DINGIR.MEŠ); see also MSL IV p. 6 note 34.

106. This entry should be compared with ab ii 25 f., which gives ^dSAL+KU(e.gi).lá ní.te.maḫ.ke₄, with the Akkadian equivalent: ^dSAL+KU.lá pa-liḫ-ta(!) ša rābītu(GAL-tu). The name corresponds to eme:36 and finally gives the reading of the eme.KU name involved here. For earlier discussions regarding the emesal ^dNu.nunuz.me.a and its eme.KU equivalent, see AG 440 and Zimmern, BSGW 63 96. It is possible that the eme.KU name in eme:36 should be reconsidered in the light of the present entry.

107. The line should be compared with ab ii 27 f., which gives: ^dA.gi.maḫ | lú.MU dingir.maḫ.ke₄. For MU = mu.ḫal.dim, see Tablet V 222a.

108. ab ii 29 gives ^dBur.ga.šim.ga. Neither this variant nor ^dBur.u₅.kaš seems completely satisfactory for the name of the "brewer" in the household of Dingir.maḫ. A iii 67 omits the expected KI from Kèš; but a comparison with A iii 66 (= line 107 above) and with line 77 above seems to indicate that this must be merely a graphic variant.

109. A reduplicated name which is naturally attracted to the name in the following line. A iii 68 omits KI from Kèš; see under note 108 above.

110. According to the museum number, F is a fragment of B. In a late bilingual cult text (see ZA 40 85:16 f.), there appears a Sumerian deity ^dZu.úr.me who is given in the Akkadian line as ^dZa-ri-um, which suggests the possibility that in the present line either zu.ur.mu or zar.mu represents an older gloss which has come into the text. On the other hand, since a reduplicated name precedes it in line 109, the names in these two lines may represent a pair having no relationship to the ^dZu.úr.mu/Za-ri-mu of other texts.

111. The gloss is found in C ii 1. The second half of the present line (and its Akkadian translation in line 111a) is to be compared with line 39 above. A iii 70 varies, giving [^d]Bur'.šu.šal (see Tablet I 182).

111a. Restored from line 39 above. C ii 1b still contains the last two signs of this Akkadian translation line,

| A | C | F | | |
|---|---|---|---|--|
| | | | 112. ^d Šà.zu.maḅ | urudu.nagar kalam. ma.ke ₄ |
| | | | 112a. | [qur]-[qur]-rat māti |
| | | | 113. ^d Ušu(uš).šà.su(su) | dumu.SAL ^d Nin.tu ù. tu.ud.da |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 113a. | mar.tu ₄ i-lit-ti ^d Be-lit-īlī(DINGIR. DINGIR) |
| | | | 114. ^d Nagar.šà.ga | ki.sikil.la si.si.ki |
| | | | 114a. mut-ta-ad-di-na- at-ar-da-a-ti | |

and possibly the traces of 'at'; but it is problematical as to how much of the rest of the explanatory half of lines 111 and 112a were in C.

112a. The Akkadian translation of urudu.nagar is found in C ii 2b.

113. Glosses in C ii 3. In A iii 72, the name is written ^dUšu.šà.su. The first part of the explanation in C is not well preserved, but the second half seems better than that of A (which gives ^dNin.tu ù.tu.ke₄) and F i 4 (which seems from the traces to agree with A). C ii 3b reads ^dNin.tu(!) ù.tu.ud.da. The complete explanation should be "the daughter whom ^dNin.tu bore."

113a. Represents the Akkadian version of the explanation in line 113.

114. In aa:10, this deity is identified with ^dBelit-īlī and ^dIštar (cf. also line 31 above), which is in keeping with the present entry, since both entries present her as a goddess. In this and the lines which follow, the Sumerian verb in the explanatory column of A iii 73 ff. is varied graphically, but apparently with similar phonetic values. C ii 5 and F i 5 have sum.sum.mu instead of si.si.ki. Note that the Akkadian translation muttaddinat (= 114a below) is given in both A and C, confirming the equation si/sum = nadānu. In C, the variant ki.sikil.TA instead of ki.sikil.la is not as easy to explain, unless it represents a scribal mistake.

114a. This represents the Akkadian translation of the explanatory column in line 114. Text = C ii 6; in A, this material is written on the left side as a small half line crowded between A iii 73 and 74. A varies slightly, however, giving mu-ta-[di]-[na-at]. The corresponding line in aa:10 is to be restored on the basis of the present entry.

| A | C | F | | |
|---|---|---|----------------------------|--|
| | | | 115. mu-da-me-[qat] "(= | ki.sikil.la sig ₆ . sig ₆ |
| | | | ar-da-a-ti) | |
| | | | 116. "(= mu-da-me-qat) | mu.sikil.la sig ₇ . sig ₇ |
| | | | šu-me el-li | |
| | | | 117. <d>An.me.a | gú.si.sá tuš.a |
| | | | 117a. | qar-rad šá i-šá-reš áš-bu |
| | | | 118. ^d Ama.é.a | gú.[x.x tuš].[a] |
| | | | 118a. | šá ina nap-ḫa-ri áš- bu |
| | | | 119. ^d Ur.gu.ru | me.a.túm.túm.ám |
| | | | 119a. | šá ina(AŠ) pár-ṣi šu-lu-ku |

115. Text = A iii 74. This represents a further appellation of ^dNagar.šà.ga and should be compared with aa:11a.

116. Text = A iii 75, which corresponds to aa:11b. Note the equation here of SIG₇ = damāqu.

117. Text = C ii 7. In A iii 76, the name is written ^dA.me.a, which seems to be a corruption from *<d>An(a).me.a (for the sign A used as a gloss for AN, see notes 21 and 41 above). The variant in A thus gives a clue as to the probable reading of C and throws some doubt upon the reading ^dMe.a. In the light of A, the am.si.sá in C should be corrected to gú(!).si.sá.

117a. Represents the Akkadian translation of the explanatory column of 117. In A iii 76, UR.SAG appears in place of qar-rad (in C iii 7). F i 8 writes ša instead of šá.

118. Text = A iii 77a. In the light of the Akkadian explanation in 118a below, the second half of the line should possibly be restored to gú.[nigin tuš].[a].

118a. Text = A iii 77b.

119. Text = C ii 8. In A iii 78, the name appears as ^dUr.gu.la. The three extra signs in C (tu.ud.da) actually are remnants of a line which C omits (= line 120 below).

119a. Text = A iii 78b and F i 10. In C ii 9, the Akkadian explanation appears as šá ana(DIŠ) par-ṣi šu-lu-ku. The extra material at the end of the line in C represents the last part of a line otherwise omitted by C (= line 120a below).

| A | C | F | | |
|---|---|---|-------|--|
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 120. | ^d Ur.ra 'x.x'.tu.ud.da |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 120a. | šá ina sú-ni 'a-al-du |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 121. | ^d Ama.nir.an.na ama.šà.túm.è.a.bi |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 122. | um-mu šá ina qer-be-te šu-pa-at |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 123. | 16 dumu.meš Dingir.maḫ.ke ₄ |

120. The end of the explanation was combined by C with that of line 119 (see under note 119 above). In A iii 79, the first 'x' resembles URU with an illegible sign inserted. In the light of 120a below, one might expect to find ŠEG here (if one reads zu-un-ni "rain" instead of sú-un-ni "womb"), or possibly a phonetic variant such as URU X TU (= ŠEG₅); but ŠEG is excluded by the traces, and ŠEG₅ is doubtful. One may also think of URU X IGI = izbu "fetus" (see ŠL 44, 4), if one reads line 120a with sú-un-ni instead of zu-un-ni; but the traces seem to fit URU X TU (= ŠEG₅) better than URU X IGI. The second 'x' is equally uncertain.

120a. Text = A iii 79b and F i 11. C omits the line here, but combines the final part of it with line 119a (see under note 119a above), giving a slight variation: ana(DIŠ) sú-un-ni šu-lu-du (the sign DIŠ may represent here an attempt by the scribe to indicate the beginning of new material; or it may represent the preposition ana, as it does in C ii 9 = 119a above). The meaning of the present entry would be "the one who was born in the womb" (Dr. Landsberger suggested to me the alternate possibility of reading the entry as šá ina zu-un-ni 'a-al-du "the one who was born in the rain") and the significance of C would be "who causes to be born in the womb" (or "who causes to be born in the rain").

121. Text = C ii 10. A iii 81a writes phonetically tu.ma instead of túm. In A iii 80 f., the material is slightly rearranged so that the name and the Sumerian explanation are all on the left side (= 80a and 81a) and the Akkadian translation on the right side (= 80b and 81b). The traces in F i 12 f. show that it followed this same arrangement. A iii 81a seems to have 'ka' or 'ke₄' instead of bi. In the present line, the Sumerian explanation describes (in an inverted genitive construction) ^dAma.nir.an.na as "the mother, the one who brings forth (literally, "its bringer-forth") the one carried in the womb."

122. Text = A iii 80b, 81b, and F i 12b, 13b. In C ii 11, the explanation is written: um.mu šá ina qer-bi-ti šu-pat "the mother who causes to appear from the inner parts." This line obviously is intended to give an Akkadian translation of the Sumerian explanation in line 121 above, but the translation is quite free.

123. The list obviously contains names of both sons and daughters; e.g., cf. lines 113, 114, and 121. Since C omits several names in this list (cf. lines 118 and 120), its

| A | C | D | F | | |
|---|---|---|---|------|---|
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 124. | ^d Su.ki.gar.ra ŠU |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 125. | ^d Aš.an.ta ŠU |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 126. | ^d Lú.si.gar.ra ŠU |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 127. | ^d En.bara ₂ .gi.si ŠU |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 128. | 4 ni.duḫ Dingir.maḫ.ke ₄ |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 129. | ^d En.ki ^d É-a |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 130. | ^d En.an.ki " |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 131. | ^d Am.ma.an.ki [" |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 132. | ^d Ḫal.la.an.kù " |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 133. | ^d Nu.dím.muḫ " |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 134. | ^d En.líl.bàn.da " |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 135. | ^d En.(ú.ru)ŠEŠ " |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 136. | ^d Nin." (= ú.ru)ŠEŠ [" |

summary (C ii 12) gives only "fourteen" children. D ii 3 agrees with A on the number "sixteen." In C, the explanation is varied slightly by writing Dingir.maḫ.a.ke₄

124. D ii 4 appears to vary, giving what seems to be ^drSag.su'.ki.[gar.ra].

125. = Ao:130, which offers ^dAš.an.du(ta). The gloss in Ao may be a textual variant gloss (see p. 31 above) indicating that even in the Isin-Larsa period the name was known in the form preserved in the later texts. D ii 5 presents still another variant: ^dAš.[an].ti.

128. C ii 16 has 4 ãm ni.duḫ Dingir.maḫ.a.ke₄. For the reading ni.duḫ(GAB), see p. 15 note 51 above.

129. = Ao:76 (and not Ao:1, see under Tablet I 96). With this line the list of the names of ^dÉ-a begins. Other texts which should be compared here, even though not duplicates of this series, are: An : Anu šá amēli lines 119 ff.; ac; Ao:76-85; and ad:6 ff.

130. C ii 18 ff. numbers the names of ^dÉ-a instead of placing dittos after each one.

131. Cf. ac:2. Text = A iii 89 and D ii 11. In ad:14, the name appears as ^dAm.ma.an.ki.ke₄. Eme:38: ^dAm.an.ki.

132. Text = A iii 90. Cf. also line 182 below.

133. = Ao:81 and ac:5.

134. Cf. ad:18. Note K. 4349E (CT 24 49):8 which identifies this name with ^dEn.líl himself.

135. Text = C ii 21. A iii 93 gives the variant ^dEn.ururu.

| A | C | | |
|---|---|------|---|
| | ⋮ | 137. | ^d Gab.bi.bi |
| | ⋮ | 138. | ^d Lugal.gu ₄ |
| | ⋮ | 139. | ^d Lugal.id.da |
| | ⋮ | 140. | ^d Lugal.abzu(ZU.AB) |
| | ⋮ | 141. | ^d En.abzu |
| | ⋮ | 142. | ^d Nun.abzu |
| | ⋮ | 143. | ^d Dara ₃ .abzu |
| B | ⋮ | 144. | ^d Dara ₃ .dim(di.im) |
| | ⋮ | 145. | ^d Dara ₃ .dim ₇ .dim ₇ |
| | D | 146. | ^d Dara ₃ .nun.na |
| | ⋮ | 147. | ^d Dara ₃ .ban.da |
| | ⋮ | 148. | ^d Alim.nun.na |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | 149. | ^d Alim.ban.da |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | 150. | ^d Alim.si.ki |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | 151. | ^d Geštu ₂ (GIS ₊ TÚG+ PI).abzu(ZU.AB) |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | 152. | ^d Geštu ₂ .lá |

140. = Ao:82.

143. = Ao:77.

144. = Ao:78. In A iii 101, the name is written ^dDara₃.dim₇(BAD). B iii 2a is to be restored to ^d[Dim₇]. Cf. Tablet I 164 where ^dDara₃.dim occurs among the names of ^dEn.lil.

145. B iii 2b gives ^dDim₇.dim₇. Cf. also Tablet I 165 where ^dDara₃.dim.dim occurs among the names of ^dEn.lil.

146. =³Ao:80. D iii preserves only meager remnants of this and the following entry. In ad:13, the name appears as ^dEn.dara₃.nun.[na].

147. = Ao:79. In ad:12, the name appears as ^dEn.dara₃.ban.[da].

148. In A iii 105 and B iii 4, alim is written A+IGI+GIR, while in C ii 31, it appears as GIR(!) X A X IGI.

150. Text = C ii 33. A iii 106 has ^dA+IGI+GIR.si.ki, while B iii 4 presents ^dA+IGI+GIR.sig.ga.

152. B iii 5 varies by writing ^dGIS.PI.lá, in which GIS₊PI may possibly be read GISgeštu or geštu_x(GIS.PI).

| A | B | C | |
|---|---|---|--|
| | | | 153. ^d Na.zukum _x (^{ZI} / _{ZI} +KIL). |
| | | | zukum _x |
| | | | 154. ^d (gi(!). ^r bi.[ir]) _{EN} |
| | | | 155. ^d En.é.nu.ru |
| | | | 156. ^d "DUG.QA.BUR |

153. For zukum_x, see MSL II p. 68 line 456. The name seems puzzling both as to its actual pronunciation and as to its significance. Instead of zukum_x, one might also read šub_x or numun_x; cf. MSL II p. 68 lines 454 f.

154. Gloss = C ii 37. On this as a value for EN, cf. MSL II p. 43 line 123a. (However, a variant text mentioned in MSL II p. 43 line 123a offers gi.bi.il which must also be considered here.) It is obvious that the dittos at the beginning of the line do not indicate any pronunciation for the present line (that information is already given by the gloss in C) nor identification with the previous name (all of these names are already identified with each other). Logically, the dittos may indicate that in the present line the name is to be read ^dNa.zukum_x.zukum_x.gibir_x.

155. For some time the reading of the formula EN.É.NU.RU, which is often found in incantation texts, was regarded as still in doubt (e.g., cf. Meissner, OLZ 12 201, who regrets the fact that the gloss of line 154 which he wrongly attributes to the present line is poorly preserved). But as Falkenstein, LSS NF 1 pp. 4, 6, has pointed out, the complex is no longer in doubt as to its reading. Note the syllabic writing of this phrase in BIN II 16:1. However, its exact meaning seems to remain in doubt. Falkenstein is inclined to the idea that it is to be associated with the name of a temple in Eridu. If this assumption should prove correct, it would provide an additional reason why the formula should appear here among the names of the god of Eridu—although there would be reason enough merely in the fact that ^dE-a is often associated with the incantation ritual. Note that in An : Anu šá amēli 133, ^dE-a, as [^dEn.é].nu.ru, is presented as the god of the āšipu priest. (Cf. also ac:22).

156. The complex DUG.LIS.BUR seems to be used consistently by A (as here) and B as a graphic variant for DUG.QA.BUR (cf. under Tablet I 152), which appears among the names of several other deities (cf. Tablet I lines 152 and 167, and Tablet II lines 26 and 65). In line 26 above, this sign group is glossed with ba.ḫa.ar; but it probably does not have the same value here. In the ^dEn.ki list, the complex occurs four times (here and in lines 160, 162, and 164 below), each time preceded by dittos. At first thought, it seems illogical to consider the possibility that the dittos might indicate four different pronunciations for the same complex. Instead, the thought is impressed upon one that the name of

| A | B | C | | |
|---|---|---|------|---|
| | | | 157. | ^d Nin.ildu ₂ (IGI+ NAGAR+BU) " |
| | | | 158. | ^d "NAGAR " |
| | | | 159. | ^d Nun.ur ₄ .ra " |
| | | | 160. | ^d "DUG.QA.BUR " |
| | | | 161. | ^d Nun.šár " |
| | | | 162. | ^d "DUG.QA.BUR " |

the preceding line is to be brought down as in line 154 above. However, certain usages in the lines below (see especially note 160 below) lead to the conclusion that the complex DUG.QA.BUR actually was read in four different ways in this list of ^dE-a names, depending upon the function in which the deity was portrayed. This means that, as the god of incantations, ^dE-a as ^dDUG.QA.BUR should be read with the same pronunciation as ^dEn.é.nu.ru. See further under note 160 below.

157. = Ao:84 and eme:42. Cf. Weissbach, Babyl. Misc. 12:29 (= RA 17 98).

158. The dittos indicate (as in line 160 below) that the present entry is an ideogram for the previous name; cf. pp. 16 f. above.

159. Note BA 10/1 42:14, 16 where ^dNun.ur₄.ra is called "the great potter of Anu" (pa-ḫa-ru GAL-ú ša ^dA-nim). See also An : Anu šá amēli 125.

160. Note that in ac:7 (which gives pronunciations and explanations of various ^dE-a names) ^dDUG.QA.BUR is pronounced ^dNun.úr.ra and explained as ^dE-a "of potters." Note further CT 12 21 (93058) r. 1 where ^dDUG.QA.BUR is glossed with nun.ur.ra and identified with ^dE-a. The same glossed reading and identification is to be found also in AO. 7661 ii 49 (= TCL 6 37 = AS no. 7 43). This illustrates the significance of the dittos which appear in front of the four occurrences of ^dDUG.QA.BUR in this present list of ^dE-a names (lines 156, 160, 162, and 164). This usage must be compared with line 65 above, where the complex DUG.QA.BUR has a value of lil/lillu (controlled by glossed readings) when applied to ^dLil. These various occurrences of names preceded by dittos and known to have the glossed values of the preceding names further clarify one important way in which dittos are used in the present series (see also pp. 16 f. above). For other deities written with this sign group, see under line 156 above.

162. On the analogy of line 160 above, ^dDUG.QA.BUR is certainly to be understood here as an ideogram for the deity ^dNun.šár.

| A | B | C | | |
|---|---|---|------|--|
| | | | 163. | ^d šár(šá.ar").šár " |
| | | | 164. | ^d "DUG.QA.BUR " |
| | | | 165. | ^d En.ti " |
| | | | 166. | ^d Gana ₂ (ga-na-si).si " |
| | | | 167. | ^d Zi.zi.da " |
| | | | 168. | ^d (na-aq-bu) _{BAD} " |
| | | | 169. | ^d Sá(sa).kalam.ma " |
| | | | 170. | ^d E-a " |

163. Gloss in C ii 44 and A iii 119 (although A has ša instead of šá in the gloss). The dittos in the gloss, of course, indicate that the gloss is to be repeated in this reduplicated name.

164. As in line 160 above, the dittos indicate that this is an ideogram for the previous entry.

165. Thureau-Dangin, RA 31 84 ff. discusses the possible reading ebeḫ/ebiḫ for EN.TI. But this reading is not without its difficulties when applied to the present entry. ^dEn.ti seems instead to form a pair with ^dNin.ti of line 179 below. It is true that a phonetically written ^dEbiḫ is known from such texts as K. 252 (III R 66) ii 15 and KAV 42 ii 6, 13; but these are not necessarily identified with ^dEn.ti of the present line. The presence of so many pronunciation glosses in C for oddly pronounced names would argue further against such a reading here, since C contains no such gloss for this line.

166. Text = C ii 46. In A iii 122, the name is written ^dGá.si.sá, in which the dittos may show an identification with the name of the preceding line (cf. pp. 17 f. above).

167. Both A iii 123 and B iii 13 write ^dZi.zi.da; but in C ii 47, the name appears as ^dNam.zi.da. Either A and B go back to a common text that contained an early scribal error, or a scribal error is involved in C. In the latter text, the only difference between the writing of ZI and NAM is in one small wedge low in the sign NAM (cf. C ii 47); but in A and B, the sign NAM is usually somewhat more complicated than ZI and could scarcely be confused with it (cf. B iii 24, 34). This would seem to point to the probability that the name in C represents a scribal error.

168. The gloss in C ii 48 gives the pronunciation of ^dBAD when it applies to ^dE-a. This value, of course, is not valid when ^dBAD represents other deities. Cf. Tablet III 269 ff.

169. Gloss in C ii 49.

| A | B | C | | |
|---|---|---|------|---|
| | | | 171. | d ₄₀ (ša-na-ba-ku) ₄₀ " " |
| : | : | : | 172. | d ₄₀ (ša.na.bi).BI " " |
| | | | 173. | d ₄₀ Dam.gal.nun.na d ₄₀ Dam.ki.na dam.bi.SAL |
| | | | 174. | d ₄₀ Dam.ki.na " " |
| | | | 175. | d ₄₀ Dam.me.te.abzu(ZU. " " |
| | | | | AB) |
| | | | 176. | d ₄₀ Nin.igi.abzu " " |
| | | | 177. | d ₄₀ Nin.me.zu " " |
| | | | 178. | d ₄₀ Nin.gi.kù.ga " " |
| | | | 179. | d ₄₀ Nin.ti " " |

171. The gloss in C ii 51 appears to give the sign name (= "two-thirds" i.e., "two-thirds of sixty"), while the dittos indicate that this number is an ideogram for d₄₀-a. Cf. CT 25 50:8. On the ranking of deities by numbers within the sexagismal system, cf. under Tablet I 150.

172. Text = C ii 52. In the broken second half of B iii 15, there was apparently a short summary or description of the names of d₄₀-a similar to that which ends the names of d₄₀Dam.ki.na in B iii 22.

173. = Ao:86. In KAV 63 ii 5 (see the collation of this line by Weidner, AfK 2 14 note 6), the name appears as d₄₀Dam.gal.nun'.an.na. However, the older form of the name was certainly d₄₀Dam.gal.nun.na, as can be seen from Ao:86 and VAT 7759 ii 17 (= AfK 2 4 f., which represents an old Babylonian duplicate of KAV 63).

174. AG 280 feels that the name is derived from *d₄₀Dam.ki.an.na, a form which actually occurs in KAV 63 ii 6 (see Weidner's collation, AfK 2 14). However, VAT 7759 ii 18 (= AfK 2 4 f.), the old Babylonian duplicate of KAV 63, gives d₄₀Dam.ki.na. The fuller form is also seen in Thureau-Dangin, Rit. acc. 139:324; but this represents a late text and may, in fact, indicate that the more complete form is late rather than early.

176. Text = C ii 56. In A iii 131 and B iii 18, the name appears as d₄₀Nin.I.IGI.abzu, which may be read d₄₀Nin.igi(IGI).abzu (for IGI = gi_x, cf. Thureau-Dangin, Rit. acc. 80^xnote 7).

177. Text = A iii 132.

178. = Ao:87. See Tablet III 28 where the name appears among those of d₄₀Nin.gal.

179. This name certainly forms a pair with that of line 165 above.

| A | B | C | | |
|---|---|---|-------|--|
| | | | 180. | d ₄₀ Nin.me.dím.an.na " " |
| | | | 181. | d ₄₀ Nin.me.dím.an.ki " " |
| | | | 182. | d ₄₀ Hal.la.an.kù " " |
| | | | 183. | d ₄₀ Bur.šu.šal " " |
| | | | 184. | d ₄₀ Bur.šu.sikil " " |
| | | | 185. | d ₄₀ Asar(URU X IGI). d ₄₀ Marduk(AMAR+UD) |
| | | | | lú.ḫi |
| | | | 185a. | dumu.sag Eridu(NUN. KI).ga.ke ₄ |
| | | | 186. | d ₄₀ Nam.ti.la d ₄₀ Marduk |

180. = Ao:88, which writes the name d₄₀Nin.dím.an.na.

182. In A iii 137, the name is written d₄₀Hal.la.ḫal.kù, but this may represent a scribal mistake since B iii 21 clearly writes the name with AN. Note that this name also occurs in line 132 above, among the names of d₄₀En.ki.

183. The name also occurs among the names of d₄₀Nin.líl, see Tablet I 182. For the reading šal instead of SAL, see under note 111 above.

184. The name also occurs among the names of d₄₀Nin.líl, see Tablet I 183.

185. = Ao:89 and An : Anu šá amēli 108. This rather common name of Marduk has been read in various ways. Falkenstein has published a syllabically written Sumerian text from Boghazköy (ZA NF 11 12:20, 21 and pp. 30 f.) which favors a reading of d₄₀Asal.lú.ḫi. However, this new reading of the name should not be taken as a final reading for URU X IGI in Marduk names. In line 188 below, it is clear that URU X IGI should be read asar rather than asal, which seems more cogent to the present list than the example from Boghazköy. The name Marduk itself is written d₄₀AMAR+UD in C ii 64, while in B iii 23 and A iii 140, it is written d₄₀AMAR+PIR. The latter seems to be merely a graphic variation of the former. On the meaning of the name, cf. Jeremias, MVAG 27/2 27 note 2 and Zimmern, ZA 34 194 note 3. For a shorter list of Marduk names, cf. CT 25 35:1 ff. (and its duplicate, CT 25 36:1 ff.). The present list of Marduk names (which totaled fifty entries when complete) may be compared with the list of the "fifty names of Marduk" contained in Enûma-eliš; however, the present list follows a slightly different order than that in Enûma-eliš.

185a. C ii 64b: dumu.sag d₄₀En.ki.ga.ke₄.

186. The dittos do not here indicate that the previous name of d₄₀Asal.lú.ḫi is to be brought down to produce a name like *d₄₀Asal.lú.ḫi.nam.ti.la; nor do the dittos indicate that

| A | B | C | | |
|---|---|---|------|---|
| | | | 187. | d ^a Nam.ru " šá me-ti |
| | | | 188. | d ^a Asar(a.sa.ru).re " |
| | | | 189. | d ^a Asar.alim " |
| | | | 190. | d ^a Asar.alim.nun.na " |
| | | | 191. | d ^a Marduk(AMAR+UD) " |
| | | | 192. | d ^a Mer.šà.kúš.ù " e-ziz ù muš-tál |

one may arbitrarily excerpt merely the first sign of the preceding name and read *d^aAsar.nam.ti.la (as in AG 265 and 388). In the comparable list of Marduk names found in Enûma-eliš, the present name occurs simply as d^aNam.ti.la (Enûma-eliš VI 152) and is explained as one of the alternate names of d^aAsar.lú.ḫi. This indicates that the dittos in the present line and in the two succeeding lines serve to identify the present deity with the preceding name. In this may be illustrated one important use of dittos in this series (see p. 18 above). In C ii 66, another form of this name is listed as d^aNam.ti; however, since both d^aNam.ti.la and d^aNam.ti correspond to only one name in Enûma-eliš, probably only one name is involved here. A and B omit the extra d^aNam.ti. The second half of the present line is not given by C but is preserved in A iii 141.

187. d^aNam.ru appears also in Enûma-eliš VI 156 as a sub-name of d^aAsar.lú.ḫi, which explains the presence of the dittos here. The Akkadian explanation is found only in A iii 142.

188. = Ao:90, which presents the shorter form of the name: d^aAsar. The gloss is found in C ii 68. The present entry would seem to argue against reading asal for URU X IGI in the present list of Marduk names; see under note 185 above.

189. In C ii 69, alim (cf. CT 18 50:20 and Fauna 93 note 1) is written GĪR X A X IGI, but it is written A+IGI+GĪR in A iii 144. Cf. CT 25 34:10.

190. = Ao:91 (which writes the name d^aAsar.alim(GĪR X IGI).nun.na). Cf. CT 25 34:11 and ZA NF 5 256.

191. A iii 146: d^aAMAR+PĪR; cf. under note 185 above.

192. The line as written in A iii 147 clarifies the reading of the difficult line in Enûma-eliš VI 138. The first sign of the name in A is clearly MER, agreeing with B iii 27 and CT 25 34:12. Since MER = izzu and uzuz (cf. Deimel, ŠL 347, 5 f.), the readings ŠUDUN, ŠU.DUN, and BARA₂ (cf. Böhl, AfO 11 216 no. 9) would seem to be excluded here. Furthermore, the signs usually read ŠER-RE in Enûma-eliš VI 138 should now be read muš-tal as in A. In the light of the explanation in the present line, e-ziz ù muš-tal should represent attributes or epithets of Marduk when he is called d^aMer.šà.kúš.ù (for ŠÀ.KUŠ.Ù = muštālu, see Deimel, ŠL 384, 152c). Hence the corresponding line in Enûma-eliš should

| A | B | | |
|---|---|------|---|
| | | 193. | d ^a Mar.uru ₅ .giš.tukul " a-bu-ub GIŠ. " TUKUL.MEŠ' |
| | | 194. | d ^a Ma.ru.uk.ka " |
| | | 195. | d ^a Ma.ru.tu.uk.ka " |
| | | 196. | d ^a Tu.tu ["] |
| | | 197. | d ^a KA X LI."x' ["] |
| | | 198. | d ^a Zi."ukkin(URU X BAR) ["] |
| | | 199. | d ^a Zi."[kù] ["] |
| | | 200. | [^a Aga]." ^a kù ["] |
| I | | 201. | d ^a Mú."[kù] ["] |
| | | 202. | d ^a Tu ₆ (KA X LI)."kù ["] |
| | | 203. | d ^a Šà.zu ["] |

also give these two epithets of Marduk ("the mighty one and the counselor") following d^aMer.šà.kúš.ù. Needless to say, this would make Enûma-eliš VI 138 conform more nearly to the style of the other lines of this section of the epic, which usually add several adjectival epithets to each one of the names of Marduk. The present entry eliminates any need for restoring a name in B iii 27b, since the broken section of the line in B corresponds to the epithets in the second half of A iii 147.

193. This seems to represent a battle epithet of Marduk; cf. IV R 2nd ed. 57 23.

194. Cf. Enûma-eliš VI 134. In B iii 29, the name appears as d^aMa.ru.du₁₃.ka(!).

195. Cf. Enûma-eliš VI 136 and RA 35 133 note 1.

196. = Ao:105. Cf. Enûma-eliš VII 9-14 and KAV 63 iii 35. Cf. also d^aTu₆.tu₆, An : Anu šà amēli 111.

197. The traces in B iii 30b agree with A iii 157 with respect to the first sign, KA X LI. The traces of the second sign in A may favor the restoration of a sign like TU, resulting in d^aKA X LI."TU'. See also Böhl, AfO 11 217 no. 16. The dittos in this and the following lines indicate (as is shown by the corresponding section in Enûma-eliš VII 9 ff.) that these names are variant names of Marduk as d^aTu.tu.

198. See note 204 below.

199. As in Enûma-eliš VII 19-24.

200. As in Enûma-eliš VII 25-32.

201. Cf. King, STC 61:26, which has: d^aMú.kù : ša ši-pat-su el-lit "d^aMú.kù, whose incantation is pure."

| | | | |
|-----|------|---|-----|
| B I | 204. | ^d Zi."ukkin(URU X BAR) | ["] |
| | 205. | ^d Zi."r ^{si} | ["] |
| | 206. | ^d Sub."[rim] | ["] |
| | 207. | ^d Sub.gú."[rim] | ["] |
| | 208. | ^d Zab."[rim] | ["] |
| | 209. | ^d Zab.gú."[rim] | ["] |
| | 210. | [^d En.bi.lu.lu] | ["] |
| | 211. | [^d "A].r ^{pa₅} .[dun] | ["] |

204. ^dZi.ukkin here is to be distinguished from the name in line 198. In line 198, the name represents a variant name for ^dTu.tu; in the present line, it represents a variant name for ^dŠá.zu. However, note that ^dZi.ukkin is listed only once in Enûma-eliš, and there (in VII 15) it occurs as a subname of ^dTu.tu.

205. As in Enûma-eliš VII 41.

206. As in Enûma-eliš VII 43.

207. From Sm. 78 + Sm. 1078 (CT 25 46):9-12; it is certain that each of the names in lines 206-209 of the present list ended with RIM. (Sm. 78 + Sm. 1078 is not a duplicate of the present series, but contains an analogous list of Marduk names.) For the corresponding section (which is badly preserved) in Enûma-eliš, see von Soden, ZA 47 10-17 and Speiser, ANET 70 f.:43 ff.

208. See under note 207 above.

209. See under note 207 above.

210. This line should correspond to B iii 37a, which is not preserved. It is restored from eme:43; Enûma-eliš VII 57 ff.; and Sm. 78 + Sm. 1078:13 (CT 25 46). This and the following lines of the Marduk list are poorly preserved in the various duplicate texts of the series. However, the total number of lines can be controlled reasonably well from A. For a collation of the broken spaces in B and C by Landsberger, see AfO 11 218. From the traces which are still preserved in A, B, E, and L, one may make a number of provisional restorations by comparing these traces with the names contained in the corresponding sections of Enûma-eliš. Additional aid may be obtained from other Marduk lists, such as, Sm. 78 + Sm. 1078 (CT 25 46); Sm. 115 (CT 25 38); and K. 7658 (CT 25 46). These may not be exact duplicates of the present series, but at a number of points their readings coincide with this list and corroborate some of the restorations.

211. = B iii 37b. The traces in the middle of the line resemble a sign like E, which would fit the restoration (pa₅ = PAP+E). Cf. Sm. 78 + Sm. 1078:14 (CT 25 46) and Enûma-eliš VII 61. The dittos, as in 212 below, indicate that the name

| | | | |
|---|------|---|-----|
| L | 212. | [^d "Gú.gal] | ["] |
| | 213. | [^d Ĝé].r ^{gál(!)} | ["] |
| | 214. | [^d Sir.sir] | ["] |
| | 215. | [^d Má].r ^{lab₄} | ["] |
| | 216. | [] | ["] |
| | 217. | [^d]r ^{Gil} | ["] |
| | 218. | [^d Gil.ma] | ["] |
| | 219. | [^d A.gil].ma | ["] |
| | 220. | [] | ["] |

in the present entry is a subname of ^dEn.bi.lu.lu (cf. pp. 17 f. above).

212. Both ^dA.pa₅.dun (line 211) and ^dGú.gal appear in Enûma-eliš preceded by ^d" (see von Soden, ZA 47 11 f.:61, 64), indicating in each case an identification with ^d" (= ^dEn.bi.lu.lu); cf. pp. 17 f. above. It is inconsistent to translate the first as Epadun and the second as Enbilulu-Gugal (as ANET 71:65). The correct form of the latter would be simply Gugal.

213. L i begins here with the traces of the final gál. This text is a fragment of B (as may be seen from its museum number) and should join immediately under B iii 37. ^dĜé.gál, as a name of ^dMarduk, should be compared with Sm. 78 + Sm. 1078 (CT 25 46):15 and Enûma-eliš VII 68. See line 251 below where ^dĜé.gál appear as one of the names of the ab.šém of ^dNa-bi-um. Perhaps the two entries refer to separate deities, since the present entry is equated with ^dMarduk (who would hardly be represented later as a servant in the entourage of his son ^dNa-bi-um).

214. Since L is a fragment of B, it has two names to a line; hence the present line corresponds to the missing first half of L i 2. The name is restored from Enûma-eliš VII 70; cf. ANET 71 note 137a.

215. = L i 2b; cf. Enûma-eliš VII 76.

216. = L i 3a. Apparently, this name is not found in the corresponding section of Enûma-eliš.

217. = L i 3b; cf. Enûma-eliš VII 78.

218. = L i 4a; cf. Enûma-eliš VII 80.

219. = L i 4b; cf. Enûma-eliš VII 82.

220. = L i 5a. Lines 220-222 in the present list contain three names, while the corresponding section in Enûma-eliš (VII 84 ff.) contains four names. It is therefore difficult to control the exact restoration of these lines. It is not even certain that lines 220-222 are to be restored with the names found in Enûma-eliš VII 84 ff., because line 221 ends with a sign which cannot easily be harmonized with any of the names in Enûma-eliš VII 84-89). It is possible

| | |
|---|--|
| L | 221. [] . 'x' [" |
| | 222. [] [" |
| | 223. [^d Lugal.áb] . 'dubur' [" |
| | 224. [^d Pa ₅ .gal.gú.en.na [" |
| A | 225. [^d Lugal.dúr] . 'maḥ' [" |
| | 226. [^d Lugal.šu.an.na] " |
| | 227. [^d Lugal.dim.me.er. an.ki].a " |
| | 228. [] " |
| | 229. [] . 'x' " |
| E | 230. [] . KÙ.GI " |
| | 231. [^d Ir.kin].gu " |

that ^dLugal.DIN.DIR.ki (eme:44) may have been listed in this section.

221. = L i 5b. The traces of the single sign preserved in L resemble a sign like RU, ŠID, or TA. Since none of these can be harmonized with the names in Enûma-eliš VII 84-89, it is evident that the two traditions varied in this section. A name like ^dA.šá.ru or ^dNe.bi.ru (Enûma-eliš VII 122, 124) may possibly be involved here.

222. = L i 6a.

223. = L i 6b. Cf. Enûma-eliš VII 91 and eme:46.

224. = L i 7a. Cf. Enûma-eliš VII 93.

225. = L i 7b. Cf. Enûma-eliš VII 95. After a long gap, A returns here with a long row of dittos which help to control the total number of names in the Marduk list.

226. = L i 8a. For the restoration, cf. Sm. 115 (CT 25 38):5, where ^dLugal.šu.an.na comes between ^dLugal.dúr.maḥ and ^dLugal.dim.me.er.an.ki.a. It is evident that the present series not only follows a different tradition in the order of the remaining Marduk names than that of Enûma-eliš, but also occasionally includes different names than those in the epic list.

227. = L i 8b. For the restoration, cf. Sm. 115 (CT 25 38):6 and eme:45.

228. = L i 9a.

229. = L i 9b.

230. The reverse of E begins approximately with this line, as may be seen by comparing its entries with the few traces in A—especially A iii 185-187.

231. = A iii 186 and E r. 2. For the restoration, cf. Enûma-eliš VII 105.

| | | | |
|---|---|--|---|
| A | E | 232. [^d Kin].ma | " |
| : | : | 232a. [] .gu | " |
| : | : | 232b. [] .ma | " |
| : | : | 233. [^d Zú.lum].mar | " |
| | | 234. [] . 'x' | " |
| | | 235. [] | 'ŠU' 'NI'. [] . 'x'.ki |
| | | 236. [^d Nin.bár.gi ₄ .si] | [^d Šar-pa-ni-tum] 'dam'.bi.SAL |

232. = A iii 187 and E r. 3. For the restoration, cf. Enûma-eliš VII 107.

232a. It is obvious, from a comparison of the number of lines which A and B contain between the name in line 230 and the end of the present list, that E has two more names here than A. It is here assumed that E r. 4 and 5 represent these two extra lines, since they contained a second pair of names ending with GU and MA and, hence, cannot be harmonized with Enûma-eliš.

232b. = E r. 5; see note 232a above.

233. = E r. 6. The restoration is conjectured from Enûma-eliš VII 87, although this would represent radically different positions of the name in the two traditions.

234. = E r. 7. The preserved traces of the final sign favor a reading of ID or a similar sign.

235. According to the traces in A iii 190, the last name in the Marduk list may have been a special name of Marduk in a particular geographical setting. The traces in A favor a place like Elam. However, the traces in E r. 8 are far from clear. The first sign in the explanation may not actually be ŠU; and the second sign may prove to be some sign other than NI.

236. In A iii 191, the explanation 'dam'.bi.SAL is crowded far to the right, indicating that a second name appeared in this line immediately before this explanation. On the analogy of similar contexts (e.g., cf. line 173 above and lines 242 and 247 below), one would here expect to find the chief name of the wife of Marduk listed as the second name in the line. That ^dŠar-pa-ni-tum should be restored as the principal name here is evident from Ao:106 and from the fact that her name is repeated again as the last name in the list (see line 241 below. It seems to be a frequent practice in this series to repeat the principal name of a deity at the close of the list of his other names; e.g., cf. line 170 above and lines 246 and 248 below). The first name in the list of the names of ^dŠar-pa-ni-tum should be restored to ^dNin.bár.gi₄.si, since this is the only other name of

| | | |
|---|--|--------------------------------|
| A | 237. [ḏNin.abzu] | ["] |
| | 238. [ḏNin.áb.dubur] | ["] |
| | 239. ḏ[] | ["] |
| | 240. ḏNin.ḏx.ḏx | ["] |
| | 241. ḏŠar-pa-ni-tum | " |
| | 242. ḏAG ḏNa-bi-um | sukkal ḏMarduk.ke ₄ |
| B | 243. ḏMu.ḏu ₁₀ .ga.sa ₄ .a | " |
| | 244. ḏEn.sag | " |
| | 245. ḏŠid.ḏù.ki.šár.ra | " |
| | 246. ḏNa-bi-um | " |
| | 247. ḏNin.ka.teš.sì.sì. | ḏTaš-me-tum dam.bi. |
| | ke | SAL |
| | 248. ḏTaš-me-tum | " |

ḏŠar-pa-ni-tum listed in Ao (line 107); and with this restoration, eme:47 agrees. Cf. CT 25 35:15 and Zimmern, BSGW 63 98. For similar lists of ḏŠar-pa-ni-tum, see CT 25 36:7 ff. and KAV 173 l ff. See also under note 315 below.

237. = eme:48. See Zimmern, BSGW 63 98 and cf. CT 25 35:17. The names of lines 237 f. are not preserved in A iii 192, 193, but the space in A iii 192 f. and A iv 1 ff., which is preserved, reveals that there were six entries in this list of the names of Marduk's wife.

238. = eme:49. See Zimmern, BSGW 63 98.

239. The traces of A iv 1 favor a name beginning with NIN.

241. = Ao:106.

242. = Ao:110. The use of ḏAG as an ideogram for Nabu appears to be late. It is interesting to note the position of Nabu in this series; elsewhere, he is more commonly represented as the son of Marduk.

243. = eme:52.

244. ḏEn.sag is possibly to be compared with ḏEn.zag (glossed with za.ag), who appears in the Nabu list CT 25 35:20 (= CT 25 36:19). However, the name should be distinguished from ḏEn.zag.ag who appears among the names of ḏNusku (cf. Tablet I 254).

245. Cf. CT 25 35:22 (= CT 25 36:21) and V R 43:27c.

246. = Ao:110.

247. = eme:54 (which should be restored to agree with the present entry).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| A | B | C | 249. ḏEn.ki.im.ḏu | ab.šém ḏNa-bi-um.ke ₄ |
| | | | 250. ḏE."PA ₅ | " |
| | | | 251. ḏHé.gál | " |
| | | | 252. ḏMa.mi.a | nin ḏMarduk.ke ₄ |
| | | | 253. ḏMa-da-nu | gu.za.lá ḏMarduk.ke ₄ |
| | | | 254. ḏ"DI.KUD | ŠU |
| | | | 255. ḏMa-ag-rat-a-mat-su | " |

249. Certainly not to be confused with Enkidu (as in AG 294 f.). The present line gives the name of Nabu's plowman.
250. The dittos seem to indicate that ḏE.PA₅ is an ideogram for the preceding deity.

251. Cf. line 213 above.

252. A iv 14 clearly has NIN "sister" and not DAM "wife." Note that, in "Weidner's list," ḏMa.mi.e is listed in the Marduk circle, just following the name of ḏTaš-me-tum; see VAT 6563 (AfK 2 6) ii 4.

253. The position of this deity in the circle of Marduk (as the throne-bearer of Marduk) is now finally clarified by A iv 15. In "Weidner's list," the name is written ḏMan-da-nu; see KAV 63 ii 22 ff. Cf. also ḏMa-da-nu-nu (CT 25 11:3), who is equated with ḏNin.urta.

254. The dittos are instructive here. They indicate that, in this instance, ḏDI.KUD is an ideogram for the previous name. Note KAV 47:15 (= KAV 63 ii 22) where the pronunciation of ḏDI.KUD is given as [ma]-da-an (see the collation of this line by Weidner, AfK 2 16 note 2) and the name is equated with ḏMan-da-nu. However, this pronunciation and explanation would seem to be valid for ḏDI.KUD only when the name refers to the throne-bearer of Marduk, for there were a number of other deities whose names were written with this ideogram. The present name should be distinguished from ḏDI.KUD who appears in Tablet V 288 as another ideogram for ḏKA.DI, and from ḏDi.ku₅ in Tablet III 174 who appears among the judges of Šamaš. Note also ḏDI.KUD and even ḏDI.KUD.MEŠ in such texts as: KAR III 142 i 24; KAV 42 i 43; KAV 43 i 23; Scheil, RA 14 172 i 2; Landsberger, Bell. 14 261. From these it would appear that considerable caution is necessary when attempting to identify any particular ḏDI.KUD with another deity. Obviously, the name was ideographic and had different pronunciations depending upon the actual deity involved. Note also the great number of subnames which Tablet VII 67 ff. lists for ḏDI.KUD (who may not necessarily be identified with the deity in the present line; although, in Tablet VII, he shares the tablet only with Marduk).

255. The dittos in the right column are obviously intended to show identification with the previous deity

| A | B | C | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 256. ^d GÁ X NUN.ḫé.du ₇ ŠU |
| | | | 257. ^d En.nun.dagal.la ŠU |
| | | | 258. 2 gu ₄ .DÚB ^d Marduk.ke ₄ |
| | | | 259. ^d Gašan.šud _x (KA X ŠU).an.na ŠU 1 gu ₄ .DÚB ^d Šar-pa-ni-tum.ke ₄ |
| | | | 260. ^d Šil-uš-ṭab ŠU (šil-lu(!)-[uš]-ṭa'-ab) |
| | | | 261. ^d Ka.TUN.na ŠU |
| | | | 262. 2 SAL.šu.i ^d Šar-pa-ni-tum.ke ₄ |
| | | | 263. ^d Mi-na-a-i-kul-be-lí MU é.sag.íl.la.ke ₄ |
| | | | 264. ^d Mi-na-a-iš-ti-be-lí ŠEM é.sag.íl.la.ke ₄ |
| | | | 265. ^d Mu-kil-me-e-ba-la-ṭi ŠU |

without indicating that the pronunciation is the same (as was the case in line 254). For this Akkadian name, cf. Landsberger, MAOG 4 311 ff.

257. = eme:50.

259. = eme:51. For KA X ŠU = šud_x, see MSL II p. 57 line 329.

260. Written ^dMI.uš.ḫI. Gloss in C iii 11b. Cf. also KAV 47:11; 62:12; and 65 r. ii 11.

263. The name of Marduk's muḫaldim (for MU = muḫaldim, see MSL II p. 47 line 172) is written syllabically in C iii 13; but in A iv 23 and B iii 68, the name appears as ^dMi-na-a-KA X NIG-be-lí. The name is, of course, Akkadian: "What did my lord eat?" In A and B, the explanation is written MU é.sag.íl.la.ke₄; but C writes the same explanation more fully: MU é.sag.íl.la.ke₄. This interesting parallel between íl and íl.la would suggest that Falkenstein is correct in his contention that ÍL may occasionally be read ila (see Falkenstein, AnOr. 28 16).

264. Text = C iii 14. Instead of iš-ti, A iv 24 and B iii 69 write NAG(KA X A). As in line 263 above, A omits la in the explanatory column. B abbreviates the explanation to ŠEM "(= é.sag.íl.la.ke₄).

265. Text = C iii 15. A iv 25 writes ^dMu-kil-A.MEŠ.TI.LA, while B iii 70 writes ^dMu-kil-A.MEŠ.TI.

| A | B | C | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 266. ^d Na-din-me-e-qá-ti ŠU |
| | | | 267. 2 àm udug é.sag.íl.la.ke ₄ |
| | | | 268. ^d Ab.ba ŠU |
| | | | 269. ^d Ta.KU.na ŠU |
| | | | 270. 2 àm ni.duḫ é.sag.íl.la.ke ₄ |
| | | | 271. ^d Uk-ku-mu ŠU |
| | | | 272. ^d Su-ku-ku ŠU |
| | | | 273. ^d Ik-šu-du ŠU |
| | | | 274. ^d Il-ti-bu ŠU |
| | | | 275. 4 ur.zír ^d Marduk.ke ₄ |
| | | | 276. d(i.id)íd ŠU |
| | | | 277. ^d íd(i.").gal ŠU |

266. Text = C iii 16. A iv 26 writes ^dNa-din-A.MEŠ-qá-a-tim, while B iii 71 writes ^dNa-din-A.MEŠ.ŠU.

267. A iv 25, 26 and B iii 70, 71 give 2 udug : é.sag.íl.la.ke₄; cf. under note 263 above.

268. Text = A iv 27 and B iii 72. C iii 17 writes ^dAb.Ú. For the pronunciation of the name, see Tablet V 54.

270. A iv 27, 28 and B iii 72, 73 omit àm and la (as in line 263 above). For the reading ni.duḫ(GAB), see p. 15 note 51 above.

272. Text = A iv 30 and B iii 74. In C iii 20, the name is written ^dSuk-ku-lu.

273. C iii 21: ^dIk-šu-da.

274. C iii 22: ^dIl-te-bu.

275. C iii 22: 4 àm ur.zír. Some would see in these "4 dogs of Marduk" a reference to the four satellites of Jupiter (see ZA 43 133); but this implies an extraordinary eyesight on the part of the Babylonian astronomers!

276. Gloss in C iii 23.

277. Gloss in C iii 24. The dittos in the gloss, of course, refer to the sign ID of the preceding gloss. The usage of ŠU is instructive in these four lines which deal with the names of the river god. In C, ŠU is placed opposite only the first name. After each of the other names, C enters the numbers 2, 3, and 4 respectively. By this means, the scribe indicated that these names are all to be regarded as belonging to a series of four separate distinct deities (just as the four dogs of Marduk in lines 271 ff. were each distinct deities), rather than four names of one deity (in the latter case, dittos would have been used). However, it is evident

| A | B | C | | |
|---|---|---|------|---|
| | | | 278. | d ^l Id.(si.li.ma) silim ŠU |
| | | | 279. | d ^l Id.lú.ru.gú ŠU |
| | | | 280. | d ^l Ki.ša ₆ dam.bi.SAL |
| : | | | 281. | d ^l Šà.zi dumu d ^l Id.ke ₄ |
| : | | | 282. | d ^l Ne.e.er.e.tag.mil sukka ^l d ^l Id.ke ₄ |
| | | | 283. | d ^l Dumu.zi.abzu ŠU |
| | | | 284. | d ^l Ki.gu.la ŠU |
| | | | 285. | d ^l Ne ⁽ⁿⁱ⁾ .ra ŠU |

from other texts that these four names were not necessarily always distinguished from each other (cf. under note 279 below; and note that d^lKi.ša₆ in line 280 is listed ambiguously as "his wife"). Possibly C numbers each of these entries because there was no final summary of the four, as in the case of the four dogs in line 275.

278. Gloss in C iii 25.

279. Cf. KAV 218 A ii 17, 20, a bilingual text which gives this deity in the Sumerian line and d^lID (= d^lNāru) in the Akkadian line. In KAV 65 r. ii 2, the name appears with an affixed KI.

280. Cf. KAV 154 (a text which appears to list wives of various deities):10 where she is listed as the wife of d^lId and then possibly identified with d^lNazi (for d^lNazi, rather than d^lNanše, see Tablet III 67). Here, she is listed ambiguously as "his wife." Does this mean that the four river gods are thought of as a single deity here? Or is she merely the wife of the last one of the four? The latter possibility is more in keeping with the organization of the series. In KAV 63 ii 10 (= KAV 65 r. ii 3), she is equated with d^l[]ki.na, which possibly could be restored to d^l[Dam].ki.na.

282. C iii 29 writes the last sign syllabically as mi-il. On the restoration of B iii 81 (E(!)), rather than "BI"), cf. Meissner, OLZ 12 202.

283. = Ao:108. With this line, a list of six sons of d^lEn.ki begins. These are in addition to Marduk, who, as the most prominent son, was treated first. The name of d^lDumu.zi.abzu, who played such an important part in the cult life of Babylonia, appears quite early. His name is mentioned even on the "Stele of the Vultures" (cf. SAK 18 r. vi 3).

284. Text = A iv 40 and B iii 82 as restored by C iii 31. The latter text actually presents d^lKi.gul.la. In Ao:109, the name appears as d^l"X".ki.gu.la, in which the first sign may represent ZU or some similar sign. Cf. Tablet I 81 where d^lKi.gu/gul.la appears as the name of a gu₄.DUB of Anu.

285. Gloss in C iii 32.

| A | B | C | | |
|---|---|---|------|--|
| | | | 286. | d ^l Bar(ba).ra ŠU |
| | | | 287. | d ^l Bar.ra.gu.la ŠU |
| | | | 288. | d ^l Bur.nun.ta.sa ^(sa) _a ŠU |
| | | | 289. | 6 dumu.meš d ^l En.ki.ga.ke ₄ |
| | | | 290. | d ^l Ĝé.dim.me.kù dumu.SAL d ^l En.ki.ga.ke ₄ |
| | | | 291. | d ^l GIŠ.lá.abzu(ZU.AB) d ^l Nin.šubur |
| | | | 292. | d ^l Ensi(PA+TE+SI). d ^l AN.mar.tu |
| | | | | gal.abzu |

286. Gloss in C iii 33. For abbreviated pronunciation glosses, see under note 21 above.

287. Note that in a late hymn to the mother goddess of Uruk, this name (written d^lBar.gu.la) appears as one of the names of the Dumuzi figure in the text; see ZA NF 6 85:17.

288. Text = C iii 35. B iii 84 seems to vary, giving d^l[X].nun.e."x".[x]. Perhaps this should be emended to read d^l[Bur].nun."ta(!).sa(!)".[a].

289. C iii 35 gives 6 ãm dumu.meš etc. The genitive form of d^lEn.ki is consistently written d^lEn.ki.ga.ke₄ in this series; but this form presents a number of problems. If the name is regarded simply as "Lord Earth" (cf. Jacobsen, Before Philosophy 150), this would provide no explanation for the syllable ga that appears in the genitive complex. If the name is regarded, on the other hand, as signifying "lord of the earth," the genitive form should reflect two genitive endings: *d^lEn.ki.ak.ak.e > *d^lEn.ki.ka.ke₄, written d^lEn.ki.kà.ke₄. But why would the scribe write kà instead of ka in such a form? A third possibility is that d^lEN.KI is to be viewed as an ideogram for a Sumerian name ending in the consonant -g; but thus far, such a reading is unknown. Still another possibility may be that the scribes habitually wrote the name in this fashion by analogy to NUN.KI.ga.ke₄ (for Eri.dù(g).ga.ke₄ < *Eri.dug.ak.e). This latter possibility may serve as a working hypothesis, but it cannot be regarded as the final explanation for the genitive form of d^lEn.ki.

290. LUGAL+ĜĜ appears to be merely a graphic variant of dim. In B iii 86, the name appears as d^lPA."dim".[me].kù.

291. Dr. Landsberger suggested to me a possible reading of d^lIz-lá-abzu. For d^lNin.šubur, see Tablet I 32 ff.

292. Apparently, in B iii 88 f., the names in the second half of the column are reversed. For d^lAN.mar.tu, cf. Tablet VI 257.

| A | B | C | |
|---|---|---|--|
| | | | 293. ^d Ensi.maḫ ^d Mar.tu |
| | | | 294. ^d Ig.an.na.gál.la dam.bi.SAL |
| | | | 295. ^d Lugal.ki.sur.ra ^d EŠ (= ^d Sin) |
| | | | 296. ^d Ig.an.na.kéš.da dam.bi.SAL |
| | | | 297. ^d Lugal.nir.gál ^d Nin.gír.su |
| | | | 298. ^d Ara(a.ra) sukkal.maḫ ^d En.ki. ga.ke ₄ |
| | | | 299. ^d PAP+SIG ₇ (i.si.mu). " nun.me |

293. = Ao:96. B iii 89 writes ^dEnsi.gal.maḫ. For ^dMar.tu, cf. Tablet VI 228, 230, 236.

294. The name here given as the wife of ^dMar.tu differs from that given in Tablet VI 235 where she is called ^dUr-batum.

295. In C iii 41, ^dSin is written with the usual three winkelhakens; but in B iii 91 (and possibly in A iv 50), the name is written with five horizontal strokes. In Tablet III 1, another variant is noted in which ^dSin is written with four horizontal strokes. All these variants suggest that ^dEŠ was regarded at this time as an ideogram, rather than a numerical symbol. Cf. further under Tablet III 3. The appearance here in the ^dEn.ki circle, of a name identified with ^dSin, is inexplicable. In K. 4349K + 80-7-27,54:5 (CT 25 8), in the "Smaller An : ^dA-nu-um," ^dLugal.ki.sur.ra is identified with ^dNin.urta; but, in K. 2098 (CT 25 39):13, the name appears in a Nerigal list.

298. Gloss in C iii 44 and in B iii 94 (surprising, since glosses in B are a great rarity!). In the explanatory column of C, ^dAra(ŠA) is further identified with ^dUs-mu-u. Note SLT 123 r. ii 2 (= SLT 124 i 25) where ^dAra occurs in the ^dEn.ki section. Also see KAV 63 ii 7 (note Weidner's collation in AfK 2 14 note 8) where ^dAra is similarly identified with ^dUs-mu-u. See also VAT 8084 (AfK 2 6):7. Cf. further Ungnad, AfO 5 185 (who points out the close connection between the name of ^dUsmû and usumija "double-faced" in birth omina); Falkenstein, LKU plate 17:16 and p. 18 note 7 (where the name occurs as ^dŠA-ia = ^dUsumija); and Jacobsen, AfO 12 365:34.

299. = Ao:98. Gloss in C iii 45. Here, the name is identified with ^dAra(ŠA) (= ^dUs-mu-u) of the previous line. The present entry seems to have been included at the end of B iii 94, but only the traces of this name are preserved in B.

| A | B | C | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 300. ^d Geštu ₂ (GIŠ+KU+PI) uz-nu |
| | | | 301. ^d Geštu ₂ (GIŠ+KU+PI). ḫa-si-su ga.ni |
| | | | 301a. [^d "] ŠU |
| | | | 302. 2 sukkal ^d Dam.gal.nun.na.ke ₄ |
| | | | 303. ^d ḫa-si-su ŠU |
| | | | 304. d([du.un]. ^r ga ^r) _{NAR} dingir nar.a.ke |

300. ^dGeštu₂ is listed here as one of the two sukallu of ^dDam.gal.nun.na; but note CT 25 33:17 where this is listed as one of the names of ^dEn.ki, and CT 25 12:15 where the name is identified with ^dNin.urta. Possibly none of these three texts considered ^dGeštu₂ of one context as necessarily identified with the other. Rather, the name (as a personification of wisdom) might be applied to any deity who was considered especially wise. Here, the name is translated as uz-nu "ear," which represented the organ and symbol of wisdom to the Babylonians. In C iii 46, the old Babylonian form uz-nu-um is preserved.

301. ^dGeštu₂.ga.ni "his wisdom" is here translated with the Akkadian ḫa-šī-su "the wise one."

301a. Represents an unpreserved ideogram in C iii 48a; see under note 302 below.

302. C iii 48 introduces an interesting variant by placing ŠU 2 àm sukkal etc. all in the explanatory column opposite an entry which is unpreserved (the ŠU may have been added by C under the influence of similar summaries; see pp. 23 f. above). This arrangement of material in C justifies the insertion of line 301a above; but, since C gives "2 àm" as the summary for three entries, the extra name must have been an ideogram for one of the two names in lines 300 and 301 above. It is also possible, however, that C followed a tradition that listed ^dḫa-si-su here as an alternate name for the entry in line 301, instead of listing him again in the equivalent of line 303 below.

303. This entry may represent the Akkadian equivalent of the deity in line 301 (or even line 300).

304. Only traces of the end of the gloss are preserved in A iv 59, but these are sufficient to justify the restoration on the basis of Proto-diri, CT 29 45:11, which also gives a gloss of du.un.ga as the reading for ^dNAR; cf. OLZ 12 201. The second half of the present line explains ^dNAR as "the god of musicians." Note that An : Anu šá amēli 132 lists [^d]ṛTum^r.ga and explains him as ^dÉ-a šá LÚ.na-a-ri. Cf. CT 25 48:10: ^dDu.un.ga | ^dNAR | ^dÉ-a šá LÚ.NAR.

| A | B | C | H | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|------------------------------|
| : | : | : | : | 304a. | ilu šá na-a-ri(!) |
| | | | | 305. d _n (= du.un.ga)SAG | " |
| | | | | 306. d _{Gù} .du ₁₀ .ga.lál.bi | dam.bi.SAL |
| | | | | 307. d(lum.ḫa)BALAG | dingir UŠ.KU.ke ₄ |
| | | | | 308. d _n (= lum.ḫa)EGIR | " |
| | | | | 309. d _{Nin} .gù.bi.du ₁₀ .ga | dam.bi.SAL |
| | | : | | 310. d _{Nin} .EZEN | ŠU |

304a. The Akkadian translation of the preceding explanatory line is given as a gloss line in C iii 50. The sign RI actually appears as HU in C iii 50.

305. Similarly, CT 29 45 gives a pronunciation gloss of du.un.ga for d_nSAG. Here, the explanatory column shows that this is another ideogram for the god of musicians. C iii 51 replaces the dittos with ŠU.

306. In B iii 99, the line is somewhat broken, but it is evident from the space that the name appeared in an abbreviated form, probably as d_{Gù}.du₁₀.ga. In H:4, the name seems to have the form [d_{Gù}].du₁₀.lál.bi.

307. Gloss in A iv 62. It appears that B iii 100 was copied from a text in which the gloss had become a part of the text (especially so in view of the fact that B rarely exhibits glosses). C iii 53 varies the explanation, giving dingir UŠ.KU.A.ke₄. In this, the extraneous sign A may be difficult to explain unless it serves as a phonetic complement to indicate that UŠ.KU is to be read gala. Note that An : Anu šá amēli l3l explains d_{Lum}.ḫa as "(= d_E-a) šá LU.ka-li-e (cf. CT 25 48:11 where d_{BALAG} is given the pronunciation d_{Lum}.ḫa and explained as d_E-a šá LU.UŠ.KU). In the present line, d_{BALAG} is described as "the god of the kalû priest." The line is certainly to be compared with KAR 60:14 (= Rit. acc. 20:14) in which d_{BALAG} figures in the ritual text of the kalû priests.

308. d_{EGIR} is preceded by dittos in order to show that the gloss of the previous line is to be brought down. This line is to be compared with CT 29 45:13 where d_{EGIR} is glossed with " (= lum(!).ḫa).

310. In H:5, the name appears as d_{Nin}.KA, which probably represents a scribal mistake for d_{Nin}.EZEN. It is difficult to ascertain the actual pronunciations of this and the following entries. The present entry may be read d_{Nin}.sar; but it may, of course, have had some other reading than this. Any identification, however, with other deities bearing similar names (such as d_{Nin}.šar/šar_x(BAR), the wife of Anu, Tablet I 29; and d_{Nin}.SAR, the gir.lá of É.kur, Tablet I 328) seems tenuous and obscure.

| A | B | C | H | | |
|---|---|---|---|---------------------------------|--|
| | | : | | 311. d _{Nin} .EZEN.DÚB | ŠU |
| | | | | 312. d _{Eš} .(qa)gá | ŠU |
| | | | | 313. d _n Balag.gá | ŠU |
| | | | | 314. 4 gu ₄ .DÚB | d _{En} .ki.ga.ke ₄ |
| | | | | 315. d _A (é.rù).EDIN | ŠU |

311. Cf. under note 310 above.

312. Text = A iv 67. In B iii 103 and in A, the sign EŠ is written with four horizontal strokes, while C iii 56 possibly had the more usual three winkelhakens; cf. under note 295 above. The gloss in the present entry is not without its difficulties. If the gloss indicates the reading of the last sign, it would infer that Sumerian had the consonant /q/; however, this consonant seems elsewhere unattested for Sumerian. One might read the entry as d_{Eš}.(ga₅)gá, but this would be contrary to scribal practice (one would expect the sign GA to be used in such a gloss). Perhaps the gloss may here indicate nothing more than a textual variant among the sources used by the scribe (see p. 31 above). Some evidence that textual variations did occur for this name is provided by C, which gives d_{Eš}(!).ga. See also Tablet VI 212.

313. Both B iii 104 and A iv 68 omit the final gá. The name may be interpreted (in C iii 57, especially) as <d>Dingir.balag.gá "the god of the harp." The dittos in the entry are found only in A and may reflect a scribal error. But if they should prove correct, they would not necessarily imply that d_{Balag}(.gá) is here ideographic for the previous name, because these two names are treated as totally separate deities (as may be seen from the summary in line 314). d_{Eš}.gá.balag.gá.

314. Since C omitted lines 310 and 311, it writes the summary (C iii 57): 2 am gu₄.DÚB etc. For the genitive of d_{En}.ki, see under note 289 above.

315. Text = C iii 58, which, in the light of the gloss, might be read d_E₄.ru₆. If, on the other hand, the sign É here corresponds to 'a (see under Tablet I 355), one might read the name simply as d_A.ru₆ (or d_A₄.ru₆). However, it would seem strange and out of harmony with scribal practice to indicate that the sign A should be read a/'a by using 'a as a gloss—especially when the sign involved is initial (since an initial /a/ would probably be pronounced /'a/ anyway). As a gloss, the sign É should here indicate an unusual pronunciation for the sign A, which may well be e₄ here. The final reading of the name may remain open until the place of /'a/ in Sumerian is clearer; but, tentatively, d_E₄.ru₆ would seem to commend itself as the reading. It may be argued that the gloss indicates a reading of the entry as a unit, i.e., A+EDIN = erum; but, in AS no. 7 16:41, the sign EDIN is said to

| A | B | C | | |
|---|---|---|------|--|
| | | | 316. | ^d Ur.A.EDIN ŠU |
| | | | 317. | 2 gu ₄ .DÚB ^d Dam.gal.nun.na.ke ₄ |
| | | K | 318. | ^d Ka.ḫé.gál ŠU |
| | | | 319. | ^d Igi.ḫé.gál ŠU |
| | | | 320. | ^d Ka.na.ab.du ₇ ŠU |
| | | | 321. | ^d Igi.a.na.ab.du ₇ ŠU |
| | | | 322. | ^d Ka.ba.ni.nam.ti.la ŠU |
| | | | 323. | ^d Ka.ba.ni.silim.ma ŠU |
| | | | 324. | ^d Igi.bi.šè.nam.ti. ŠU la |
| | | | 325. | ^d Igi.bi.šè.silim.ma ŠU |
| | | | 326. | 8 ni.duḫ ^d En.ki.ga.ke ₄ |

have the value ru when it occurs in the combination ^dA.EDIN = ^dŠar-pa-ni-tum (šá ^dA(^dŠar¹-pa-ni-tum).EDIN). This would argue against taking the gloss as an indication of the pronunciation of A+EDIN as a single unit, and would point instead to the probability that the gloss refers to the signs individually. Note also that this latter reference identifies the present entry with ^dŠar-pa-ni-tum, the wife of Marduk; cf. line 236 above.

316. C iii 59 has ^dÉ.A.EDIN, which seems corrupt. Ao:94 indicates that C should have copied ^dUr/Ur.A.EDIN (read, as in line 315, ^dUr.e₄.ru₆). A iv 70 and B iii 106 have ^dUr.e₄.ru₈(LAL).

317. C iii 59: 2 àm gu₄.DÚB etc.

318. In this list of the names of the doormen of ^dEn.ki, note that each name contains either KA "mouth" or IGI "eye." This first name = Ao:102. Cf. K. 4147 (RA 17 132):7 and CT 16 47:199.

319. = Ao:101. Cf. K. 4147 (RA 17 132):7 and CT 16 47:199.

321. B iii 108: ^dIgi.na.ab.du₇.

322. K:4 seems to have [^dKa.ba.ni.nam].AN : ŠU | ŠU; but this variant may merely reflect a scribal mistake (ancient or modern) in which the signs TI.LA were miscopied—the final stroke of the sign TI becoming AN plus the sign of division, and LA becoming ŠU.

326. A iv 78b omits GA. C iii 67 inserts àm after the number 8. It is interesting to note the variation which exists in scribal practice regarding the writing of numbers. B iii 111 and A write the number 8 as 4 vertical strokes over

| A | B | | |
|---|---|------|---|
| | | 327. | ^d Ḫa.la.ma.abzu ŠU |
| | | 328. | ^d Še.ba ŠU |
| | | 329. | 2 lú.ká Eridu(NUN.KI).ga.ke ₄ |
| | | 330. | ^d Nin.dur.ba lú si.gar.ke ₄ |
| | | 331. | ^d Níg.ŠID.ki.sikil nigir A.ḪA.ki.ke ₄ |
| | | 332. | ^d Nin.sirsir(BU X má.laḫ ₄ má.gur ₈ .ke ₄ BU+AB) |
| | | 333. | ^d "MÁ.LAḪ ₄ " |
| | | 334. | ^d Gibil _x (BIL.GI) ^d Gibil _x (BIL.GI) |
| | | 335. | ^d Giš.bar.ra " |
| | | 336. | ^d Giš.bar.an.na " |
| | | 337. | ^d Nun.bar.an.na " |

4, while C writes 3 over 3 over 2. Concerning the reading ni.duḫ(GAB), see p. 15 note 51 above. For the genitive of ^dEn.ki, see under note 289 above.

327. = ^dLa.ḫa.ma.abzu in Ao:103—an example of metathesis.

329. A iv 79 now clarifies the last sign in B iii 112, which should be read ká and not e.

330. = "the man of the lock," cf. Deimel, ŠL 112, 148.

331. A.ḪA.ki is an ideogram for Subaru/Suwaru, see CT 16 6:239 f.; Deimel, ŠL 579, 500a; and Gelb, Hurrians and Subarians 94-98. However, note that A.ḪA.ki is glossed with TU.BA in CT 25 14:30.

332. For Sirsir, see Landsberger, WO 1 pp. 362 ff. and MSL III p. 106 line 125. The same name is involved in An : Anu šá amēli 141 and CT 25 48:12. In Ao:100, NIN is omitted in the name.

333. The dittos at the beginning of the line appear to conform to the same format and usage as that of line 347 below; hence they should be understood as indicating that ^dMÁ.LAḪ₄ is ideographic for the preceding name. B iii 117 seems to present ^dŠU in place of the dittos in the second half of the line. The dittos are in A iv 84.

334. For ^dBIL.GI = ^dGibil_x, see AG 313 and AfK 2 10 note 1. Cf. BA 10/1 42:2. In KAV 63 i 7, he is identified with ^dGi-ir-[ra] (see Weidner's collation of this line in AfK 2 10 note 1), the personification of fire.

335. Cf. Meissner, OLZ 15 117 f.

337. The name occurs in Ao:170, but possibly in a different context.

| A | B | | |
|---|---|----------------------------------|---|
| | | 338. dNun.bar.BAD.na | " |
| | | 339. dNun.bar.u ₄ .da | " |
| | | 340. dNun.bar.ḡuš.a | " |
| | | 341. dNin.èš.gal | dam.bi.SAL |
| | | 342. dNa.ab.lum | sukkal dGibil _x (BIL. GI).ke ₄ |
| | | 343. dNíg.na | ni-ig-na-ku |
| | | 344. dGi.izi.lá | gi-zi-lu-u |
| | | 345. 2 gu ₄ .DÚB | dGigil _x (BIL.GI).ke ₄ |
| | | 346. dNin.á.gal | dingir simug.ke ₄ |
| | | 347. dSIMUG(DÉ) | " |
| | | 348. dNin.imin(7) | dam.bi.SAL |
| | | 349. d(gu.QI.im)MUG | ŠU |

338. The combination BÀD.na should be compared with MSL II p. 86 line 773 and MSL III pp. 213 f.

343. A iv 94b gives the Akkadian equivalent as nignaku "incense burner." Cf. CT 16 28:62 f. and 35:18 f.

344. A iv 95b gives the Akkadian equivalent gizilu "torch (for incense)," which indicates the reading of the Sumerian name. Cf. Sm. 922+1287 (RA 28 140):12 f.

346. = Ao:470. dNin.á.gal is "the god of the smith." In An : Anu šá amēli 126 (and CT 25 48:8), dNin.á.gal is explained as the name of dE-a as the god of the smiths.

347. = Ao:471. It is evident from CT 25 48:8 that dSIMUG is merely ideographic for dNin.á.gal, since dNin.á.gal is there placed in the pronunciation column opposite dSIMUG. This would explain the dittos at the beginning of the present line. Note also that, in AS no. 7 21:173, the sign SIMUG is given the pronunciation dNin.á.gal. In Ao:471, the scribe apparently began to write dNin.ḡ, then erased and wrote dSIMUG.

349. Gloss in A iv 100. Since the next line also shares this gloss (as is indicated by the dittos) and both MUG and HAR are here given the pronunciation of gu.QI.im, this line explains the somewhat enigmatic gloss in CT 29 45:5, which should be read gu/en.di.ib/gim | HAR. According to this latter gloss, the name could be read either gu.gim or en.di.ib.gim. In the present line, the gloss gu.QI.im probably should be read gu.gi_x(QI).im (since /q/ is not in Sumerian; see under note 312 above), a reading that would be in harmony

| A | | | |
|---|--|---------------------|------------|
| | | 350. dHAR | ŠU |
| | | 351. dNin.ḡ | dam.bi.SAL |
| | | 352. d(ga.QI.im)MUG | ŠU |
| | | 353. dHAR | ŠU |
| | | 354. dUt.tu | ŠU |
| | | 355. dTAG X TÚG | " |
| | | 356. dTAG+TÚG | " |
| | | 357. dTAG | " |

with CT 29 45:5 and also with the parallel line in Tablet VI 224, which gives d(gu.gim)ḡ. dGugim(MUG) of this line and dGagim(MUG) of line 352 below obviously form a pair and explain the occurrence of the two deities, who are listed in CT 12 12:16 f. (= Tablet VII of á : A : nâqu) simply as dMUG.

350. The dittos at the beginning of the line indicate that the preceding gloss is to be repeated. Cf. under note 349 above.

351. The sign ḡ looks more nearly like GIŠ than anything else. However, the lower horizontal stroke is crowded by the sign below it, making the reading doubtful. QA may be considered, although less convincing.

352. The gloss should be read ga.gi_x(QI).im (cf. under note 349 above and CT 29 45:6, which gives ga/ga.di.ib/gim, as a gloss for dHAR, who appears in line 353 below). In Tablet VI 225, the name is written d(ga.gim)ḡ.

353. As in line 350, the dittos at the beginning of the line indicate that the gloss of the previous line is to be repeated here.

354. Lines 354-361 deal with various ideograms for the god of weaving; see also MSL III p. 103 line 80. That this deity is concerned with the clothier's trade may be seen from TCL 6 37 iv 28 (= AS no. 7 47) where TAG (cf. dTAG in line 357 below), with the pronunciation TU.KU, is explained as ma-ḡa-su šá subāti(TÚG). In this list, the dittos before each entry indicate that each one has the reading of the first name, dUt.tu. This is clarified by a parallel section in Rm. 2,588 (AJSL 36 159 = Tablet V of Reciprocal ea : nâqu) r. v 31 ff., which gives ut.tu as the glossed reading of TAG X TÚG (= line 355 below), and then, with dittos (as here), carries this gloss down before each succeeding entry. This gloss in Reciprocal ea : nâqu probably should not be read u₄.tu, because one would expect a simple vowel sign such as U, Ú, or Ū to be used in glosses to indicate the pronunciation u. This means that the present entry should be read dUt.tu, not dU₄.tu. The same name occurs again in Tablet VI 142.

| | | | |
|---|------|----------------|---------------------------------|
| A | 358. | d"UŠ.BAR | " |
| | 359. | d"NUN.TÚG | " |
| | 360. | d"KI.LÁ | " |
| | 361. | dSÍK | " |
| | 362. | d"rNin".kur.ra | dam.bi |
| | 363. | dNin.nam.ri | ŠU |
| | 364. | d"Bur.gul | ŠU |
| | 365. | 2 <dingir> | bur.gul.ke ₄ |
| | 366. | dGiš.nun | dingir <lú>.túg.ke ₄ |
| | 367. | d"ÍB | ŠU |
| | 368. | d"LÚ.TÚG | ŠU |
| | 369. | dA.ba | ŠU |
| | 370. | d"KA | ŠU |

361. Evidently, dSÍK did not have the same pronunciation as the preceding entries, although the name is still identified in the second half of the column with the god of weaving. Apparently, dSÍK in this context is to be distinguished from dSÍK in Tablet III 200 who is identified with dSumuqan/Sakkan, and from dSÍK who is identified with dGa-a-a-ú in CT 29 46:15.

362. Note the omission of an expected SAL after dam.bi.

364. Since there are two deities involved in lines 363 and 364 (cf. the summary in line 365), the present entry can not represent an ideogram for the previous deity. If it had been ideographic, only one actual deity would then have been involved. Here, the name may be regarded as dNin.nam.ri.bur.gul.

365. These represented the two gods of the jewelers.

366. The sign read NUN appears in A iv 116 to have an extraneous horizontal head which may represent an erasure.

367. Since the explanatory column contains ŠU, this entry with dittos may represent (on the analogy of line 364 above) dGiš.nun.ib.

368. This line (as in line 367) may actually represent dGiš.nun.lú.túg. Apparently, lines 366-368 were intended to form a unit.

370. On the analogy of lines 364 and 367 above, the present line probably is to be read dA.ba.KA, forming a pair with dA.ba in line 369.

| | | | |
|---|------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| A | 371. | dAšgab.[] .še | ŠU |
| | 372. | d"[] .r"x" | ŠU |
| | 373. | dNin.[] | ŠU |
| | 374. | d"[] | ŠU |
| | 375. | 4 dingir | ašgab.ke ₄ |
| C | 376. | dA.[] | dingir ad.kid.ke ₄ |
| | 377. | dNin.[] | [] .ke ₄ |
| | 378. | dNin.[] | [] .r"x".ḫa.a.ke ₄ |
| | 379. | dEn.[] | [] .r"x.x.x" |
| | 380. | dEn.[] | [] .r"x.x" |
| | 381. | dEn.ba.[] | [] .r"x".UB |
| | 382. | dAb.[] | [] .r"x".bi.ri |
| | 383. | dId.r"x".[] | [] .r"x".ri |
| | 384. | dGiš.r"x".[] | [] .r"x".ri".e |
| | 385. | dŠu.[] | [ŠU] |
| | 386. | d"X".[] | [ŠU] ([mut-tab]-bil i-ši) |
| | 387. | 2 am dingir | rú.íl.la".ke ₄ |

371. With this line begin the names of the four deities of the aškappu profession, "the four gods of the shoemaker."

376. C iv begins approximately here. The traces in C are badly preserved in this section; hence it is difficult to be dogmatic about the exact correlation between A and C. When better preserved duplicates appear, some revision of the correlation between the beginnings and the endings of these lines may become necessary; but it seems unlikely that the difference will prove to be more than a line or two off. The deities in this badly mutilated section obviously continued the list of patron gods of various professions.

386. The gloss = C iv 12, which appears to be the Akkadian equivalent of the summary in the following line. The sign "X" in A iv 135 seems to be a sign like IL or ŠIM etc.

387. = C iv 13b.

| A | C | | |
|---|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| | | 388. d _r X ¹ .[] | ŠU |
| | | 389. d ^u [] | " |
| | | 390. d ^{Ni} .[] | ŠU |
| | | 391. d ^u [] | ["] |
| | | 392. d _{KU} . ^r X ¹ .[] | ŠU ('x.x.x.x ¹) |
| | | 393. 3 àm dingir | 'x.x.x.ke ₄ ¹ |
| | | 394. d ^{Nin} .[dur].ba | ŠU |
| | | 395. d ^u HAŠHUR | " |
| | | 396. d _r X ¹ .UL | ŠU |
| | | 397. d ^[Igi] .sig ₇ .sig ₇ | ŠU |
| | | 398. [d ^u]SAR | " |
| | | 399. d _r Giš ¹ .(ša.am)ú | ŠU |
| | | 400. d _r Giš ¹ .(ga.ša.lá)ú | ŠU (šá in-bi) |
| | | 401. 5 àm dingir | gurun.a.ke ₄ |

388. The sign 'X' in A iv 136 appears to be a sign like IL or ŠIM etc.

389. An ideogram for the preceding line.

391. The line seems to be omitted in C, but the exact correlation with A is uncertain here.

392. Dr. Landsberger suggested to me that the half legible gloss in C iv 16 may possibly be 'šá mul-li-li'. The gloss should represent the Akkadian translation of the following line.

394. The restoration is based upon a suggestion from Dr. Landsberger, who called my attention to the fact that this line corresponds to ea : A : nâqu IV 119 (= AS no. 7 19). A list of five "gods of fruit" begins with this line.

395. The dittos indicate that d^uHAŠHUR is an ideogram for the previous name.

397. Cf. Tablet I 92 where d^[Igi].sig₇.sig₇ is listed as the "chief gardener of Anu."

398. Here, d^uSAR is listed as an ideogram for d^[Igi].sig₇.sig₇. A iv 144b has the traces of ŠU in place of the second dittos which, more correctly, are exhibited by C iv 22.

399. Gloss in A iv 146.

400. First gloss in A iv 147, the second gloss in C iv 24. The second gloss represents the Akkadian translation of the summary in the next line.

| A | C | | |
|---|---|---|-----------------------|
| | | 402. [d ^u]Nin.gi.LAL | ŠU |
| | | 403. [d ^u]AŠ | ŠU |
| | | 404. [d ^u](a.da.ak.be.er)ŠU+ | ŠU |
| | | ÁŠ | |
| | | 405. d ^u ŠU.HA | ŠU |
| | | 406. d ^u Larsa(UD.UNU.KI). | ŠU |
| | | pà.da | |
| | | 407. d ^u ŠU.HA | ŠU |
| | | 408. d ^u Ur ₅ (ur.sa).sa ₆ | ŠU |
| | | 409. d ^u ŠU.HA | ŠU |
| | | 410. d ^u HI.en.HI.sa ₆ | ŠU |
| | | 411. d ^u ŠU.HA | ŠU |
| | | 412. 5 àm dingir | šu.ħa.ke ₄ |

402. The list of five ŠU.HA deities begins with this entry. In A iv 148 ff., these deities are listed (as here) as a series of five pairs of names, each pair consisting of one basic name followed by an ideogram. The summary (in line 412 below) indicates that only five deities are involved, although ten entries are given. In C iv 26-35, a slightly variant order may have been followed, although the exact order is difficult to restore. The first deity in this list probably corresponds to C iv 26, 27; the second, to C iv 28-31 (with three unpreserved ideograms for the basic name in line 28); the third, to C iv 32, 33; the fourth, to C iv 34; and the fifth, to C iv 35. The last two names were apparently listed in C without any corresponding ideograms.

403. d^uAŠ is here ideographic for the previous name.

404. Gloss in A iv 150.

405. The ideogram ŠU.HA is repeated four times in these lines (405, 407, 409, 411), each time preceded by dittos. According to the summary, these lines with d^uŠU.HA do not represent different or separate deities. Hence a reading of the type d^uŠU+ÁŠ.ŠU.HA is excluded (because this would imply that each of these entries represents a deity in its own right). These lines are to be understood as indicating instead that d^uŠU.HA is an ideogram which represents any one of these various gods of the ŠU.HA profession. For a similar situation in the list of d^uEn.ki names, cf. under note 160 above.

408. Gloss in A iv 154.

412. See under note 402 above.

| A | C | | |
|---|---|--|--------------------------|
| | | 413. ^d Pa.a | ŠU |
| | | 414. ^d "MUŠEN.DÙ | ŠU |
| | | 415. ^d Galam(ga.lam.ḫar). ḫar | ŠU |
| | | 416. ^d "MUŠEN.DÙ | ŠU |
| | | 417. ^d En.ár(ar).ri | ŠU |
| | | 418. ^d "ÛR | |
| | | 419. ^d Nin.ár.ri | ŠU |
| | | 420. ^d "ÛR | |
| | | 421. 4 dingir | mušen.dù.ke ₄ |
| | | 422. [^d ŠEŠ.KI (= ^d Nanna)] | ^d En.ʽzuʽ |
| | | 423. dub *2 kám.ma An ^d A-nu-um 6 ŠU 21 mu.bi | |

413. Lines 413-420 contain eight entries, but only four deities are actually involved. As in lines 402-411 above, the present list gives a series of names, each followed by an ideogram.

414. Ideographic for the entry in line 413. For the stylistic principle followed here, cf. ^d"ŠU.ḫA in lines 402-411 above (see under note 405 above).

415. Gloss in A iv 160.

416. Ideographic for the entry in line 415.

417. Gloss in A iv 162.

418. Ideographic for the entry in line 417.

420. Ideographic for the entry in line 419.

421. C iv 43 has "5" in its summary. Text = A iv 165b. Obviously, C had an extra entry (with its ideogram) among these names of the gods of the mušen.dù profession. For the total number involved, see under note 413 above.

422. This catch-line for the next tablet is partly preserved in C iv 44. On the reading ^dEn.ʽzuʽ (instead of ^dʽZuʽ.en or ^dZuenna etc.), see under Tablet III 2.

423. A iv 165 calls this: dub 3 kám.ma. For this difference in the numbering of the tablets, see p. 7 note 26 above. A omits the title An ^dA-nu-um, C iv 45 retains it. The summation of entries is given only by A.

SOURCES USED IN RECONSTRUCTING TABLET III

A YBC 2401

B K. 4349 (CT 24 20 ff.)

| | |
|-----|------------------------------------|
| C | K. 4144 (CT 25 26) |
| D | VAT 11513 (KAV 51) |
| E | K. 215 + K. 2105 (CT 25 19, 20) |
| F | K. 2097 (CT 24 18) |
| G | Ph. 5175: Ass. 17379 (KAV 172) |
| H | K. 4343 (CT 25 25) |
| I | Rm. 11,32 (CT 25 21) |
| J | Ph. 5175: Ass. 17253 (KAV 179) |
| K | S. 190 (CT 19 11) |
| L | K. 4349B col. ii (CT 24 48) |
| M | K. 4349K + 81-7-27,54 r. (CT 25 8) |
| N | 81-7-6,32 (now 45639) unpublished |
| O | K. 4349L (CT 24 37) |
| P | K. 2117 (CT 25 27) |
| Q | 80-7-19,131 (CT 25 46) |
| R | K. 2124 (CT 25 32) |
| S | K. 2110 (unpublished) |
| T | Sm. 1447 (CT 25 19) |
| U | Rm. 342 (CT 19 37) |
| V | K. 4349N + K. 4349U (CT 24 50) |
| aa | K. 4339 (CT 25 9 f.) |
| ab | K. 2100 (CT 25 16 f.) |
| ac | K. 4365 (CT 25 27) |
| ad | D. T. 115 (CT 25 20) |
| Ao | AO. 5376 (TCL 15 25 ff.) |
| eme | Emesal list in MSL IV |

| A | D |
|----|---------------------------|
| 1. | dNanna(ŠEŠ.KI) dSin(EŠ) |
| 2. | dEn.zu " |
| 3. | d"30 " |

1. The tablet begins with a list of the names of dNanna. For similar lists, see K. 2114 (CT 25 42):7 ff. and K. 2115 (CT 25 28) ii 2 ff. For the reading of dŠEŠ.KI, note the gloss na.an.na in CT 29 46:26 and K. 2115 (CT 25 28) ii 2. It was formerly thought that the name dNanna ended in -r, but Ungnad (ZA 22 11 footnote 1), Kramer (AJA 47 134), and Falkenstein (OLZ 46 354) have shown that this is untenable (although it would seem that dŠEŠ.KI was pronounced dNannar/Nannaru in Akkadian texts, e.g., cf. the bilingual text IV R 2nd ed. 9a:3, 5, 7, etc.). According to the "catch-line" of C iv 44 in Tablet II 422, the name in the second half of the column was dEn.zu in some textual traditions. A iv 167 has dEŠ (written with four horizontal strokes; see under Tablet II 295). This part of the line is broken away in D. The corresponding section in A o:148 ff. is naturally more abbreviated than here, giving only the most prominent of the names of dSin. The present line = A o:149.

2. = A o:148. The order in A o:148 f. (first, dEn.zu; then, dNanna) seems significant since it gives dEn.zu the chief place among the names of the moon god. For the pronunciation of dEn.zu, cf. the long-neglected pronunciation gloss in CT 29 46:27. Lines 26-28 of this latter text are to be restored as follows:

26. (na.an.na) dŠEŠ.KI
 27. (en.zu) dEn.[zu]
 28. (si.in) dEŠ

One would be ignoring the force of glosses if one interpreted the gloss in line 27 of this latter text as indicating the pronunciation *Zu.en > *Su.en > Sin. One would expect that such a pronunciation would have been given as (zu.en) dEN.ZU. But if dEN.ZU is not to be read dZu.en, how can one explain the genitive form dEn.zu.na.ke₄ (as in lines 29, 66, 86, 96 below; although some entries simply give dEn.zu.ke₄, as in lines 37, 43, 48, 58, etc. below)? One may consider the possibility that the entries with dEn.zu.na.ke₄ may reflect a scribal tendency to equate the Sumerian dEn.zu with the Akkadian dSin and to view dEn.zu as practically an ideogram for dSin. In this connection, note also the scribal variation for line 3 below, resulting in dEn.zu = d30 = d(si-in-nu)30. This seems to be in keeping with scribal flexibility when writing the name of the moon god.

3. The dittos (in A iv 169) indicate that the number "30" is here used as an ideogram for dEn.zu of the previous line. Instead of dittos, D:3 gives the gloss si-in-nu. Note

| A | D |
|-----|-------------------------------------|
| 4. | dGiš.nu _x (ŠIR).gal " |
| 5. | dBU.nir " |
| 6. | dÁb.kár " |
| 7. | dÁb.lu.lu " |
| 8. | dMen.šu.du ₇ " |
| 9. | dMen.dara ₃ .an.na " |
| 10. | dMen.dara ₃ .dingir. " |
| | ra " |
| 11. | dMen.zalag(za.[la. " |
| | ag]).ušu " |
| 12. | dGIL.sa.an.na " |

also the difference which A makes between "30" (three winkel-hakens) in this line and EŠ in line 1 above. This would seem to indicate that a distinction was made between dEŠ as an ideogram for dSin/En.zu, and d30 as a numerical ideogram for dSin/En.zu. For the system of numerical ranking of the gods, see under Tablet I 150.

4. = A o:151. The reading ŠIR = nu_x is based upon the fact that the temple name é.giš.ŠIR.gal^x (with which the name of the present line is ultimately connected) appears in various phonetic writings which admit only a final reading of nu_x. The temple name is written with ŠIR (= nu_x) in I R 68 i 30^x (with a reading of nu.gál given in the margin); with nu in SBH p. 87:55 and CT 21 22:5; and with nu₆ (NUN) in UET I no. 169:9. Cf. further Schuster, ZA 44 263 ff. note 10. This would make a reading of šir₅ for NU (as Kramer, AS no. 12 p. 16 line 14 et passim) improbable and points instead to a reading of nu_x for ŠIR.

6. = A o:152. This entry is probably to be compared with K. 8308 (CT 25 27):7 which has d(áb.ka.rum)Áb.[kár]. D:6 varies, giving dÁb.tir.

8. = A o:153 (which varies, giving dMen.e.du₇).

9. Text = A iv 175.

10. Text = B iv 2 and D:9.

11. Gloss in F i 2. Zalag is written in A iv 177; D:10; and F with the sign PIR, which is apparently a graphic variant for UD (cf. von Soden, Syllabar p. 71).

12. D:11 varies, giving dGIL.sa.dingir.ra. The end of the name is broken away in F i 3, but the traces could fit either dGIL.sa.'an'.[na] or dGIL.sa.'dingir'.[ra]. For the reading of the name in this line, see note 13 below.

| A | B | D | F | R | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---------------------------------|
| | | | | | 13. ^d GIL.sa.a |
| | | | | | 14. ^d Má.gu.la.an.na |
| | | | | | 15. ^d Dumu.nun.na |
| | | | | | 16. ^d Dumu.(gi)KU |
| | | | | | 17. ^d Lugal |
| | | | | | 18. ^d Umun |
| | | | | | 19. ^d Mu.<hé>.gál.la |

13. F i 4 provides the variant ^dMI.sa.[a]. This should doubtless be read ^dGi₆.sa.[a], and may provide a clue for the reading of GIL in this and the previous line, indicating possible readings of ^dGi_x.sa.an.na and ^dGi_x.sa.a respectively (see Thureau-Dangin, Homophones p. 11 note 7 and King, CT 24 p. 17).

15. = Ao:154.

16. This entry appears to have been a name as troublesome for the ancient scribe as for the modern scholar. Apparently, the sign KU (with its gloss gi) has here a value of gi_x/ge₇—a value not usually met by the ancient scribe. In A iv 181, it is evident that the scribe began to write KI (= gi₅/ge₅), then changed it to KU (the winkelhaken is still visible, but it is so clearly separated from KU that a reading of KI (i.e., U+KU) seems excluded). In R:4, an erasure appears before the gloss, which suggests that the scribe had some difficulty here. In D:15, Schroeder has drawn considerable shading over a possible KI (KAV 51:15); but in his earlier copy (ZA 31 102), the shading is absent—leaving the sign KI with a clear but diminutive winkelhaken. Provisionally, the name might be read ^dDumu.ge₇. This entry may be parallel to ^dA.KU in CT 25 49 r. 6, where the following popular etymology explains: ^dA.KU | ^dSin(ES) DUMU ru-[bu-u]. That is, A = mâru(DUMU) and KU = rubû; cf. Ungnad, OLZ 14 154. Note CT 25 16:13 where ^dDumu.KU is given also as one of the names of Adad.

17. Since this line appears in a group of lines that present ^dSin as "lord," "exalted son," etc., the name can hardly be anything but ^dLugal. This means that the name is to be carefully distinguished from ^dLUGAL (= ^dyaniš) who appears among the names of Adad (see line 272 below). The sign LUGAL would certainly be glossed here if any other pronunciation were involved.

18. Distinguish here between ^dU (= ^dUmun) and ^d10 which appears to be the numerical symbol of other deities (cf. CT 25 50 r. 16). The numerical symbol of Sin is given in line 3 above.

19. F i 10: ^dMu.<hé>.gál.'la'.

| A | B | D | F | R | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | 20. ^d BE(dím).huš |
| | | | | | 21. ^d (un.ki.en)Unken _x (URU X BAR) |
| | | | | | 22. ^d Unken _x (URU X BAR).EN.ru |
| | | | | | 23. ^d U ₄ .sar na.an.'na' |
| | | | | | 24. ^d (ma)Má |
| | | | | | 25. ^d Má.gur ₈ |
| | | | | | 26. ^d Aš.ím(im).babbar ^d Nam-[ra-ši-it] |
| | | | | | 27. ^d (ni)Nin.gal dam.bi.[SAL] |

20. The gloss in F i 11 may indicate a reading of ^dDim₇.huš or, perhaps better, ^dIdim_x.huš (cf. MSL II p. 42 line 110).

21. Gloss in F i 12. D:20 has the initial traces of the gloss. In R:9, the name is wrongly written GISGAL X IGI which is probably to be corrected to URU X BAR; see Meissner, OLZ 13 100. Following this line, R deviates and continues with a number of names of ^dSin not found in the other texts.

22. F i 13 has ^dUnken_x(URU X BAR).AN.uru₂(ru), with which A iv 187 possibly agreed. D:21 has ^dURU X BAR.[x].URU X ŠĀ; but this seems unconvincing. Possibly URU X ŠĀ in D is to be emended to uru₂. Text = B iv 8 which is the only duplicate with this line fully preserved. The occurrence here of EN.ru = uru₂ = uru₃, in these duplicate texts, points to a reading of u_x for EN, which would indicate that the present entry should be read ^dUnken_x.u_x.ru. One may, however, here read EN as uru_x and regard the following sign RU as a phonetic complement (cf. MSL II p. 64 line 416a). This would result in a reading of ^dUnken_x(URU X BAR).uru_x.ru. D draws a ruling line under this entry.

23. The explanation in the right half of the column is found only in D:22. The other exemplars are all broken at this point.

24. Gloss in D:23.

25. Cf. CT 25 34:14 ff. and KAV 68 iii 8.

26. = Ao:150. Gloss in F i 17. The beginning of the Akkadain translation ^dNam-[ra-ši-it] is preserved only in D:25. For the restoration, cf. BA 10/1 40:5 f. and CT 16 15 v 19 f.

27. = Ao:155. The gloss appears only in F i 18. For the significance of the abbreviated gloss ni for nin, see under Tablet II 21. This series does not devote much space to the

| A | B | D | F |
|---|---|---|-----------------------|
| | | | 28. d(ni)Nin.gi.kù.ga |
| | | | 29. d'Ab.na.ar.bu |
| | | | 30. dNin.EZEN X 'GUD' |
| | | | 31. dNin.[x.x]. 'x' |

names of the wife of the moon god; for a more detailed list of her various names, see CT 18 29:38a ff. In B iv 10, her name appeared in the variant form dNin.gal.'la'.

28. The gloss appears only in F i 19. For the significance of the abbreviated gloss ni for nin, see under Tablet II 21. In Tablet II 178, the name appears (without the gloss) among those of dDam.gal.nun.na.

29. B iv 12 has d'Ab.NIR.'bu'. Perhaps this should be read d'Ab.nàr.'bu'; for even though nàr is an Akkadian reading (cf. von Soden, Syllabar p. 61), its value must have been known to the scribe of B.

30. = Ao:156. With this entry, B iv 13 obviously begins a new list of names, each of which originally must have had ŠU in the explanatory column (B still has the traces of ŠU after this first name). This means that B possibly represents a textual tradition that originally made a summary after line 35 below. A v 6 varies here and represents a tradition that viewed lines 30-35 as various names of one single deity. However, A (unemended) lists all of these names as subentries for d'Ab.na.ar.bu "the mother of dEn.zu." Since some of the names in the list begin with lugal, it is obvious that some emendation is necessary here. According to B iv 13, the present entry should be the initial line of a new section that is distinguished from the entry in line 29 (if line 30 represented a continuation of line 29, B would not have the traces of ŠU after this name). It would seem that A must be corrupt in placing dittos after this name. An emendation of *dumu dEn.zu.na.ke₄, or something similar, seems called for here. That this section represents subnames of a male deity is clearly indicated in line 36 below, where dNin.GA+KAS is described as "his wife." The emendation of *dumu dEn.zu.na.ke₄ is made on the basis of such texts as CBM 19767 (published in transliterated form by Zimmern, ZA NF 5 256) no. 11:9 (where dNin.EZEN X GUD is described as: dNin.EZEN X GUD dumu dEn.zu.na.ke₄). See also Meissner, AfO 6 110 (who unconvincedly reads the name as dNin.ḥarru) and Landsberger, OLZ 34 131 f. (who compares the name with the dNin.EZEN X LA which appears in older texts). On the restoration of GUD as the inserted sign here instead of the older LA, see line 64 below, where the sign is more completely preserved in texts E and L.

31. Landsberger, OLZ 34 132, tentatively suggested a restoration of dNin.[gá.bu]r.ra for this line. However,

| A | B | F |
|---|---|------------------------------------|
| | | 32. dGul.si |
| | E | 33. dLugal.(ba.ḥar) [GUD] |
| | | 34. dLugal.GUD.GUD |
| | | 35. d(ḥa.ar)GUD |
| | | 36. dNin.(ni.ga.ra) _{GA+} |
| | | KAS |
| | 0 | 37. d(a.la.'x.x') _{LAL} |

since this name appears among the names of dNin.ka.ra.ak (see Tablet V 152), it seems unlikely that it would appear here as an alternative name for the "son of dSin."

32. = Ao:157, which varies, giving dGUL.zi.

33. = Ao:158. Gloss in A v 9.

34. B iv 15: dLugal.GUD.'GUD(!)'.
35. Gloss in E:3; A v 11 gives the gloss as ḥa.ra. A

number of deities appear to have borne this name, but whether these can all be distinguished from each other is not easily ascertained. It seems clear that the present entry is to be distinguished, at least, from a deity of the same name who is known in other sources as the "son of Šamaš" (cf. CT 27 4:19; 6:15; KAH II 124:18; KAR 137:10; KAV 74:7; etc.). However, whether a relationship can be established between dGUD in the present line and dGUD in such entries as Tablet VI 207 seems quite doubtful.

36. = Ao:159, where the name is written dNin.é.NI.GA. Gloss in E:4. The sign NI is written large in E, but this probably represents a copier's error; see OLZ 13 64. In the gloss, the sign NI may be viewed as an abbreviated gloss for nin (see under Tablet II 21); but one may rightfully doubt the possibility that ga.ra is an abbreviated gloss intended to indicate a reading of garaš(GA+KAS), because abbreviated glosses generally seem to be used to indicate the readings of common monosyllabic signs (as NI for nin, E for NIN, BA for bar, A for an, etc.; see under Tablet II 21). Therefore the name in the present entry may be read dNin.gara_x(GA+KAS), although dNin.garaš_z(GA+KAS) may not be completely ruled out. If the latter reading is used, the name should be carefully distinguished from the entry in Tablet I 115, where the name appears in the list of the "fathers and mothers" of Enlil.

37. = Ao:164. The gloss in A v 13 is somewhat broken, but the traces favor the reading a.la.'še.eg'. The museum no. of O (K. 4349L) indicates that it is a fragment of B. It should represent approximately lines 17-32 of the gap in B iv (for K. 4349L ii, see under Tablet IV 42). The efforts of Weidner, AfK 2 10 note 9, and Tallquist, AG 347, to equate dLAL with "dNinni.lâl" seem unconvincing.

| A | E | O | | |
|---|---|---|-----|--|
| | | | 38. | ^d Nin.ŠEŠ.UNU.KI dam.bi.SAL |
| | | | 39. | ^d Me(ga.ga).me sukkal ^d Nin.gal.ke ₄ |
| | | I | 40. | ^d Uru _x (EN)(ú.ru).gal sukkal ^d LĀL.ke ₄ |
| | | | 41. | ^d Amar.ra.a.zu ŠU |
| | | | 42. | ^d Amar.ra.ḫé.è.a ŠU |
| | | | 43. | 2 dumu.SAL ^d En.zu.ke ₄ |
| | | | 44. | ^d Nin.kù.nun.na ŠU |
| | | | 45. | ^d Ninnu(40).tab.ba ŠU |
| | | | 46. | ^d Níg.ga.ba ŠU |
| | | | 47. | ^d Il.la.bu.un.du ŠU |

38. = Ao:165, where the name appears as ^dNin.ŠEŠ.UNU.KI. ma. The present entry is probably to be read simply ^dNin. uri₂.

39. The gloss ga.ga (which appears in A v 15) can hardly indicate a new pronunciation for the sign ME. It more probably is a scribal indication of a textual variant in his copies (cf. p. 31 above). The line is to be understood in the light of Tablet V 139, 146, where both ^dMe.me and ^dGA.GA (glossed with ka.ka, hence, read ^dKà.kà) appear among the names of ^dNin.ka.ra.ak. Since ^dMe.me and ^dKà.kà are, therefore, identified with each other, the gloss in the present entry points to the possibility that another textual tradition listed ^dKà.kà here as the name of the sukkal of ^dNin.gal. In E:7, still another variant occurs: ^dMe.kin.

40. In E:8 and text I:1, the name appears as ^dUru_z.gal. For EN = URU_x, see MSL II p. 64 line 416a, and cf. note 22 above. The name should be compared with ^dUru_z.gal which appears among the names of Šamaš in line 117 below.

41. A v 17: ^dAmar.ra.zu. KAV 63 i 16 (= KAV 65 r. i 18) agrees with E:9 and text I:2 in reading the name ^dAmar.ra.a.zu; but a duplicate of KAV 63, VAT 7759 (= AfK 2 4):4 gives ^dAma.ra.a.zu. Cf. Tablet I 352a which gives the following variants: ^dAma.a.ra.zu, ^dAmar.ra.zu, and ^dAmar.zu.

42. = Ao:166, which gives the variant ^dAma.ra.ḫé.ĀG.e.

44. Apparently, this name is usually reserved for ^dInanna—at least in Ur; see Landsberger, OLZ 34 131 and KK 72 note 4.

45. A v 20 at last gives the real reading for the otherwise enigmatic (see Landsberger, OLZ 34 133) ^dŠE.tab.ba. A now shows that the sign ŠE in E:12 and text I:5 actually should be read ninnu(40).

47. A v 22: ^dIl₅.la.bu.un.‘du’.

| A | E | I | O | | |
|---|---|---|---|-----|--|
| | | | | 48. | 4 dingir.gub.ba [^d En].zu.ke ₄ |
| | | | T | 49. | ^d ḪI.á.mu.an.‘na’ ŠU |
| | | | | 50. | ^d ŠEŠ.UNU.KI.ka.zal ŠU |
| | | | | 51. | ^d Amar. ^d En.zu ŠU |
| | | | | 52. | ^d ŠEŠ.KI.bulug ₂ .maḫ ŠU |
| | | | | 53. | ^d U ₄ .men.an.na ŠU |
| | | | | 54. | ^d U ₄ .ka.zal.an.na ŠU |
| | | | | 55. | ^d U ₄ .é.zi.an.na ŠU |
| | | | | 56. | ^d An.na.ḫi.li.ba ŠU |
| | | | | 57. | 8 gu ₄ .DÚB ^d En.[zu.na].ke ₄ |
| | | | L | 58. | ^d ŠEŠ.KI.balag.an.ki ŠU ‘kišib’.lá.maḫ ^d En.zu.‘ke ₄ ’ |
| | | | | 59. | ^d Nin.da.gal.zu ŠU |
| | | | | 60. | ^d Nin.da.maḫ.‘di’ ŠU |
| | | | | 61. | 2 gu ₄ .DÚB ^d Nin.gal.ke ₄ |

49. Text = A v 23. T:1 gives ^dḪi.á.gu.an.[na]. E:15 and text I:8 represent a variant tradition which has ^dŠá.an.ba.

50. Read ^dUrí.ka.zal.

51. The name represents, of course, the deified third king of the third dynasty of Ur. See line 254 below, where he appears in the circle of ^dIM.

52. The variation in O:12, [^dŠEŠ.KI].balag.maḫ, points to a reading of bulug₂ here, instead of the more usual ušum.

53. This name and the following one are listed in KAV 64 iv 16 f. (= "Smaller An : ^dA-nu-un") among the names of a group of servants of Šamaš.

54. See under note 53 above.

55. T:7 gives ^dU₄.gana₂.‘zi’.[an.na].

56. Cf. An : Anu šá amēli 7 where Ḫi.li.ba appears among the names of Anu. The present name appears to be a compound name, based upon both An and Ḫi.li.ba. In O:14, the name is given as [^dAn.na.ḫi.li].bi.

58. The museum no. of L (K. 4349B) indicates that this text is actually a fragment of B. L ii corresponds to approximately lines 34 ff. of the gap in B iv (this is evident from the fact that col. i of this fragment corresponds to approximately lines 38 ff. of the gap in B iii; see under Tablet II 213).

| | | |
|-------|---|---|
| E I L | 62. ^d Giš.tukul.AN. (MI- 'ṬU')BAD | ŠU |
| | 63. ^d Á.maḅ.tuk | ŠU |
| | 64. 2 gu ₄ .DÚB | ^d Nin.EZEN X GUD.ke ₄ |
| | 65. ^d Nin.dar.a | ^d EŠ (= ^d Sin) |
| | 66. ^d Nin.me.te.en.te.en | geme ₂ ^d En.zu.na.ke ₄ |
| | 67. ^d (na.zi)ENGUR | ŠU *dam.bi.SAL ^d Nin. dar.a.ke ₄ |

62. For the gloss in text I:19, see Meissner, OLZ 13 64. With its Akkadian emphatic, the gloss seems difficult to explain, occurring as it does in the middle of a Sumerian name. The name itself seems to mean simply "the weapon of the god BAD."

63. Text I:20: ^dU₄.maḅ.(tu)[x.x]. It is possible that the gloss in text I contained one more sign, such as UK or KU; however, it seems unlikely that such a gloss would have been used to explain such a common sign as TUK. The gloss suggests instead that the name in text I ended with TUG or possibly some other sign with the value TUG_x.

64. For ^dNin.EZEN X GUD, see under note 30 above.

65. = Ao:162 and 295. E:28 has [^dEn].zu instead of ^dEŠ. On ^dNin.dar.a, cf. further under note 67 below.

67. The line is ambiguous in L:9 since the scribe who wrote L (= a fragment of B, see under note 58 above) constantly compressed his material. NA.ZI is certainly a gloss, as is seen from the fact that the next entry gives the same name written phonetically. Note also ^dENGUR without gloss in line 69 below. In SLT 122 iii 13 (= SLT 124 iv 4), the name ^dNa.zi occurs again in close proximity to (as here, see line 70 below) the name of ^dNin.mar.ki; but, in this latter text, the ideogram usually read ^dNanše appears immediately following ^dNa.zi instead of an expected ^dENGUR. In Ao:293 f., this same pair occurs together again. This points to an equation of ^dNa.zi = ^dENGUR = *^dNanše and clarifies the partly broken gloss in CT 29 46:25 (where the pronunciation gloss for the ideogram usually read ^dNanše is to be restored to na.ʿziʿ). Hence it seems probable that the deity whose name is usually read ^dNanše is not only to be identified with ^dENGUR/Nammu, but is to be read ^dNazi instead of ^dNanše (although it is not clear whether the present entry is to be identified with ^dNAMMU in Tablet I 27). In Ao:295, the name of ^dNin.dar.a follows that of ^dNa.zi/Nazi(NANŠE), thus occupying the place of her spouse in Ao. This would seem to justify the emendation of *dam.bi.SAL ^dNin.dar.a.ke₄—an emendation which is in harmony with line 274 of the myth "Enki and Ninhursagga" (see

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| L | 68. ^d Na.zi | " |
| | 69. ^d EN.ŠA.LU.LU | SAL.giskim(IGI+DUB). maḅ ^d 'ENGUR'.ke ₄ |
| | 70. ^d Nin.mar.ki | ŠU |
| | 71. ^d Nin.mar.ra | [ŠU] |
| | 72. ^d Nin.ki.mar.ra | [ŠU] |
| | 73. ^d ERÍN.kur.kur.ra | [ŠU] |
| | 74. ^d Zi.šà.gi.diri | [ŠU] |
| | 75. ^d Nunuz.aš.túm.mu | [ŠU] |
| | 76. ^d A.GIM.sig ₇ .eš | [ŠU] |
| | 77. ^d A.GIM.ma.na.uš | [ŠU] |
| | 78. ^d TAG.(zi.iz. 'zil')TAG | [ŠU] |
| J | 79. ^d En.BU.dù.(du.du)dù | [ŠU] |
| | 80. ^d Amar.šuba(ZA+MUŠ) | ŠU |
| | 81. ^d UM.ME.(e.me.ed)DA | ŠU |
| | 82. ^d (ni) _{Nin} .(bi.zé. em)'ŠID(!) X A' | ŠU |

Kramer, BASOR SS no. 1 p. 20:274 and p. 30 note 72) where it is declared, "Let ^dNa.zi marry <d>U.mu.un.dar.a (= ^dNin.dar.a)."

69. For giskim(IGI+DUB), see CAD 5 98.

70. In the present line, ^dNin.mar.ki quite logically follows ^dNazi (= ^dNa.zi = ^dNANŠE, see note 67 above), because ^dNazi was regarded as her mother (see SAK 60 5:8-10).

71. Although the organization of this section is ambiguous, the list of the children of ^dNin.mar.ki probably begins here. L regularly omits ŠU in the explanatory column; but this should be restored in these lines, as is evident from lines 80 ff. below.

78. Gloss in L:15. P:4 should be restored to read ^dTAG(zi.iz). 'TAG'[(zil)]. The name is ^dZizzil.

80. For ZA+MUŠ = šuba, see under note 249 below.

81. Gloss in P:7.

82. For the value bizem_x(ŠID X A), see MSL II p. 51 note 238.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|------|---|-----------------|-----------------------------|--|
| A | G | H | L | S | | | | | |
| | | | | | 96. | 8(!) dumu. 'meš' | utul.mah | d _{En.zu.na.} | |
| | | | | | | d _{Ga-a-a-'ú'} -[ke ₄] | ke ₄ | | |
| | | | | | 97. | d(ú.tú) _{UD} | d _{UD} | (= d _{Utu/Šamaš}) | |
| | | | | | 98. | d(am.na) _{UD} | " | | |
| | | | | | 99. | d(šá-maš) _{UD} | " | | |
| | | | | | 100. | d("šu-šá-na-ku) ₂₀ | " | | |
| | | | | | 101. | d[] | " | | |
| | | | | | 102. | d _{Giš.nu_x} (ŠIR) | " | | |
| | | | | | 103. | d _{Sag.} (ka.ra) _{kara₂} | " | | |
| | | | | | 104. | d _{Pa} (mi.id.ra).šu.du ₇ | " | | |
| | | | | | 105. | d _{Nin} (ni).sa.a | " | | |

TU.NE. The gloss in H:2 may provide some help in controlling the signs involved, but all of these variant forms of the name seem to have been regarded as ideographic for ^dSumuqan; see under Tablet I 238 and An : Anu šá amēli 106. G gives ŠU.ma instead of ŠU.

96. The last two lines of S (see under note 85 above) give:

13. [8 dumu]. 'meš' d_{Ga-a-a-'ú'}-[ke₄]
 14. [utul.mah d_{En}]. 'zu'.na.[ke₄]

97. = Ao:171 and A v 66. Gloss in H:4. On the pronunciation of the Sumerian name for the sun-god ^dUtu, see ZA NF 11 36 and OLZ 46 353. The Šamaš list naturally follows the names of the immediate household of ^dSin because ^dŠamaš was regarded as the son of ^dSin; cf. BA 10/1 1:5 f.

98. Cf. CT 12 3 r. 20. In this and the following lines, G:17 ff. have ki.min instead of the simple dittos.

100. The dittos may indicate a double gloss here (i.e., ša.maš plus the sign name). Cf. CT 12 3 r. 16, where ^d20 (= ^dŠamaš) has the gloss of šu-šá-na and the explanation šu-uš-šá-an. Note ac:9, where ^d20 (in a Šamaš list) has a gloss of bu.zu.ur; this should be compared with CT 12 3 r. 6, which pronounces the sign 20 as bu.zur and then explains it as pu-uz-rù.

101. A has one more name in the Šamaš list between A v 66 and 74, but what the extra name might have been cannot be determined. Arbitrarily, this extra name is placed here.

102. = Ao:173. For the reading ŠIR = nu_x, see under note 4 above.

103. = Ao:174. Gloss in H:9.

104. = Ao:175. Gloss in H:10.

105. = Ao:176, which seems to vary, giving ^dNin.sa.za; but this may represent either a scribal or a copiest's

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|------|---|---|
| A | H | Q | | | |
| | | | 106. | d _{Má.GAN} .da.an.na | " |
| | | | 107. | d _{'x'} .[] | " |
| | | | 108. | d(za.lam) _{KUŠ} | " |
| | | | 109. | d(BI.še.ba) _{ALAM} | " |
| | | | 110. | d ₄₀ (ni.min.du).du | " |
| | B | | 111. | d _{Tu.} (kur) _{kur₄} | " |
| | | | 112. | d _{KU} .[] | " |
| | | | 113. | d _{Si} . 'gul' | " |
| | | | 114. | d[X] | " |
| | | | 115. | d _{Nun.sag} . 'x' | " |

mistake. Concerning the abbreviated gloss ni for nin, see under Tablet II 21.

106. The traces of the beginning of má appear in A v 75 and in Q r. 1. In the light of K. 4209 (CT 25 34) r. 8, the name is probably to be emended to *^dMá.ban.da.an.na "the little boat of An."

107. = A v 76.

108. = ac:8. Gloss in H:13. For the gloss(!) in Q r. 2, see OLZ 13 97.

109. To read the gloss in H:14 as kaš.še.ba (as in AG 341) is not without difficulties. It would seem strange to find the sign BI having the value kaš in a gloss. For an indication of the reading kaš_x, one would expect to find the gloss ka.aš/áš. In Q r. 3, the gloss appears as MU.še.bi, which Meissner, OLZ 13 97, would correct to BI(!).še.bi. The fact that a number of deities are referred to as ^dALAM (especially in late cult texts, e.g., cf. III R 66 I:15, 25, 27, 29, 32) renders the task of analyzing all such deities difficult. For one analysis of ^dALAM/šalmu deities, see E. Douglas Van Buren, Or. NS 10 65 ff. See also Tablet I 20 f. and Tablet IV 177.

110. Gloss in H:15. King's copy of H presents HI instead of 40, but this is doubtless to be emended. See also Tablet I 206 where the name occurs in a Ninurta list.

111. Gloss in H:16.

112. = A v 81.

113. Text = H:17. A v 82 and B iv 61: ^dSi₁₂. [gull].

114. = H:18.

115. The sign 'x' in H:19 may possibly have been a sign such as KAL.

| A | B | H | Q | | | |
|---|---|---|---|------|--|---|
| | | | | 116. | d _{TE} (mu.ul.la).lá | " |
| | | | | 117. | d _{Uru₃} (ŠEŠ).gal | " |
| | | | | 118. | d _{Piš} .gal | " |
| | | | V | 119. | d _{Kili₃} (ki.li.da. gal).dagal | " |
| | | | | 120. | d _A (e).kíd | " |
| | | | | 121. | d _{UD} .è | " |
| | | | | 122. | d _{Eš} .maḥ | " |
| | | | | 123. | d _{Sag} .[MAŠ].šu.du ₇ | " |
| | | | | 124. | d _{U₄} .dè.gub.ba | " |
| | | | | 125. | d _A .BAD.an.ki | " |

116. Text = H:20. B iv 62: d_{TE}.mul.[lá]. mul in B probably represents an older gloss which was allowed by scribal oversight to become a part of the text; see Meissner, OLZ 13 97.

117. Cf. line 40 above, where the name d_{Uru₃}.gal interchanges with d_{Uru_x}(EN).gal (the sukkal of d_{LAL}). Cf. further Tablet I 319, where d_{Uru₃}.maš (= d_{En.nu.gi}) corresponds to d_{Uru₃}.gal in Ao:325.

119. Gloss in H:23. As Meissner, OLZ 13 99, has pointed out, this line corresponds to ac:1, which seems to present d_{UM}.dagal.la. Possibly King's copy of ac is to be emended to conform more closely to the present line. From its museum no., text V is obviously a fragment of B; it restores portions of B iv and v (see under Tablet IV 95). Text V i 1 ff. supplies the ends of the lines for B iv 63 ff. The traces of the present entry in text V i 1 suggest that the name in B iv 63 ended with [da].ḡál.

120. Text = B iv 64, in which the sign E certainly represents a gloss. For similar entries containing the sign A glossed with e, see lines 135 and 231 below. In H:24, the name appears as d_{AN}.kíd, while in ac:2, the name is written <d>_{AN}.(ki.id).kíd.

121. = ac:3.

122. = ac:4.

123. = ac:5.

124. = ac:7.

125. = ac:6, which varies, giving d_{En}.BAD.an.ki. Dr. Landsberger suggested to me that the name should be read d_A.idim.an.ki.

| A | B | H | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|------|---|-------------------------------|
| | | | | 126. | d _{Nin.kár} .ra | d _{A.a} <dam.bi.SAL> |
| | | V | | 127. | d _{Šè} (še)NIR.da | ["] |
| | | | | 128. | d _{UD} ."(= Šè.NIR.da)UD | ["] |
| | | | | 129. | d _{Zab} (!).ḡḡ(= Šè. NIR.da).[UD] | ["] |
| | | | | 130. | d _{Sù} .UD.kám | ["] |
| | C | | | 131. | d _{Sù} .[UD.ág] | " |
| | | | | 132. | d _{Nin.mul.gùn} .a | " |
| | | | | 133. | d _A .ḡaḡ | " |

126. Neither B iv 67 nor H:30 contains the expected dam.bi.SAL. Whether A v 94 had this explanation cannot be determined. H varies slightly, giving [d_{Nin}].kár | d_{A.U}. Note BA 10/1 1:9 f., where d_{A.a} is described as the "bride" (of d_{Šamaš}). In K. 4349 (CT 25 9):17, d_{Nin.kár} is also equated with d_{A.a}; while in line 33 of the same text, d_{A.a} is identified with d_{Ištar}. Cf. K. 7686 (CT 25 46):5 ff., which, if complete, would have given a number of her names.

127. = Ao:177 (which has d_{Šè}.NIR) and text V i 5. Gloss in A v 95. B iv 67b has še instead of šè. In view of the variant ways in which the name was written, d_{Šè}.NIR.da is probably to be read d_{Šè}.ri₅.da. Note that in An : Anu šá amēli 45 her name appears as d_{Šè}.ri.da. See also K. 4349 (CT 25 9):27, where d_{Šè}.ri₅.da is similarly identified with d_{A.a}.

128. = Ao:180, which presents d_{UD}d_{UD}. In B iv 68, the sign name is added to the gloss: UD.mi.na.bi "UD-doubled." In A v 96, the name may have been written d_U(ú.[tu.mi.na.bi)UD.UD]; CT 25 10 i 28 may be compared here.

129. = text V i 6. Restored from CT 25 10 i 29, which adds the sign name involved: za.ab.ú.tu. In A v 97, the dittos appear to have been placed just after the determinative.

130. Cf. CT 25 10 i 31, where it is clear that the reading kám is to be preferred above hé. In Ao:179, the name occurs as d_{Sù}.TAG.kam. This may have represented d_{Sù}.tuk₅.kam; hence the name d_{Sù}.UD.kám is possibly to be read d_{Sù}.tú.kám.

131. C:1 ff. preserves the dittos of the explanatory column in these lines. The present line may be restored from CT 25 10 i 32 and Ao:178 (which has d_{Sud}.ág). Cf. also CT 25 9:25: d_{Sù}.da.ág. Text V i 7 shows that B iv 69b had a name ending in A.

132. = CT 25 9:26.

| A | B | C | |
|---|---|---|--|
| | | | 134. ^d Nin.ul.šū.tag " |
| | | | 135. ^d A(e).la.gá ŠU ^d Utu(UD) |
| | | | 136. ^d Pa ₄ .nu.nunuz.kàd. ŠU HU |
| | | | 137. ^d Pa ₄ .numun.KA ^d Utu |
| : | | | 138. ^d Di.nu.KA.mu.un.DI [ŠU] |
| : | | | 139. ^d Níg.zi.ʿdaʿ sukkał á.zi.da.ke ₄ |
| | | | 140. ^d Níg.si.sá sukkał á. gùb.bu.ke ₄ |
| | | | 141. ^d Nin.pirig ₃ (!) sukkał.maḥ ^d Utu.ke ₄ |
| | | | 142. ^d Pa ₄ .nun.na sukkał šà.kúš.ù.ke ₄ |
| | | | 143. ^d Bu-ne-ne sukkał šà.kúš.ù.ke ₄ |

134. = text V i 8 and CT 25 9:18. With this line the names of ^dA.a, the wife of ^dŠamaš, end.

135. Lines 135-137 may represent additional names of ^dUtu/Šamaš. The gloss is in A v 103. Concerning the gloss e for the sign A, cf. under note 120 above.

137. C:7b contains the last part of a puzzling gloss which ended with 'x'.ad.ki.ga. Instead of ^dUtu in the explanatory column, C contains dittos.

138. C:8b contains the latter part of an unexplicable gloss ending with mu-še-nu-ú. This and the gloss in C:7 may have been glosses for entries having no exact equivalents in the other duplicates. At least for the present, since the left half of C is broken away, there seems to be little hope of adequately explaining these glosses.

139. = "the sukkał of the right side." Cf. eme:73.

140. = "the sukkał of the left side" (for GÜB/KAB = šumēlu, cf. MSL II p. 69 note 464). The name corresponds to Ao:182.

141. This line should correspond to Ao:186, which has ^dNin.bara₂. The reading pirig₃(!) is not completely convincing. As King has drawn it, the sign in B iv 76 is not quite correct for pirig₃(UK). Perhaps in the reading obtained from Ao:186, the troublesome sign in B iv 76 (which has long puzzled Assyriologists, cf. Meissner, OLZ 12 202) may be elucidated.

142. = Ao:185. C:12 adds mit-lu-ʿukʿ (= šà.kúš.ù).

143. C:13 omits sukkał šà.kúš.ù.ke₄ and identifies ^dBu-ne-ne with ^dPa₄.nun.na. Obviously, only one deity is intended in lines 142 and 143. Note KAV 63 i 32 f., where these two names are again given together. Weidner, AfK 2 12 note 4, draws attention to KUB 4 no. 11:6 f., where the Sumerian

| A | B | C | |
|---|---|---|--|
| | | | 144. ^d En.uru ₂ sukkał gab.ri.ke ₄ |
| | | | 145. ^d En.ga.ná kindā ^d Utu.ke ₄ |
| | | | 146. ^d Níg.gi.na dumu.SAL ^d Utu.ke ₄ |
| | | | 147. ^d Ki-it-tum dumu ^d Utu.ke ₄ |
| | | | 148. ^d Iq-bi-da-mi-iq sukkał ^d Níg.gi.na.ke ₄ |
| | | | 149. ^d Ma.mú dumu.SAL ^d Utu.ke ₄ |
| | | | 150. ^d Si.si.ig dumu ^d Utu.ke ₄ |
| | | | 151. ^d Gú.(ḥa.aš)ḥaš igi.gùn.gùn.nu |
| | | | 151a. šá pa-ni ba-nu-u |
| | | | 152. ^d Sùn.áb.šà.ga igi.dugud |

^dPa₄.nun.na is given in the Akkadian line as ^dBu-un-ni-in-ni. In VAT 6563 (AfK 2 6) i 7, the name is written in an older duplicate of KAV 63 i 33 as [^dBu]-ni-ne. Cf. also ^dBu-ne-nu in KAV 72:16 f.

145. = Ao:187. C:15 replaces kindā with GAL.UNKEN(URU X MAŠ) and follows this with the gloss mu-'e-er.

146. Text = C:16, which seems more convincing here than the sukkał ^dUtu.ke₄ in B iv 81. If the latter reading were kept, line 148 below would present the anomaly of a sukkał of a sukkał.

147. Also written as ^dKit-tum. C:17 has dittos in the explanatory column, which would mean "daughter of Utu" (see under line 146 above) instead of "son of Utu" as here. However, since the left half of the line is missing in C, it cannot be proven that C really meant ^dKi-it-tum here. On the other hand, lines 146 f. do look as though they were intended to represent the Sumerian and the Akkadian forms of the same deity. Cf. eme:74.

148. Certainly an Akkadian name. In AO. 6775 (JCS 1 330 ff.):9, he is described as "the lord of the é.gal.maḥ."

149. Evidently the personification of dreams. However, this deity is not necessarily to be equated with ^dZa.gar who is described as "the god of dreams" in line 189 below. ^dMa.mú is also occasionally written phonetically as ^dMa.mu; cf. VS 7 27:17.

150. Possibly ^dSi.si.gál (as in AG 441).

151. Gloss in A v 118. B iv 86 is probably to be explained as containing two older glosses: ^dGú(ḥa)ḥaš(še). C:21 explains with the phrase igi.gùn.gùn.ke₄. Cf. Tablet V 179.

151a. = C:21b. Cf. the same Akkadian explanation in K. 7686 (CT 25 46):4.

152. Text = B iv 87. In the explanatory column, C:22 gives the variant explanation igi.GAB.GAB; and this is

| A | B | C | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 153. ^d Du ₁₁ .ga.na.ga.ti ŠU |
| | | | 154. ^d Di.ku ₅ .an.ki ŠU |
| | | | 155. ^d Eš.bar.an.ki ŠU |
| | | | 156. ^d Di.ku ₅ .si.sá ŠU |
| | | | 157. ^d Kalam.šà.kúš.ù ŠU |
| | | | 158. ^d Šà.kúš.ù.kalam.ma ŠU |
| | | | 159. 6 gu ₄ .DÚB ^d Utu.ke ₄ |
| | | | 160. ^d Šà.ga.dul.la lú.kin.gi ₄ .a ^d Utu.ke ₄ |
| | | | 161. ^d Iš.zi.maḥ.an.na Iš(ku) ^d Utu.(ki-zu- "ú")ke ₄ |
| | | | 162. ^d Ri.ḥa.mun kiri ₃ .dib ^d Utu.ke ₄ |
| | | | 163. ^d Kar.du ŠU |
| | | | 164. ^d Sa.kar.du ŠU |
| | | | 165. 2 lú.kaš ₄ ^d Utu.ke ₄ |
| | | | 166. ^d Ḥa.mun igi.si.sá |

further explained by the Akkadian gloss a-mi-rù.

153. With this line, a list of 6 gu₄.DÚB of ^dUtu begins.

157. King's copy of B iv 90 gives SĀG instead of kúš (on the interchange between these two forms, see Meissner, OLZ 12 202).

160. Meissner, OLZ 12 202, felt that the sign DUL in B iv 92 was really HUL (so also AG 460), but the sign resembles DUL more than HUL.

161. Glosses in C:30. The gloss ku (for Iš) is actually written under the sign Iš and is made quite small. The possibility that the gloss may actually be ŠU cannot be ruled out; cf. under note 93 above. The Akkadian gloss ki-zu-ú translates the Sumerian Iš "groom, one in charge of horses."

162. The kiri₃.dib ("the one who holds the nose/bridle") obviously involved another horseman of Šamaš. For KA = kiri₃ "nose," see Tablet I 245. A v 128 seems to have had one more sign before ri, but this sign is not preserved.

163. C:32 varied here, giving [^dKar(kal).ar¹.du.ug).dug₄.

165. In C:33, these "runners of Šamaš" are given as the lú.kaš₄ é.babbar.ke₄. That is, they are represented in C as belonging to the temple of Šamaš rather than to the deity himself.

| B | C | |
|---|---|--|
| | | 166a. muš-te-šir pa-ni |
| | | 167. ^d Ad.gi ₄ .gi ₄ igi.bar.ša ₆ .ga |
| | | 167a. šá nap-lu-us-su "dam-qa" |
| | | 168. ^d Dug ₄ .ga.ab.šu.gi ₄ . ŠU gi ₄ |
| | | 169. ^d Dug ₄ .ga.ab.šu."x" "ŠU" |
| | | 170. [2] "é".babbar.ra.ke ₄ |
| | | 171. ^d Iš(!).me(!).kár.ab [ŠU] |
| | | 172. ^d Nu-úr ^d Šamaš [ŠU] |
| | | 173. ^d Ši-ta(!)-me-pi-šu- ŠU nu |
| | | 174. ^d Di.ku ₅ ŠU |
| | | 175. ^d Ka.aš.bar ŠU |
| | | 176. ^d Si.sá ŠU |
| | | 177. ^d Si.sá.kalam.ma [ŠU] |
| | | 178. ^d Si.sá.ḥa.lam.ma [ŠU] |
| | | 179. *8 di.ku ₅ ^d Utu.ke ₄ |

166a. = C:34b. Cf. K. 7686 (CT 25 46):3.

167. B iv 97b seems to omit one gi₄.

167a. = C:35b, an Akkadian gloss line translating the explanation in line 167.

170. = C r. 3. B (characteristically laconic with explanations) omits this summary.

171. A list of "8 judges of ^dUtu" begins here. The first three bear Akkadian names; the rest, Sumerian. On the reading of the name, cf. ^dIš-me-ka-ra-bu in K. 252 (III R 66) v 2. The same deity is probably to be seen in the Is-me-ka-ra-ba/bu/ab listed in AG 330.

173. On the reading of the name, cf. ^dŠi-tam-me-ka-ra-bu in K. 252 (III R 66) v 6.

174. ^dDi.ku₅ should be distinguished from other deities bearing this name; cf. under Tablet II 254.

176. = Ao:181.

179. C r. 9 gives the total as "6," but this is not completely convincing. It is evident that lines 168 and 169

| | | | | |
|---|---|------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| B | C | 180. | dNig.ne.ru.ḫul.gig | dingir.gub.ba é. |
| | | | | babbar.ra.ke ₄ |
| | | 181. | dA.gi.ir | ŠU |
| | | 182. | dKi.gi.ir | ŠU |
| | | 183. | 2 ni.duḫ | é.babbar.ra.ke ₄ |
| | | 184. | dGal.šab(PA+IB) | ŠU |
| | | 185. | dSud.é | ŠU |
| | | 186. | 2 šagan(!)(U+GAN). | é.babbar.ra.ke ₄ |
| | | | lá | |
| | | 187. | dUr.á.lá | su-pa-lu |

above form a pair, which may be excluded from the present list; but where can the dividing line be drawn in the three Akkadian names of lines 171-173? If it is assumed that there were only "6" judges and that these began with line 171, then line 176 must be separated from the names in lines 177 and 178 (with which line 176 certainly forms a group). It seems more satisfactory to regard all the names of lines 171-178 as belonging together; either emend C to read 8(!) or assume that C omitted two names (here arbitrarily assumed to be lines 177 and 178).

181. The same name is listed in KAV 64 iv 6 as <d>An.gi. 'ir' (in the Šamaš section of the "Smaller An : dA-nu-um"). This may point to the probability that the present entry includes an older gloss and should be emended to read *<d>An(a).gi.ir. The practice of omitting the determinative in front of names beginning with An is observable elsewhere in the series (as well as the practice of using the sign A as an abbreviated gloss to indicate that the sign AN is not serving as a determinative); see under Tablet II 41.

182. = KAV 64 iv 7.

183. = KAV 64 iv 8. For ni.duḫ, see p. 15 note 51 above.

186. In this entry and in line 188 below, the sign read šagan(!) is actually written with the sign DUGUD in B iv 106 and 109. Although lú.šagan.lá (= šamallū) is known (cf. Deimel, ŠL 428, 8), DUGUD.lá seems to appear in similar contexts (cf. Deimel, ŠL 445, 5; he quotes the unpublished VAT 9558 as also containing DUGUD.lá. Dr. Stephens tells me that he collated this text years ago, and his notes verify the reading DUGUD.lá). Since ŠAGAN and DUGUD resemble each other, there may have been some scribal confusion concerning them.

| | | | | |
|---|--|------|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| B | | 188. | dŠagan(!)(U+GAN). | ŠU |
| | | | lá.lú.kar.kar | |
| C | | 189. | dZa.gàr | dingir ma.mú.da.ke ₄ |
| | | 190. | d"MAŠ.MI | ŠU |
| | | 191. | dGÌR (= dSakkan) | dumu dUtu.ke ₄ |
| | | 192. | d(su.mu.qa.an)GÌR | dGÌR (= dSakkan) |
| C | | 193. | d"GÌR.DAGAL.A.AN | 'dumu' [dUtu].ke ₄ (!) |
| | | 194. | d"AMA.<ŠA>.GAN(!).DÙ | ["] |
| | | 195. | d"MAŠ | ["] |
| E | | 196. | d"Ú.KÚ | dumu dUtu.[ke ₄] |

188. See under note 186 above.

189. This "god of dreams" is to be distinguished from the deity in line 149 above. C r. 18 preserves the traces of the last part of da.

190. Ideographic for the preceding name.

191. = Ao:188. This section (lines 191-200) lists the various ideograms for the god Sumuqan/Sakkan and is to be compared with a similar list in CT 29 46:8 ff. In the present list, dGÌR = dSakkan is placed first as the main deity, while dGÌR = dSumuqan is placed second and the gloss of the latter is given to the succeeding entries by means of dittos. But this order is reversed in CT 29 46:8 ff. For the deity dSakkan, see Lambert, RA 47 190 f.; Albright, JACS 40 320 ff.; and Albright, AfO 3 181 ff.

192. In CT 29 46:8, the gloss is given as su.mu.uq.qá.

193. The name certainly corresponds to CT 29 46:10; and this correspondence should clarify the difficult PISAN X ÁŠ in that line. The dittos here indicate (as in CT 29 46:10) that this is an ideogram for Sumuqan/Sakkan. The explanation 'dumu' [dUtu].ke₄(!) is (poorly) preserved in the center of B iv 113. For the second half of lines 193-196, C r. 22-25 gives dittos. A text which may have contained a comparable section of the names of Sumuqan "the son of Šamaš" is K. 11197 (CT 25 38) i.

194. = CT 29 46:12, where the name is written dDAGAL.ŠA.GAN.DU(gu.ub). Since the name is written both with DU and DÙ, the gloss is puzzling.

195. = CT 29 46:13, where the name is written d(ma-ša-ku) Máš(!) (the last sign is obviously written over an erasure). Ma-ša-ku in this reference is clearly a sign name and not a pronunciation gloss.

196. E r. 1: dDAGAL."KI.Ú.KÚ.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|------|-----------------------------|
| A | B | E | | |
| | | | 197. | d"Ú.ĜI+A(ha).KU |
| | | | 198. | d"É.A |
| | | | 199. | d"A |
| | | | 200. | d"(si.ki)SÍK |
| | | | 201. | dSikil.la.me.si |
| | | | 202. | d(la.har)GANAM ₄ |
| | | | 203. | dNin.sík |
| | | | 204. | dNin.tug.sud |
| | | | 205. | dNin.du ₆ .kù.ga |
| | | N | 206. | d(iš.kur)IM |
| | | | | dIM (= dAdad) |

197. = E r. 2a.

198. = B iv 115a.

199. = B iv 115b.

200. = E r. 2b. B iv 116a may have varied here; but, since the line is broken in B at this point, this cannot be controlled. This entry corresponds to CT 29 46:14. Distinguish from dSÍK in Tablet II 361.

201. = Ao:189.

202. To be distinguished from the names in lines 87 and 92 above.

203. In A v 163 and B iv 117, the name appears as d"SÍK (the dittos in this case refer to a name or a gloss not preserved in either text). Text = E r. 4b.

204. A v 164: dKU.me.[]. This should perhaps be read (in the light of E r. 5a) dTug.me.[sud].

205. Text = E r. 5b. In A v 165 and B iv 118, the name appears as dBA.kù.ga; but this may represent an older tradition in which the signs DUL and BA were confused. dBA.kù.ga should probably be emended to *dDu₆.kù.ga, but should be distinguished from the dDu₆.kù.ga who is listed among the names of dPap.sukkal in An : Anu šá amēli 69 and also from the dDu₆.kù.ga who is listed among the names of dNabu in CT 25 35:25.

206. = Ao:190. E r. 6b seems to repeat this entry (with dittos instead of the gloss). The significance of the repetition is not clear and is not found in the other duplicates. In A v 166, the gloss appears in the variant form iš.kùr. I am indebted to Dr. Landsberger for calling my attention to the unpublished text in the British Museum, no. 45639 (formerly 81-7-6,32), which begins with this line (= N). For a helpful study on dIM, the storm god, see Schlobies, MAOG 1/3 1 ff. Text ab, although not a duplicate, gives many of the names of Adad (especially those foreign to Babylonia). For the present line, see ab i 34.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|------|----------------------|
| A | B | E | N | | |
| | | | | 207. | d(mu-ur)IM |
| | | | | 208. | d(i-lí-me-er)IM |
| | | | | 209. | d(a-da-ad)IM |
| | | | | 210. | d(me-er-me-ri)IM X |
| | | | | | IM |
| | | | | 211. | d(= me-er-me-ri)EN |
| | | | | | X EN |
| | | | | 212. | d(nim.gi.ig.ri)EN |
| | | | | | X EN + IM X IM |
| | | | | 213. | d(ri.har.mun)EN X EN |
| | | | | | + IM X IM |
| | | | | 214. | d(ri.har.mun)EN X EN |
| | | | | 215. | d(il)EN X EN |

207. = Ao:191. Text = B iv 119b. E r. 7a gives the gloss as mu-rim; N:2 gives it as mu-ru. Cf. CT 29 45:21 f. and ab i 28. In the explanatory column, N writes the determinative before the dittos in this and the following lines.

208. B is broken here (= B iv 120a), but it probably also omitted this entry and had, instead, [d(a.da.ad)IM] in the broken space. In CT 29 45:24, dIM is glossed with i-lu-me-er; cf. also line 273 below. In ab i 30, the same deity appears phonetically written as dI-lu-we-er. This is to be compared with KAV 151:13 where dWe-er appears.

209. Cf. CT 29 45:23.

210. Text = B iv 120b. Cf. CT 29 45:20. N:4: d(el-me-ri)IM X IM. The name Mermeri seems to be a reduplicated name built upon the form mer(i) < wer.

211. Dittos only in N:5. B omits two of the names in lines 211-213; but, since the remaining name is broken away in B (= B iv 121a), it cannot be determined which ones of these three names were excluded by B. Possibly B omitted lines 211 and 213, since these seem to be only graphic variations for the names in lines 210 and 214 respectively.

212. N:6: d(nim.gir.gir)EN X EN + IM X IM. Cf. ab i 35 d(nim.gir.gir.ri)EN X EN + IM X IM. The present entry is to be compared with CT 29 45:18.

213. = ab i 36. Cf. also dLugal.ri.har.mun, ab i 1.

214. Cf. CT 29 45:19. N:7 replaces the gloss with dittos.

215. Possibly = B iv 122a, which is broken here.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|------|--|---|
| B | E | N | 216. | d(ni.gi.ir) _{EN X EN} | " |
| : | : | : | 217. | d _{Lugal.} " _{EN X EN} " | " |
| : | : | : | 218. | d _{Lugal.} IŠ(ku.uš). | " |
| : | : | U | | sud.sud | " |
| : | : | : | 219. | d _{Lugal.} u ₄ .dè.eš. | " |
| : | : | : | | dug ₄ .ga | " |
| : | : | : | 220. | d _{Lugal.} šen.šen.na | " |
| : | : | : | 221. | d _{Lugal.} gù.ru.ru.gù | " |
| : | : | : | 222. | d _{Lugal.} (du. | " |
| : | : | : | | bur) _{dubur} (ŠÁR X U) | " |
| : | : | : | 223. | d _{U₄} .gù(gu).dé(di) | " |

217. B omitted either line 217 or 218, but just which cannot be determined because this line is broken away in B. Arbitrarily, the missing line is assumed to correspond to line 217 here. Text = E r. 11, where the dittos in the middle of the name refer to the previous gloss ri.ḫa.mun in E r. 10 (= line 214 above). Since the gloss ri.ḫa.mun in E r. 10 applies to the complex EN X EN, it is reasonable to conclude that it has this force in the present line also, resulting in a reading of d_{Lugal.}riḫamun. The corresponding entry in Ao:192 gives d_{Lugal.}(IM).EN X EN (in which the gloss IM hardly looks like a pronunciation gloss; it more likely was intended to indicate a variation in the texts from which Ao copied, see p. 31 above).

218. Text = N:10. The problem of the correct reading of IŠ comes up again with this line (see under note 93 above). In the photograph of N which Dr. Landsberger kindly placed at my disposal, the KU in the gloss is somewhat ambiguous. Since the lower horizontal is quite long and projects out to the left, the possibility that ŠU was intended cannot be ruled out. However, two vertical wedges do appear on the photograph, and this seems to make KU almost certain here.

219. Text = B iv 123b. N:11: d_{Lugal.}u₄.deš_x(UR).dug₄.ga.

220. Text = N:12.

221. Text = B iv 124b; E r. 13: d_{Lugal.}gù.ru.ru. 'gù' (with which U:6 agrees); N:13: d_{Lugal.}gu₄.ru.ru.ga.

222. Text = N:14. The same name with the same gloss appears in ab i 37. In U:7, the name ends with U₄ (first part of the line not preserved).

223. = ab i 14. Gloss in U:8. d_{U₄}.gù.dé appears to have been a fairly common name for Adad; see An : Anu šá

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|------|---|---|
| A | B | E | N | U | 224. | d _{U₄} .dè.an.na | " |
| : | : | : | : | : | 225. | d _{U₄} .dè.an.ta | " |
| : | : | : | : | : | 226. | d _{U₄} .dè.ki.ta | " |
| : | : | : | : | : | 227. | d _{U₄} .dè.ra.ra | " |
| : | : | : | : | : | 228. | d _{Alim.} dara ₂ | " |
| : | : | : | : | : | 229. | d _{Uru₂} (ú.ru).tab | " |
| : | : | : | : | : | 230. | d _{Pirig.} me.me | " |
| : | : | : | : | K | 231. | d _{A.} (e.su)sù | " |
| : | : | : | : | I | 232. | d _{Lugal.} é.sù.sù | " |
| : | : | : | : | : | 233. | d _{Lugal.} eš.bar.ra | " |

amēli 55 (where the name is written d_U.gù.dé); RA 10 70 (d_{U₄}.gù.u₄.dé); KAR III 142 iii 22; and SLT 123 r. ii 5 (= SLT 124 i 28).

224. In U:9, the name ends in ne instead of na.

225. Text = E r. 15a. In lines 225-245, G r. 1 ff. has ki.min instead of dittos.

226. In U:11, the name ends in ra.

227. Text = E r. 16a. N:16: d_{U₄}.dè.ra. G r. 3: d_{U₄}.dé.DI.ra (in the latter text, the sign DI may actually represent an older gloss that became part of the text by scribal mistake).

228. G r. 4: d_{A+IGI+GÌR.}dara₂. N:17: d_{GÌR+A+IGI.}dara₂.

229. Text = E r. 17a; N:18 varies slightly: d_{ŠEŠ}(ú.ru)? tab. G r. 5: d_{URU X 'IGI'}, which probably should be emended to *d_{URU X UD} (= uru₂). At this point, text ad coincides with the present section for about nine lines. At first glance, text ad may even appear to be a duplicate of this series; but a study of ad r. 11-17 and ad obverse (CT 25 23) shows that this small fragment is not an actual duplicate of the series.

231. Text = E r. 18. The gloss indicates that the name should be read d_{E₄}.sù; and with this reading ad r. 4 agrees, in giving the name as d_E.[sù]. The same name seems to form an element in the following entry, although there it is written with the sign È instead of E or E₄. For other lines that contain the sign A glossed with e, see lines 120 and 135 above. N:20 is probably to be restored to [dA](^e).sù. In G r. 7, the name is written d_{Sù}.

232. G r. 8 seems to present d_{Lugal.}GÁN.sù.sù, but in the light of ad r. 5 and line 231 above (see under note 231 above), G should be emended to d_{Lugal.}é(!).sù.sù. Text I r. 1 should be restored in the light of the present entry.

| A | E | G | K | I | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|------|---------------------------------------|
| | | | | | 234. | ^d Lugal.ḫé.gál.la |
| | | | | | 235. | ^d Lugal.dingir.ra |
| | | | | | 236. | [^d Lugal].ḫé.nun |
| | | | | | 237. | ^d Lugal.ka.zal.la |
| | | | | | 238. | ^d Lugal.sag.íl |
| | E | | | | 239. | ^d Lugal.ú.šim.sù.sù |
| | | | | | 240. | ^d Ša.la dam.bi.SAL |
| | | | | | 241. | ^d Me.dím.ša ₆ " |

234. G r. 10: ^dLugal.ḫé.gál. The traces in A v 182 and K:5 show that these texts also contained the shorter form. In Ao:452, the name appears in the list of Nerigal names.

236. Text = A v 184; E r. 20b contained only one of the names in lines 236-238, but (since E is broken here) just which two names were omitted cannot be determined. The present entry is omitted by text ad.

237. A v 185 ends the name with lu instead of la.

239. = ad r. 10 (the last line of text ad that corresponds to the present series).

240. Probably Ao:193 is to be restored in the light of this line. In text I r. 8, the present entry is followed by ^dŠa.la.aš | dam[]. Whether this was intended to be a second entry for ^dŠa.la, or whether the name ^dŠa.la.aš was merely attracted here by the similarly written ^dŠa.la, and then explained as the wife of a deity other than ^dIM (such as ^dDa.gan, as in Tablet I 195) cannot be determined. In E r. 22, this entry appears unduly compressed into the first half of the line, implying that E also had additional material here which is now broken away. Hence E probably agrees with text I. The two names ^dŠa.la and ^dŠa.la.aš are elsewhere treated as simple variants of each other; see under Tablet I 195 f. and CT 25 10:34 (where ^dNIN(ša.la.aš).KŪ.GI is equated with ^dŠa.la).

241. This entry = text I r. 9. It is possible that E r. 23 contained still another sign after ša₆; if so, it may well have been the gloss ša₄(DU). This would have indicated a textual variation in the texts from which E copied (cf. CT 25 10:37, where this same name is given as ^dMe.(mē.di.im.šá)dím.š₄). In G r. 14, the name appears as ^dNin.me.dím.š₄ (cf. Tablet I 196). It is possible that this name also occurs in KAV 63 iv 34, where (against Weidner's collation of ^dNin.dúg. 'ga', see AfK 2 76 note 9) the line is probably to be restored to read ^dŠa.la | ^dNin.me(!). 'dím'. [š₄].

| A | E | G | I | | |
|---|---|---|---|------|---|
| | | | | 242. | ^d Šu.zabar.kù " |
| | | | | 243. | ^d SUḪ.me.ḫuš " |
| | | | | 244. | ^d Kin.nu.SUM " |
| | | | | 245. | ^d En.me.LU.LU " |
| | | | | 246. | ^d Mi-ša-ru dumu ^d IM.ke ₄ |
| | | | | 247. | ^d I-šar-tum dam.bi.SAL |
| | | | | 248. | ^d Ú-šur-a-mat-su dumu ^d IM.ke ₄ |
| | | | | 249. | ^d Šuba(ZA+MŪŠ).nun.na ŠU |
| | | | | 250. | ^d Mi.nun.e.si ŠU |
| | | | | 251. | ^d Na.MAŠ.MAŠ ŠU |
| | | | | 252. | 3 'dumu'.SAL ^d rIM'.ke ₄ |
| | | | | 253. | ^d Nim.gír sukkal ^d IM.ke ₄ |

242. = CT 25 10:36. In the bilingual hymn to Anu, in ZA 41 196:10 f., the Sumerian line gives the name of the wife of ^dIM as ^dŠu.zabar.kù, while the Akkadian line gives the name as ^dŠa.la.

243. = CT 25 10:41. Instead of ḫuš, G r. 16 presents BIR, but this seems to be merely a scribal or a copyist's mistake.

245. The appearance of a name beginning with en among the names of ^dŠa.la, the wife of ^dIM, may at first seem strange; but female names beginning with en are not unknown in this series (cf. Tablet I 300; Tablet II 35; et al.) The name may actually be ^dEn.me.dib.dib.

246. Text I r. 14: ^dMe-šá-rù. The name appears in a number of different writings. Cf. ^dMi-šá-ru, KAV 42 i 24; ^dIl-mi-še-ru, KAV 43 i 15; ^dMe-šá-ru, KAR 214 i 25; eme:75: ^dMe-ša-'rù'; etc. A vi 5 now makes it clear that ^dMi-šá-ru is the son of Adad and not the son of Šamaš as had been conjectured before.

247. Cf. CT 25 18 r. ii 5.

248. Ao:196: ^dÚ-šur-a-wa-sú.

249. Text I r. 17 writes the name with SUḪ instead of MŪŠ (cf. KAV 48 ii 3). For ZA+MŪŠ (and ZA+SUḪ) = šuba, see CT 25 27:15; Weidner, AfK 2 11 note 1; and Falkenstein, ZA 42 148.

250. Text I r. 18: ^dMe.nun.[e.si].

251. Also in KAV 48 ii 2.

253. ^dNim.gír is otherwise known as the sukkal of ^dIM, e.g., cf. the hymn to ^dIM in CT 15 15:20. In KAV 64 v 9, he appears to be equated with ^dMar.tu.

| | | | |
|---|------|---|---|
| A | 254. | dAmar.dEn.zu.na | ŠU |
| | 255. | dPA+GANAM ₄ .ab(!).ba | ŠU |
| | 256. | 2 amar | d ^r IM ¹ .ke ₄ |
| | 257. | dŠe.ri.iš | ŠU |
| | 258. | dMa-gi-ru | ŠU |
| | 259. | 2 gu ₄ | dIM.ke ₄ |
| | 260. | dZUR.gal | ŠU |
| D | 261. | dU ₄ .ZUR.ra | ŠU |
| | 262. | dPirig.gù.du ₁₀ .ga | [ŠU] |
| | 263. | dUr ₅ .ša ₄ .ni.[x] | [ŠU] |
| | 264. | dKA X ŠID.mu.un. 'gi.gi' | ŠU |

254. See line 51 above, where this deified king of Ur appears in the circle of dEn.zu; there, the name is written without the final na. For the reading of dEn.zu and dEn.zu.na, see under note 2 above.

255. For the pronunciation of PA+GANAM₄, see K. 4349Q (CT 24 46):5, where this complex has a gloss of mu-ia-ti. The sign AB(!) in A vi 13 has an extraneous horizontal stroke in the middle, which may be due to an erasure.

257. This deity is certainly to be identified with the name of one of the "bulls" of the Hittite/Hurrian storm god. Here, dŠeriš appears as one of the "bulls" of dIM.

258. The name occurs in Tablet I 73 among the servants of Anu.

259. Distinguish from the 6 gu₄.DUB in line 266 below.

260. Lines 260 and 261 may be compared with CT 12 41b: 46, 47, where ZUR is followed by the signs RA and GAL respectively, and is explained by the Akkadian ka-lu-u "priest."

263. On the reading ur₅.ša₄ for HAR.DU, see RA 18 40d:30 and RA 10 81a:31 (cf. Kramer, Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur line 183). The name must mean something like "whose roar is . . ."

264. The traces of the inserted sign in A vi 20 hardly favor ŠU; on the tablet, they more nearly resemble ŠID. This would point to a reading of gušudi (cf. MSL III p. 119 note 265a) "thunder." In A, the final sign in this name ends in a final diagonal stroke or a winkelhaken. In D r. 4, the sign begins with a horizontal stroke. These two traces would favor the restoration of 'gi' in a reduplicated verb form. The signs 'GI.GI' in this entry would be phonetic for gi₄. gi₄; cf. MSL III p. 119 note 265.

| | | | | |
|---|---|------|---|---------------------|
| A | D | 265. | dKa.zal.kalam.ma | ŠU |
| | | 266. | [6]ṛgu ₄ .DUB | dIM.ke ₄ |
| | | 267. | dŠu.pa.su | ŠU dIM |
| | | 268. | d(na.aq.bu) _{BAD} | ŠU dE-a |
| | | 269. | d(šu.la.at) _{BAD} | ŠU dŠá-maš |
| | | 270. | d(ḫa.ni.iš) _{BAD} | ŠU dIM |
| | | 271. | d(šu.ṛul.lat) _{PA} | ŠU dŠá-maš |
| | M | 272. | d(ḫa.ni.iš) _{LUGAL} | ŠU dIM |
| | | 273. | d(i-lu-mer) _{IM} | ŠU dIM |
| | F | 274. | d(nu-ur-AN.MEŠ) _{LUGAL} | ŠU dŠá-maš |
| | | 275. | d(i-lu-me-er) _{URU X} | ŠU dŠá-maš |
| | | | IGI | |
| | | 276. | d(= i-lu-me-er) _{LUL} | *ŠU dŠá-maš |
| | | 277. | d(dim.me.er) _{DIM₄} | ŠU dŠá-maš |

267. With this line, a section begins which explains a number of (often similarly written) names of dIM, dE-a, dŠá-maš, dIš.ḫa.ra, and dNisaba.

268. Gloss = A vi 23. The gloss in D r. 7 appears as na.aq.be. This line corresponds to Tablet II 168.

269. Gloss = A vi 24; D r. 8: šu.ul.lat. In the second half of the line, A writes dUTU instead of dŠá-maš.

270. Gloss = A vi 25 and D r. 9.

271. Gloss = D r. 10; A vi 26: su.lu.ut (instead of an expected šu.lu.ut). In the second half of the line, A writes dUTU instead of dŠá-maš.

272. Gloss = D r. 11 and A vi 27.

273. Gloss = D r. 12 and A vi 28. For Ilumer, see under note 208 above.

274. Gloss = A vi 29, which should be compared with the gloss nu-ur-i-lí for dLUGAL in CT 29 45:25. In D r. 13, the gloss appears as nu-ur-ra. In the second half of the line, A and M r. 4 write dUTU instead of dŠá-maš.

275. Text = D r. 14. A vi 30 gives the gloss as i-lu-mer; F r. 2: i-lu-mi-ir. Cf. CT 29 45:26.

277. Gloss = D r. 16. In A vi 31, the gloss appears as di.me.er.

| A | D | F | M | | |
|---|---|---|---|------|--|
| | | | | 278. | d(nu-ur-i-lí)URU X ŠU dŠá-maš |
| | | | | | IGI |
| | | | | 279. | d(iš-ḥu-ru)GÁ X IŠ+ dNisaba(ŠE+NAGA) |
| | | | | | ḤU+RU |
| | | | | 280. | d(= iš-ḥu-ru)URU X " |
| | | | | | IGI |
| | | | | 281. | d(iš.ḥa.ra)GÁ X PA ŠU |
| | | | | 282. | d(= iš.ḥa.ra)ŠA. " |
| | | | | | NIGIN ₂ |
| | | | | 283. | dše-na-i-la-na dPA u dLUGAL |

278. Gloss = F r. 3. In A vi 32 and D r. 17, the gloss is written nu-ur-AN.MEŠ. Cf. CT 29 45:26.

279. Text = A vi 33. Cf. dGÁ X IŠ+ḤU+RUM, AS no. 7 p. 24 line 264. D r. 18: d(iš-ḥu-ru)GÁ X GAR. In AS no. 7 p. 25 line 276, the ideogram for Išhuru/Nisaba is given as dGÁ, while on p. 23 line 230, it is given as dGÁ X PA. F r. 5 adds a short gloss line, which (since it ends in KU) probably gave the name of the sign in F r. 4. In the second half of the present line, F r. 4 gives dIš-ḥu-ru instead of dNisaba. The deity Išhuru/Išhara appears here loosely connected to the Ea/Šamaš/Adad circle, but note Tablet I 199 ff. (where she occurs in the household of Enlil) and Tablet IV 276 ff. (where she occurs in the "Ištar tablet"). Weidner proposed a restoration of KAV 63 iv 36 (on the basis of his collation; see AfK 2 77 note 2) as: dIš.ḥa.ra | mâr[at dAdad]. If this conjecture is correct, it would provide an added reason why Išhara should appear in this section of the present series, although she is not here explained as dumu. SAL dIM.ke₄.

281. In the second half of the line, D r. 20 gives dIš.ḥa.[ra], while F r. 7 has dIštar(U+DAR). For a similar equating of Išhara with Ištar, see KAV 173:12. In the first half of the line, D gives dGÁ X GAR (as it does for line 279) instead of dGÁ X PA.

282. M:10: d"ŠA.UD | dIš.ḥa.ra. D r. 22 adds a line: d(nu-ur-AN.MEŠ)URU X IGI | dIštar(U(!)+DAR). F r. 8 f. adds two lines not in the other texts:

8. d"(di.gi.ir.si.la.ku)GÁ X PA | "(= dIštar)
 9. d"(nig.gi.na.aq.qu)NIGIN | "(= dIštar)

These last two entries in F give the sign name in the gloss, and (with dittos) indicate that both dGÁ X PA and dNIGIN are ideograms for dIšhara, who is equated with dIštar.

283. Text = F r. 10. Interestingly, A vi 37 and D r. 23 both go back to a common tradition which contained an old

| A | D | F | M | | |
|---|---|---|---|-------|--|
| | | | | 283a. | dŠamaš u dAdad |
| | | | | 284. | dInanna(MUŠ) dIš-[tar] |
| | | | | 285. | dub 3 kám.ma An dA-nu-[um] 4 ŠU '29' [mu]. |
| | | | | | 'bi'.im |

mistake at this point (BA instead of the final na). The "two gods," of course, represent the sun-god and the storm god as dŠullat (cf. line 271 above) and dḤaniš (cf. line 272 above). This pairing of Šamaš and Adad as Šullat and Ḥaniš is known also from other sources (e.g., cf. Tablet XI 99 of the Gilgamesh epic).

283a. M:12 writes ù instead of u.

284. The catch-line for Tablet IV is preserved in D r. 25 and F r. 11.

285. This represents the end of the "fourth tablet" in A vi 39 (which preserves only part of the number "4"); see p. 7 note 26 above. In D r. 26, the number is given as "5." This variation in D may represent the existence of a different tradition as to the order of the tablet numbers, or D may represent a tradition which subdivided several of the first three tablets (as A and B subdivided Tablet I; see under Tablet I 204). In A, the title, An dA-nu-[um], is not given.

SOURCES USED IN RECONSTRUCTING TABLET IV

- A YBC 2401
 B K. 4349 (CT 24 20 ff.)
 C VAT 13034 + VAT 10434 (KAV 73 + KAV 145)
 C-1 VAT 13034 (KAV 73)
 C-2 VAT 10434 (KAV 145)
 D K. 4349N + K. 4349U (CT 24 50)
 E K. 4349B (CT 24 48)
 F VAT 10499 (unpublished; see under note 48 below)
 G K. 4349L (CT 24 37)
 H K. 4349Q (CT 24 46); see under note 194-231 below.
 I K. 4349K+81-7-27,54 (CT 25 8)
 a K. 11228 (CT 19 38)

b K. 2109 + K. 8944 + K. 13689 col. ii (CT 25 30, 31)

Ao AO. 5376 (TCL 15 25 ff.)

eme Emesal list in MSL IV

TABLET IV

| | | | |
|---|---|---|-----------|
| A | I | | |
| | | 1. [ḏ]Inanna(MUŠ) | ḏ[IŠ]-tar |
| | | 2. [ḏNin].an.na | " |
| | | 3. [ḏU1].ṣig ₇ .ga | ["] |
| | | 4. [ḏŠi.du].ṣri | ["] |
| | | 5. [] .ṣuba ⁷ (ṣZA+ MUŠ) | ["] |
| | | 6. [] | ["] |

1. The "Ištar tablet" is the most poorly preserved of the various tablets in this series. Even with the aid of A, there still remain several large lacunae. However, A does control the total number of lines within the tablet and clearly gives the general organization of the tablet. In addition, A restores large sections of formerly missing material and points the way for future restorations in this important tablet. For the contributions of B v and its relationship to this tablet, see under notes 7, 42, 69, 95, and 117 below. In addition to A and B and the aid derived from Ao, b should also be mentioned as a future source of possible restorations. A number of fragments of other Ištar lists have also been published; e.g., KAV 173:8 ff.; KAV 48; CT 25 45 (K. 2121); CT 25 29 (K. 2103 + K. 7636); CT 25 17 ii; and CT 25 44 (Sm. 1558). Although these are not exact duplicate texts, they can, at times, prove quite useful in controlling certain restorations. Text I provides a few traces at the beginning of this tablet. The present line = text I r. 14; A vi 40; and Ao:197 f.

2. = A vi 41. Since text I actually is a fragment of K. 4349 (i.e., text B; cf. under note 7 below), it conserved space by writing two entries to a line wherever possible; hence the present line = text I r. 15a, which is unpreserved.

3. = A vi 42 and text I r. 15b. Restored from b r. i 17; cf. ḏU1.si.ga in An : Anu šá amēli 88.

4. = A vi 43. Conjectured restoration from b r. i 19.

5. = text I r. 16b.

| | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
| I | | 7. [] .ṣx | ["] |
| | | 8. [] | ["] |
| A | | 9. [] | " ṣnu ⁷ .ṣx ⁷ . [] |
| | | 10. [] .ṣx | ŠU |
| | | 11. [ḏIn].ṣnin | ŠU |
| | | 12. [ḏNin.é].an.na | šar-rat é.an.ṣna ⁷ |
| | | 13. [ḏGašan.é].an.na | be-lit é.an.ṣna ⁷ |
| | | 14. [ḏNin].ṣx ⁷ .lá | be-lit su-ṣqi ⁷ |
| | | 15. [ḏNin].é.šár.ra | be-lit é.šár.ṣra ⁷ |
| | | 16. [ḏ]ṣNin ⁷ .me.Nibru(EN. LÍL.KI) | šar-rat Ni-bu-[ru] |
| | | 17. [ḏ]ṣNin ⁷ .me.Kiš.ki | "(= šar-rat) Ki-ṣiš ⁷ |
| | | 18. [ḏ]ṣNin ⁷ .Dilmun(NI. TUK.KI) | ŠU |

7. = text I r. 17b. The traces of ṣx resemble a sign like TI. Text I should actually prove to be a fragment of B iv, representing the very bottom of that column with probably not more than about five lines still missing from the end of the column (note that the "obverse" of text I, CT 25 8, is the beginning of a reverse column of B, representing a section of the "Smaller An : ḏA-nu-um"). Since text I crowds its entries, it is assumed here that the four lines of Tablet IV still preserved in text I plus the possible five lines missing at the extreme bottom of B iv account for about thirteen actual entries (Tablet IV 2-9 probably were compressed together in B and I). This means that *B v 1 (disregard King's line numbering of B v in CT 24 33) possibly corresponds here to Tablet IV 14. For more on the relationship of B v to the present tablet, see under notes 42, 69, 95, and 117 below.

10. In A vi 49, ṣx appears only as a final vertical stroke, which may be the end of the sign NIN, as in the following line.

11. = Ao:203.

12. = Ao:209.

14. In the name, ṣx ends in a winkelhaken.

16. The name may be compared with the ḏNin.EN.LÍL.ki who is explained in Tablet I 230 as the wife of Ninurta.

17. = Ao:206, which gives ḏInanna.Kiš.ki.a.

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| A | 19. ^d Nin ⁷ .Ni.nú.a | šar-rat Ni- ⁷ nu ⁷ -[a] |
| | 20. ^d Nin.ki.kuš.lu.úb. gar | be-lit um-ma- ⁷ nim ⁷ |
| | 21. ^d Nin.šen.šen.na | " qab-[li] |
| | 22. ^d Nin.KA X ⁷ X ⁷ .a | " ta-ḫa- ⁷ zi ⁷ |
| | 23. ^d Nin.in.te.na | " qur-[di] |
| | 24. ^d Nin.é.šuba(ZA+MÜŠ) | " É. ⁷ ŠUBA ⁷ |
| | 25. ^d Nin.é.šuba.kalam. ma | " É. ⁷ ŠUBA ⁷ [KALAM.MA] |
| | 26. ^d Nin.gir.gi.lum | ŠU |
| | 27. [^d] ⁷ Nin ⁷ .igi.gùn | be-lit [] |
| | 28. [^d] ⁷ Nin ⁷ .ka.6 | ŠU |
| | 29. [^d] ⁷ Nin ⁷ .ka.4 | ŠU |

19. = Ao:208, which gives ^dInanna.Ni.nu.a.

20. = Ao:207, which gives ^dInanna.ki.kuš.lu.⁷úb⁷.gar.

21. = Ao:211.

22. The sign ⁷X⁷, in A vi 61, resembles an inserted ZAB.

One wonders if the scribe in this instance actually meant AG X ZAB = ME instead of KA X ⁷ZAB⁷.

23. = Ao:212, which varies, giving ^dNin.in.ṭi.na.

24. = Ao:213, which varies, giving ^dNin.é.MÜŠ.A. With this line, the small fragment, text a, begins. For ZA+MÜŠ = šuba, see under Tablet III 249.

25. In the second half of the line, a:2 gives "ŠUBA. KALAM.⁷DU.NA⁷. However, from the photograph of this text, which Dr. Landsberger kindly placed at my disposal, the signs ⁷DU.NA⁷ are quite open to suspicion. The broken traces at the end of the line could just as well favor the expected MA followed by another sign, which may be AN. This text, therefore, may have had still another name at the end of the line.

26. = eme:82 and Ao:214 (which has ^dNin.gir.gi₄.lu). a:3 contains the explanation gir.gi.lum ^d(⁷)⁷X⁷ (in which the ⁷X⁷ may represent the initial part of U+DAR = Ištar).

27. The second half of the line may possibly be restored with the aid of a:4, which gives [^dNin].⁷igi⁷.gùn | " BUR.mi.⁷x⁷.[].

28. Ao:218: ^dNin.ka.7. Text a (being an excerpt tablet) skips lines 28-37.

29. = Ao:219.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A | 30. [^d] ⁷ Nin ⁷ .ḫur.sag. kalam.ma | ŠU |
| | 31. [^d] ⁷ Nin ⁷ .Aratta.ki | be-lat A-rat-te(!)-e ⁷ x-x ⁷ [] ⁷ x ⁷ |
| | 32. ^d Nin ⁷ .uru.ki.gar.ra | ŠU |
| | 33. ^d Nin.gú.bar.ra | ŠU |
| | 34. ^d Nin.uru ⁷ .mu.un.du | ŠU |
| | 35. ^d Nin.x ⁷ .mu.un.du | ŠU |
| | 36. ^d Nin ⁷ .[a]. ⁷ nim ⁷ .ma | ŠU |
| | 37. ^d Nin. ⁷ BÀD ⁷ .na | ŠU |
| | 38. ^d Nin.BÀD.ra | be-lit ib-ra-te |
| | 39. ^d Nin.bàd | " du-ri |
| | 40. ^d Nin.ib(!).gal | ŠU |
| | 41. ^d Nin.gu.la | ŠU |
| G | 42. ^d Nin.é.ḫa. ⁷ ma ⁷ | [] |

30. = eme:83 and Ao:220.

31. = Ao:221. Aratta.ki is here written LAM X KUR(!) + RU + KI.

32. = Ao:222.

33. = Ao:223.

34. = Ao:224, which writes the name more fully as ^dNin.uru.a.mu.un.du.

36. = Ao:225.

37. For a value of BÀD ending in -n, see MSL II pp. 86 f. line 773 and MSL III pp. 213 f. See also Tablet V 312.

38. = Ao:226 and a:5. In Ao, the name appears as ^dNin.BÀD.dúr.bar, which points to a possible emendation of the present name to read ^dNin.BÀD.<x>.ra.

39. = a:6. Text a contains only the traces of ^dIš.ḫa.ra⁷ in the explanatory column of its next and final line. It is not clear which of the following entries should be equated with this ^dIš.ḫa.ra⁷.

40. A vi 79 mistakenly writes UR for IB; the forerunner (Ao:227) gives IB.

41. = Ao:228.

42. = Ao:229. Since G is a fragment of K. 4349 (= B) that probably corresponds to ca. *B v 17-31 (cf. under Tablet III 37), it should be placed approximately here. However, G is poorly preserved and contributes little except to indicate

| A | G | | |
|---|---|-----|---|
| | | 43. | d _{Nin} .a. ^{ra} .[zu] [] |
| | | 44. | d _{Nin} . ^{bara} ₂ .[gi ₄] [] |
| | | 45. | d _{Nin} . ^{ra} .[gab] [] |
| | | 46. | d _{Nin} . ^x .[x.x] [] |
| | | 47. | d _{Nin} .[] [] |
| | | 48. | d _{Nin} . ^x .[] [] |

that the lines which follow continued to have names beginning with nin.

43. = Ao:231.

44. = Ao:232 and eme:85.

45. = Ao:230.

46. The traces (in A vi 85) of the sign after nin favor a sign like ŠA.

48. The traces (in A vi 87) of the sign represented by ^x may be some sign like NUN, É, or GA. It is possible that this list of Ištar names beginning with nin continued through line 72 below. The names in this list are, of course, mostly lost; but some restorations may be suggested by eme and Ao. This section probably contained the entry d_{Nin}.DIN.TIR.KI | d_{Be}-lit URU.KA.DINGIR.RA.KI (= eme:86) and the following entries represented by Ao:

233. d_{Nin}.é.hub.ba.ki(!)

234. d_{Nin}.giš.dingul(MA+MUG(!))

235. d_{Nin}.har.ra.an.na

236. d_{Nin}.gú.edin.na

The unpublished fragment VAT 10499 (to which Dr. Landsberger has kindly drawn my attention) possibly represents a fragment that also is to be placed somewhere between lines 48 and 72. Although its exact placement must await the appearance of other texts of the "Ištar tablet," its readings are given here:

| | | |
|-----|--|------------------------------------|
| 1. | [d _{Nin} .x].gi.gar.[ra] | [] |
| 2. | [d _{Nin} .x].du ₁₁ .du ₁₁ .ga | [] |
| 3. | [d _{Nin}]. ^{peš} .gal | [] |
| 4. | [d _{Nin}]. ^x .gu | ŠU šá [] |
| 5. | [d _{Nin}]. ^x .u ₄ .ŠAR.du ₇ | ŠU šá ši- ^{im} -[] |
| 6. | [d _{Nin}]. ^x .ág | ŠU |
| 7. | [d _{Nin}].giš. ^x | ŠU šá kip-pe-e |
| 8. | [d]Inanna | ŠU šá kip-pat |
| 9. | [d _{Nin}]. ^x .tu | ŠU šá te-diš-ti |
| 10. | [d _{Nin}].u ₄ .da | ŠU šá ši-sa nam-rat |
| 11. | [d _{Nin}]. ^x .šu | ŠU šá ina KUR DU.DU-zu |
| 12. | [d _{Nin}]. ^x .ma | ŠU šá mas-ḥa-ti |
| 13. | [d _{Nin}]. ^x .ki | ŠU šá kul-la- ^{ti} |
| 14. | [d _{Nin} .x]. ^x .nu.gál | ŠU |
| 15. | [d _{Nin} .x.x]. ^x | ŠU šá ^{te} . ^x |
| 16. | [] | ŠU [] |

| A | G | | |
|---|---|--------|--|
| | | 49. | d _{rNin} . [] [] |
| | | 50. | d _{rNin} . [] [] |
| | | 51. | d _{rNin} . [] [] |
| | | 52. | d _{rNin} . [] [] |
| | | 53. | d _{rNin} . [] [] |
| | | 54. | d[Nin.] [] |
| | | 55. | d[Nin.] [] |
| | | 56. | d[Nin.] [] |
| | | 57-68. | (gap) |
| | | 69. | d[Nin.] [] |
| | | 70. | d[Nin.] [] |
| | | 71. | d _{rNin} . [] [] |
| | | 72. | d _{Nin} . [] [] |
| | | 73. | d _{Nin} .igi. ^{zi} . [bar. [ŠU] ra] |

69. The following lines are partly preserved in E iii, which is actually a part of B v, corresponding to ca. *B v 44-58 (see under Tablet III 58, where this fragment is cited as L). Since E ends at ca. *B v 58, there should be a small gap of approximately one or two lines between the end of E and the first line of D (see under note 95 below). Much of the material in this section is compressed by E and D (= *B v 44 ff.), as is evident from the fact that *B v 1-74 = Tablet IV 14-117 (see under note 7 above, and notes 95 and 117 below). As a working hypothesis, it is here assumed that *B v 49-58 (= E iii 5-14) and 59 (= gap) represent a section of subdeities and servants in the circle of Ištar (which actually continues into D); and it is further assumed that this section compresses two entries to a line. This explains the arrangement of lines 73-94 below.

70. = E iii 2.

71. = E iii 3.

72. = E iii 4. The long list of Ištar names that begin with nin probably ends with this line; see under note 48 above. E draws a ruling line under this entry.

73. = E iii 5 and eme:88. With this line, a section begins which probably included a lengthy list of the lesser deities and servants in the household of Ištar (see under

| | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| | 74. [^d Nin.si.gar.an.na] | [ŠU] | |
| | 75. [2 gu ₄ .DÚB] | [^d Inanna.ke ₄] | |
| E | 76. ^d Nin.KA.ʽDUʽ.[] | [] | |
| | 77. [] | [] | |
| | 78. ^d Nin.KA.ʽxʽ.[] | [] | |
| | 79. [] | [] | |
| | 80. ^d Nin.me.ʽxʽ.[] | [] | |
| | 81. [] | [] | |
| | 82. ^d Nin.ʽxʽ.[] | [] | |
| | 83. [] | [] | |
| | 84. ^d Nin.ʽxʽ.[] | [] | |
| | 85. [] | [] | |
| | 86. ^d Nin.[] | [] | |
| | 87. [] | [] | |
| | 88. ^d ʽNinʽ.[] | [] | |
| | 89. [] | [] | |
| | 90. ^d [] | [] | |
| | 91. [] | [] | |

note 69 above). The present entry represents one of 2 gu₄. DÚB ^dInanna.ke₄, according to eme:87 f.

74. = eme:87. It is here assumed that E would crowd two entries to a single line; hence the present entry would correspond to the unpreserved second half of E iii 5.

75. See under note 73 above.

76. = E iii 6.

77. For the arrangement of this and the following lines, cf. note 74 above.

78. = E iii 7.

80. = E iii 8.

82. = E iii 9.

84. = E iii 10.

86. = E iii 11.

88. = E iii 12.

90. = E iii 13.

| | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
| | 92. ^d [] | [] | |
| | 93. [] | [] | |
| | 94. [] | [] | |
| D | 95. ^d [] | [] | |
| | 96. ^d ʽxʽ.[] | ʽxʽ ^d ʽNinʽ.[] | |
| | 97. ^d ŠEŠ.AN.ʽxʽ | ŠU | |
| | 98. ^d En.me.ur ₄ .an.na | ŠU | |
| | 99. 2 dingir.[gub.ba] | ^d ʽInannaʽ.[ke ₄] | |
| | 100. ^d Nin.é.gal | be-lit ēkalli(É.GAL) | |
| | 101. ^d "(!)BU.[KA X GAN] | [ŠU] | |
| | 102. ^d (di.kum)Di.ku ₅ .um | sukkal ^d Nin.[é.gal. ke ₄] | |
| | 103. ^d É-kur-ri-tum | ŠU | |

92. = E iii 14.

93. For the possible gap in lines 93 f., see under note 69 above.

95. In making the restoration of lines 95-117, the following factors were found helpful. The section of B v still preserved (= CT 24 33; obviously, King's line numbering is there only provisional, since he states, "the upper part of the column is missing") follows a contour that would make it approximately opposite B iv 74 (cf. CT 24 31). Since this segment of B v can be correlated with A vi (e.g., see line 130 below), King's line "1" represents line 117 of the present tablet; hence *B v 74 = Tablet IV 117. K. 4349N + K. 4349U (CT 24 50, cited here as D) i 1 was found to make a probable join with B iv 63 (see under Tablet III 119); therefore D ii 15 = *B v 74; and D should join B at King's line "1" (CT 24 33). This means that D ii 1 should correspond to the present line and represent *B v 60.

97. In King's copy of D ii 3, the traces of ʽxʽ appear to resemble a sign like DUMU. Cf. Tablet V 6.

99. = D ii 3b and 4b.

100. = Ao:201.

101. = Ao:202.

102. Gloss in D ii 6.

103. ^dÉ-kur-ri-tum is identified with Ištar in KAV 63 vi 2 (see the collation by Weidner, AfK 2 80 note 7), but she appears in this list as an inferior deity in the household of Ištar. See Tablet V 253 where she is listed as one of the two wives of ^dNin.giš.zi.da.

| | | | |
|---|------|--|-----------------------|
| D | 104. | d ^d KÙ.GI.bàn.da | ŠU |
| | 105. | 2 'x'.[] | d[] |
| | 106. | d ^d Nin.ḫab.ba | [ŠU] |
| | 107. | d[] | [ŠU] |
| | 108. | d ^d PIŠ.ág.gál | [ŠU] |
| | 109. | d[] | [ŠU] |
| | 110. | d ^d KAL.da.'x.x' | [ŠU] |
| | 111. | [5] | [d .ke ₄] |
| | 112. | d ^d In.na.ša ₆ .ga | [ŠU] |
| | 113. | [] | [ŠU] |
| | 114. | d ^d Ní.gal.edin.na | [ŠU] |
| | 115. | [] | [ŠU] |
| | 116. | 4 ni.duḫ | [d .ke ₄] |
| B | 117. | d ^d Inanna.unu ₇ .ki | aš-[ka-i-tu] |

104. See Tablet I 316 where he is listed as the husband of d^dNin.imma (SIG₇). For the reading of the name, see An : Anu šá amēli^x129.

105. = D ii 7b and 8b. The summary may be interpreted as either 2 'dingir'.[gub.ba] or 2 'gu₄'.[DUB]. The traces of 'x' would be favorable for either restoration. The deity in the second half of the line is probably d^dNin.é.gal, although d^dInanna may also be considered.

107. = D ii 9b.

109. = D ii 10b.

111. = D ii 11b. The name in the second half of the line was probably d^dInanna.

113. = D ii 12b.

115. = D ii 13b.

116. The name in the second half of the line was probably d^dInanna. For ni.duḫ, see p. 15 note 51 above.

117. For the relationship between B v 1 ff. (i.e., CT 24 33) and D, see under note 95 above. It is clear that the two should join at this point. The present section presents a list of the epithets which Ištar bore in her relationship to various geographical locations. For the present epithet of aš-[ka-i-tu], see LKU 51:2 (where the epithet appears as [d] 'Áš'-ka-a-a-i-tum).

| | | | | |
|---|---|------|------------------------------------|---------------------|
| B | D | 118. | d ^d Inanna'.ZA.MUŠ. | zu-[ba-li-tu] |
| | | | UNU ₇ .ki | |
| | | 119. | d ^d Inanna.Kiš'.ki | kiš-[i-tu] |
| | | 120. | d ^d Inanna.[NÍG.DIR. | za-i-[di-tu] |
| | | | IM].ki | |
| | | 121. | d ^d Inanna.'x'.[x].'x' | su-[-tu] |
| | | 122. | d ^d Inanna.'x'.[] | [] |
| | | 123. | d ^d Inanna.'x'.[] | [] |
| | | 124. | d ^d Inanna.'x'.[] | [] |
| | | 125. | d ^d Inanna.'x'. 'x'.[] | [] |
| | C | 126. | d ^d Inanna.GÁ X GAR.[x] | []-ta-ma-[] |
| | | 127. | d ^d Inanna.GÁ X GAR. | 'ma'-lik(!)-ka-[tu] |
| | | | 'sud' | |
| | | 128. | d ^d Inanna.A.ga.dè.[ki] | be-lit Ak-'ka'-[di] |
| | | 129. | d ^d Inanna.A.ab.ba.ki | ia-bi-i-[tu] |
| A | | 130. | d ^d Inanna.èš.X | be-lit É.AN.[x-tu] |

118. See CT 21 31:1, where d^dInanna.ZA.MUŠ.UNU.ki appears in a dedicatory inscription of Rim-Sin. See also YBT 9 38. For ZA.MUŠ.UNU.ki = zabalam, see Meissner, AS no. 4 91 line 111 and ZA NF 8 148 f.:111.

119. Probably corresponds to d^dKi-ši-tu; see KAR 214 ii 32.

120. For the place name Dunnisaidi (written NÍG.DIR.IM.ki), see RLA II 240.

121. The epithet is not su-ba-li-tu (see line 134 below) nor su-ti-tu (see line 135 below).

127. = B v 11 (King's numbering) and C-1 line 2. Cf. CT 25 49:2 and CT 12 34a:19. Perhaps the epithet is to be emended to *ma-al(!)-ka-[tu], which would seem to be a better form.

128. = B v 12, C-1 line 3, and C-2 obv.(!) (see Schroeder, KAV p. IX under no. 73) 2. For be-lit Ak-ka-di, cf. K. 252 (III R 66) iii 24 (= d^dNin.URI.ki); KAR 214 ii 31; and MVAG 41/3 iii 36.

130. The sign X appears as ZU in C-2 line 4, but this seems suspect (a name like d^dInanna.èš.ZU/SU may conceivably exist, but d^dInanna.AB.ZU seems ruled out; the latter would

| A | B | C | | |
|---|---|---|------|---|
| | | | 131. | dInanna.giš.RI.SA tal-la-ia-i- ⁷ tu ⁷ |
| | | | 132. | dInanna.uru.silim. šul-ma-ni-tu |
| | | | | ma |
| | | | 133. | dInanna.A.ku.uz.ki a-ku-ši-tu |
| | | | 134. | dInanna.Su.bal.ki su-ba-li-tu |
| | | | 135. | dInanna. ⁷ su ⁷ .ti.ID su-ti-tu |
| | | | 136. | dInanna.é.dam e-da-mi-tu |
| | | | 137. | dŠi-i-la-ba-at ŠU |
| | | | 138. | dIgi.bar.lú.ti ŠU |
| | | | 139. | dKa.ba.lú.ša ₆ ŠU |
| | | | 140. | dE.da ŠU |
| | | | 141. | dE.sa.pàr ŠU |
| | | | 142. | 5 inim.bal.bal dInanna.ke ₄ |
| : | : | | 143. | [dA.ba.šu.šu] [ŠU] |

appear as dInanna.ZU.AB). A reading of eš for AB seems clear in view of E in the second half of the line (= bit).

131. A vi 164 corroborates Tallquist's (AG 429) restoration of C-1 line 6 (which should be read tal-la(!) and not ri-te).

133. A vi 166 omits ki.

134. C-1 line 9: su-bal-li-tu. A vi 167 omits ki.

135. Perhaps the name is actually dInanna.⁷su⁷.ti.á (since the last sign usually does not have the value id in Sumerian). One may also consider the possibility that the name might be a pseudo-ideogram (i.e., dInanna.⁷su⁷.ti.id), which attempts to explain the Akkadian sutītu; but this is not completely convincing.

136. C-1 line 11: é-dam-me-tu. Text = A vi 169.

137. Ao:237 and B v 21: dŠi-la-ba-at.

138. = Ao:238.

139. = Ao:239.

140. Possibly = Ao:241. This would indicate that Ao:240 (dNig.igi.kar.di.du₁₀) represents an extra name in this section of Ao.

141. = Ao:242.

142. "the five translators of Inanna."

143. Both A and B follow a tradition which mistakenly omits four names from this list of "18 messengers of Inanna" (see line 161 below). It is possible that C-1 line 18

| A | B | C | | |
|---|---|---|------|--|
| : | : | : | 144. | [dAb.ta.gi ₄ .gi ₄] [ŠU] |
| : | : | : | 145. | [dKA.PAP.KA.KA] [ŠU] |
| : | : | : | 146. | dUb.da.du.du ŠU |
| : | : | : | 147. | dDa.LU.du.du ŠU |
| : | : | : | 148. | dA.šà.nu.gi ₄ .a ŠU |
| : | : | : | 149. | dZa.ra.nu.gi ₄ .a ŠU |
| : | : | : | 150. | dAma.nun.si ŠU |
| : | : | : | 151. | dAma.šud _x (KA X ŠU). ŠU |
| : | : | : | | dè.imin |
| : | : | : | 152. | dMa-lak ŠU |
| : | : | : | 153. | dMa.ra.li ŠU |
| : | : | : | 154. | d(še.du) _{KAL} ŠU |
| : | : | : | 155. | d(ba.aš. ⁷ tum ⁷) _[KAL] ŠU |
| : | : | : | 156. | d(la.ma.su) _{KAL} ŠU |
| : | : | : | 157. | dDa.[da] ŠU |

represents one of these missing entries (it gives dKi.[]). More likely is the possibility that the first three missing deities correspond to Ao:243-245 (which not only represent three entries not occurring elsewhere in this series, but also represent entries that are listed by Ao between the last inim.bal.bal deity and the name of the first "messenger" deity found in A and B). Therefore, the present line is restored from Ao:243.

144. Restored from Ao:244; see under note 143 above.

145. Restored from Ao:245; see under note 143 above.

146. = A vi 175 and B v 24 (King's numbering). Ao:246 writes the name as dUb.da.a.du.du.

147. The name may be dDa.dab.du.du. In Ao:247, it appears as dDa.a.du.du. Text = A vi 176.

148. Ao:248: dGiš.ig.e.nu.gi₄.e.

149. Ao:249: dZa.ra.e.nu.gi₄.e.

150. Ao:250: dAma.dag.si.

151. Ao:251: dAma.šud_x(!).dè.imin.bi. For KA X ŠU = šud_x, see MSL II p. 57 line^x329.

155. See AS no. 7 p. 25 line 292.

157. = Ao:252.

| A | B | | |
|---|---|--|---|
| : | | 158. ^d Dù.dù | ŠU |
| : | | 159. ^d rX'.r'x' | ŠU |
| | | 160. [^d Nin].r'šár.nun'.na | ŠU |
| | | 161. 18 lú.kin.[gi ₄ .a] | ^d rInanna'.[ke ₄] |
| | | 162. ^d Nin.r'UG'.UG | ŠU |
| | | 163. ^d Nin.UG.AB | ŠU |
| | | 164. ^d Ub.saḫar(IŠ).ra | r'ŠU' |
| | | 165. ^d Ub.líl.lá | ŠU |
| | | 166. ^d Ub.li.a | ŠU |
| | | 167. ^d Ub.kalam.ma | ŠU |
| | | 168. ^d Múš.za.gin.na | ŠU |
| | | 169. ^d Be-lit-tu-ur-ri | ŠU |
| | | 170. 8 ub-líl.lá | ^d Inanna.ke ₄ |
| | | 171. ^d Nin.gal.an.na | šar-rat šamê(AN-e) |
| | | 172. ^d Nin.si ₄ .an.na | ^d Ištar kakkabi (= ^d U+ |
| | | | GÜN.MUL) |

158. Ao:253: ^dDu.du.

159. = A vi 187. B v 30b omitted the equivalent of either 159 or 160, but (since B is broken here) just which line was omitted cannot be determined.

160. = A vi 188 and Ao:254.

161. A vi 187b and B v 31 both agree in giving the number in the summary as "18," but both sources list only fourteen names (see under note 143 above). The additional four names were probably omitted by scribal oversight.

162. B v 32: ^dNin.r'x'.[x]; A vii 1: [^dNin].r'UG'.UG.

164. = Ao:255.

167. = C-2 r.(!) 1 (The "Vs." of KAV 145 should be changed to Rs.; see Schroeder, KAV p. IX under no. 73).

169. Ao:256: ^dBe-la-at-ur-ri. C-2 r. 3: ^dNIN.be-lit-ur(!)-r'u', which is probably to be explained as containing an older glossed reading; the original reading of the tradition represented by C-2 was certainly *^dNin.ur.ru.

170. Lines 170-172 correspond to C-1 r. 1-3.

171. C-2 r. 5: ^dNin.r'é'.gal. The present line should be compared with K. 6093 (CT 26 49; probably a duplicate of the excerpt tablet b, CT 25 31):5.

172. = Ao:262; eme:89; and b r. ii 9.

| A | B | C | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 173. ^d Usan ₂ " |
| | | | 174. ^d Usan ₂ .pa.sikil " |
| | | | 175. ^d Zíb.ba " |
| | | | 176. ^d Ti.mú.a " |
| | | | 177. ^d "ALAM " |
| | | | 178. [^d]Si.mú.a " |
| | | | 179. ^d Za.gul.kal.la " |
| | | | 180. [^d]r'Ama'.me.til " |
| | | | 181. ^d Dili.bad " |
| | | | 182. [^d X].r'šà'.pad.du " |
| | | | 183. ^d A.r'ta'.nam.an " |
| | | | 184. [^d X].ri.a " |
| | | | 185. ^d Mul.[an].a.diri " |
| | | | 186. []r'x' " |
| | | | 187. ^d Nin.[an].r'na' " |

^dr'U'.[sa.an]. C-2 r. 7: ^dr'U'(!).sa.[an].

174. = Ao:258 and b r. ii 10b.

175. The name is preceded by dittos in B v 40, but these are not found in the other texts. Instead of zíb, C-2 r. 9 gives NINDA₂ X ŠE.

176. =²Ao:259 and b r. ii 11b.

177. = Ao:260. Distinguish from ^dALAM in Tablet I 20 f. and in Tablet III 109.

178. = Ao:264 (which gives the name as ^dSi.mú) and b r. ii 12b.

179. = Ao:261.

180. = b r. ii 13b. C-1 r. 15 wrongly: [^dAma].du₁₀.bad.

183. = B v 44a and A vii 21. b r. ii 14b: ^dE.ta.nam.an.

185. b r. ii 15b: ^dMul.an.diri.a.

186. = A vii 24.

187. = b r. ii 16b. In b r. ii 17 f., there were four more names of ^dIštar kakkabi listed, but only two of these are preserved:

17. ^dGal.a.ru.ru | "

18. ^dNun.mú.a | "

| A | B | | |
|---|---|------------------------|-------------|
| | | 188. dMaḡ.ṛdiṛ.[an.na] | dKab.ta |
| | | 189. dKab.[ta.zib.ta] | " |
| | | 190. [dLAL] | ["] |
| | | 191. dNin.[] | [dumu].a.ni |
| | | 192. dṛXṛ.[] | [] |
| | | 193. d[] | [] |
| | | 194-231. (gap) | |

188. = B v 47 and A vii 26. The first name is restored from Ao:265.

189. = B v 48a. Restored from b r. ii 19b.

190. = B v 48b (unpreserved). Restored from Ao:263. It is evident that Ao:263 should be placed in this section because dLAL is given the pronunciation kab.ta (and is explained as TA.ṛgu-nu-uṛ) in Ea : A : naḡu IV (AS no. 7 p. 22):213.

192. = B v 50.

193. = B v 51.

194-231. It seems evident from Ao:267 ff. that the next entries in this series should be concerned with dDumu.zi and his immediate circle. After this, one would expect to find dNa.na.a (= Ao:275 and eme:90) and her household. Unfortunately, the section devoted to these deities, who occupied such an important place in the cult life of Babylonia and Assyria, is poorly preserved. Probably K. 4349Q (CT 24 46) belongs here, representing deities belonging to the circle of dNa.na.a. However, the ten lines that make up the fragment K. 4349Q can account for only a small part of the gap between lines 194 and 231 (plus the practically missing lines 232-247). The exact restoration of lines 194-247 must await the appearance of better preserved duplicates of this section of the "Istar tablet," but one may tentatively, at least, propose that the gap included the following names from the Dumuzi section of Ao:267-274 (cf. the parallel sections in the "Smaller An : dA-nu-um" found in CT 24 19 ii 1-6 and CT 25 7 K. 7663 + K. 11035 ii 1-9):

267. dDumu.zi (= eme:76)

268. dEn.ningir.si (= eme:77)

269. dAma.ušum

270. dUšumgal.an.na

271. dMe.nun.an.na

272. dAma.ušumgal.an.na

273. dAm.a.ra.li

274. dALAM

Following these names, Ao:275-278 devotes four lines to dNa.na.a and her circle:

| A | | | |
|---|------|----------------|-----|
| | 232. | d[] | [] |
| | 233. | d[] | [] |
| | 234. | d[] | [] |
| | 235. | d[] | [] |
| | 236. | d[] | [] |
| | 237. | d[] | [] |
| | 238. | d[] | [] |
| | 239. | d[] | [] |
| | 240. | dṛNinṛ.[] | [] |
| | 241. | d"[] | [] |
| | 242. | dṛNinṛ.[] | [] |
| | 243. | dṛXṛ.[] | [] |
| | 244. | d[] | [] |
| | 245. | [] | [] |
| | 246. | [d]ṛXṛ.ṛBALAGṛ | [] |

275. dNa.na.a (= eme:90)

276. dṛDug.dugṛ

277. dIn.nin.ša₆.ga

278. dPA.a.ti

Somewhere after these names, the present series must have listed the entries represented by K. 4349Q (CT 24 46):

| | | |
|-----|--|-----------------|
| 1. | [dX].za.[x] | [] |
| 2. | [d]Kid.kid | [] |
| 3. | dEn.me.ur ₄ .ur ₄ : ŠU | ṛdamṛ.[bi.nita] |
| 4. | dTa.tag | SAL.ṛxṛ.[] |
| 5. | d(mu.ia.ti)PA+GANAM ₄ | ṛdamṛ.[] |
| 6. | dDI.mu.un.KA | [] |
| 7. | dNun.si.kur | [] |
| 8. | dKa.ni.sur.ra | [] |
| 9. | dA.ba | [] |
| 10. | dA.ba.ṛgalṛ | [] |

These latter entries are assumed to belong somewhere in this present gap because of dKa.ni.sur.ra (K. 4349Q:8), who is known elsewhere as a daughter of dNa.na.a (see AfK 2 11 note 5). However, the exact status of this fragment must remain rather uncertain until other duplicates provide a means of controlling this section.

232-247. For possible entries in this section, see under note 194-231 above.

| | | | |
|---|--|-------------------------|---|
| A | 247. [d]rX.HAR | [|] |
| | 248. [d]rNin.bi.an.na | [|] |
| | 249. [d]NE.zil.lá | [|] |
| | 250. [d]Nin.díb.ba | [|] |
| | 251. r ^d Nin.rib.ba | [|] |
| | 252. r ^d (a.nu)An.na | r ^x .[|] |
| | 253. r ^d (a.[]Nu.na | r ^x .[|] |
| | 254. r ^d Nin.šar _x (BÁR) | r ^x .[|] |
| | 255. r ^d La-ba-tum | " | |
| | 256. r ^d "INANNA INANNA | " | |
| | 257. r ^d Qa-aš-tum | ŠU | |
| | 258. [d]"TU | " | |
| | 259. r ^d Edin | r ^{še} -[ru-ú] | |
| | 260. [d](r ^x .su)UK.Ú | r ^x | |
| | 261. [d](r ^x)ú | [|] |
| | 262. [d](r ^x)ú | [|] |
| | 263. [d]rX.sa | [|] |

249. Cf. V R 46 no. 1:9. Deimel, ŠL IV 339, 7, reads the name as ^dNe.sil.lá.

250. The name may have been in b r. ii 1.

252. Possibly = b r. ii 3 and b r. ii 5. The gloss is in A vii 92. The sign represented by r^x resembles the beginning of r^{ŠU}.

253. Gloss in A vii 93. The sign represented by r^x may be r^{ŠU}.

254. The sign represented by r^x may be r^{ŠU}. For ^dNin.šar_x(BÁR), see Tablet I 29, where she is equated with ^dIštar.

255. See CT 15 6 vii 6 where ^dIštar is addressed as lābatum ^dIštar. See also An : Anu šá amēli 94.

260. The traces of r^x resemble a sign like AM.

261. The gloss in A vii 101 may actually be [ša].am.

262. The gloss in A vii 102 resembles that of A vii 101 (see note 261 above).

263. The sign represented by r^x may be NE, or it may represent [X].giš. The sign SA may actually be r^{KAR}.

| | | | |
|---|---|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| A | 264. [d]rGÍR ^(ul) .rGÍR | [|] |
| | 265. [d]rX.edin.líl.rlá | [|] |
| | 266. [dX].r ^{edin} .[na] | [|] |
| | 267. [dX].r ^{edin} .[na] | [|].SI.[|
| | 268. [|] | [d]rX.al.lu.la.r ^x |
| | 269. r ^d Maškim.ge ₆ .lú. | | ^d Šul.pa.è |
| | | har.r ^{ra} .na | |
| | 270. ^d Nu.nu | | ŠU |
| | 271. ^d Hu.bu.ur.šè.igi. | | ŠU |
| | | du ₈ | |
| | 272. ^d A.tu.uri.ki | | ŠU |
| | 273. 6 maškim | | edin.na.ke ₄ |
| | 274. ^d Dim.sa.sa | | ^d Gaz.ba.a(!) |
| | 275. ^d Gaz.ba | | " |

264. The deity involved in this entry seems to be the same ^dGÍR.GÍR.E who figures in "The Myth of Inanna and Bilulu" (see JNES 12 169 and 174 f. line 90), but the gloss in A vii 104 would point to a reading of the name as ^dUl_x.ul_x instead of ^dGir.gir.e. Since the final -e was probably not written in this entry as a part of the name, the -e of ^dGir.gir.e in JNES 12 174:90 should represent a grammatical element. It is obvious from line 259 above and from the lines that follow that the present section deals primarily with gods (and demons) of the EDIN. Note, however, that A vii 104 draws a ruling line under the present entry.

265. The name should be restored to something like [^dEN].edin.líl.rlá or [^dAma].edin.líl.lá (cf. JNES 12 168 note 28).

266. Possibly [^dAma].r^{edin}.[na].

267. Of these six maškim (see line 273 below), three appear to be identified with other deities. The first name is, unfortunately, poorly preserved.

269. The same identification appears in Tablet I 187.

274. The final a(!) in A vii 114 appears to be written over an erasure. The name of ^dGaz.ba.a may be compared with ^dGaz.ba.ba, who is known elsewhere as a daughter of ^dNa.na.a; see Zimmern, ZA 30 192 note 2; and Weidner, AfK 2 11 note 5.

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| A | 276. ^d Me.me | ^d Iš.ḫa.ra |
| | 277. ^d Be-lit-bi-ri | " |
| | 278. ^d E-ta-mi-tu | " |
| | 279. ^d Iš.ḫa.ra | " |
| | 280. ^d Taš-me-zi-ik-ru | SAL.sukkal ^d Be-lit- be-ri-ke ₄ |
| | 281. ^d Sag.ḡgar ¹ | dam.bi |
| | 282. ^d "ḪAR | " |
| | 283. ^d Al.ma.nu | " |
| | 284. ^d Aš-ta-me-er | dumu-a-ni |
| | 285. ^d Nin.ḫal | ŠU |
| | 286. ^d Me.šu.nu.šu.du ₇ | ši-lu-tu |
| | 287. ^d Uru.al.šár.ra | ma-an-ša-at |
| | 288. ^d Ma-an-ší-at | " |

276. ^dMe.me is listed in Tablet V 139 as one of the names of ^dNin.kar.ra.ak. For another list of the names of ^dIš.ḫa.ra, see Tablet I 199 ff.

277. = Tablet I 201.

278. In Tablet I 202, the name appears as ^dE-ta-mi-tum.

280. = Tablet I 203.

281. Lines 281-283 list the names of a deity who is called "her husband." The goddess involved, at first glance, appears to be ^dTaš-me-zi-ik-ru. However, since ^dAl.ma.nu (line 283) is known elsewhere (see K. 260:29, RA 14 24) as the husband of ^dIš.ḫa.ra, it seems better to understand the description "her husband" as referring to ^dIš.ḫa.ra of lines 276-279 and not to ^dTaš-me-zi-ik-ru.

282. Lines 281 and 282 are to be compared with CT 29 45: 7 ff., where ^dḪAR and ^dSAG both have the pronunciation gloss sag.gar.

283. See under note 281 above.

286. The epithet ši-lu-tu seems to represent an Akkadian explanation, but its significance here is uncertain. This line should be compared with II R 62:72c, where ^dMe.nu.šu.du₇ similarly has a gloss of ši-lu-tu₄.

287. This section is similarly given in b r. ii 6 ff. The present entry = b r. ii 6 (which writes ma-an-ša-at as ma-an-ši-it. A similar section appears in K. 6093 (CT 26 49), which may be a small duplicate of b.

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| A | 289. ^d Nin.giš.ḫur.an.na | " |
| | 290. ^d Tab.an.na | " |
| | 291. ^d Tir.an.na | " |
| | 292. ^r ^d Zi-li-li-tum | SAL.sukkal ^d Ma-an- ša-at.ke ₄ |
| | 293. ^r ^d Lugal.gíd.da | dumu ^d Tir.an.na |
| | 294. ^r ^d Giš.BU.ga | ŠU |
| | 295. [^d Lugal.bàn.da] | [ŠU] |
| | 296. dub *4 kám.ma [An ^d A-nu-um] 4 šu 46 mu.bi | |

289. = b r. ii 7.

291. = b r. ii 8. Cf. CT 18 28:16d and KAV 63 v 3.

294. Possibly a scribal mistake for ^dGiš.sù.ga; cf. CT 25 22:32 (a variant for ^dLugal.giš.sir.ra in Tablet VI 109).

295. Catch-line for the next tablet regularly omitted by

A.

296. A vii 134: dub 5 kám.ma. For this difference in numbering, see p. 7 note 26 above.

SOURCES USED IN RECONSTRUCTING TABLET V

- A YBC 2401
- B K. 4349 (CT 24 20 ff.)
- C K. 2597 + K. 2944 + K. 12832 + D. T. 355 (CT 25 1-6)
- D K. 4349A+81-7-27,51 (CT 24 47)
- E Ki. 1904-10-9,61 (RA 17 194 f.)
- F Rm. 11,289 (CT 25 29)
- G CBS 10805 (SLT 121)
- H K. 4349F (CT 24 49)
- I K. 4349D (CT 24 21)
- J VAT 9515 (KAV 69)
- K Rm. 930 (RA 17 183)

Ao AO. 5376 (TCL 15 25 ff.)

eme Emesal list in MSL IV

TABLET V

| A | G | | |
|---|---|-----------------------|------------|
| | | 1. [d]Lugal.bàn.da | ŠU |
| | | 2. dNin.sún | dam.bi.SAL |
| | | 3. d(e)NIN.é.gu.la | " |
| | | 4. dTÚR X SAL(ši.la). | ŠU |
| | | kur | |

1. = Ao:279; eme:93; A vii 135; and G:1 (for an earlier treatment of G, see Jean, *Babyloniaca* 13 70 f.). For the reading of the name, see Weidner, AfK 2 14 note 1.

2. = Ao:280 and eme:94. In VAT 7759 (AfK 2 4 f.) ii 10, which represents an old Babylonian copy of KAV 46:16 (= KAV 63 i 50), the name is written dNin.sún. Jean, *Babyloniaca* 13 70 f. misread the right side of G:2 as i.[].

3. The sign NIN occurs frequently in this tablet with glosses of either e or ni. Usually, these glosses are considered as giving direct indications of the reading of the sign in each case (i.e., e₅ and ni₄ respectively), but the question may be raised as to how the scribes could have indicated in a simple way that the sign involved should be read nin rather than egi or ereš, and vice versa. In the case of uncommon signs, scribal practice generally was to write out the full indication of the pronunciation of the doubtful sign; but in the case of common signs which might be ambiguous, there is evidence that the scribes used merely an abbreviated gloss to suggest the correct reading (see under Tablet II 21). For the reading of the sign NIN, there was no need to write out the elaborate gloss ni.in, for the reader would already be acquainted with that reading. All the scribe needed to give was a brief hint as to which of the two (or three) common values of the sign should be applied, and the reader himself could then supply the full pronunciation of the sign (cf. further under Tablet II 21 and Poebel, ZA 39 142 note 1). This would mean, then, that the present entry should be read as either dEgi.é.gu.la or dEreš.é.gu.la, but not dE₅.é.gu.la.

4. G:4: dTÚR X SAL(ši.la).za. Cf. dTÚR X SAL.kur.ra who appears in VAT 7849 (KAR 132; cf. Rit. acc. 101) ii 14, which suggests that the reading in A vii 138 is to be preferred to that of G:4. The sign ZA in G probably represents an old scribal error for KUR. The list of the "10 sons of Lugalbanda" begins with this line.

| A | G | | |
|---|---|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | | 5. dU ₄ .nam.edin.na | ŠU |
| | | 6. d(di)ŠEŠ.AN.tur | ŠU |
| | | 7. dNumun.áb.šár.ra | ŠU |
| | | 8. dUd(ud).nam.gi ₆ (gi). | ŠU |
| | | me.mu | |
| | | 9. dE.rib(ri.ib) | ŠU |
| | | 10. dNunuz.áb.ba | ŠU |
| | | 11. dEn.men(me.en).nun. | ŠU |
| | | si.na | |
| | | 12. d[X].te.nun.si.na | ŠU |
| | | 13. dMES.GAR.X(ʿxʿ).ra | ŠU |
| | | 14. 10 àm dumu.[meš] | [dLugal.bàn.da] |
| | | 15. dLugal.ḫe.gál | ŠU sukka[dLugal. bàn.da] |
| | | 16. dLugal.[x].an.na | ŠU sukka[d[Nin.sún] |
| | | 17. dKur.ʿxʿ.[x].da | ŠU ʿxʿ [dLugal.bàn.da] |

5. See Tablet VI 125.

6. In view of the gloss (in G:6), one may wonder if ŠEŠ in G represents a copyist's error for DĪM; but the same name seems to be found also in Tablet IV 97.

7. One may compare dNumun.áb in Ao:406.

8. = G:8. A vii 142 is broken but seems to end in a sign which may be 'DUL'. After the name, G adds a puzzling gloss: ki.ʿšuʿ.

9. Jean, *Babyloniaca* 13 70 f., seems doubly wrong in reading the name as dE.kal, and the gloss as UR.ib.

12. There is a broken place before TE in G:12, but there may be nothing missing, in which case, read dTe.nun.si.na.

13. The gloss ʿxʿ appears to be a sign like SU. Jean, *Babyloniaca* 13 70 f., reads the name as dMěš-ša(?) -al-ra, and the gloss as uru (placing it with al).

15. = A vii 148 and G:15. See Tablet III 234 where dLugal.ḫe.gál(.la) = Adad; but in Ao:452, the name appears in a Nerigal list.

17. In A vii 150, the sign after kur resembles either 'LID' or 'MI'.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|-------------|
| A | 18. d'AB(a).r'x'.[x.x] | [|] |
| | 19. d(du)r'X'.[x.x] | [|] |
| | 20. dšID X A(me.[ze. em]).[ŠEŠ.UNU.KI] | [|] |
| | 21. d"[A] | [| "] |
| | 22. dNin.gú.[e.sír.ka] | [| dam.bi.SAL] |
| | 23. [d]r'Lugal'. [mara _x (AMAR).da] | [|] |
| | 24. d[] | [| "] |
| | 25. dNí.zi.[an.na] | [| dam.bi.SAL] |
| | 26. dTúg.nam.en.r'na' | [|] |
| | 27. dTúg.nun.na | [|] |

20. Lines 20-22 are to be compared with (and restored from) CT 24 35:29-31 ("Smaller An : dA-nu-um"). The present line is restored from CT 24 35:30; cf. SBH p. 139 line 137. For the restoration of the gloss (in A vii 153), see MSL II p. 51 note 238.

21. Restored from CT 24 35:29.

22. Restored from CT 24 35:31.

23. Restored from line 32 below. Note that in KAV 46:17 f. (see Weidner's emendation in AfK 2 14 note 1), also, the names of dLugal.mara_x(AMAR).da and dNí.zu.an.na (see line 25 below) appear together (as here). This line = Ao:282. For the distinction between dLugal.ban.da and dLugal.mara_x(AMAR).da, see Weidner, AfK 2 14 note 1.

x24. Probably represents another name for dLugal.mara_x(AMAR).da.

x25. The name appears both as dNí.zi.an.na (as here) and as dNí.zu.an.na (as in line 29 below). Cf. the fact that in the old Babylonian text VAT 7759 (AfK 2 4) ii 12, the name appears as dNí.zi.an.na while KAV 46:18 (the later duplicate of VAT 7759) presents dNí.zu.an.na. The name appears in Ao:283 as dNin.zu.an.na, thus indicating that IM = ní in this name.

26. = Ao:284, which varies, giving dTúg.nam.en dTúg.

27. = Ao:285. See also KAV 63 iii 24 where dTúg.nun.na = dA-ri-tum (according to the collation of Weidner, AfK 2 72 note 10). In KAV 65 iii 1, the name of the same deity is written [dTúg].r'nun'.an.na.

| | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|--|
| A | 28. dLugal.me.a | sukkal dLugal. |
| | | [mara _x (AMAR).da.ke ₄] |
| | 29. dĭ-lí-mi-šar | sukkal dNí.zu.[an. na.ke ₄] |
| | 30. dU ₆ .nir.si.sá | ŠU |
| C | 31. dŠu.ni.dugud | ŠU |
| | 32. 2 gu ₄ .DÚB | dLugal.mara _x (AMAR). da.ke ₄ |
| | 33. dNin.(ni.ki.li. im)kilim(PÉŠ) | ŠU |
| | 34. dNin.kilim".ki.dù | " |
| | 35. dNin.gada(KAD).ki.dù | " |
| | 36. dNin.níg.ki.dù | " |
| | 37. dTúg.túg | " |

28. Cf. dLugal.me in Tablet II 51.

29. dĭ-lí-mi-šar may represent the same deity as dĭl-mi-še-ru and dMi-šá-ru, KAV 43 i 15, and dMi-ša-ru, Tablet III 246 (who is the "son of Adad"). For dNí.zu.an.na, see note 25 above.

33. Gloss in C i 2. A vii 165 uses the older form of PÉŠ. For the deity dNin.kilim(PÉŠ), see Zimmern, ZA NF 5 257 note 3. The name represents a goddess in this context (see line 38 below); but, in other texts, a male deity is involved; cf. II R 60 i 23. The present line should correspond to the poorly preserved line in Ao:288. For the abbreviated gloss ni for nin, see note 3 above.

34. Text = A vii 166. There, the dittos may reflect the existence of a parallel tradition (used by A) which agreed with C in giving a gloss to kilim(PÉŠ) in the previous line. C i 3: dNin.gi."(= kilim).dù. Obviously, the dittos in C are misplaced. The name corresponds to Ao:289: dNin.kilim.gi₄.dù(!).

35. Text = C i 4. A vii 167: [d]r'Nin."gada.ki.dù. However, the dittos in the name in A are corrupt, as is seen from the corresponding entry in Ao:287: dNin.gada.ki.<dù>. Instead of dittos, C gives ŠU in the explanatory column.

37. = Ao:286. Cf. CT 25 11:33, where dTúg.túg is equated with both dNin.kilim and dMAŠ (= dNinurta).

| | | | |
|-----|-----|---|---|
| A C | 38. | d(ni) _{Nin.mùr} (mu.ru). ki | dam.nita(mu-ut) d _{Nin.kilim.ke} ₄ |
| | 39. | d(ni) _{Nin.(ur)} ur ₅ . 'ki' | ŠU |
| | 40. | d _{Ušumgal} (ú.šum.gal) | sukkal d _{Nin.kilim.ke} ₄ |
| | 41. | d _{Me.ħur.sag} | sukkal d _{Nin.'mùr(!)'} . ki.ke ₄ |
| | 42. | d(ú.ra.aš) _{IB} | ŠU |
| | 43. | d _{Gú.an.ni.si.íl} | (gu.an.ni.si.il.la. ku) " |
| F | 44. | d _{Nin.uru} | dam.bi.SAL |
| | 45. | d _{La-ga-ma-al} | dumu d _{Uraš(ĪB).ke} ₄ |
| H | 46. | d _{Ip-te-(bi-it)} bît(É) | sukkal d _{Uraš.ke} ₄ |

38. = Ao:291. Text = C i 7. A vii 170: 'd_{Nin.mur}'ki. For IM = mur/muru, see Tablet III 207. For the abbreviated gloss ni for nin, see note 3 above.

39. Glosses in C i 8. C omits 'ki' and writes dittos in place of ŠU. For the gloss ni, see note 3 above.

40. Gloss in C i 9.

41. Text = C i 10. A vii 173 writes mur instead of mùr.

42. For d_{IB} = d_{Uraš}, see CT 25 11:25, where d_{IB} not only has a gloss of u.ra.aš, but is explained as representing "(= d_{Nin.urta}) šá u₄-da-ni-e. This would indicate that d_{IB} (= d_{Uraš}) is a subname of d_{Nin.urta}. Cf. also under Tablet I 228. However, d_{IB} (= d_{Uraš} = d_{Nin.urta}) should be distinguished from d_{IB} (= d_{Uraš}) who figures as one of the fathers of Anu; see Tablet I 4. A vii 174 gives the gloss as ú.ra.aš.

43. Text = C i 12. A vii 175: d_{Gú.an.ni.si.il} | 'd_{IB}'. Cf. CT 25 13:35 where d_{'Gú'.an.ni.si.'il} is similarly identified with d_{Nin.urta}.

44. See Tablet I 232 where she is listed among the names of the wife of d_{Nin.urta}. See also line 141 below, where the name appears among those of d_{Nin.kar.ra.ak}.

45. d_{La-ga-ma-al} usually appears in Nerigal lists; cf. CT 24 36:64 and KAV 63 i 39 (see Weidner's collation, AfK 2 12 note 12). In the explanatory column, C i 14 mistakenly writes dumu d_{Ē-a.ke}₄. Cf. further, Tablet VI 8.

46. Gloss in C i 15. On this name, see Landsberger, OLZ 14 247.

| | | | |
|---------|-----|---|--|
| A C F H | 47. | d(ni.ta) _{Nita} | ŠU |
| | 48. | d _{Ki.gu.la} | dam.bi.SAL |
| | 49. | d _{Za.ba₄.ba₄} | ŠU |
| | 50. | d _{Ba.ú} | dam.bi.SAL |
| | 51. | d _{Pap} (pa.ap.su.kal). sukkal | sukkal d _{Za.ba₄.ba₄} . 'ke ₄ ' |
| | 52. | d _{U.gur} | sukkal d _{GĪR.UNU₇.GAL} |

47. Gloss in all texts. For the extraneous horizontal stroke in F:4, see OLZ 13 99.

48. Not necessarily to be identified with the son of Ea in Tablet II 284. Whether this name represents the same deity who appears in Tablet I 81 (as a gu₄.DUB of Anu) can hardly be determined.

49. The pronunciation is given in KAV 46:6 (see Weidner's collation in AfK 2 13 note 1) as 'za'.ba.bu; see also under Tablet I 268; Ungnad, OLZ 25 202 f.; AS no. 7 23:220 (where MAL is given the pronunciation ba in the name d_{Za.MAL}.MAL). In A vii 181, the name is written d_{Za.ba₄.ba}.

50. The name occurs also as d_{Ba.ba} (e.g., SRT 5:41; see Falkenstein, ZA NF 11 171 and Jacobsen, AS no. 11 104 note 196) and possibly d_{Bābu(KÁ)} (see RLA I 432 ff. and Finkelstein, JCS 7 131). See also KAV 46:14 where the name appears (with a pronunciation) as [ba].a.bu : d_{'Ba'.ú}. The alternate spellings have led some (e.g., Falkenstein, OLZ 46 352 f.) to read her name as d_{Ba.ba₆} (note that Thureau-Dangin, RA 32 150, proposed that Ū be read bu₆). However, it seems just as likely that these alternate forms of the name merely indicate instead that the name was pronounced Ba.ṽa/ṽu (so also Kraus, JCS 3 67, 69, 74). This would eliminate the necessity of using the somewhat unusual value of ba₆ for Ū (which probably would be glossed in C if this value were intended). d_{Ba.ú} appears here as the wife of d_{Za.ba₄.ba₄}; but, in line 58 below, she is listed as the wife of d_{Nin.gir.su}. For a helpful study on the relationship of d_{Ba.ú} to d_{Nin.i.si.na/dGu.la/dNin.kar.ra.ak}, see Kraus, JCS 3 62-75.

51. Gloss in C i 20. d_{Pap.sukkal} is more usually associated with the circle of Anu; see Tablet I 33.

52. d_{U.gur} became the ideogram for Nerigal (e.g., see An : Anu šá amēli 76 f.), but here the name appears as the sukka! of Nerigal. For d_{GĪR.UNU₇.GAL}, see Landsberger, JCS 9 121 note 4 (who casts suspicion upon the usual transcription d_{Nē.iri₁₁.gal}). A vii 184 gives the mistaken but interesting variant d_{GĪR.ra.gal}. The present line corresponds to Ao:354.

| A | C | F | H | | |
|---|---|---|---|-----|---|
| | | | | 53. | ^d Ši-i-šar-rat dam.bi.SAL |
| | | | | 54. | ^d Ab.ú ŠU |
| | | | | 55. | ^d Gu.la dam.bi.SAL |
| | | | | 56. | ^d Nin.gír.su [ŠU] |
| | | | | 57. | ^d "rX" [""] |
| | | | | 58. | ^d Ba.ú dam.bi.SAL |
| | | | | 59. | ^d "[] " |
| | | | | 60. | ^d Ab.ú ama ^d Ba.ú.ke ₄ |
| | | | | 61. | ^d Kal.kal. ^d Ba.ú 'lamma' ^d Ba.ú.ke ₄ |
| | | | | 62. | ^d Gá(!).tum ₄ .dùg [ŠU ^d]Ba.ú |
| | | | | 63. | ^d Tur.tur.šu.gi [dumu].a.ni |
| | | | | 64. | ^d Nab [é].ninnu.ke ₄ |

53. = Ao:355, which presents ^dŠi-i-šar-ra-at.

54. = Ao:358. Note CT 25 13:27 where ^dAb.ú is identified with ^dNin.urta. The name is also written as ^dAb.ba (e.g., cf. under Tablet II 268, where ^dAb.ba and ^dAb.ú appear as textual variants); but this may imply nothing more than a pronunciation of *Ayu/Aya, as in the case of ^dBa.ú (see under note 50 above). C i 23 adds a poorly preserved explanation at the end of the line: [].'rAG' (unless 'rAG' is to be emended to SAL(!), in which case, the explanation could possibly be restored to [dumu].SAL(!)).

55. = Ao:360, which writes the name as ^dGú.lá. For a helpful discussion on this deity, see Kraus, JCS 3 62-75. In line 137 below, she appears in the list of the names of ^dNin.i.si.in.na/^dNin.kar.ra.ak.

56. = eme:95. Cf. SLT 118:4, where ^dNin.gír.su appears in a similar context with ^dBa.ú and ^dAb.ú.

58. See under note 50 above.

59. Represented an ideogram for ^dBa.ú.

60. ^dAb.ú as "the mother of ^dBa.ú" is certainly to be distinguished from the deity in line 54 above.

61. On the reading of the name, cf. the similar name in Tablet I 281.

62. Wrongly written in H:16 as ^dE.tum₄.dùg. The size of the space before ^dBa.ú (in A viii 7) and the absence of ke₄ at the end of the line hardly permit any other restoration than [ŠU]. This would indicate an identification of ^dGá.tum₄.dùg with ^dBa.ú and agree with eme:96.

| A | E | F | H | | |
|---|---|---|---|-----|---|
| | | | | 65. | [^d]Nin.gú(!).en.'na' [é].'ninnu'.ke ₄ |
| | | | | 66. | [].'ni [é.ninnu].ke ₄ |
| | | | | 67. | [].'x'.ma ŠU |
| | | | | 68. | '5 x'.[x.x] [^d Ba].'ú'.ke ₄ |
| | | | | 69. | [].'ti ŠU |
| | | | | 70. | [].'x'.gál ŠU |
| | | | | 71. | [].'x'.li(!) ŠU |
| | | | | 72. | [].'kur'.ra ŠU 4 'x.x.x.ke ₄ ' |
| | | | | 73. | [].'x.x.x' ŠU |
| | | | | 74. | [].'nigin ŠU |
| | | | | 75. | 2 sukkal ^d Nin.gú.en.na.'ke ₄ ' |
| | | | | 76. | [].'x' ŠU |
| | | | | 77. | [].'x' ŠU |
| A | | | | 78. | ^d [].'x' ŠU |

65. See Tablet II 14 where the name occurs among the names of Dingir.maḥ/Belit-îli. The reverse of E corresponds to lines 213 ff. below. This would place the obverse approximately here. The exact place of the obverse, however, cannot be determined with absolute finality since this section is broken in all the other duplicates. Nevertheless, its actual position cannot be off more than a couple of lines from that which is assigned to it here. Tentatively, it is assumed that the vertical stroke appearing in E:1 corresponds to 'NA' at the end of ^dNin.gú.en.'na'.

66. = E:2.

67. = E:3a.

68. = E:3b. In the photograph of this fragment, which Dr. Landsberger placed at my disposal, the traces favor the number '5' rather than '4'.

72. In the photograph, the numeral "4" is clear; but the traces of the signs which follow are uncertain. The traces suggest 'anše'.nig.lá (cf. Oppenheim, JNES 4 172:360), but this does not fit this context. A reading of 'x.bur'.lá.ke₄' seems also possible. The final 'ke₄' may prove to be 'kimin' (as Meek has drawn it), but it is not clear.

75. = E:9b.

76. In the photograph, the sign represented by 'x' resembles 'É'.

| | | | | |
|---|---|-----|---|---------------------------------------|
| A | E | 79. | 3 udug | é.a.ke ₄ |
| | | 80. | d _r x ¹ .[] . ¹ x ¹ | udug é.a.ke ₄ |
| | | 81. | d _r Nin ¹ .[sig]. ¹ nun ¹ | [ŠU] |
| | | 82. | d _{Engur} .[ra] | [ŠU] |
| | | 83. | d _{Nin} .[engur.ra] | [ŠU] |
| | | 84. | d _{Un} . ¹ un ¹ .[ta.ba.ba] | [ŠU] |
| | | 85. | [4 udug] | [^d x.x.ke ₄] |
| | C | 86. | d _{SAL.ME} .[] | [ŠU] |
| | | 87. | d _{Engur} .[ra.x] | ŠU |
| | | 88. | d _{Nun.na} .[DI] | [ŠU] |
| | | 89. | [3] ¹ udug ¹ | d _{Ba.ú} .[ke ₄] |
| | | 90. | d _{Túg} . ¹ ki ¹ .[] | ŠU |
| | | 91. | d _{Nin.GIL} . ¹ x ¹ .[] | ŠU |
| | | 92. | d _{Nin.níg} .[] | [ŠU] |
| | | 93. | [3 SAL]. ¹ agrig ¹ | d _{Ba.ú} .ke ₄ |

79. = E:12b. In the photograph, there is no determinative before é.a; the "dingir" is a part of the sign UDUG.

80. The final ¹x¹ resembles GIŠ or a sign that ends similarly (e.g., BIL). It seems strange that a fourth "protective deity of the temple/house" should be placed here separately instead of being added to the group in lines 76-79.

81. = A viii 25. Lines 81-84 can be restored with the help of CT 24 36:37-40. The first name in this group, however, appears in CT 24 36:37 as d_{En.sig.nun}.

82. See CT 24 36:38.

83. See CT 24 36:39.

84. See CT 24 36:40a.

85. See CT 24 36:40b. The name of the missing deity appears to have been quite short. d_{Ba.ú} seems ruled out because her utukku appear summarized in line 89 below. Possibly, the missing name represents d_{Gu.la}.

86. Lines 86-89 correspond to CT 24 36:41-43. The present entry, however, appears in CT 24 36:41 as d_{Gal}.

87. = C ii 1. CT 24 36:42 seems to offer a phonetic variant: d_{Im.kur.ra.ni₅.in}. This may point to a restoration of the present entry as d_{Engur.ra.[nin]}.

88. In CT 24 36:43, the name appears as d_{En.na.DI}.

89. = CT 24 36:43b and C ii 2.

| | | | | |
|---|---|-------|--|-------------------------|
| A | C | 94. | d _{KAL.na} . ¹ x ¹ .[] | ŠU |
| | | 95. | d _{Sag} .d _{KAL} . ¹ na ¹ .[x] | ŠU |
| | | 96. | d _{Na.rú} .[a] | ŠU |
| | K | 97. | d _{GAL.UŠUM} .kalam. ¹ ma ¹ .[x] | ŠU |
| | | 98. | d _{Lugal.ḫuš.a.ni} . kur.ra.nu.íl.la | ŠU |
| | | 99. | 5 dingir.gub.ba | é.ninnu.ke ₄ |
| | | 100. | d _{Ušum.ur.sag.kur} . ra.dib.dib.bi | ŠU |
| | | 101. | d _{Gab} (ga).ḫuš.gú.PA ₄ + NÁ(zu.bi).ZU.AB | ŠU |
| | | 102. | d _{Ušum.bar.ŠU.DIM₄} . é.ninnu | ŠU |
| | | 102a. | (¹ ú ¹ .šum.ba.ra.ge. eš.bu) | |
| | | 103. | d _{Kur.ra.ḫuš.a.ni} . nu.kúš.ù | ŠU |
| | | 104. | d _{Dug₄.ga.lugal.a} . ni.šà.ḫun.gá | ŠU |
| | | 105. | d _{Nita} (ni.ta).zi | ŠU |

98. In A viii 39, the traces of the sign after ra resemble GIŠ rather than NU.

101. Text = C ii 12 and K:4. A viii 41: d_{Gab.ḫuš.bi.gù.bi.zu.bi.[x.x]}. For PA₄+NA = zu.bi, see K. 14047 (CT 19 25):8 and CT 12 10:24b. The sign GAB is here given the abbreviated gloss ga; for similar abbreviated glosses, see under Tablet II 21.

102. A viii 42: d_{Ušum.bar.ŠU.UŠUM.é.¹ninnu¹}.

102a. This gloss line for the entry in line 102 = C ii 15.

103. A viii 43: d_{Kur.ra.ḫuš.a.ni.nu.ù.¹kúš¹}.

105. Gloss = C ii 18.

| A | C | K | | |
|---|---|---|---|--|
| | | | 106. ^d Dug ₄ .ga.ni.si | ŠU |
| | | | 107. [7 gu ₄].DÚB | ^d Nin.gír.su.ʽke ₄ ʽ |
| | | | 108. ^d Sag.šu.nu.ba | ŠU |
| | | | 109. ^d Nin.gal.KU | ŠU |
| | | | 110. ^d Nin.ʽxʽ.na | ŠU |
| | | | 111. ^d U ₄ .men(ʽme.enʽ). šu.gál | ŠU |
| | | | 112. 4 gu ₄ .DÚB | ^d Ba.ú.[ke ₄] |
| | | | 113. ^d En.me.ʽteʽ.[x](šu. šu).ušu | ŠU |
| | | | 114. ^d Nin.ʽdʽBa.ú | ŠU |
| | I | | 115. 2 gu.za.lá | ^d Ba.ú.[ke ₄] |
| | : | | 116. ^d KAL.ʽxʽ.[x] | ŠU |
| | | | 117. ^d Nin.[ti].mud | ^d Nin.tin.ug ₅ .[ga] |
| | | | 118. ^d ʽNinʽ.[ti].ʽmudʽ. kalam.ma | " |
| | | | 119. ^d [Nin.ti.la].ʽug ₅ ʽ. ga | " |

108. Cf. ^dSag.šu.nu.ub.ba in SBH 47:18 and ^dSag.šu.nu.ba in ITT 3 4954.

110. Possibly ^dNin.ʽnunʽ.na.

111. Gloss partly preserved in A viii 50 and C ii 23.

113. The gloss in C ii 24 may refer to the reading of [x].

116. In A viii 53, the signs indicated by ʽxʽ.[x] may possibly represent the gloss ʽaʽ.[lad]. The line corresponds to text I:2 (where the ŠU is still preserved).

117. = text I:3 (which only preserves the second determinative) and C ii 26. ^dNin.[ti].mud may be restored from Ao:361. For a helpful study on ^dNin.tin.ug₅.ga, see Kraus, JCS 3 70-73. For the reading of the name, see especially Poebel, ZA 39 140 ff.

118. According to the restoration of Kraus, JCS 3 71.

119. = Ao:362.

| A | C | I | | |
|---|---|---|--|---|
| | | | 120. ^d [X].ʽšè(!)ʽ.è.a | " |
| | | | 121. ^d [] | " |
| | | | 122. [^d Nin].tin.ug ₅ .ga | " |
| | | | 123. ^d En.dag(da.ag).ga | dam ^d Nin.tin.ug ₅ . ʽgaʽ.[ke ₄] |
| | | | 124. ^d En.á(a).nun | ama.arḫuš ^d Gu.la. [ke ₄] |
| | | | 124a. | um-mi ri-mi ^d "(= Gu. la) |
| | | | 125. ^d Pa.bil.sag | dam.bi.nita dam ^d Gu. ʽlaʽ.[ke ₄] |
| | | : | 126. ^d Níg.gú.ur ₅ .an.na | ["] |
| | | | 127. ^d Lugal.am.ur ₅ (ur).ra | " |
| | | | 128. ^d Nin.in.si.na | ^d Nin.kar.ra.[ak] |

120. = Ao:363 and text I:5a.

123. = Ao:367. Gloss in C ii 32. See Kraus, JCS 3 76 f.

124. Gloss in C ii 33. Kraus, JCS 3 77 calls attention to the fact that ^dEn.á.nun appears in an entirely different context in Ao:472 (almost loosely added at the end of Ao).

124a. Akkadian gloss line in C ii 34. Lines 124 and 124a correspond to text I:8-10, which varies as follows:

8. [^dEn.á.nun ama.[]

9. iš-ta-ra-niš ša-su-u

10. um-mi ri-mi ša ^dGu.la ama.[]

Kraus, JCS 3 76, follows Langdon in restoring [gù.an.ni.si] after ama in line 8. After ama in line 10, he restores [arḫuš ^dGu.la]. These restorations, however, cannot be verified with the present duplicates, and the variations in text I still remain obscure.

125. Text I:11: ^dPa.bíl.sag (= Ao:365). For a survey of the status of this deity in Isin, see Kraus, JCS 3 75 ff. The second half of this line is correctly interpreted by Kraus (p. 77) as representing the husband of ^dGu.la, and not of ^dEn.á.nun (as in AG 435). In CT 25 13:33, the name appears in a Ninurta list.

127. = text I:12b. The name appears in Ao:366 as ^dʽLugalʽ.am.úr.ra.

128. = Ao:368 f. and eme:97 (^dNin.in.ni.si.an.ʽnaʽ). C ii 37: ^dNin.i.si.in.na. For a detailed study of the goddess

| C | I | | |
|---|---|------|--|
| | | 129. | d ¹ Nin.kar.ra.ak " |
| | | 130. | d ¹ NIN".IN.DUB " |
| | | 131. | d ¹ Kur.í ¹ b(ib).ba " |
| | | 132. | d ¹ [Mer].r ¹ i ¹ .(me.er. i.ku.ud) kud " |
| | | 133. | d(e) ¹ NIN.níg.gù(gu). babbar(UD).ra " |
| | | 134. | d ¹ (= e) ¹ NIN.tu ⁹ .níg. lal.šu.du ⁷ (tu. ni.ig.lá.la.šu. du) " |

involved in this section, see Kraus, JCS 3 64-74. Kraus (p. 69) assumes that the final ak in the name d¹Nin.kar.ra.ak represents the genitive ending ("the lady of the kar"). In support of this, he compares the name with the Elamite deity In.Šušin.ak and the pair from Dilmun, d¹En.s/za.ak and d¹Me.sikil.ak. Such an approach is not without its difficulties (the formula "d¹Queen/king/lord of x" certainly more normally appears without the full genitive ending. In fact, Kraus, JCS 3 64, produces a d¹Nin.kar as an older form of d¹Nin.kar.ra.ak, which would seem to weaken any argument that d¹Nin.kar.ra.ak represents an archaic form in which the final -ak represents a petrified genitive), but it seems more satisfactory than "Herrin von Karrak" (AG 409). The explanation of the name by Lambert (RA 47 36 f.) is based upon the older contention of Thureau-Dangin regarding the ending of the genitive; hence his arguments seem inconclusive. In the present line, the usual form of the name occurs, but see III R 66 13:7: d¹Nin.ka.rak (not d¹Nin.ka.sal, ŠL 921, 56).

130. The dittos (in C ii 39) indicate that this entry represents an ideogram for d¹Nin.kar.ra.ak. Following this name, C contains the gloss a-na e-re-eš-in-dub-ba-ku, which represents the names of the signs used in this entry.

131. Text I:15: d¹Kur.rib.ba; Ao:370: d¹Kur.ra.í¹b.ba.

132. Gloss in C ii 41. This entry probably corresponds to Ao:371, which presents d¹Maš.ri.kú.

133. Text = C ii 42. Text I:16 varies, giving d¹NIN.níg.KA X IM.r¹x¹. The last sign of the name in text I may have been 'RA', although 'NA' has also been considered (cf. Meissner, OLZ 12 201). Ao:372 has d¹NIN.níg.KA.na.ra, which seems to be closer to the form in text I than to C. For the abbreviated gloss e for NIN, see note 3 above.

134. Glosses in C ii 43.

| C | I | | |
|---|---|------|--|
| | | 135. | d ¹ (= e) ¹ NIN.nigin ₃ . gar.ra " |
| | | 136. | d ¹ (= e) ¹ NIN.é.dam. kù.ga " |
| | | 137. | d ¹ Gu.la " |
| | | 138. | d ¹ Nin.um.ma.sig ₆ .ga " |
| | | 139. | d ¹ Me.me " |
| | | 140. | d ¹ Me.me.ša ₆ .ga " |
| | | 141. | d(e) ¹ NIN.uru " |
| | | 142. | d ¹ (= e) ¹ NIN.mir(mi. ir).sig(si.ga) " |
| | | 143. | d ¹ (= e) ¹ NIN.uru. bí(bi)(!) " |
| | | 144. | d ¹ (= e) ¹ NIN.urukù.ga " |
| | | 145. | d ¹ Ama.guruš(gu.ru. uš).e.ne " |

135. = eme:99.

136. = Ao:373.

137. See note 55 above. Note that, as Kraus (JCS 3 68) has pointed out, although d¹Gu.la appears here as the tenth in the list of the names of d¹Nin.kar.ra.ak, ordinarily, all family and servant relationships of this goddess are described as relationships of d¹Gu.la (e.g., cf. lines 55, 124, and 125 above).

138. For the reading, cf. d¹Nin.um.ma.sig.ga who is identified with d¹Gu.la in CT 25 8:4.

139. See also Tablet III 39 and Tablet IV 276. In KAV 63 ii 42, d¹Me.me is identified with d¹Nin.mug (who appears in Tablet VI 21 as the wife of d¹I-šum = d¹Pa.bil.sag; on the latter as husband of d¹Gu.la = d¹Me.me, see under note 125 above).

140. = Ao:374.

141. = Ao:375. For the abbreviated gloss, see note 3 above.

142. = Ao:376.

143. = Ao:377: d¹NIN.uru.bi₅. The final bi in C ii 52 certainly represents an older gloss.

145. = Ao:378. Gloss in C ii 54.

| A | C | D | F |
|---|---|---|--|
| | | | 146. d _K à.(ka.ka)kà |
| | | | 147. d _E .A(e).diri.ga |
| | | | 148. d _U m.me.ga.lá.zi |
| | | | 149. d(e) _{NIN} .má.gur _g .ra |
| | | | 150. d _A ma(a.ma.MU.ru). |
| | | | GI.LÍL.MAḪ |
| | | | 151. d _M á.mu.un.(du)dù |
| | | | 152. d(e) _{NIN} .gá(ga).bur. |
| | | | ra |
| | | | 153. d _N (= e) _{NIN} .é.gi ₄ .a |
| | | | 154. d _{Nin} .é.ug ₅ .ga |
| | | | 155. d _{Nin} .ZA.MUŠ.ki.LUL |
| | | | 155a. (ḫal.bi.li.ib) |
| | | | 156. d _{Ab} .kù.ga |

146. = Ao:379. See also under Tablet III 39. This entry is to be distinguished from that of Tablet I 32, where d_Kà.kà is given as a name of d_{Nin}.šubur.

147. = Ao:380. Gloss in C ii 56 and F ii 4. For e as a gloss for A, cf. under Tablet III 120.

148. D i 3: [d_Um.me].¹gál¹.zi.

149. = Ao:381. For the abbreviated gloss, see note 3 above.

150. = Ao:382. Gloss in C ii 59 and (partly) in F ii 7. Meissner (OLZ 13 62) pointed out that MU in the gloss is probably wrong and that the gloss should read bu.ru (cf. MVAG 12/3 20 ff.). The name, therefore, should be read d_Ama.buru. A viii 85 presents another variant for buru_x in writing the name d_Ama.[GI.LÍL].MÁ.ŠÚ.A.

151. = Ao:383. Gloss in C ii 60 and F ii 8.

152. = Ao:384. Glosses in C ii 61 and F ii 9 (for the abbreviated gloss e for NIN, see note 3 above). See also Tablet III 31. In A viii 87, the name seems to be given as d_{NIN}.¹é¹.gar.ra.

153. = eme:98, which gives the name as d_{NIN}.gá.gi₄.a.

154. = eme:101, which gives the name as d_{Nin}.gá.ug₅.ga.

155. A viii 90: d_{Nin}.¹ZA¹.MUŠ.KI.BAL.¹LUL¹. D i 6 agrees with A; text = F ii 12 and C ii 64.

155a. Gloss line = F ii 13 and C ii 65.

| A | D | F |
|---|---|---|
| | | 157. d _{Sa} .me |
| | | 158. d _r X.x ¹ .ut.tu |
| | | 159. d _r Nin.kur ¹ .BAD |
| | | 160. d _{Nin} .[x].BAD |
| | | 161. d _{Nin} .[x].BAD |
| | | 162. d _{Nin} .a.[x.x]. ¹ x ¹ |
| | | 163. d _{Nin} .giš. ¹ x ¹ .ki.si. |
| | | ga |
| | | 164. d _{Nin} . ¹ x ¹ .[] |
| | | 165. d _{Da} -mu |
| | | 166. d _r [] |
| | | 167. d _r X ¹ .[] |
| | | 168. d _{Má} . ¹ x ¹ .ba |

160. Lines 160 and 161 may be compared with Ao:387 (although the latter entry seems too long for the break), which has d_{Nin}.a.gá.¹x¹.BAD. This name, however, seems excluded from line 162 by the traces in A viii 97.

162. Cf. under note 160 above. The final ¹x¹ ends in a vertical in A viii 97.

163. = A viii 98 plus D i 10.

164. A viii 99 draws a ruling line under this entry, ending the names of d_{Nin}.kar.ra.ak.

165. In Ao:298, d_{Da}-mu appears in a different context. See also Kraus, JCS 3 80 f.

166. Probably represented an ideogram for d_{Da}-mu.

167. In A viii 102, ¹X¹ appears to be the first half of KA or URU. One would expect the present line to contain the name of d_{Gu}.nu.ra (cf. Kraus, JCS 3 81 f.). In the corresponding section of Ao (392, 393), d_{Gu}.nu.[ra] is followed by d_{KA}.¹x¹. This may justify a tentative restoration of the present line: d_rKA¹.[x d_{Gu}.nu.ra | dam d_{Da}]-mu.ke₄. The reading of d_{Gu}.nu.ra as d_{Gu}.sir₅.ra (as Deimel, ŠL IV 924, 8) appears to be supported by the variant reading d_{Gu}.sir₄.ra (cf. Deimel, ŠL IV 924, 7); but this seems to be inconclusive, since it involves the moot question of the reading of the signs involved, as nu and nu_x or sir₅ and sir₄ respectively; see further under Tablet III 4.

168. = A viii 103.

| | | | | |
|---|---|------|--|--------------------------------------|
| A | | 169. | d _r Ur ⁷ .maš | ŠU |
| D | | 170. | d ^u (= Ur.maš).ur | ŠU |
| | J | 171. | d _u Ur.šà.bi.dùg.ga | ŠU |
| | | 172. | 3 'sukkal' | d _u Gu.la.ke ₄ |
| | | 173. | d _u Nam.maḥ | ŠU |
| | | 174. | d _u Šu.maḥ | ŠU |
| | | 175. | d _u Šu.ḥal.bi | ŠU |
| | | 176. | d _u Šud _x (KA X ŠU).bi. in.dug ₄ .ba.ša ₆ | ŠU |
| | | 177. | d _u Bí.in.dug ₄ .ba.ša ₆ | ŠU |
| | | 178. | 5 udug | é.gal.maḥ.ke ₄ |
| | | 179. | d _u Igi.gùn.gùn | ni.duḥ |
| | | 180. | d _u En.zi.ni.šè | ŠU |

169. = Ao:394. Also known as d_uUr-ma-šum; see Kraus, JCS 3 82; V R 46:17b; and Weidner, AfK 2 17 note 9.

170. The dittos cannot indicate here that d^uUr is an ideogram for d_uUr.maš; the summary in line 172 would exclude this possibility. The only alternative explanation for the dittos is found in reading the name d_uUr.maš.ur.

173. Lines 173-178 are to be compared with CT 24 36:44-48 (where these same names are listed as the utukku of d_uGu.la). The present line corresponds to Ao:396 (d_uNam(nam).maḥ) and CT 24 36:44. Cf. also Tablet VII 41.

174. = Ao:395 and CT 24 36:45. Cf. also KAR 16:23 f., where he is called "the faithful sukallu of Egalmah."

175. = CT 24 36:46. J:4: [d_uŠu].ḥal.ḥal.bi.

176. The name appears in a number of variant forms. CT 24 36:47: d_uŠud_x(!).bi.in.dug₄.ba.ša₆; A viii 110: d_uŠud_x.bi.in.dug₄.ba.si (the last si may be a graphic variant for šig₆); J:5: d_uKA X LI.bi.in.dug₄.ba(!); Ao:398: d_uKA X LI.bi.in.dug₄.ba.ša₆. D i 18 is certainly to be restored to d_uŠud_x.bi.in(!).dug₄.<ba>.ša₆. For KA X ŠU = šud_x, see MSL II p. 57 line 329.

177. Text = J:6. A viii 111: d_uBí.in.dug₄.ša₆, which agrees with CT 24 36:48a.

178. = CT 24 36:48b, which presents these names as the utukku of d_uGu.la.

179. = Ao:397. Cf. Tablet III 151. D i 20 explains the name as ni.duḥ.ke₄, but this seems corrupt. For the reading ni.duḥ, see p. 15 note 51 above.

180. = Ao:399.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|------|--|--|
| A | D | J | | 181. | d _u Ama.tur | ŠU |
| | | | : | 182. | d _u Ama.ù.tu | ŠU |
| | | | : | 183. | d _u Ama.šu.ḥal.bi | ŠU |
| | | | : | 184. | d _u Ama.(tu)KA.an.ni.si | ŠU |
| | | | : | 185. | 5 dingir.[gub].ba | d _u Gu.la.ke ₄ |
| | | | : | 186. | d _u Nin.gal | ŠU |
| | | | : | 187. | d _u Nin.šár.nun.na | ŠU |
| | | | : | 188. | 2 gu ₄ .DÚB | d _u Gu.la.ke ₄ |
| | | | : | 189. | d _u Ama.šu.ḥal.bi | šà dingir.gub.ba d _u Gu.la.ke ₄ |
| | | | : | 190. | d(e)NIN.zu | ŠU |
| | | | : | 191. | d _u Bi-i-ir-du ₄ | dam(mu-ut) d _u Ma.nun. gal.ke ₄ |
| | | | : | 192. | d _u Ma.nun.gal | dam.bi.SAL |

181. A viii 114: d_uAma.ḥe.

183. Cf. RA 41 36 note 8; and line 189 below.

184. Gloss in D i 22 (see Kraus, JCS 3 76 note 32).

186. Since d_uNin.gal appears here as an inferior deity in the household of d_uGu.la, she does not necessarily represent the same deity as the wife of d_uEn.zu; see Tablet III 27.

187. = Ao:254; cf. KAR 16 r. 11.

189. It seems strange that this name should be singled out from the list in lines 180-185 above and repeated here. In C iii 2, 'x' is given in place of šà.

190. Text = C iii 3; A viii 121: d_uNIN.a.zu. The deity in the present entry, d(e)NIN.(a).zu, is probably to be distinguished from d_uNin.a.zu in line 239 below. For the abbreviated gloss e for NIN, see note 3 above.

191. A viii 122: d_uBi-ir-du. Otherwise known as a Nerigal deity; see CT 24 36:63 (written d_uBi-ir-du) and CT 25 35 r. 25 (= CT 25 37:21), which gives the name with inexplicable glosses: [d_uBi]-ir(ni)-du(bu). Cf. also line 303 below.

192. A viii 123: d_uMa.nu.gal. In KAV 78 r. 32, the name appears as d_uMa.nu.kal. In VAT 7759 (AfK 2 4) iv 15, which represents the old Babylonian list corresponding to the later KAV 63 iii 26 and KAV 65 iii 3, the name is given as d_uMa.nun.na. In MAOG 4 315 note 2, Landsberger suggests that the name may have been derived from an earlier *d_uAma.nun.gal "great exalted mother."

| A | C | D | | |
|---|---|---|------|--|
| | | | 193. | ^d Nun.gal ^r ^d [Ma.nun.gal] |
| | | | 194. | ^d "NIN.é.kur.ra " |
| | | | 195. | ^d Dimgul(!) sukkal ^d Ma.nun.gal |
| | | | 196. | ^d Nin.gú.ḫar.an.na maškim.sag (ra-bi-ṣu [reštu]) |
| | | | 197. | ^d Nin.ti.ḪAL udug é.a.ke ₄ |
| | | | 198. | ^d Du-lum dumu.a.ni |
| | | | 199. | ^d Up-lum ŠU |

193. Text = A viii 124. C iii 6 and D i 30a have dittos instead of the name in the second half of the line. ^dNun.gal also occurs in KAV 63 iii 25 (where, according to Weidner's collation in AfK 2 72 note 10, she is equated with ^dA-ri-tum), but in VAT 7759 (AfK 2 4) iv 14 (the old Babylonian duplicate of KAV 63), the name is given as ^dNun(!).na.

194. The dittos (in C iii 7) before the name seem puzzling. They may have been intended to represent pronunciation gloss dittos (in this case, reaching back to the gloss in line 190) similar to those in lines 134-136 above. More strictly applied, the dittos would appear to indicate that the present entry represents an ideogram for the preceding name. There is, however, no compelling reason for applying this latter possibility to the present entry.

195. In A viii 126, the signs are drawn in such a way that one might read by mistake ^dMÁ.aš.dù. In C iii 8, the name is given as ^d"NIN.(dim.gul)MÁ+MUG. For the dittos in C, cf. note 194 above.

196. Text = A viii 127. C iii 9: ^dNin.<gú>.ḫar.ra.an.na. In D i 32, ^dPa.bil.sag is given instead of maškim.sag. Since the signs BIL and MASKIM often resemble each other in late texts, it is possible that either ^dPa.bil.sag (in D i 32) or maškim.sag (in C iii 9) is a mistake for the other. The gloss (in C) may suggest that the entry seemed unusual to the scribe who wrote C. This may point to the possibility that the Vorlage of C also had ^dPa.bil.sag (see CT 25 13:33 f., where ^dNin.gú.ḫar.an.na and ^dPa.bil.sag again appear together, in a Ninurta list).

197. Cf. CT 24 36:49: ^dKur.ra.ti.ḪAL | udug ^dMa.nun.gal.^rke₄.

198. ^dDu-lum is doubtless the son of ^dMa.nun.gal rather than the son of the obscure deity in the preceding line. It must be admitted, however, that the arrangement here is ambiguous; although comparable arrangement is not without precedent (cf. line 125 above).

199. Lines 199 and 200 represent the Akkadian and Sumerian words, respectively, for louse; see Fauna p. 20 line 249,

| A | C | D | | |
|---|---|---|------|---|
| | | | 200. | ^d "Uḫ ŠU |
| | | | 201. | 2 gu ₄ .DÚB ^d Ma.nun.gal.ke ₄ |
| | | | 202. | [^d E]-tu-ra-am-mi sukkal ^d Bi-i-ir-du ₄ . ke ₄ |
| | | | 203. | ^d [ŠU].sá(sa).du ₁₁ (du) ŠU ga |
| | | | 204. | ^d Giš.šu ŠU |
| | | | 205. | ^d Giš.gir ŠU |
| | | | 206. | ^d Giš.gú ŠU |
| | | | 207. | ^d Giš.(^r še ^r)šè ŠU |
| | | | 208. | ^d Giš.šár.[dib].dib ŠU |
| | | | 209. | ^d Giš(gi.eš.[x]).PA ŠU |
| | | | 210. | ^d Û.[nu].dib ŠU |
| | | | 211. | 8 lú.kin.gi ₄ .a ^d Ma.nun.gal.ke ₄ |
| | | | 212. | ^d Nin.en. ^r nun ^r .PA NIGIR ₂ (na.gir).en. nu.un |

and p. 126. But, apparently, these two entries are to be regarded as two separate deities, and not two forms of one deity (note the summary in line 201 below).

200. See note 199 above. In C iii 13, dittos (followed by the expected numerical summary—see line 201 below) appear in place of ŠU in the explanatory column.

201. In C iii 13, the summary appears, at first glance, to be given as "4" instead of "2". The summary in C should, however, be interpreted as containing the dittos of the explanation in line 200 (see note 200 above) followed by the numeral "2."

202. A viii 132: ^r^dE^r-tu-ra-me.

203. Text = C iii 15. Lines 203-211 correspond to CT 24 35:23-36.

204. = CT 24 35:23b.

205. = CT 24 35:24a.

206. = CT 24 35:24b.

207. CT 24 35:25a: ^dGiš.še.

208. = CT 24 35:25b. D i 40: [^dGiš.šár.dib.dib].bi.

209. Omitted in CT 24 35:23-26.

210. = CT 24 35:26: ^dÛ.^rnu^r.dib "who does not sleep."

212. One may compare CT 24 35:32 f.:

| A | C | E |
|---|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | 213. ^d Nin.ki.gal | ^d Al-la-tum |
| | 214. ^d Gu(gu).a.nu.si | " |
| | 215. ^d Ama.áb.zi.kur.ra | " |
| | 216. ^d Al-la-tum | " |
| | 217. ^d Gu.gal.an.na | dam(mu-us-sa).bi.nita |
| | 218. ^d Mar.tu.lá.an.ki | ama nam.tar.ra.ke ₄ |
| | ad.gi ₄ .gi ₄ | |
| | 218a. (hu-mu-un-ši-ir) | |

32. ^dNin.PA | NIGIR₂.en.'x'.[x.x]

33. | ^dGu.la.²'x'.[x]

213. The name is, of course, usually read ^dEreš.ki.gal (e.g., cf. AG 307). The reason for such a reading is based upon such syllabic writings of the name as ^dE.re.eš.ki.i.ga.a.al (Bezold, EA no. 82:2). However, a reading of ^dEreš.ki.gal seems to represent, at best, merely an Akkadian form of the Sumerian ^dNin.ki.gal. Such an Akkadian form, no doubt, would have its basis in the equation NIN = ereš (e.g., cf. the fact that the sign name of NIN is ereš; see line 130 above) and may be related to the equation e-re-šu = šar-ra-tum (D. T. 58 r. 13, CT 18 14). The emesal form (eme:102), however, contains GAŠAN; and this would point to a Sumerian reading of ^dNin.ki.gal. The name, moreover, occurs in C iii 24 without any gloss (not even the abbreviated gloss e, which could be taken to indicate the value ereš; see note 3 above), even though C abounds in glosses and would be expected to exhibit such a gloss here if NIN were to be read ereš. In Akkadian texts, therefore, the name should doubtless be read ^dEreš-ki-gal, but there seems to be no compelling evidence for such a reading here nor in purely Sumerian texts. The name is written ^dNin.ki.gal.la in VAT 7759 (AfK 2 4) iv 17 (= KAV 63 iii 28 and KAV 65 iii 5). The present line corresponds to Ao:403, 404 (where the second name is written ^dAl-lá-tum).

214. Gloss = C iii 25. See also line 297 below.

215. E r. 1 f. writes ki.min in place of dittos.

216. Cf. under note 213 above.

217. E r. 3 writes nita₂ instead of nita.

218. = Ao:407, which omits ad.gi₄.gi₄. Evidently, ad.gi₄.gi₄ is only an epithet here. Cf. Tablet VI 234.

218a. This Akkadian gloss "mouse" (= C iii 30) apparently is to be understood as referring to the name in line 218, but in what sense is not immediately clear. For the meaning of the word, see Fauna 105 f.

| A | C | E |
|---|--|---|
| | 219. ^d Nam.tar | sukkal ^d Nin.ki.gal. ke ₄ |
| | 220. ^d Huš.bi.'ša ₆ ' | dam.bi.SAL |
| | 221. ^d Hé.dim.kù | dumu.SAL.a.ni |
| | 222. ^d Šà.[x.x].BAD | MU ^d Nin.gir.da.[ke ₄] (mu.ḡal.dim Ni.gi. 'ir.da') |
| | 222a. | |
| | 223. ^d Ne.[duḡ.an].'ki' | ŠU <šár> |
| | 224. ^d 'En'.[nu].'gi ₄ '.gi ₄ | ŠU |
| | 225. 2 ni.duḡ | ^d Nin.ki.gal.ke ₄ |
| | 226. ^d 'Ub'.da | < ^d >Er-še-tu ^d Al-la-tum |
| | 227. ^d "KI | " |

219. = Ao:408. E r. 5 gives only ŠU in the explanatory column.

220. Also appears in CT 16 13:51 as the wife of ^dNam.tar. Cf. further OZ 12 202.

221. Cf. CT 24 34:6. In C iii 33, the entry appears to be written: ^dGAN.LUGAL+'GAN'.[X] | dumu(!).SAL.a.ni; but LUGAL+'GAN' is here probably a mistake for RAB+GAN (which alternates with RAB+GAM as the sign for dim).

222. ^dNin.gir.da appears in several variant forms; cf. under note 241 below. In E r. 8, the explanation is given as: MU ^dIr.da.ke₄.

222a. The gloss line, which glosses the explanation in line 222 above, is found in C iii 35. The equation in these lines, MU = mu.ḡal.dim, agrees with MSL II p. 47 line 172.

223. The name may be restored from KAR 142 r. iv 12 where ^dNe.duḡ.an.ki.šár (ne.duḡ is doubtless a phonetic variant for ni.duḡ; see note 225 below) appears in a list of "the 7 doormen of Ninkigal."

224. Cf. KAR 142 r. iv 14.

225. For the reading ni.duḡ, see p. 15 note 51 above. In E r. 10, the name is given as ^dNin.ki.gal.'la'.ke₄.

226. A viii 154 omits the determinative before the last two names; C iii 38 and E r. 11, before <^d>Er-še-tu (which they give as er-še-tum).

227. ^dKI is here listed as an ideogram for ^dUb.da. E r. 12 gives ^dEr-še-tu, instead of dittos, in the explanatory column.

| A | C | E | | |
|---|---|---|------|--|
| | | | 228. | d(er-še-tu) _{KI} " |
| | | | 229. | d(am.ma) _{KUR} " |
| | | | 230. | d(= am.ma) _{KI} " |
| | | | 231. | d _{Ir.kal.la} " |
| | | | 232. | d _{IGI.KUR.ZA} " |
| : | | | 233. | [d]Igi.kur " |
| | : | | 234. | d _{Dan-ni-na} " |
| | | | 235. | d _{E-la-ma-tum} dumu.SAL.a.ni |
| | | | 236. | d _{Mu-tum} lú.kin.gi ₄ .a |
| | | | 237. | d _{Nam.úš} " |
| | | | 238. | d _{Ši-ta-tar-ru} dumu.SAL d _{Mu-tum} |

228. = A viii 156. Beginning with this line and through line 234, E writes ki.min instead of dittos.

229. Cf. Tablet VI 249.

230. The dittos here before ^dKI indicate that the gloss am.ma is to be repeated.

231. See Meier, OLZ 46 214 and Weidner, AfK 2 73 note 8. C iii 43 gives ŠU instead of dittos. In E r. 17, the name seems to have been [d_{Ir.KAL}].na (cf. AfK 2 73 note 8).

232. See K. 8631 (RA 17 160) r. 4: IGI.KUR(ga.an.šir). ZA.

233. Text = E r. 19. It is clear from the number of lines which C iii 38-46 devotes to this section that C contained this entry. For IGI.KUR = ħilib, see MAOG III/3 51:136. C iii 45 gives ŠU instead of dittos.

234. Cf. MAOG III/3 51:139, 144.

235. E r. 20: [d_{E-la-ma}]-tu.

236. Cf. ZA 43 16:43. At the end of the line, C iii 48 added the name of the deity in whose retinue this messenger belongs. Perhaps the broken name in C should be restored to d^rNin^r. [ki.gal.ke₄].

237. d_{Nam.úš} is here, obviously, the Sumerian equivalent of the preceding name. The dittos in the second half of the line reveal that only one deity is involved. If two separate deities were intended, a summary would have been given which would have read: 2 lú.kin.gi₄.a. These two entries should be compared with the unpublished VAT 9712 iii 9: (uš)BAD | mu-u-tú (Dr. Stephens kindly shared with me his collation of this line). E r. 21 gives ki.min in place of the dittos.

238. For the name in the second half of the line, A viii 166 gives d_{BAD-tu}, in which the sign BAD is to be taken ideographically (cf. note 237 above).

| A | C | | |
|---|---|------|--|
| | | 239. | d _{Nin.a.zu} ŠU |
| | | 240. | d ^r MUŠ ŠU |
| | | 241. | d _{GÌR(ir).da} dam.bi.SAL |
| | | 242. | d _{GÌR.kalam.ma} ŠU |
| | | 243. | d _{Šul.á.zi.da} ŠU |
| | | 244. | d _{Šul.á.gùb.bu} ŠU |
| | | 245. | d _{ŠU.ĤA.tur.abzu(ZA. AB)} ŠU |
| | | 246. | d _{Mušen.dù.kù.zu} ŠU |
| | | 247. | d _{Maš.(še.eg)šèg} ŠU |
| | | 248. | d _{EN.ME.MU} ŠU |
| | | 249. | 7 dumu. 'meš' d _{GÌR.'da'.ke₄} |

239. = eme:103. ^dNin.a.zu in this line should be distinguished from d(e)NIN.(a).zu in line 190 above. The deity involved in the present entry represents the well-known god of Ešnunna, who is also identified with d_{Tišpak}; see Jacobsen, AS no. 6 20 ff. In a cult hymn regarding the temple é. sikil of Ešnunna (published by Zimmern, ZA NF 5 267 f.:7, 21 f.), ^dNin.a.zu is called "the king of Esikil." In KAV 63 i 27 (cf. Weidner, AfK 2 11 ii.2), he is called "lord of the (under)world (d_{EN.er-se-ti})," while in CT 25 8:13, he is equated with ^dNin.urtā. Cf. also AnOr. 12 195 f.

240. d_{MUŠ} is here listed as an ideogram for ^dNin.a.zu and is carefully distinguished in this series from d_{MUŠ} = d_{Tišpak} (see under note 273 below); although ^dNin.a.zu is elsewhere equated with d_{MUŠ} = d_{Tišpak} (cf. under note 239 above). Note that C iii 52 writes dittos in place of ŠU.

241. GÌR with a gloss ir should be compared with MSL III p. 209 line 563. d_{GÌR.da} is written in several variant ways. In the corresponding section of Ao (401), the name appears as d_{Nin.GÌR X GANA₂-tenū.da} (which may be read ^dNin.giri.da; see MSL III p. 175 line 570). In eme:104, this entry appears as d_{Nin.gir.da} (cf. also line 222 above). A later form of d_{Nin.GÌR X GANA₂-tenū.da} is given in CT 25 8:14. Cf. also ^dNin.gir in note 249 below.

242. = Ao:402: d_{GÌR X GANA₂-tenū.kalam.ma}.

247. Gloss in A viii 174.

249. Instead of d_{GÌR.da}, C iii 60 gives ^dNin.gir. For other variant forms of this name, see under note 241 above.

| A | C | | |
|---|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| | | 250. dNin.giš.zi.da | ŠU |
| | | 251. dSAG X UR ^(gu.ud) me.lám | " |
| | | 252. dÁ.zi.da.mú.a | ŠU |
| | | 253. dÉ-kur-ri-tum | ŠU |
| | | 254. 2 dam | dNin.giš.zi.da.<ke ₄ > |
| | | 255. dAma.TUR.ma | ŠU |
| | | 256. dLa.bar.TUR.ma | ŠU |
| | | 257. dLugal.ki.UŠU.na | ŠU |
| | | 258. 3 nin | dNin.giš.zi.da.<ke ₄ > |
| | | 259. dLugal.sa.du ₆ .kù | ŠU |
| | | 260. dNI.NI.na | ŠU |

250. = Ao:303 and eme:105. Weidner, AfK 2 74 note 8 and Falkenstein, OLZ 46 354 read dNin.giz.zi.da, on the basis of syllabically written texts. For a detailed study concerning this deity, see E. Douglas Van Buren, Iraq 1 60 ff.

251. This interesting entry represents a new name for dNin.giš.zi.da. For SAG X UR (= gu.ud), cf. MSL II p. 54 line 296 and CT 11 25:40 (where SAG X UR is given the pronunciation gu.tu and is explained in Akkadian as qar-ra-du). The name should be read dGúd.me.lám.

252. Following the name of dNin.giš.zi.da, Ao:304 lists only this one name of the wives of dNin.giš.zi.da; but in Ao, the name appears as dA.zi.mú.a.

253. See also Tablet IV 103.

254. It was not known before that dNin.giš.zi.da had a spouse, but A viii 178, 179 now makes it clear that he had two wives.

255. TUR may represent a graphic variant in lines 255 f. for šilam. The name, therefore, may actually be dAma.šilam.ma.

256. As in line 255, TUR may represent šilam and the name may be dLa.bar.šilam.ma.

257. Cf. K. 2098 (CT 25 39):14. A name beginning with LUGAL seems out of place in this group of "3 sisters of dNin.giš.zi.da." See line 258 below. The name appears in Ao:436 as a Nerigal name.

258. Cf. under note 257 above. C iii 65 f. seems to have only two entries for these "sisters" of dNin.giš.zi.da. The entry in C iii 67, then, may represent the name in line 257 above.

| A | | | |
|---|--|--|------------------------------------|
| | | 261. d"MUŠ.ʿxʿ | [ŠU] |
| | | 262. dIb-bu ʿsukkalʿ | [dNin.giš.zi].ʿdaʿ.ke ₄ |
| | | 263. dAl.ʿxʿ.[x] | [ŠU] |
| | | 264. d"(gu.da.ʿkuʿ) [] | [ŠU] |
| | | 265. dLugal.šud _x (KA X ŠU).[dè] | [ŠU] |
| | | 266. [3] | [] |
| | | 267. dNam.šu.[du ₇] | [ŠU] |
| | | 268. dAma.ʿkùʿ.[ta] | [ŠU] |
| | | 269. [2] | [] |
| | | 270. dU ₄ .A.ʿANʿ | [ŠU] |
| | | 271. dGiš.bàn.da.ka.zal | [ŠU] |
| | | 272. [2] | [] |
| | | 273. d(tiš.pa.ak)MÚŠ | ʿŠUʿ |
| | | 274. dÚ.kul.lá | ŠU |
| | | 275. dÚ.KA.lá | ŠU |

264. Gloss = A ix 2.

265. For KA X ŠU = šud_x, see MSL II p. 57 line 329. Cf. the Nerigal name dLugal.šud_x.dè in Tablet VI 87.

267. Lines 267-269 correspond to CT 24 34:30 f. (= "Smaller An : dA-nu-um"). The present entry, however, appears in CT 24 34:30 as dNam.ʿxʿ.šu.du₇.

268. = CT 24 34:31.

270. Lines 270-272 correspond to CT 24 34:32 f. The present entry appear in CT 24 34:32 as dU₄.HU.A.AN.

271. = CT 24 34:33.

273. = Ao:405. Distinguish between dMÚŠ = dNin.a.zu (see note 240 above) and dMÚŠ = dTišpak. The present entry should be compared with CT 25 11:29, where dMÚŠ has the gloss ti.iš.pak and is equated with dNin.urta. Cf. also KAV 63 i 26 (see AfK 2 11 note 8). Jacobsen (AS no. 6 28) points out that dNin.a.zu represented the older Sumerian god in Eshnunna, whereas dTišpak represented a later deity (related to the Hurrian Tešub) who replaced dNin.a.zu and became identified with him.

274. Ao:406: dKul.áb. Cf. CT 25 8:17.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A | 276. [2 dam] | d ^r Tišpak ^r .[ke ₄] |
| | 277. d ^a Na. ^r an ^r .ša.ak | dumu d ^a Tišpak.[ke ₄] |
| | 278. d ^a Ba.aš.mu | sukkal d ^a Tišpak. ^r ke ₄ ^r |
| | 279. d ^a Ušum.ur.sag | ŠU 1 gu ₄ .DÚB d ^a Tišpak.ke ₄ |
| | 280. d ^a Bal.ur.ša.an | ŠU |
| C | 281. d ^a BAL.(pa.pa(!).sa. nu)nu | dumu d ^a Tišpak.ke ₄ |
| | 282. d ^a "BAL.URU X MAŠ | " |
| | 283. d ^a "BAR.MAL.ĤAR | " |
| | 284. d ^a Pap.pa.sa.nu | " |
| | 285. d ^a Me.súĥ | dumu d ^a Tišpak.ke ₄ |
| | 286. d ^a MUŠ.ŠÉŠ | ŠU |
| | 287. d(iš.ta.ra.an)KA.DI | ŠU |

276. The restoration is conjectured from the arrangement in Ao:405, 406.

278. Cf. ZA 41 292.

279. Cf. Rm. 930 (RA 17 183):3.

281. Lines 281-283 list three ideograms for this one son of Tišpak; line 284 gives his name phonetically. For the present entry, the gloss = A ix 15. In C iv 1, the second half of the line is given as [dumu d^aTišpak^r.a.^rke₄^r].

285. In the second half of the line, C iv 6 gives dumu d^aTišpak.a.ke₄.

287. The clear gloss in A ix 21 reopens the question of the reading of the name represented by the ideogram d^aKA.DI. Falkenstein (OLZ 46 353) upheld Weidner and Ebeling (AfO 9 99) in the contention that the name should be read Sat(a)ran and that Scholz (ZA NF 7 304) was wrong in reading it Eatrana. It appears that a large part of the decision to read the name Sat(a)ran was based upon Langdon's copy of the emesal text CBS 112 (= PBS X/2 no. 13) r. 11. Apparently, this text was not collated before the decision was reached on the reading of the name. In AfO 9 99 note 63a, a future explanation of the reading was promised, but this has not yet appeared (unless the brief note in AfO 16 24 may represent the promised justification of the reading. The references in AfO 16 24, however, are far from conclusive since they all

| | | |
|-----|---|---|
| A C | 288. d ^a (= iš.ta.ra.an)DI. | ŠU |
| | KUD | |
| | 289. d ^a (= iš.ta.ra.an)IGI. | ŠU |
| | ZA.MUŠ | |
| | 290. d(qu-ud-ma)KUD | sukkal d ^a KA.DI.ke ₄ |

represent imperfectly preserved texts). Drs. Kramer and Edmund Gordon recently collated the text CBS 112 and, in addition, placed excellent photographs of this text at my disposal for further study. On the basis of these photographs and the collation of Drs. Kramer and Gordon, it appears that the reading in question supports neither Sat(a)ran nor Eatrana (although the latter is fairly close). The correct reading of this emesal line is: E.zé.ra na.ám.in.si(!) še.i.ti etc. (cf. the eme.KU line in VS II 8 iv 13 f.). Corresponding to d^aKA.DI in the duplicate eme.KU text, the reading of E.zé.ra is of more than passing interest; but its cogency for the establishment of an eme.KU reading of the name may be rightfully doubted. However, the god d^aKA.DI (with his cult center at Dêr, near the Elamite border) probably bore a name that was more Elamite than Sumerian (cf. König, AfK 2 130 f.); and all attempts by the ancient scribe to reproduce his name in Sumerian phonemes (whether in the eme.KU dialect or in emesal) would be confronted with linguistic difficulties. The transcription of the name in emesal as E.zé.ra and in eme.KU as Iš.ta.ra.an (and even possibly Sa.ta.ra.an—better texts for this reading may yet come to light) would seem to represent ancient attempts to render a foreign name in Sumerian writing. The actual name may even have contained a consonantal cluster, e.g., *eš/štra(n) or possibly *ś/štra(n) > emesal *ez/šera(n) and eme.KU *eš/štara(n). d^aKA.DI appears also in KAV 47:12 (= KAV 63 ii 19), where the first column is to be restored to [iš.ta.ra].^ran^r (cf. KAV 47:13 where d^aGAL has the same pronunciation: [iš].^rta^r.ra.an). For Weidner's earlier restoration of KAV 47:12 f., see AfK 2 15 f. note 13 and AfK 2 131 note 4.

288. d^aDI.KUD here represents an ideogram for d^aKA.DI (= iš.ta.ra.an) and is to be distinguished from other deities designated by the ideogram d^aDI.KUD; see under Tablet II 254. In C iv 8 f., the order of these two names is reversed; in C iv 9, dittos are given in place of ŠU.

289. C iv 10 adds the sign names involved (i-gi-šu-ba-ku) and writes dittos in place of ŠU.

290. Gloss = A ix 24. The gloss is given in C iv 11 as qu-ud-ma. Lines 290 f. are to be compared with Tablet VI 208 f., 226 f.; and CT 12 15:28 f. (which gives the gloss as qu-ud-mu and qa-ad-mu). One may also compare d^aQu-du-mu in KAR 142 ii 21. The glosses indicate that the two entries contain

| | | | |
|-----|------|------------------------------|--|
| A C | 291. | d(qa-ad-ma) _{KUD} | gu ₄ .DÚB d _{KA} .DI.ke ₄ |
| | 292. | d(zi-za-nu) _{KUR} | dumu.a.ni |
| | 293. | d _{Túr} (tu.ur).ma | ŠU |
| | 294. | d _{I-túr} -ma-ti-šu | ŠU |
| | 295. | 2 dingir.gub.ba | d _{KA} .DI.ke ₄ |
| | 296. | d _{Lugal} .GĪR.ra | ŠU |
| | 297. | d _{Kù} .an.ni.si | dam.bi.SAL |
| | 298. | d _{Mes} .lam.ta.è.a | ŠU |
| | 299. | d _{Ma} -mi-tum | dam.bi.SAL |

Akkadian names. For the meaning of the names, see CT 25 18:9 (where qa-ad-mu is listed as a synonym of i-[lu]); von Soden, Die Synonymenlisten I vi 30 (where qu-ud-mu is equated with re-e-ši) and 2:366 (where qu-du-mu is equated with maḥ-ru).

291. A ix 25 has dittos in place of d_{KA}.DI.ke₄. In C iv 12, the name is given as d(ra-a-zu)_{KUR}. For the meaning of the name, see under note 290 above.

292. See Tablet VI 248. Cf. d_{Zi}-za-nu who is equated with d_{Nin}.urta in CT 25 11:35. The present entry probably deals with the son of d_{KA}.DI, not the son of the deity in line 291. For comparable ambiguous entries, see note 198 above.

293. Text = A ix 27. In C iv 14, the name appears as d_{Túr}(tu.ur).DĪM : (ma). The final gloss of this entry in C certainly represents a scribal desire to indicate the two variants in the textual traditions for this name.

294. In C iv 15, the name is written d_{I-túr}-ma-ti-su.

295. In C iv 15b, ba is omitted from the summary.

296. = Ao:410. Certainly a Nerigal name; cf. CT 24 36:53; CT 25 35 r. 22, 24, 26; CT 25 37:22, 24; and eme:115 (which Landsberger, MSL IV p. 10 line 115, reads d_{Lugal}.ir₉.ra).

297. The present entry seems to represent a variant tradition for the name d_{Gù}.a.nu.si, which is listed in line 214 above as one of the names of d_{Nin}.ki.gal. Such a variant tradition for the writing of the name existed even in old Babylonian times (as is evident from Ao:411 where the name is given as here, but with the gloss gu₄.a.nu).

298. = Ao:412. A Nerigal name; cf. CT 25 35 r. 23 (= CT 25 36 r. 29). In A ix 31, the name appears as d_{Mes}.lam.ta.è; cf. CT 24 36:53. For an attempt to analyze this name, see Lambert, RA 47 189.

299. = Ao:419 and Tablet VI 3. In C iv 19, the name appears as d_{Ma}-mi-e.

| | | | |
|-----|------|--|--|
| A C | 300. | d _{Zi} -mu | sukkal d _{Lugal} .GĪR. ra.ke ₄ |
| | 301. | d _{Zi} .gar.ra | sukkal d _{Mes} .lam.ta. è.a.ke ₄ |
| | 302. | d(ḫa.ar) _{GUD} | lú.kin.gi ₄ .a d _{Maš} . tab.ba.ke ₄ |
| | 303. | d _{KAL} .(bir-du) _{EDIN} | ŠU |
| | 304. | d _{KAL} .(ša-ra-ab) _{EDIN} | ŠU |
| | 305. | <d>Dingir(i-la-an). dingir | ŠU |
| G | 306. | d _{Maš} .tab.ba | ilū(AN.MEŠ) ki-lá- la-an |

300. C iv 20: d_{Zi}.mi.in.gi.

301. C iv 21: d_{Zi}.gá.ar.si. In A ix 34, the second half of the line appears as sukka d_{Mes}.lam.ta.è.

302. Text = C iv 22. In A ix 35, the gloss appears as ḫa.ra. See also under Tablet VI 207. The name d_{Maš}.tab.ba "the twins" refers here to the two Nerigal deities, d_{Lugal}.GĪR.ra and d_{Mes}.lam.ta.è.a, mentioned in lines 296-301 above (cf. also line 306 below). See CT 24 36:65 where d_{Maš}.tab.ba occurs in a Nerigal list.

303. Text = A ix 36. C iv 23 writes the gloss as bi-ir-du; and, in place of ŠU, C repeats the gloss. Cf. d_{Bi}-ir-du who appears in the Nerigal list CT 25 35 r. 25. The complex d_{KAL}.EDIN appears in lines 303, 304, 308, and 309, with a number of varying glosses that do not seem to represent indications of the pronunciations of the two signs individually. These glosses probably simply indicate variant pronunciations which the complex had as a whole. The present line should be compared with line 191 above, where d_{Bi}-i-ir-du₄ (variant: d_{Bí}-ir-du) is listed as the husband of d_{Ma}.nun.gal.

304. Text = A ix 37. C iv 24 writes the gloss as šar-ra-bu and then repeats the gloss in the explanatory half of the line. For the significance of the gloss, see under note 303 above. The present entry should be compared with line 309 below.

305. Scribal practice seems to have been quite consistent in omitting the determinative before names beginning with the sign AN; see under Tablet II 41. The gloss in the present entry is obviously Akkadian, giving the dual form of the word for god.

306. The explanatory half of the column "the two gods" indicates again that d_{Maš}.tab.ba is not a single deity, but

| A | C | G | | |
|---|---|---|------|--|
| | | | 307. | d ^a "A.BI " |
| | | ⋮ | 308. | d ^a KAL.(šá-a-bu)EDIN " |
| | | ⋮ | 309. | d ^a KAL.(šá-ra-bu)EDIN " |
| | | ⋮ | 310. | d ^a Lugal.nam.tar.ra ŠU |
| | | ⋮ | 311. | d ^a Lugal.a.ab.ba ŠU |
| | | ⋮ | 312. | d ^(e) NIN.BAD.na dam.bi.SAL |
| | | ⋮ | 313. | d ^a GÌR.UNU.GAL ŠU |
| | | ⋮ | 314. | dub 5 kám.ma An d ^a A-nu-um 4 ŠU 43 mu.bi |

rather a pair—^aLugal.GÌR.ra and ^aMes.lam.ta.è.a. See also under note 302. In the second half of the line, C iv 26 writes i-lu ki-lá-la-an, while G r. 1 gives ilū(AN) 'ki'-[lá-la-an]; text = A ix 39. The use of a plural noun with a dual adjective was not an uncommon practice; see von Soden, AnOr. 33 sec. 139.

307. The dittos indicate that this represents an ideogram for the previous entry.

308. Text = A ix 41. C iv 28 replaces the gloss with dittos. This means that C regards ^aKAL.EDIN as an ideogram for ^aMaš.tab.ba. Both A and C indicate in the explanatory column that this represents an ideogram for ilū(AN.MEŠ) ki-lá-la-an.

309. Cf. line 304 above and ^ašar-ra-bu who appears in the Nerigal list CT 25 35 r. 24 (= CT 25 36 r. 30 and CT 25 37:20).

310. A ix 43: ^aLugal.nam.tar.re.

311. C iv 30 gives the name as ^aLugal.ab.ba; G r. 3, ^aLugal.ab.a. See Tablet VI 27.

312. See under Tablet IV 37. A ix 45: ^aNin.BAD.ga. For BAD.na, cf. Tablet VI 75. For the abbreviated gloss e for NIN, see under Tablet II 21. In G r. 4, the name in the present entry is given as ^a(e)NIN.NUN.BAD.na.

313. Catch-line for Tablet VI preserved in C iv 32 and G r. 5.

314. A ix 46 gives the number as "6"; see p. 7 note 26 above. In G r. 7, the summary is given as ŠU+NIGIN 4, 40 mu.bi.im.

SOURCES USED IN RECONSTRUCTING TABLET VI

A YBC 2401

B K. 4349 (CT 24 20 ff.); see note 111 below.

| | |
|-----|--|
| C | K. 266 (CT 25 22, 23) |
| D | K. 4349A+81-7-27,51 (CT 24 47) |
| E | K. 2098 (CT 25 39) |
| F | K. 7620 (CT 25 24) |
| G | K. 8219 (CT 25 24) |
| H | K. 2119 (CT 25 39) |
| I | K. 7643 (CT 25 39) |
| J | K. 4349Y (CT 24 35) |
| K | K. 6037 (CT 25 23) |
| L | K. 13666 (CT 25 33) |
| M | K. 11928 (CT 25 38) |
| N | K. 8220 (RA 17 159) |
| O | K. 1194 (unpublished; see note 85 below) |
| a | K. 7659 (CT 25 28) |
| b | K. 13675 (CT 25 29) |
| c | Sm. 941 (CT 29 47) |
| d | K. 13591 (CT 19 10) |
| aa | Rm. 610 r. (CT 25 35) |
| ab | K. 29 r. (CT 25 36) |
| ac | K. 2108 (CT 25 37) |
| Ao | AO. 5376 (TCL 15 25 ff.) |
| eme | Emesal list in MSL IV |

TABLET VI

A
| 1. ^aGÌR.UNU₇.GAL | ŠU

1. = Ao:418 and eme:106. The sign group ^aGÌR.UNU₇.GAL (and ^aGÌR.UNU.GAL), which served as the common ideogram for Nerigal (although largely replaced by ^aU+GUR in late texts),

| | | |
|---|---|----------------------------|
| A | 2. [d]rLa'.az | dam.bi.SAL |
| | 3. [d]rMa'-mi-tum | dLa.az |
| | 4. [d]rU ₄ '. bu.bu.ul | dGIR.UNU ₇ .GAL |
| | 5. [d]rHuš'.ki.a | " |
| | 6. [d]rI'-šar-ki-di-su | " |
| | 7. d[Gu ₄].nu.un.gi ₄ .a | " |
| | 8. dLa'-ga-ma-al | " |
| | 9. dIr'.ra | " |
| | 10. dIr.ra'.gal | " |
| | 11. dIr.ra'.kal | " |

has usually been read dNè.iri₁₁.gal by modern scholars. Dr. Landsberger, however, casts doubt upon this reading (see JCS 9 121 note 4 and MSL IV p. 12 note 5). For the present, it seems best to view dGIR.UNU₇.GAL as an ideogram for this deity. The present tablet devotes considerable space to the names of Nerigal and the various gods connected with his circle. Conspicuously absent is dNin.ki.gal, who appears separately in Tablet V 213 ff.

2. Cf. KAV 63 ii 41, where she is equated with dBa.ú.

3. = Ao:419. See also Tablet V 299.

4. = Ao:420 (which has dU₄.bu.bu) and CT 24 36:62 (dU₄.bu.bu.ul). See also ab r. 20. The broken space at the beginning of the line in A ix 50, however, is not large enough to accommodate as large a sign as U. The space and the traces favor the sign UD. In this case, UD would seem to be only a phonetic variant for U. Cf. KAR 142 r. iii 30.

5. = Ao:421.

6. = Ao:422, which has dI-šar-ki-di-ís-su. Cf. also KAV 65 r. ii 17 (= KAV 63 ii 27).

7. = Ao:423, which has dGu₄.á.nun.gi₄.a.

8. See Tablet V 45; CT 24 36:64; KAV 63 i 39 (cf. Weidner's collation, AfK 2 12 note 12); and KAV 46:5 ([dLa]-gam-al = dLa-ga-ma-al).

9. The reverse of excerpt tablet a begins here (the "reverse," however, is wrongly designated, as may be seen from the colophon at the close of the "obverse"). For the restoration of the present entry, see CT 24 36:54; aa r. 15; ab r. 21; and KAV 65 r. ii 22. For the reading of the name, see Schroeder, ZA 35 146 f. and Weidner, AfK 2 17 note 4.

10. See Tablet I 332 where dIr.ra.gal is described as the husband of dNin.SAR and is equated with dGIR.UNU.GAL.

11. Cf. KAV 63 ii 34 (see Weidner's collation, AfK 2 17 note 6) and aa r. 16 (= ab r. 22).

| | | |
|---|------------------------|----------------------|
| A | 12. dEn.'líl'.kur.ra | " |
| | 13. dAt-mu | dam.bi.SAL |
| | 14. dŠu.bu.lá | dumu.a.ni |
| | 15. dDa-ad-'mu'-uš-tum | dumu.SAL.a.ni |
| | 16. dI-šum | sukkal.bi dumu d[X]. |
| | | ke ₄ |
| | 17. d"KUD | " |
| | 18. dPa.'bil'.sag | " |
| | 19. dSila.a.gú.'x'.na | " |
| | 20. dŠul'.mi.'a.DU'.DU | " |
| I | 21. dNin.'mug' | dam.bi.SAL |
| | 22. dNIN.(e)A.lá.[x].š | ŠU |
| | 23. dŠID X A.ga.[] | ŠU |
| | 24. dNIN.(e)A.ra.'x' | ŠU |

12. = text a r. 6 (which preserves líl).

14. = Ao:424: dŠu.bu.la.

15. = text a r. 9.

16. Cf. ZA 43 17:56. The Sumerian name of this deity was dPA.sag(.gá) = dHendur.sag(.gá); see Poebel, ZA NF 5 143 ff., 301. See also Weidner, AfK 2 76 note 1.

18. One might expect to find here dPA.sag (see under note 16 above), but the present entry seems almost certain in A ix 64; cf. also under Tablet V 139. dPa.bil/bil.sag appears in Tablet V 125 as the husband of dGu.la.

19. The traces of 'x' in A ix 65 favor a restoration of the sign EDIN, resulting in the name dSila.a.gú.edin.na.

21. = eme:110. See also Weidner, AfK 2 18 note 1 and Tablet V 139.

22. The gloss (in text I:2) is somewhat ambiguous. It could refer to the reading of either NIN (cf. under Tablet II 21 and Tablet V 3) or A (cf. under Tablet III 120).

23. Text I:3: dNIN(e)'.lù'.[lù]. For the gloss in text I, see note 22 above.

24. Gloss in text I:4. It is not clear whether the gloss refers to NIN or to A (cf. note 22 above). In A ix 70, only a trace of the final winkelhaken (or a sloping wedge) of 'x' is visible. One might consider the possibility that the name may have been dNIN.A.ra.'li' (cf. line 47 below).

| A | I | | |
|---|---|--|--------------------------------|
| | | 25. ^d Kun _x (I+LU).šà.ʽgaʽ | ŠU |
| | | 26. 4 dumu.SAL | ʽdʽ[] |
| | | 27. ^d Lugal.a.ab.ba | ʽdʽ[GÌR.UNU ₇ .GAL] |
| | | 28. ^d Lugal.íd.da | ʽŠUʽ |
| | | 29. ^d Lugal.tilla ₄ (AN. AŠ.A.AN) | ʽŠUʽ |
| | | 30. ^d Lugal.DUBUR.an.na | ʽŠUʽ |
| | | 31. ^d Lugal.ka.gi.na | ʽŠUʽ (ʽx.xʽ) |
| | | 32. ^d Lugal.KA.gi.du ₇ | ʽŠUʽ |
| | | 33. ^d Lugal.níg.ša ₆ .ʽgaʽ | ʽŠUʽ |
| | | 34. ^d Lugal.e.pa ₅ .[ra] | ʽŠUʽ (eg.pa.ra) |

25. For the value kun_x(I+LU), see MAOG 3/3 53:282; AfO 12 55; and ZA 41 230 ff.

26. The deity whose name is missing in the explanatory column may have been ^dI-šum, but ^dGÌR.UNU₇.GAL must also be considered.

27. For ^dLugal.a.ab.ba, cf. Tablet V 311; Ao:416 (^dLugal.ab.a); and eme:107. The explanatory half of the line is broken away in both texts (except for traces of a vertical wedge in A ix 72), and the restoration is quite hypothetical. However, the names in the list which begins with this line are, obviously, Nerigal names (= the Nerigal section in Ao: 425-455; cf. the similar sections in aa r. 1-18; ab r. 1-24; and ac:1-13). It may be possible that the present line omitted an explanation and began the list abruptly with the sign ŠU, but it seems that some identification (such as that proposed in the restoration) is necessary here. For ^dGÌR.UNU₇.GAL, see line 1 above.

28. = eme:108, where Landsberger (MSL IV p. 10 line 108) reads ^dLugal.i₇.da.

29. = Ao:426: ^dLugal.AN.AŠ.AN. Text I:8: ^dLugal.<AN>. AŠ.A.[AN].

30. Text = A ix 75. In text I:9, the name is written ^dLugal.kur.ʽanʽ.[na].

31. = Ao:430. Text I:10: ^dLugal.KA.LI.[x]. In A ix 76b, there are traces of a small illegible gloss.

34. The explanatory gloss (in A ix 79) calls to mind the proposal by Thureau-Dangin (RA 29 24 f.) that the Sumerian word for "canal" was actually eg < Akkadian iku, but that the final consonant would not usually be seen except when followed by a vowel (e.g., in the name Ur.e.ga). Here, the sign E is glossed with eg.

| A | I | | |
|---|---|--|------------------------|
| | | 35. ^d Lugal.IGI.ʽNAGARʽ. | ʽŠUʽ (il.du) |
| | | [GID] | |
| | | 36. ^d Lugal.giš.[x.x] | EN e-la-a-ti |
| | | 37. ^d Lugal.gišʽ.[ùr] | EN gu-šu-ri |
| | | 38. ^d ʽLugal.xʽ.[x] : ^d ʽx.xʽ.ḫuš : ŠU | |
| | | 39. ^d [Lugal].igi.GÌR | ŠU (i.gi.a.lim) |
| | | 40. ^d [Lugal.igi].ʽxʽ. | ŠU (i.gi.gu.ʽunuʽ. nu) |
| | | gùn.nu | |
| | | 41. ^d [Lugal.x].ʽša ₆ ʽ.ga | ŠU |
| | | 42. ^d [Lugal].an.na | ŠU |
| | | 43. ^d [Lugal].GÌR.ùr.ra | ŠU |
| | | 44. ^d [Lugal].a.má.ru | ŠU |
| | | 45. ^d ʽLugalʽ.nam.tar.ru | ŠU |
| | | 46. ^d Lugal.ʽnaʽ.rú.a | ŠU |
| | | 47. ^d Lugal.a.ra.li | EN er-še-ti |
| | | 48. ^d Lugal.silim.ma | EN ʽšulʽ-mi |
| | | 49. ^d Lugal.é.sag.gá | ŠU |
| | | 50. ^d Lugal.uru.sag.gá | ŠU |
| | | 51. ^d Lugal.ʽkiʽ.sag.gá | ŠU |
| | | 52. ^d Lugal.[x].a.ab.ba | ŠU |

35. Text I:14: ^dLugal.nin.IGI.[X.X]. The traces in A ix 80 would also fit a restoration of ^dLugal.IGI.ʽKUʽ.[DU]. The gloss (in A ix 80) might favor either restoration; cf. MAOG 3/3 49:88-90.

38. There were apparently two names for this line in A ix 83.

40. The name in A ix 85 may actually have been [^dLugal.igi].ʽiʽ.gùn.nu.

42. = ac:10.

43. = aa r. 7 and ab r. 13.

52. Possibly ^dLugal.[uru].a.ab.ba; cf. a similar title of Ištar in Tablet IV 129.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|----------------|
| A | H | | |
| | | 53. ^d Lugal.[uru].bar.ra | ŠU |
| | | 54. ^d Lugal.ʽuruʽ.šà.ga | ŠU |
| | | 55. ^d Lugal.ʽuruʽ.kù.ga | ŠU |
| | | 56. ^d Lugal.ʽuruʽ.pa.è | ŠU |
| | | 57. ^d Lugal.ʽŠEŠʽ.UNU ₇ .ki | ŠU (ú.ri) |
| | | 58. ^d Lugal.KUL.UNU ₇ .ki | ŠU (kul.la.ba) |
| | | 59. ^d ʽLugalʽ.I.si.in | ŠU |
| | | 60. ^d ʽLugalʽ.A.pi.ak.ki | ŠU (a.pi.ik) |
| | | 61. ^d Lugal.A.PI.an.ki | ŠU (a.ma.an) |
| | | 62. ^d Lugal.A.pi.šal.ki | ŠU (a.pi.šal) |
| | | 63. ^d Lugal.AN.ZA.ʽKÀRʽ | ŠU |
| | | 64. ^d Lugal.e.na.bu.ʽULʽ | ʽŠUʽ |
| | M | 65. ^d Lugal.igi.ḫur(ḫu). | ŠU |
| | | ra | |
| | : | 66. ^d Lugal.igi.kur.ra | ŠU |
| | : | 67. ^d Lugal.igi.kur.ra. | ŠU |
| | | maḫ.di | |

53. = Ao:428.

54. = Ao:429.

59. = Ao:439: ^dLugal.ì.si.in.ki. H:17: [^dLugal].ì.si.in.[ki].

60. = Ao:438 (which omits the final ki). The pronunciation gloss in the second half of the line would seem to cast doubt upon a reading of the name as *^dLugal.A.wa.ak.ki; the latter would have been glossed with *a.ma.ak; cf. line 61 below.

61. The gloss would certainly reflect an early reading of ^dLugal.A.wa.an.ki.

62. See Gelb, AJSL 55 70 ff.

63. = Ao:441; aa r. 4; ab r. 10; ac:7. For the place name involved, cf. the geographical list from Nippur, Sumer 3 66:128.

65. Gloss in M:1. The gloss probably gives an abbreviated indication of the pronunciation (in a simple way indicating that the pronunciation is ḫur, and not ḫar etc.). For similar abbreviated glosses, see under Tablet II 21.

67. M:2: ^dLugal.igi.<kur>.ra.maḫ.di.

| | | | |
|---|---|--|------------------|
| A | M | | |
| | | 68. ^d Lugal.Bàd.URUDU. | ŠU (ʽti.biʽ.ra) |
| | | NAGAR.ki | |
| | | 69. ^d Lugal.sag.nu.gi ₄ .a | EN [er]-ʽše-tumʽ |
| | | 70. ^d Lugal.šù.nu.gi ₄ .a | EN [la-ga-ma]-al |
| | | 71. ^d Lugal.giš.šinig | [EN bi]-ʽiʽ-ni |
| | | 72. ^d Lugal.GIŠ.A.ʽTUʽ. | [EN ZAR].BAD |
| | | GAB.LIŠ | |
| | | 73. ^d Lugal.edin.na | [ŠU] |
| | | 74. ^d Lugal.Gú.dug.a.ki | [ŠU] |
| | | 75. ^d Lugal.BÀD.na | [ŠU] |
| | E | 76. ^d Lugal.É.NUN.ʽNAʽ | ʽŠUʽ (ag.ru.na) |
| | : | 77. ^d Lugal.é.an.na | ʽŠUʽ |
| | C | 78. ^d Lugal.sa.pàr | ŠU |
| | : | 79. ^d Lugal.kù.nun.na | ŠU |
| | | 80. ^d Lugal.ki.gu.la | ŠU |

68. Gloss in A ix 113. The name appears in A as ^dLugal.ʽPIʽ.GAM.RA.ʽURUDUʽ.ʽNAGARʽ. Note that PI.GAM.RA.URUDU.NAGAR interchanges here with Bād.URUDU.NAGAR, but the gloss ti.bi.ra would apply to URUDU.NAGAR in either name. The entry in A may actually represent a copy of a slightly mutilated Vorlage which originally continued the theme of lines 66 and 67 above and gave the name as *^dLugal.igi.kur.ra.tibira(URUDU.NAGAR).

69. A ix 114: ^dLugal.sag.gi₄.a (which agrees with Ao:432).

71. = Ao:444. Cf. KAV 63 iii 16. For šinig(GAD+SUM+IR) = bīnu, see MSL III p. 116 line 233.

72. = Ao:445. Cf. KAV 63 iii 17 and SBH p. 144 7:12.

73. See KAR 142 i 40. In Ao:343, the name appears in a different section. See also aa r. 8 and ab r. 14.

74. = Ao:437; aa r. 21; ab r. 27; ac:16.

75. For BÀD.na, see under Tablet IV 37.

76. = Ao:450. The gloss appears both in A ix 121 and in

E:1. Cf. Be-lit ak-ru-un-ni el-li, K. 7605 (RA 17 151):4.

78. Cf. VAT 1193 (ZA 31 110) ii 8.

79. = Ao:448.

80. = Ao:451.

| A | C | E | | |
|---|---|---|-----|---|
| | | | 81. | dLugal.an.né.pà.da ŠU |
| | | | 82. | dLugal.me.(du)dù ŠU |
| | | | 83. | dLugal.me.šu.du ₇ ŠU |
| | D | | 84. | dLugal.me.ur ₄ .ur ₄ ŠU |
| | | O | 85. | dLugal.me.lám.ma ŠU |
| | | | 86. | dLugal.KA.dù.dù ŠU (šu.du.ḫi) |
| | | | 87. | dLugal.šud _x (KA X ŠU).dè ŠU |
| | | | 88. | dLugal.ki.sur.ra ŠU |
| | | | 89. | dLugal.ki.dun _x (BÚR).na ŠU |
| | | | 90. | dLugal.ki.sá ^(sa) .a ŠU |
| | | | 91. | dLugal.á.du ₁₀ .ga ŠU |
| | | | 92. | dLugal.á.dib.dib ŠU |
| | | | 93. | dLugal.níg.kas.(za.an.ʽxʽ)ʽSAGʽ.[x] ŠU |

82. Gloss in E:7.

83. = Ao:442.

84. For the relationship of D to B, see under note 111 below.

85. Dr. Landsberger has called my attention to the unpublished fragment K. 11194 (cited here as O), which begins at this point. Traces of the final ma are visible in O:1.

86. The enigmatic gloss šu.du.ḫi in A ix 130 may not actually belong to this line, but to the next. Because the left half of the column is broken at this point in A, one can apply this gloss only with caution.

87. Cf. Tablet V 265. For KA X ŠU = šud_x, see MSL II p. 57 line 329.

89. = Ao:436. For BÚR = dun_x, see MSL II p. 89 line 805.

90. = Ao:311 and D ii 4a. D_x being a fragment of B (cf. under note 111 below), obviously crowds two entries to a line here. Gloss in E:15. O:6: [d]ʽLugalʽ.ki.sá.a.

91. O:7: [d]ʽLugalʽ.á.du₁₀.ga.

92. D ii 5a: dLugal.dib.[dib]. O:8: [dLugal].ʽáʽ. dib. dib.bi.

93. Gloss in E:18. The final sign in the gloss may be ʽGAʽ. The traces of the final sign of the name in O:9 resemble ʽDUʽ, but this is uncertain.

| C | D | E | N | | |
|---|---|---|---|------|----------------------------------|
| | | | | 94. | dLugal.níg.(su.qum.bi.ʽxʽ)[x] ŠU |
| | | | | 95. | dLugal.imin(7).gi ŠU |
| | | | | 96. | d(e)NIN.uru.bar.ra ŠU |
| | | | : | 97. | dNin.ki.sur.ʽraʽ ŠU |
| | | | : | 98. | dḫul.nu.zu ŠU |
| | | | : | 99. | dḫul.ni.ša ₆ ŠU |
| | | | : | 100. | dEn.bi.(bi.bi)bi ŠU |
| | | | : | 101. | dNIN.NE.ʽRAʽ ŠU |
| | | | : | 102. | dIr ₉ (ir).ra ŠU |
| | | | : | 103. | dGÌR.la ŠU |
| | | | : | 104. | dEn.(ki.bi.ir)ŠU+ÁŠ ŠU |
| | | | : | 105. | dḫuš.uru ŠU |
| A | | | : | 106. | ʽdʽ[X].ʽxʽ.ga ŠU |
| | | | : | 107. | dLugal.ḫuš.ki.a ŠU |

94. Gloss = E:19 and probably N:1. Instead of su.qum.bi.ʽxʽ, the gloss may have been su.qum.ʽŠIMʽ (the last part of the gloss appears to be ʽŠIMʽ in N, at least). D ii 6a: dLugal.KU.qum.ʽxʽ, which may represent an older scribal error for *dLugal.šu.qum.ʽxʽ.

95. = N:2. In Ao:456, the name appears as dImin.gu₇. D draws a ruling line under this entry, which would indicate the end of the long list of special Nerigal names.

96. = Ao:457. Gloss in E:21.

99. In N:5, the name appears as [d]ʽLugalʽ.ni.ša₆.

100. Gloss in N:6. In E:26, the gloss appears as en.bi.bi.

102. N:7: ʽdʽir(ir).ra (which corresponds to the emesal dUmun.ir.ra, in eme:115). Text = E:27. For GÌR = ir₉, cf. MSL III p. 209 line 563 (see also Tablet V 241). According to eme:115, the name appears as dLugal.ir₉.ra in some traditions.

103. N:8: [d]ʽirʽ(: GÌR).la. The gloss in N apparently is used to indicate the alternative tradition for this name; cf. p. 31 above.

104. Gloss in E:29 and N:9.

105. N:10: [d]NAR.ḫuš. Text = D ii 9.

106. = A ix 140 and N:11. The name is probably ʽdʽ[ḫuš].ʽxʽ.ga.

| A | C | D | N | | | |
|---|---|---|---|------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| | | | | 108. | dLugal.ḫuš.a | ŠU |
| | | | | 109. | dLugal.giš.sir.ra | mu.uḫ.ra |
| | | | | 110. | dLugal.giš.dù.a | " |
| | | | J | 111. | dLugal.giš.ná.a | dKu-ú-šum |
| | | | K | 112. | dU ₄ .(ú.uk)uk | ú- ^r mu ^r |
| | | | | 113. | dU ₄ .uk.uru | "(= ú-mu) āli |
| | | | | 114. | dU ₄ .uk.uru.tab.ba | ŠU |
| | | | | 115. | dU ₄ .uk.ka.dù.a | ŠU |

108. = A ix 142; N:13; C ii 31.
 109. C ii 32: dGiš.^rsù^r.ga | dMu.úḫ.ra. Cf. dMu.úḫ.
 ra, CT 24 36:63 (in a Nerigal list). Cf. also Tablet IV 294.
 110. = Ao:443. C ii 33: dGiš.dù.a. Cf. under Tablet
 I 226. Cf. also line 137 below.

111. C ii 34: dGiš.ná.a. The second name is to be compared with d^rKu.ú.šú^r, KAR 142 i 39. The fragment K. 4349Y (CT 24 35, cited here as J), which begins here, actually should prove to be a join to K. 4349A+81-7-27,51 (CT 24 47, cited here as D). From their museum numbers, both of these texts seem to be fragments of B. If so, they would seem to represent col. vii of the obverse of B (note that col. i of D contains material that precedes col. ii; hence this fragment can not represent a part of the reverse). This would seem to indicate that the "great god-list," K. 4349, contained seven columns on each side, and that it was, therefore, somewhat larger than is indicated in CT 24 20 ff. I wrote to Mr. D. J. Wiseman of the British Museum about this possibility. But he was unable to find any physical join between K. 4349Y and K. 4349A+81-7-27,51 and the larger tablet; he felt that since col. v of K. 4349 is already tapering, the original tablet would only allow for six columns on each side. In view of this, exemplars D and J may not actually be fragments of B, after all (in spite of their museum numbers), but may, instead, represent still another large tablet of a similar nature.

112. Text = A ix 146. C ii 35: dUk | dU₄-mu. D ii 14: dU₄.uk : u₄-mu.

113. C ii 36 and K:3: dUk.dingir.uru.ki | dU₄-um ìl āli ki.

114. Text = A ix 148. C ii 37 and K:4: dUk.ka.tab.ba, but this must represent a scribal mistake; the form dUk.ka.tab.ba appears later, in line 116 below. D ii 15 seems to follow a tradition that contained a similar mistake (D ii 15 and 16 are wrongly identical), giving dU₄.uk.ka.tab.ba.

115. Text = A ix 149. C ii 38 and K:5: dUk.ka.du₈.a. J:3: dU₄.uk.ka(!).[dù.a].

| A | C | D | J | K | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|------|----------------------------------|---------------|
| | | | | | 116. | dU ₄ .uk.ka.tab.ba | kat-til-lu |
| | | | | | 117. | <d>Dingir.ḫuš | " |
| | | | | | 118. | dUr.gu.la | " |
| | | | | | 119. | dSag.kal | " |
| | | | | | 120. | dKa.ta.è | " |
| | | | | | 121. | dMaškim.ge ₆ .lú.ḫar. | ilu lim-nu-um |
| | | | | | | ra.an.na | |
| | | | | L | 122. | <d>Dingir.ḫul | " |
| | | | | | 123. | dKin.gal.u ₄ .da | " |
| | | | | | 124. | dGal ₅ .lá.gal | " |
| | | | | | 125. | dU ₄ .nam.edin.na | dĪr.ra.ba.ba |

116. Text = A ix 150. C ii 39 and K:6: dUk.ka.tab.ba (cf. under note 114 above). In C, the second half of the line appears as ka-at-te-el-lum.

117. Text = D ii 17. A ix 151: <d>Dingir.BIR. As with names beginning with the element An (see under Tablet II 41 and Tablet V 305), divine names beginning with Dingir usually omit the determinative. It is here assumed that such names may be recognized by the form: <d>Dingir.(adjective); cf. <d>Dingir.maḫ in Tablet II 1. Occasionally, this form is found with the determinative (as in Tablet VII 13-18).

118. J:5: dUr(!).^rgu(!).la(!)^r.

119. Text = A ix 153 and D ii 18. C ii 40: dSag.gal. K:7: dŠUR.gal. For the interchange of SAG with ŠUR (= gunu of SAG), cf. Meissner, OLZ 13 65.

121. Cf. Tablet I 187. Text = C ii 42. A ix 155 omits final na and um. D ii 19 omits ge₆.

122. C ii 43: dKi.ḫul.

123. J:8: d(!)^rKin(!)^r.gal.u₄.da.

124. The small excerpt fragment b begins with this line.
 125. In place of edin, A ix 159 gives BI.GAR, resulting in the name dU₄.nam.BI.GAR.na. This variant seems somewhat perplexing, for, although BI.GAR is known in early Sumerian economic texts (cf. Deimel, ŠL II 214c), it seems unknown in later texts. One might consider the possibility that BI.GAR is here a variant for edin, with the value of edin_x; but this would be hapax and unconvincing. Another possibility would be that the Vorlage used by A was badly damaged at this point and possibly originally contained edin. BI.GAR in A would then represent a scribal attempt to reproduce what seemed to be on the damaged tablet. The second name in the present entry appears in J:10 as dĪr.ra.ba.zu.

| A | C | D | J | L | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|--|---------------------------------|
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 126. | d ^u k.dib.bi.ḫuš | d ^u Muš.tab.ba.ab.bu |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 127. | d ^u Maškim.ge ₆ .lú.ḫar. ra.an.na | " |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 128. | d(ʾal ^u -mu)ŠID X A | d ^u Al-mu |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 129. | d(ʾal ^u -la-mu)SID X A | d ^u Al-la-mu |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 130. | d ^u LUM.ma | d ^u Gal-lu-u |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 131. | d(ú.dug)UDUG | ú-tuk-ku |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 132. | d _u (= ú.dug)UDUG | še-e-du |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 133. | d _u (= ú.dug)UDUG | ra-bi-ṣu |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 134. | d ^u Šà.aš.DU(šá).mu | ŠU |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 135. | d ^u Lugal.AG.AG.eš | ŠU |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 136. | d ^u Lugal.giš.búr | ŠU |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 137. | d ^u Lugal.giš.dù.a | ŠU |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 138. | d ^u Lugal.NI.TUK.ab.ba | ŠU |

128. Gloss in A ix 160. C ii 49 and L:7 (in the gloss) add the sign name: um-bi-sag-ga-ku; cf. MSL II p. 51 note 238; and Tablet I 158. C ii 49 gives ŠID instead of ŠID X A. For d^uAl-mu, cf. aa r. 22; ab r. 28; ac:19; CT 24 36:66; and AS no. 7 p. 15 line 19. C writes only ŠU in the explanatory column.

129. Gloss in A ix 161. In L:8, the gloss appears as a-la-mu. For d^uAl-la-mu, cf. aa r. 23; ab r. 29; and AS no. 7 p. 15 line 20 (which has d^uA-la-mu). C ii 50 writes only ŠU in the explanatory column.

130. Possibly = c:1 f. Text c may be more than an excerpt tablet; but, because of its fragmentary size, its exact status can hardly be determined. Its resemblance to the excerpt tablet b may be only coincidental. Text d may be another fragmentary excerpt of this section.

131. = b ii 2; c:3; d:1.

132. = b ii 3; c:4; d:2.

133. = b ii 4; c:5; d:3.

134. = b ii 5. Gloss in A ix 166. Read d^uŠà.aš.š₄.mu.

135. = b ii 6.

137. Cf. line 110 above.

138. = b ii 7: d^uNI.TUK.ʾki.[ab.ba]. The name in the present entry is probably d^uLugal.Dilmun.ab.ba; but, in referring to "Dilmun of the sea," this name seems to imply that there may have been at least two places by this name. Cf. under note 142 below.

| A | D | | | |
|-----|-----|------|---|-------------------------------|
| ... | ... | 139. | d ^u U ₄ .sa.gi.na | ŠU |
| ... | ... | 140. | d ^u U ₄ .mu.ḫu.mu.ud | ŠU |
| ... | ... | 141. | d ^u Iš-bi-nu | ŠU |
| ... | ... | 142. | d ^u Ut.tu | ŠU |
| ... | ... | 143. | d ^u Šar-ḫa-at | ŠU |
| ... | ... | 144. | d ^u UD-ka-la-am-ši | " |
| ... | ... | 145. | d ^u Il-ti-ta-ad-di | " |
| ... | ... | 146. | d ^u El-ti-āl-Ur ^u ki | ŠU |
| ... | ... | 147. | d ^u Par-da-at | ŠU |
| ... | ... | 148. | d ^u Pár-da-at | ŠU |
| ... | ... | 149. | d ^u Imin.ʾx ^u | ŠU |
| ... | ... | 150. | d ^u Ur.sag.[imin].ʾbi ^u | ur.sag d ^u Imin.bi |

139. = b ii 8.

142. For the reading of the name, cf. under Tablet II 354, where this deity appears as the god of the clothiers. In the Sumerian literary text, "Enki and Ninḫursag" (Kramer, ASOR SS no. 1), d^uUt.tu figures prominently; and since this legend deals with Dilmun, there may be some basis for supposing that the present section of An : d^uA-nu-um involves various gods from Dilmun (cf. line 138 above).

144. The appearance of dittos in the explanatory column of this and the following line would seem to indicate that these two entries are to be regarded as additional names for the deity in line 143.

145. Cf. note 144 above. The name is quite obviously Akkadian, although the grammatical form is peculiar. The component il-ti seems to be a feminine form of ilu; and on the analogy of line 146 below, it would seem to be in the construct state, although one would expect ilat here (and elat in line 146).

146. Cf. under note 145 above. The name is obviously Akkadian.

148. Cf. KAR 142 r. iii 24 (according to Weidner's collation, AfK 2 76 note 11), where d^uPár-da-at occurs in an Adad list. Cf. also KAV 63 iv 37.

149. The name may be d^uImin.ʾgal^u.

150. This line introduces the epithet d^uImin.bi "the seven gods." From other texts (e.g., cf. AfO 8 32 r. ii 5 and AfO 8 22 r. vi 20), it appears that the Akkadian equivalent of d^uImin.bi was d^uSi-bit-te ilú(AN.MEŠ). Cf. also Jean, RA 21 93 ff. A number of separate groups of "seven gods"

| | | | |
|-----|------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| A D | 151. | d ¹ Imin. 'bi' | dingir.meš d ¹ Imin.bi |
| | 152. | d ¹ Lugal.[] | r ^d A-nu' |
| | 153. | d ¹ Lugal'.[] | [^d En.líl] |
| | 154. | d[] | [^d É-a] |
| | 155. | d[] | r ^d Sin(EŠ) |
| | 156. | d[] | [^d Šá-maš] |
| | 157. | d[] | [^d Adad] |
| | 158. | [] | [^d Nin.urta] |
| | 159. | [7 d ¹ Imin.bi] | KI.EN.GI.NA.ke ₄ |
| | 160. | [] 'x' | ŠU |
| | 161. | [] 'kù'.ga | ŠU |
| | 162. | [] 'x'.ra | ŠU |
| | 163. | [] 'x'.ur ₄ | ŠU |
| | 164. | [] .an | ŠU |
| | 165. | [] 'x' | ŠU |
| | 166. | [] 'x' | ŠU |
| | 167. | 7 d ¹ Imin.bi | kur.Uri.ki.ke ₄ |

were singled out and designated in this way. In the present list, there appears a group of "the seven gods of Sumer" (lines 152-159), as well as groups of d¹Imin.bi from Akkad (lines 160-167), from Gutu (lines 168-175), etc. These divisions reflect geographical groupings; but, in other texts, various other methods of dividing into groups of seven were employed, for example, in KAR 142: "the seven Adads" (i 14-21), "the seven Ninurtas" (i 22-25), "the seven doormen of d¹Nin.ki.gal" (r. iv 12-15), etc. For a discussion of d¹Imin.bi, especially as they reflect "evil gods," see MAOG 4/2 116-119.

152. The names in the explanatory column may be restored from the explanatory column of the Elamite deities in lines 186 ff. below. The Sumerian entries may have represented names concerned with places; e.g., the present entry may have been *d¹Lugal.UNU.ki | d¹A-nu, etc.

160. In A x 5, 'x' ends with a vertical wedge.

162. In A x 7, the traces of the partly preserved sign favor a restoration of the sign BAR.

167. = A x 10b, 11b.

| | | | |
|---|-------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| A | 168. | [] | ŠU |
| | 169. | [] | ŠU |
| | 170. | [] | r ^d ŠU' |
| | 171. | [] | r ^d ŠU' |
| | 172. | [] | r ^d ŠU' |
| | 173. | [^d] 'X'.a.ne.'x'.[x] | r ^d ŠU' |
| | 174. | r ^d A.bu.ub.la.'ab' | ŠU |
| | 175. | 7 d ¹ Imin.bi | kur.Gu.ti.ki.ke ₄ |
| | 176. | d ¹ Ši.pa.li.[x] | ŠU |
| | 177. | d ¹ Ib.na.ḫa.aš.'x' | ŠU |
| | 178. | d ¹ Ib.na.sá.(sa.sa) sá | ŠU |
| | 179. | d ¹ Daḫ.še.iš.ri.iš | ŠU |
| | 180. | d ¹ Ru.uš.pa.an.aš.piš | ŠU |
| | 181. | d ¹ Na.ḫu.un.di | ŠU |
| | 182. | d ¹ I.gi.eš.tu | ŠU |
| | 183. | 7 d ¹ Imin.bi | kur.Elam.ma.ki.ke ₄ |
| | 184. | d ¹ Na.ru.di | d ¹ 'X' nin.TU.ne |
| | 184a. | | (a-ḫat-su-nu) |
| | 185. | d ¹ Za.am.ma.ḫu.un.di | alam.zú.ne.ne |

174. Cf. CT 25 12:16.

178. Gloss in G ii 3.

179. G ii 4: d¹Daḫ.še.eš.ra. F:5: [^dDaḫ.še.eš].ri.

180. F:6 and G ii 5: d¹Ru.uš.pa.ki.ág.pu.uš.

182. F:8: [^dI.gi.iš].tum. G ii 7: d¹I.gi.iš.ti.

184. G ii 8: d¹Na.ru.un.di. The name also occurs as d¹Na.ru.du; see III R 66 ii 13 and iv 14. d¹Na.ru.di appears in KAR 214 i 5; MVAeG 41/3 iii 34; IV R 2nd ed. 21 la i 46. The second name (only in A x 26) may have been Dingir.'maḫ'. Instead of nin.TU.ne, F:10 has nin.ne. Perhaps nin.TU.ne (in A) is to be emended to nin.ne(!).ne.

184a. Gloss line in F:10.

185. A x 27: 'alam.zu'.ne.ne (cf. A x 36 = line 194 below). The relationship of this name to the previous group of seven Elamite deities is not clear. The name probably represents the same god as d¹Za.ba.ḫu.un.di in line 194 below.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|-------|---|
| A | F | G | | (mu- ^r um ^r -[]) |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | 185a. | |
| | | | 186. | d _A -nu |
| | | | 187. | d _{En} .[líl] |
| | | | 188. | d _E -[a] |
| | | | 189. | d _{Sin} (^r EŠ ^r) |
| | | | ra | |
| | | | 190. | d _{Samaš} (UTU) |
| | | | 191. | d _{Adad} (IM) |
| | | | 192. | d _{Ninurta} (MAŠ) |
| | | | 193. | d _{NIN} . ^r AN.MEŠ ^r |
| | | | 194. | d _{Alam.zu} .[ne]. ^r ne ^r |
| | | | 195. | d _{Nin.giš} . ^r zi ^r .[da] |
| | | | 196. | ŠU |
| | | | 197. | ŠU |
| | | | 198. | ŠU |

185a. = F:11.

186. G ii 11: d_{Ib.na} (with which F:12 probably agreed).

187. G ii 12: d_{Ia.ab.na}.

189. F:15 and G ii 14: <d>AN.KAL.da.ad.ra. Instead of d_{EŠ}, F gives d_{En}.^rzu^r. Cf. d_{AN.KAL.da.kar.ra} who is identified with d_{EŠ} in CT 25 32:10.

190. F:16 and G ii 15: d_{Ra.ap.pa.an.ku.us.bi}. The same spelling of the name occurs in K. 4365 (CT 25 27):11, in a list of Šamaš names.

191. F:17 and G ii 16: d_{Šen.nu.kúš.ù}.

192. F:18 and G ii 17: d_{Geštu_x}(IGI.DU). Instead of d_{MAŠ}, F writes d_{Nin}.[urta].

193. F:19 gives Dingir.maḫ instead of d_{NIN}.AN.MEŠ^r. The latter name is certainly ideographic for d_{Belit-ili}. d_{Na}.peš₄.di should correspond to d_{Na.ru.di} in line 184 above.

194. = d_{Za.am.ma.ḫu.un.di} in line 185 above. Here, alam.zu is phonetic for alam.zú.

196. This and the following lines should be compared with CT 29 45:30 ff. where sa-bi-kum is given as the pronunciation gloss of two unpreserved names.

197. d_{BI} represents an ideogram for the previous name. This means that only one deity is involved in lines 196 and 197.

| | | |
|---|------|--|
| A | | |
| | 199. | d ^r ŠUL ŠU |
| | 200. | d _{DU.DU.nu.kúš.ù} ŠU |
| | 201. | 3 [x.x] kur.[x.x.ke ₄] |
| | 202. | d _{Nin.ḫa.lam.ma} ^r ŠU ^r |
| | 203. | d(di.pár) _{GUD} [ŠU] |
| | 204. | d(da.pár) _{GUD} [ŠU] |
| | 205. | d(ku. ^r uš ^r .gim) _{GUD} [ŠU] |
| | 206. | d(ru.uš.pa.an) _{GUD} [ŠU] |
| | 207. | d(ḫa.ar) _{GUD} [ŠU] |
| | 208. | d(qud-ma) _{GUD} [ŠU] |
| | 209. | d(qa-ad-ma) _{GUD} [ŠU] |
| | 210. | d(ku.ku.la) _{KU₇} [ŠU] |
| | 211. | d(ka.ka.la) _{KU₇} [ŠU] |

199. Represents an ideogram for the previous entry. Only one deity is involved in these two lines.

201. The summary reveals that only three actual deities are involved in lines 196-200. This corroborates the assumption that lines 197 and 199 represent ideographic entries for lines 196 and 198 respectively.

203. = AS no. 7 p. 20 line 134, where GUD is glossed with di.pa.ar.

204. = AS no. 7 p. 20 line 135.

205. = AS no. 7 p. 20 line 137. The gloss in this line should have been read ku.uš.gim and not šu.uš.gim (as Hallock does). Hallock's drawing of the line (AS no. 7 Plate VI) and his photograph (Plate I) clearly give ku.

206. = AS no. 7 p. 20 line 140: ru.uš.ban.

207. = AS no. 7 p. 19 line 125. Cf. Tablet III 35 and Tablet V 302.

208. For the significance of the Akkadian glosses in this and the following lines, see under Tablet V 290 (where the gloss is given as qu-ud-ma, as in line 226 below). The corresponding line in AS no. 7 p. 20 line 132 gives GUD-ud-ma, which might be read gu₄-ud-ma (although one would not expect to find gu₄ used as a syllable sign in Akkadian).

209. Cf. line 227 below and Tablet V 291. For the significance of the gloss, see under Tablet V 290. In AS no. 7 p. 20 line 133, the corresponding line gives kad-ma.

210. Cf. AS no. 7 p. 21 line 178: ku.uk.ku.da | KU₇.

211. Cf. AS no. 7 p. 21 line 179: ka.ak.ku.da | KU₇.

| | | | |
|---|------|--|----|
| A | 212. | d(EŠ-qa) _{KU₇} | ŠU |
| | 213. | d(EŠ-da) _{KU₇} | ŠU |
| | 214. | d(ba.di.li.šá) _{KU₇} | ŠU |
| | 215. | d _{At.ti} | ŠU |
| C | 216. | d _E | ŠU |
| | 217. | d"NAGAR | ŠU |
| | 218. | d"ÍB+HUS | ŠU |
| | 219. | d"UH+ME | ŠU |
| | 220. | d('il'.la) _{rNAGAR} | ŠU |
| | 221. | d(al.la) _{rNAGAR} | ŠU |
| | 222. | d(ħa-a-a-u) _{rNAGAR} | ŠU |
| | 223. | d(na.gar) _{rnagar} | ŠU |
| | 224. | d(gu.gim) _{rMUG} | ŠU |
| | 225. | d(ga.gim) _{rMUG} | ŠU |
| | 226. | d(qu-nd-ma) _{KUD} | ŠU |
| | 227. | d(qa-ad-ma) _{KUD} | ŠU |
| | 228. | d _{Mar.tu} | ŠU |

212. The gloss seems to be Akkadian, in view of the emphatic letter; but it remains enigmatic. Dr. Stephens suggested to me the possibility that perhaps EŠ represents an old scribal error for KUR and that the gloss might be read *mat-qa. This would bring the gloss into line with MSL III p. 144 line 228 where KU₇ is explained in Akkadian as mat-qu. The present entry, however, should be compared with Tablet II 312.

213. For the sign EŠ in the gloss, cf. under note 212 above.

214. = AS no. 7 p. 21 180: ba.an.dili₂.ša.

216. The reverse of C contributes little in this section, preserving only the explanatory half of these lines.

224. See Tablet II 349.

225. See Tablet II 352.

226. Cf. note 208 above.

227. Cf. note 209 above.

228. See note 230 below.

| | | | | |
|---|---|------|---|---------------------|
| A | C | 229. | d _{Lú.ħar.} 'x' | ŠU |
| | | 230. | d _{KU.SUD.NUN.KU.} 'TU' | d _{Mar.tu} |
| | | 231. | d _{Mar.du₁₀.edin.an.} [na] | " |
| | | 232. | [] | " |
| | | 233. | [] | "([x].'x') |
| | | 234. | [] | "([ħu.mu].un.ši.ir) |
| | | 235. | d _{Ur-ba-tum} | dam.bi.SAL |
| | | 236. | d _{A-nu-bu} | d _{Mar.tu} |
| | | 237. | d"[KUR] | " |
| | | 238. | d _{Ša.} 'ħa'.an | " |
| | | 239. | d _{r''} [KUR] | " |
| | | 240. | d"ŠAĤ | " |
| | | 241. | d _{Šaħ.an} | " |
| | | 242. | d _{UH+AN} | " |
| | | 243. | d _{I-ki-} 'tum' | dam.bi.SAL |
| | | 244. | d(ša.ħa.an)[KUR] | ŠU |

229. Although the name is given in eme:111 as d_{Lú.ħar.} sag, the traces in A x 70 suggest the restoration d_{Lú.ħar.} 'an'.

230. See Tablet I 238; Tablet III 95; and An : Anu šá amēli 106. For d_{Mar.tu}, see line 228 above; Tablet II 293; and An : Anu šá amēli 102.

233. Gloss = C r. 18.

234. Gloss = C r. 19. Cf. CT 24 34 ix 7 (= "Smaller An : d_{A-nu-un}"). The name may have been [d_{Mar.tu.lá.an.ki}], cf. Tablet V 218 and 218a.

235. In Tablet II 294, the name of the wife of d_{Mar.tu} is given as d_{Ig.an.na.gál.la}.

237. Lines 237-239 should be compared with CT 29 44:16 ff. See also line 245 below.

239. See line 244 below.

240. = CT 29 44:13.

241. = CT 29 44:14.

242. = CT 29 44:15.

244. Cf. line 239 above and CT 29 44:16 ff.

| | | | |
|---|------|---|--------------------------------------|
| A | 245. | d(a-nu-bu)ᵀKURᵀ | ŠU |
| | 246. | d(ra-ma-nu)ᵀKURᵀ | ŠU |
| | 247. | d(ra-šu)KUR | ŠU |
| | 248. | d(zi-za-nu)ᵀKURᵀ | ŠU |
| | 249. | d(am.ma)ᵀKURᵀ | ŠU |
| | 250. | d _{KAS} ([x.x])ᵀKURᵀ | ᵀŠUᵀ |
| | 251. | d _{KAS} (ᵀxᵀ.[x]).[KUR] | [ŠU] |
| | 252. | d _{KAS} (il.[ba]).[KUR] | [ŠU] |
| | 253. | d _{KAS} (al.ᵀbaᵀ).[KUR] | [ŠU] |
| | 254. | d _{KAS} (il.ᵀḫaᵀ).[KUR] | [ŠU] |
| | 255. | d _{KAS} (al.[ḫa]).[KUR] | [ŠU] |
| | 256. | d _{KAS} (ba.[li.ḫa]). [KUR] | [ŠU] |
| | 257. | d _{AN} .ᵀmarᵀ.[tu] | [^d Mar.tu] |
| | 258. | d _{GÚ} .bar.ᵀraᵀ | [^d Aš-ra-tum dam.bi.SAL] |
| | 259. | d _{GÚ} .BAR.ᵀRAᵀ | ["] |

245. Cf. line 237 above.

247. Cf. the variant text for Tablet V 291 which gives d(ra-a-zu)KUR.

248. See Tablet V 292.

249. See Tablet V 229.

250. Lines 250 ff. should be compared with CT 29 44:24 ff.

252. I am especially indebted to Dr. Landsberger for the restorations of the glosses in this and the next four lines.

257. See Tablet II 292 and An : Anu šá amēli 103. The name may be ^dil-mar-tu or ^dDingir.mar.tu.

258. The restoration [^dAš-ra-tum] is based on the assumption that the chief name of the deity being considered would be listed here in the explanatory column of the first entry and then repeated at the close of the list (i.e., line 262 below). This scribal practice is observable quite frequently in the present series, especially in lists of wives and other goddesses; see Tablet II 236, 241; Tablet II 247, 248; Tablet III 126, 133; Tablet IV 276, 279; Tablet V 117, 122; et al.

259. d_{GÚ}.BAR.ᵀraᵀ may here be an ideogram with the reading ^dAšratum.

| | | | |
|---|------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| A | 260. | ^d A.[x] | ["] |
| | 261. | ^d A.ba.[x] | ["] |
| | 262. | ^d Aš-ra-[tum] | ["] |
| | 263. | ^d Ad.[x.x] | [ŠU] |
| | 264. | ^d ī.lí.[] | [ŠU] |
| | 265. | ^d Ad.níg.[] | [ŠU] |
| | 266. | ^d [] | [ŠU] |
| | 267. | ^d [] | [ŠU] |
| | 268. | ^d Gú.ᵀxᵀ.[] | [ŠU] |
| | 269. | ^d Tu.ᵀxᵀ.[] | [ŠU] |
| | 270. | ^d Šu.[] | ᵀŠUᵀ |
| | 271. | ^d [] | ᵀŠUᵀ |
| | 272. | ^d [] | ᵀŠUᵀ |
| | 273. | [] | ᵀŠUᵀ |
| | 274. | [] | ŠU |
| | 275. | []ᵀxᵀ | ŠU |
| | 276. | []ᵀxᵀ | ŠU |
| | 277. | []ᵀxᵀ | ŠU (ga-du še-ši-tim) |
| | 278. | []ᵀkurᵀ | ŠU |
| | 279. | [^d]ḫúl | bi-ib-ru-u |
| | 280. | [^d X].ᵀedinᵀ.na | " |
| | 281. | [^d X].ti | ŠU |

260. Possibly ^dA.[ba]; cf. K. 4349Q (CT 24 46):9.

261. Possibly ^dA.ba.[gal]; cf. K. 4349Q (CT 24 46):10.

262. Cf. KAV 65 iv 6 and Weidner, AfK 2 77 note 7.

263. The broken spaces in the second half of the lines in A x 101 ff. are too small to accommodate any sign but ŠU or dittos. The appearance of ^dAš-ra-[tum] in line 262 probably indicated the end of the names of the wife of ^dAN.mar.tu, which means that the following lines probably contained ŠU.

279. For ḫúl = bibru, see Deimel, ŠL 550, 2.

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| A | 282. [^d X].di | ŠU |
| | 283. [^d La-ša]-na-an | ŠU |
| | 284. [^d GIŠ]. ^r GÍN ^r .MAŠ | ^d Gilgameš(GIŠ.BÍL.ga. mèš) |
| | 285. [^d] ^r KAL ^r .TUK | " |
| | 286. [^d GIŠ.BÍL]. ^r ga ^r .mèš | " |
| | 287. [^d En.ki].du ₁₀ | ṣab ^r x.x ^r |
| | 288-301. (gap) | |
| | 302. []. ^r x ^r | ^r ŠU ^r |
| | 303. ^d ^r X.x ^r .li | ŠU |
| | 304. ^d ^r NIN ^r . ^r ḪAR | ŠU |
| | 305. ^d Nin.kul.lá | ŠU |
| | 306. ^d Nin.gi.lá | ŠU |
| | 307. ^d Nin.ka.zal | ŠU |
| | 308. <d>Dingir(di.gi.ir. ni.im).nim | ^d Šu.ri.in |
| | 309. ^d Sá.kin | ^d Me-tu-tu |

283. = a:2.

285. Cf. Salonen, Wasserfahrzeuge 167:85: giš má.GIŠ. KAL.TUK | e-lep ^dGiš-ge₁₁-maš. The present entry should correspond to a:3, which has [^d]^rX^r.TUK (however, the sign ^rX^r in a:3, as it is drawn, can hardly be ^rKAL^r).

286. = a:4, which gives ^rdX^r.BÍL.ga.^rmèš^r.

288. The entry ^dDI(gu.ru.uš.ti).^rKU₇^r (= a:5) is to be placed somewhere in this gap.

302. = A x 140.

304. The dittos indicate that this entry represents an ideogram for the partly preserved name in the previous line.

308. In view of the gloss (in A x 146), a reading such as ^dNim seems ruled out; see under note 117 above.

309. In a:6, the name is given as ^dSá(sa.ak).kin. Such a glossed reading may at first appear quite enigmatic. If the gloss indicates a value of sag_x for DI, or a value of ag for KIN, or a value of sag_x for DI+KIN, such an indication would be hapax and suspect. It would seem more reasonable to assume that the gloss merely presents an abbreviated

| | | |
|---|--|------------------------------------|
| A | 310. ^d Ki.a | ^d Er-še-tu |
| | 311. ^d A.nun.na | ^d A-nun-na-ku |
| | 312. ^d Nun.gal | ^d I-gi ₄ -gu |
| | 313. * ^d GAL.UŠUM | * ^d Marduk |
| | 314. dub *6 kám.ma <An ^d A-nu-um> 4 ŠU 47 mu.bi | |

indication of the total pronunciation of the name. For similar occurrences of abbreviated pronunciation glosses, see under Tablet II 21 and Tablet V 3.

310. Cf. Tablet V 228.

313. The catch-line for the next tablet is regularly omitted by A.

314. A x 151 actually has dub 7 kám.ma. Concerning this difference in the number of tablets, see p. 7 note 26 above.

SOURCES USED IN RECONSTRUCTING TABLET VII

- A YBC 2401
- B K. 4349 (CT 24 20 ff.)
- C K. 204 (CT 25 40, 41)
- D VAT 10813 (KAV 53)

TABLET VII

| | | | |
|---|---|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| A | B | | |
| | | 1. ^d GAL.UŠUM | ^d Marduk(AMAR+PÍR) |
| | | 2. ^d GAL.UŠUM.ḫuš | " |
| | | 3. ^d Ušum.dù.a | " |
| | | 4. ^d Ušum.maḫ | " |
| | | 5. ^d Ušum.gal | " |
| | | 6. ^d Ḫuš.ušum.gal | " |

1. Text = A x 152. B x 68: ^dGAL.UŠUM.GAL. ^dAMAR+PÍR is a graphic variant of ^dAMAR+UD (see von Soden, Syllabar p. 71 no. 227).

2. A x 153: ^dGAL.UŠUM.BIR; B x 69: ^dUšum.gal.ḫuš.

| A | B | |
|---|---|--|
| | | 7. d _H uš.ušum.maḥ " |
| | | 8. d _H uš.ušum.dù.a " |
| | | 9. d _H uš.ušum.maḥ.gal " |
| | | 10. d _L ú.tu ₆ " |
| | | 11. d _L ú.tu ₆ .gal " |
| | | 12. d _L ú.tu ₆ .si.sá " |
| | | 13. d _D ingir.kala.ga " |
| | | 14. d _D ingir.ḥuš.a " |
| | | 15. d _D ingir.ušum.gal " |
| | | 16. d _D ingir.ušum.maḥ " |
| | | 17. d _D ingir.si.sá " |
| | | 18. d _D ingir.ša ₆ .ga " |
| | | 19. d _{Na} ₄ .búr.ra " |
| | | 20. d _{Na} ₄ .ušum.gal " |
| | | 21. d _{Na} ₄ .ušum.maḥ " |
| | | 22. d _{Na} ₄ .múš.mu " |
| | | 23. d _{Sa} .gal " |
| | | 24. d _{Sa} .maḥ " |
| | | 25. d _{Sa} .še " |
| | | 26. d _{Sa} .še.gal " |
| | | 27. d _{Sa} .še.maḥ " |
| | | 28. d _{Sa} .[še].ušum " |
| | | 29. d _{Sa} .še.ušum.gal " |
| | | 30. d _{Sa} .še.ušum.si.ʿsáʿ " |

13. The position of the second half of the lines in King's copy of B x 74 ff. is to be corrected. B x 74b should line up with B x 73a, etc. Elsewhere in the series, names which begin with the element Dingir usually omit the determinative; see under Tablet VI 117.

22. B x 79a: d_{Na}₄.ušum.[x].

| A | B | |
|---|---|--|
| | | 31. d _{Sa} .ušum.gal " |
| | | 32. [d _{Sa} .ušum.x] ["] |
| | | 33. d _{Sa} .ušum.še ["] |
| | | 34. [] ["] |
| | | 35. d _{Mú} .mú.gal ["] |
| | | 36. [d _{Mú} .mú.x] ["] |
| | | 37. d _{Mú} .mú.ḥuš ["] |
| | | 38. [d _{Mú} .mú.x] ["] |
| | | 39. d _{Mú} .mú.si.ʿsáʿ ["] |
| | | 40. [] ["] |
| | | 41. d _{Nám} .ʿmaḥʿ ["] |
| | | 42. [d _{Nám}].gal ["] |
| | | 43. d _{Nám} .ušum " |
| | | 44. [d _{Nám} .ušum.gal] " |
| | | 45. d _{Nám} .ušum.maḥ " |
| | | 46. [d _{Geštu} ₂ .gal] " |
| | | 47. [d _{Geštu} ₂ .še.ga] " |
| | | 48. ʿd _{Ka} .gal " |
| | | 49. ʿd _{Ka} .maḥ " |
| | | 50. ʿd _{Geštu} ₂ .ušum " |
| | | 51. d _{Šu} .ti.la " |
| | | 52. ʿd _{Šu} .[gal]ʿ ["] |
| | | 53. d _{Šu} .maḥ ["] |
| | | 54. [d _{Šu} .kéš].da ["] |

32. = B x 84a (see under note 13 above), which is unreserved.

41. Cf. Ao:396 (where the name is given as d_{Nám}(nam). maḥ); Tablet V 173; and YBT 1 Plate XLIV:141.

53. See Tablet V 174.

| B | C | |
|---|---|---|
| | | 55. ^d Šu.kéš.da.ga ["] |
| | | 56. [^d Šu.kéš]. ^r da.bi " |
| | | 57. ^d Ka.ḫé.ti.la " |
| | | 58. [^d X].gal " |
| | | 59. ^d Tu ₆ .maḫ " |
| | | 60. [^d]Tu ₆ .ti.la " |
| A | | 61. ^d Tu ₆ .lú.ti.la " |
| | | 62. [^d]Tu ₆ .ni.ir.an " |
| : | | 63. ^d Tu ₆ .gal " |
| | | 64. ^d Tu ₆ .ušum.gal " |
| | | 65. ^d Tu ₆ .maḫ " |
| | | 66. ^d Asar.lú.ḫi " |
| | | 67. ^d Šu.gá.gá ^d Di.ku ₅ |
| | | 68. ^d Šu.bi.gar " |
| | | 69. ^d Di.ku ₅ .gal " |
| | | 70. ^d Di.ku ₅ .ra " |
| | | 71. ^d Búr.ra " |
| | | 72. ^d A.diri.maḫ " |

55. C:4: [^dŠu.kéš.da].^rx'.BU.

58. The name was probably [^dTu₆].gal.

63. = C:14. Either line 62 or 63 was omitted by B x 100a (whether A xi 31 contained this entry or not cannot be determined). It is here arbitrarily assumed that the missing line in B would have corresponded to the present entry.

64. C:13: ^dTu₆.gal.gal.

65. The repetition of the name here (cf. line 59 above) seems strange.

66. See Tablet II 185. B x 101 writes Asar as GIŠGAL X IGI; C:15: KA X IGI.

67. Cf. Tablet II 254.

68. B x 103a seems to have varied, giving ^drDi'.[x.x].

71. C:20: ^dBúr.gal.

72. Text = C:21. A xi 40 and B x 105a are based upon a tradition which contains an old error of haplography: ^dA.diri.di.ku₅ (= the beginning of the present line and the end

| A | B | C | |
|---|---|---|--|
| : | : | : | 73. ^d A.diri.ga " |
| | | | 74. ^d A.di.ku ₅ " |
| | | | 75. ^d A.di.ku ₅ .maḫ " |
| | | | 76. ^d A.di.ku ₅ .še " |
| | | | 77. ^d A.di.ku ₅ .še.gal " |
| | | | 78. ^d A.di.ku ₅ .še.maḫ " |
| | | | 79. ^d A.di.ku ₅ .ušum " |
| | | | 80. ^d A.di.ku ₅ .še.ušum " |
| | | | 81. ^d Ku ₅ .ušum.maḫ " |
| | | | 82. ^d Ku ₅ .gal " |
| | | | 83. ^d Ku ₅ .še.še " |
| | | | 84. ^d Ku ₅ .še.še.gal " |
| | | | 85. ^d Ku ₅ .še.še.maḫ " |
| | | | 86. ^d Ku ₅ .še.še.ušum " |
| | | | 87. ^d Nam.tag.ga.búr.búr " |
| | | | 88. ^d Nam.tag.ga.búr.búr gal " |
| | | | 89. ^d Nam.tag.ga.búr.búr ḫuš.a " |
| | | | 90. ^d Nam.tar.zu " |
| D | | | 91. ^d Nam.tar.zu.gal " |

of line 74 below). This also explains the omission of line 73 by A and B.

76. In C r. 1 ff., še is written as the numeral 50. A xi 42 ff. and B x 106b ff. clearly have še; see Meissner, OLZ 13 101. For the present entry, B x 106a gives ^dA.[x].

78. A xi 44 and B x 107a: ^dA.di.ku₅.<še>.maḫ.

79. C r. 4: ^dA.di.<ku₅>.ušum.

80. B x 108: ^dA.di.ku₅.še.ga; C r. 5: ^dKu₅.ušum.

88. A xi 54 and B x 112a: ^dgal.

89. A xi 55 and B x 112b: ^dḫuš.a.

| A | B | C | D |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 92. ^d Nam.tar.zu.maḥ |
| | | | 93. ^d A.ra.zu |
| | | | 94. ^d A.ra.zu.gal |
| | | | 95. ^d A.ra.zu.maḥ |
| | | | 96. ^d A.ra.zu.še.ga |
| | | | 97. ^d A.ra.zu.še.še.gal |
| | | | 98. ^d Dingir.ba.ti.la |
| | | | 99. ^d Pirig ₃ |
| | | | 100. ^d Pirig ₃ .gal |
| | | | 101. ^d Pirig ₃ .maḥ |
| | | | 102. ^d Zi.kal.la |
| | | | 103. ^d Zi.kal.la.maḥ |
| | | | 104. ^d Zi.kal.la.ba |
| | | | 105. ^d Zi.kal.la.še |
| | | | 106. ^d Zi.ba.mìn |
| | | | 107. ^d Zi.ba.mìn.gal |
| | | | 108. ^d Zi.ba.maḥ |
| | | | 109. ^d Zi.ba.an.DI |
| | | | 110. ^d Zi.ba.an.tur |
| | | | 111. ^d Zi.ba.an.maḥ |
| | | | 112. ^d Zi.ba.an.gu |
| | | | 113. ^d Zi.ba.an.še |
| | | | 114. ^d Zi.ba.an.še.gal |

98. B x 117a: <d>Dingir.ba.ti.'la'; cf. under note 2 above.

99. C r. 24: [^d]Pirig(GÌR). B x 117b: ^dPirig₃.pirig₃.

103. B x 119: ^dZi.kal.<la>.maḥ.

109. Text = B x 122b. Possibly to be read ^dZi.ba.an.sá.

A xi 75: ^dZi.ba.an.ki.

| A | B |
|---|---|
| | 115. ^d Zi.ba.an.še.maḥ |
| | 116. ^d Zi.ba.an.ušum.gal |
| | 117. ^d Zi.ba.an.šu.ḥuš.a |
| | 118. ^d Zi.ba.an.engur |
| | 119. ^d Zi.ba.an.engur.gal |
| | 120. ^d Zi.ba.an.engur.maḥ |
| | 121. ^d Zi.še |
| | 122. ^d Zi.še.gal |
| | 123. ^d Zi.še.maḥ |
| | 124. ^d Zi.še.ušum |
| | 125. ^d Zi.še.ta |
| | 126. 'dub' *7 'kám.ma' <An ^d A-nu-um> 2 ŠU 2 mu.bi |

122. King's copy of B x 129a presents ^dZi.kur, but this should be corrected to ^dZi.še(!).

126. A xi 92 gives the number of this tablet as "8." For this difference in numbering, see p. 7 note 26 above.

CHAPTER III

A RECONSTRUCTION OF AN : ANU ŠÁ AMĒLI

The system of transliteration used in presenting this god-list and the method of indicating the duplicate texts of the list are the same as those used in the larger series, An : ^dA-nu-um (see p. 39 above). For the position and general format of An : Anu ša amēli, see pp. 31 ff. above.

SOURCES USED IN RECONSTRUCTING AN : ANU ŠÁ AMĒLI

A YBC 2401

B K. 4349 (CT 24 20 ff.)

C K. 11966 (CT 26 50)

aa K. 4366 (CT 25 48)

ab Rm. 483 (CT 25 47)

AN : ANU ŠÁ AMĒLI

| A | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|---------|---------------------|
| 1. | An | Anu(AN) | *šá amēli(LÚ) |
| 2. | ^d Di. 'meš' | Anu | *šá sinništi(SAL) |
| 3. | ^d A-nu | Anu | *šá šarri(!)(LUGAL) |
| 4. | ^d Me.dara ₃ | Anu | *šá par-ši |
| 5. | ^d Kur.sa ₇ | Anu | *šá nab-ni-ti |

1. That the second AN should be read Anu is seen from B xi 2 (= line 12 below), where the name is written phonetically as ^dA-nu. Throughout this series, A uses ša for the relative pronoun; B, šá. Arbitrarily, šá is used throughout the restoration of this series. Where the relative pronoun is preserved only in A (i.e., as ša), it is indicated by *šá.

2. Cf. CT 25 12:1, where ^dDi.meš is explained as "Ninurta in Elam."

| A | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| 6. | Kur.ra | Anu | *šá māti(KUR) | |
| 7. | Īi.li.ba | Anu | *šá ka-la-ma | |
| 8. | Kilib ₃ | Anu | *šá nap-ḫa-ri | |
| 9. | Me | Anu | [šá] kúl-la-ti | |
| 10. | Bu | Anu | [šá] nu-ri | |
| B | 11. | Šár.gal | Anu | [šá] 'kiš'-šat šamē(AN-e) |
| | 12. | ^d Uraš(IB) | Anu | šá mil-ki |
| | 13. | ^d En.líl.le | ^d Enlil | šá ma-a-[ti] |
| | 14. | ^d Dur.an.ki | " | šá purussē(EŠ.BAR) |
| | 15. | ^d Di.bar | " | šá 'purussē' |
| | 16. | ^d Maḫ.di.gal | " | šá 'purussē' |
| | 17. | ^d Dara ₃ .gal | " | šá šarrāni(LUGAL. MEŠ-ni) |
| | 18. | ^d Sig ₇ | " | šá nap-ḫa-ri |
| | 19. | ^d Gú | " | šá nap-ḫa-ri |
| | 20. | ^d Nab | " | šá šamē(AN-e) |
| | 21. | ^d An.za.kàr | " | šá an-na-ti |

6. Note the omission of an expected determinative in lines 6-11; cf. under note 21 below.

8. Possibly a play on the similar-sounding Īi.li.ba and Kilib₃.

12. Probably to be identified with the deity in An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet I 4. In B xi 2, Anu is written ^dA-nu.

13. ^dEnlil is written ^dBAD in A xi 109 and B xi 3 ff. (cf. Weidner, AfK 2 9 note 2). In A, māti appears as KUR.

14. See An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet I 171. A xi 110 ff. repeats ^dEnlil(BAD) in each of these lines instead of using dittos.

17. See An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet I 163.

18. Instead of ^dSig₇, B xi 8 has ^dDIRI.

21. Rather than an-na-ti, one would expect to find šu-na-ti (cf. BA 5 655:7). A xi 117 omits the determinative; cf. note 6 above; An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet II 41 and V 305.

| | | | | |
|---|-----|--|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| A | B | | | |
| | 22. | ^d Nin.líl.le | ^d Nin.líl | šá ma-a-ti |
| | 23. | ^d NIN.tum ₄ .ma. al | " | šá nīše(UN.MEŠ) |
| | 24. | ^d Nanna(ŠEŠ.KD) | ^d Sin(EŠ) | šá šamê(AN-e) u eršeti(KI-ti) |
| | 25. | ^d En.zu.na | " | šá purussê(EŠ.BAR) |
| | 26. | En.me.DU | " | šá a-ge-e |
| | 27. | Uš.bar | " | šá mi-ḫi-ir-te |
| | 28. | Mú.mú | " | šá na-mur-te |
| | 29. | ḫDingirḫ. zalag ₂ | " | šá na-ma-ri |
| | 30. | [ḫDingir.Di]. ḫilḫ.mu.un | " | šá bīt <ND>.TUK.ki |
| | 31. | [X].ḫxḫ.ru | " | šá uddazallî(UD. DA.NI.LAL) |

23. A xi 119 clarifies the reading of the traces of the signs at the beginning of B xi 13. B should be restored to [^dḫNINḫ.túm(!).ma.al. In view of An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet I 178, the sign NIN should be read egi. A xi 119 repeats the name ^dNin.líl instead of using dittos.

24. See An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet III 1.

25. See An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet III 2. It is clear from A xi 132 ff. that A repeats the name ^dSin, in these lines, instead of using dittos.

26. Note the omission of the expected determinative in this and the next few lines. B xi 16: [En.me].ḫxḫ.DU. Possibly ḫxḫ = the sign E or DU.

27. B xi 17: [Uš].bār.

29. The sign AN is probably not used in this and the following line as a determinative; see under An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet VI 117.

30. See note 29 above.

31. The traces of the second sign (in B xi 21) favor a sign like MU, ŠE, ZI, etc. For uddazallî, see JNES 8 254 note 31.

| | | | | |
|---|-----|---|------------------------|------------------|
| | B | | | |
| | 32. | [^d Men].ḫdara ₃ ḫ. AN | " | šá ik-ri-be |
| | 33. | [^d BU].ḫnirḫ | " | šá ni-ip-ḫi |
| | 34. | [^d Áb].kar | " | šá su-pu-ri |
| A | 35. | ḫÁbḫ.lu.lu | " | šá i-gi-si-e |
| | 36. | Má.gur ₈ | " | šá ma-kur-ri |
| | 37. | U ₄ .sar.ra | " | šá ar-ḫi |
| | 38. | Aš.<ím>. babbar.ra | " | šá ši-su nam-rat |
| | 39. | ^d Nin.gal | ^d Nin.gal | šá ma-a-ti |
| | 40. | ^d Šá-maš | ^d Šamaš(UD) | šá te-bi-ib-ti |
| | 41. | ^d Utu | " | šá gi-ni-e |
| | 42. | ^d Am | " | šá ši-ti |
| | 43. | ^d Sag | " | šá ni-ši |
| | 44. | ^d U ₄ .aš.ša.kam | " | šá um-ma-nim |
| | 45. | Šèr.ri.da | ^d A.a | šá maš-ta-ki |
| | 46. | A.a | " | šá šamê(AN-e) |

32. The name may be either ^dMen.dara₃.an or ^dMen.dara₃.dingir; see An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet III 9, 10.

33. Cf. An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet III 5.

34. Cf. An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet III 6 (^dÁb.kár).

35. First half of the line = A xi 131. Cf. An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet III 7.

36. Cf. An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet III 25. For the writing of ^dSin in A xi 132 ff. with three horizontal strokes, see under note 63 below.

37. A xi 133: ^dU₄.sar.

38. Cf. An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet III 26.

40. Instead of dittos, A xi 137 ff. repeats ^dŠamaš in each of these lines.

43. Instead of ni-ši, B xi 33 writes UN.MEŠ.

45. For the reading of <^dŠèr.ri.da, see An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet III 127.

46. In B xi 37 f., the order of this line and the next appears to be reversed. A xi 142 f. repeats ^dA.a instead of using dittos.

| A | B | | | | |
|---|---|-----|--|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| | | 47. | ^d U | " | šá ku-ni-e |
| : | | 48. | ^d IM | ^d Adad(IM) | šá [be]-lu-te |
| : | | 49. | ^d IM | " | šá ru-tu-ub-ti |
| | | 50. | ^d Pirig ₃ | " | šá ú-pi-e |
| | | 51. | ^d Pirig ₃ pirig ₃ | " | šá ur-pa-te |
| | | 52. | ^d EN X EN | " | šá a-ru-ur-te |
| | | 53. | <d>Ur ₅ .ša ₄ | " | šá rim-me |
| | | 54. | ^d 10 | " | šá bir-qi |
| | | 55. | ^d U.gù.dé | " | šá ri-iḫ-ši |
| | | 56. | ^d Šur | " | šá zu-ni |
| | | 57. | ^d Ri-ḫa-mun | " | šá me-ḫi-e |
| | | 58. | ^d Mar.uru ₅ | " | šá a-bu-be |
| | | 59. | <d>NIM.KÙ.GI | ^d Ša.la | šá šadî(KUR-i) |
| | | 60. | <d>Ša.la | " | šá nam-še |
| | | 61. | ^d Nin.šubur | ^d Pap.sukkal | šá ^d A-nim |

47. Instead of ^dU, the name may be <d>TI.

49. Instead of using dittos, A xi 144 ff. repeats the name ^dAdad in each line.

50. B xi 40: ^dHE; perhaps this is to be emended to ^dPirig(!).

51. A xi 146 omits the determinative. B xi 41 gives šá ur-pi-ti.

52. Text = A xi 147; B xi 42: ^dIM X IM. For ^dIM X IM and ^dEN X EN, see An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet III 210 f. The last word in the line is given as a-ru-ur-ti in B.

53. B xi 43: ri-mi. For ur₅.ša₄, cf. An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet III 263.

54. Cf. ^dAdad-bir-qu, KAV 57:4.

55. B xi 55: ^dU.gù.dé. For ^dAdad šá riḫši, see Schlobies, MAOG 1/3 23.

56. See Schlobies, MAOG 1/3 pp. 11, 24.

57. Cf. An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet III 213 f. A xi 152 omits the determinative.

58. A xi 153: <d>Ma.ru.

59. <d>NIM.KÙ.GI seems to be a phonetic variant for ^dNIN.KÙ.GI; cf. under An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet I 194.

60. Cf. An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet III 240. The word nam-še = nalše <nalšu "rain/dew."

| A | B | | | | |
|---|---|-----|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| | | 62. | ^d Sukkal | " | šá An-ti |
| | | 63. | ^d Pap.sukkal | " | šá pu-ru-se-e |
| | | 64. | ^d Pap.gal | " | šá a-šèr-te |
| | | 65. | ^d Ig-gal-la | " | šá mu-te-ri-te |
| | | 66. | ^d Ig-an-gub | " | šá a-šèr-te |
| | | 67. | ^d Ga.an.gu | " | šá " |
| | | 68. | ^d Lamma | " | šá la-ma-si |
| | | 69. | ^d Du ₆ .kù.ga | " | šá rim.ki |
| | | 70. | ^d Nin.urta | ^d Ninurta(MAŠ) | šá pi-ris-te |
| | | 71. | ^d Uraš(IB) | " | šá al-li |
| | | 72. | ^d Šár.šár.ra | " | šá na-aš-pan-te |

62. Instead of ^dSukkal, A xi 157 has ^dŠubur; and in front of the dittos, A places the determinative.

63. Instead of pu-ru-se-e, A xi 158 has EŠ.BAR (= purussê). It is interesting to note that in A xi 158, EŠ is made with three winkelhakens; but in A xi 132 ff. (= lines 36 ff. above), where EŠ appears in A as an ideogram for ^dSin, the sign is written with three horizontal strokes. In An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet III 1, the ideogram for ^dSin is written in A iv 167 with four horizontal strokes (contrast this with An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet III 3, where ^d30 as a numerical ideogram for ^dSin is written with three winkelhakens in A iv 169). Apparently, EŠ was drawn in these three different ways by the scribe who wrote A (actually four ways, because the same scribe wrote EŠ with five horizontal strokes in B iii 91 = An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet II 295).

64. Instead of a-šèr-te, B xi 54 has še-er-ti. A xi 159 ff. omits the determinative for lines 64-67.

65. B xi 55: mu-te-ri-ti.

66. B xi 56: ^dIg(!).an.gub | " | šá še-er-ti.

67. B xi 57 repeats še-er-ti (see note 66 above) instead of using dittos.

68. A xi 163: ^dMA, but this is probably to be emended to <la>.ma. Instead of la-ma-si, A writes ^dKAL.

69. B xi 59: rik.ki (instead of rim.ki). Cf. CT 25 35: 25 (= CT 25 36:24), where ^dDu₆.kù.ga occurs in a Nabu list.

70. B xi 60: pi-ris-ti.

72. See CT 25 11:27: ^dŠár.šár.ri | " (= ^dNin.urta) šá na-aš-pan-ti. Cf. also ^dŠár.šár in line 104 below. A xi 167, 168 omit the determinative in this and the following line.

| | | | | |
|---|---|-----|--|--|
| A | B | | | |
| | | 73. | ^d Nu.nir | " šá me-eḫ-ri |
| | | 74. | ^d Tišpak(SUH) | " šá ra-am-ku-ti |
| | C | 75. | ^d ŠUR.ŠÉŠ | " šá qu-ul-ti |
| | | 76. | ^d GĪR.UNU ₇ .GAL | ^d Nerigal(U. GUR) |
| | | 77. | ^d U.GUR | " šá ḫa-a-a-ṭi |
| | : | 78. | [] . 'x' | " *šá [] |
| | | 79. | ^d ḫuš.ki.a | " šá ši-ip-ti |
| | : | 80. | [^d] 'Bar'. | " šá uz-zi |
| | : | | mušen.na | |
| | | 81. | [^d X].šul.ga | " šá ri-šá-ti |
| | | 82. | [^d X]. 'x'.a | " šá ṭi-i-'i |
| | | 83. | ^d La- 'qí-bu' | " šá ṭi-i-'i |
| | : | 84. | ^d La-qu-bu | " šá ṭi-i-'i |
| | | 85. | ^d PA | " šá su-u-qi |
| A | | 86. | ^d Za-na-ru | ^d Iš-tar šá mātāte(KUR.KUR. MEŠ-te) |
| | | 87. | ^d Kar.šul | " šá qar-ra-a-di |

73. See CT 25 11:28: ^dNun.nir | " (= ^dNin.urta) šá qab-li.

74. See CT 25 11:29: d(ti.iš.pak)SUH | " (= ^dNin.urta) šá ram-ku-ti. A xi 169 varies: 'd'NÁG | ^dNinurta(MAŠ) | šá KUR-ku-ti.

75. A xi 170: gul-ti. Perhaps ^dŠUR.ŠÉŠ is to be emended to ^dSUH/MUŠ.ŠÉŠ, in harmony with CT 25 12:19; II R 60:10a; and V R 6:30 (cf. OLZ 12 203).

76. See An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet VI 1.

78. = C:4. The sign represented by 'x' ends in three horizontal wedges.

79. Instead of ši-ip-ti, C:5 gives ME.[] .

83. Cf. VAT 7759 (AfK 2 5) vii 13. Instead of ṭi-i-'i, C:8 gives KUR.[] .

86. Cf. CT 25 17 ii 24 and CT 25 30 i 15.

87. Instead of dittos, A xii 10 ff. has ^dIštar(U+GÜN). ^dKar.šul may be compared with CT 25 30:16.

| | | | | |
|---|---|-----|---------------------------|--|
| A | B | | | |
| | | 88. | ^d Ul.si.ga | " šá šamê(AN-e) u erṣeti(KI-ti) |
| | | 89. | ^d Ti.ru.ru | " šá BI-šul-ti |
| | | 90. | ^d Šen.nu.imin | " šá bu-na-ni-e |
| | | 91. | ^d Ti.ba.nim.ma | " šá is-qa-a-te |
| | | 92. | ^d Me.nu.an.nim | " šá ta-ni-ḫi |
| | : | 93. | ^d Me.nu.nim | " šá ta-ni-ḫi |
| | | 94. | ^d La-ba-tu | " šá lal-la-ra-te |
| | | 95. | ^d A.la.KAL.ki | " šá aia-ru-ra-te |
| | | 96. | ^d Gù.ša.ia | " šá ta-nu-qa-a-te |
| | | 97. | ^d ŠE.NÁG | ^d Nisaba(ŠE. NÁG) šá ni-me-qi |
| | | 98. | ^d ḫa-a-a | " šá maš-re-e |

88. Cf. ^dUl.sig₇. [ga], CT 25 30 r. i 17, and ^d[Ul]. 'sig₇' . ga in An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet IV 3. A xii writes the explanation as ša AN u KI.

89. For ^dTi.ru.ru, cf. CT 25 30 r. i 18; KAV 48 ii 11; and KAV 173:15. The meaning of the explanation, šá bi/kaš-šul-ti, is not clear. A xii 12 writes BI-šul-'te'.

90. A xii 13 appears to vary, giving [^dX]. 'x'.na. The traces of the half-preserved 'x' in A belong to a sign that ends in a vertical wedge.

91. In CT 25 30 r. 21, the name appears as ^dTi.ba.lam. [ma], which may be better than the form in A xii 14 and B xi 80. A omits the final ma. B gives is-qa-a-ti.

92. Cf. ^dMi.nu.an.[x], CT 25 30 r. i 22; ^dMe.a.ni, CT 25 17 ii 16; and ^dMe.nu.a.ni, CT 25 44:9.

93. = CT 25 30 r. i 23, which gives ^dMi.nu.'nim'. [x].

94. Cf. ^dLa-ba-tum in An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet IV 255; CT 25 17 ii 22; and KAV 173:17.

95. B xi 84 writes ia-a-ru-ra-te.

96. Cf. ^dGu.šá.a.[a], CT 25 17 ii 9, and ^dGu.ša.a.tu, KAR 158 r. i 34.

97. The first name appears in A xii 19 as [^dX]. 'x'.ba. The name is possibly to be restored to [^dNi]. 'da'.ba, although this is not certain. The traces that remain of the second sign of the name end in two vertical strokes, which would fit the restoration 'da'.

98. A xii 20: [^dḫa-a]-u. Cf. ^dḫa-a who immediately follows ^dNisaba in KAV 65 iv 8. Instead of dittos in the

| | | | | |
|---|------|---------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| A | B | | | |
| | 99. | dÉ.bar.še.ḫu. nu | " | šá na-piš-ti māti(KUR) |
| | 100. | dSumuqan(GÌR) | dSumuqan | šá bir-qi |
| | 101. | dKur.gal | " | šá te-lil-te |
| | 102. | dMar.tu | " | šá su-ti-i |
| | 103. | <d>AN.mar.tu | " | šá su-ti-i |
| | 104. | dŠár.šár | " | šá su-ti-i |
| | 105. | dGÌR | " | šá šadī(KUR-i) |
| | 106. | dKU.BU.NUN. KU.TU | " | šá šúm-ma-ni |
| | 107. | dMarduk(AMAR+ PÍR) | dMarduk(AMAR+ PÍR) | šá an-du-ra-ri |
| | 108. | dAsar(URU X IGI).lú.ḫi | " | šá ši-ip-ṭí |
| | 109. | dAsar.alim(A+ IGI+GÌR) | " | šá ba-la-ṭí |

middle column, A repeats the name in this and the following line.

99. Emend to d*Nun.bar.še.ḫu.nu; see An : dA-nu-um Tablet I 297. In A xii 21, the final nu is omitted.

100. See An : dA-nu-um Tablet III 191 ff.

101. See An : dA-nu-um Tablet I 154 where dKur.gal appears among the names of Enlil. In KAV 47:14 (= KAV 63 ii 21), the name is equated with dMar.tu (cf. lines 102 f. below).

102. See An : dA-nu-um Tablet VI 230.

103. See An : dA-nu-um Tablet VI 257. For the omission of the determinative in names beginning with AN, see under An : dA-nu-um Tablet II 41 and V 305.

104. Cf. dŠár.šár.ra among the Ninurta names in line 72 above.

106. See An : dA-nu-um Tablet I 238 and III 95; and Falkenstein, OLZ 46 355. For the reading of the epithet šá šúm-ma-ni, cf. CT 12 37:46a (= CT 12 35:29a).

107. For dAMAR+PÍR, see under An : dA-nu-um Tablet VII 1 and II 185. For the sign PÍR, as drawn in B xi 96, see King, CT 24 p. 18.

108. See under An : dA-nu-um Tablet II 185.

109. See An : dA-nu-um Tablet II 189.

| | | | | |
|---|------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| | B | | | |
| | 110. | dEn.bi.lu.lu | " | šá pa-ta-ti |
| | 111. | dTu ₆ .tu ₆ | " | šá murši(GIG) la un-ni-ni |
| A | 112. | dŠà.zu | " | šá re-e-mi |
| | 113. | dNa-bi-um | dNabu(AG) | šá kúl-la-ti |
| | 114. | dAG | " | šá dup-šar-ru-te |
| | 115. | dUR | " | šá dup-šar-ru-te |
| | 116. | dŠID X A | " | šá pi-ris-ti |
| | 117. | dPA.ti | " | šá NI.TUK.ki |
| | 118. | dEn.PA | " | šá NI.TUK.ki |
| | 119. | d ^r En ^r .ki | d ^r É ^r -[a] | [šá EN.X ma]-a-ti |
| | 120. | [dAm.ma.an.ki] | ["] | [šá šamē(AN-e) u] eršete ^r (^r KI ^r -te) |

110. See An : dA-nu-um Tablet II 210.

111. See An : dA-nu-um Tablet II 196, where the name appears as dTu.tu. See also KAV 63 iii 35 (= KAV 65 iii 12).

112. See An : dA-nu-um Tablet II 203.

113. See An : dA-nu-um Tablet II 242. In A xii 36, the line ends in te.

115. A xii 38 appears to have written dittos instead of repeating the explanatory epithet.

116. ŠID X A appears to have had the value umbisag; and, as such, it appears to have been an epithet for scribes; see MSL II p. 51 note 238. Here, it appropriately appears among the names of dNabu, the patron deity of the scribe. In A, the explanatory epithet appears as [X].^rX^r.ḫAL.

117. Perhaps read dMuatiti; cf. CT 25 35:21 (= CT 25 36:20). NI.TUK.ki is written phonetically in A xii 40 as [di-il]-mu-un.

118. Read: dEn.zág; cf. dEn.(za.ag)zag | dNabu NI.TUK.ki, CT 25 35:20 (= CT 25 36:19).

119. For this and the following lines, cf. An : dA-nu-um Tablet II 129 ff. The fragmentary text aa was found quite helpful in making restorations in this rather poorly preserved section. The present line may be restored from aa:l, but the explanatory column is not completely preserved. A restoration of ^rbelut^r(EN.[ut] [ma]-a-ti may be considered here.

120. See aa:2. Cf. An : dA-nu-um Tablet II 131.

| A | B | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|-----|---------------------------|
| 121. | [^d En.engur] | ["] | [šá ap]-'si'-i |
| 122. | [^d Nu.dím.mud] | ["] | [šá nab]-'ni'-te |
| 123. | [^d Na.dím.mud] | ["] | šá ["] |
| 124. | [^d Nin].'igi.kù' | " | šá ni-'me'-qí |
| 125. | [^d Nun].nu.ru | " | šá [LÚ].pa-ḫa(!)- [ri] |
| 126. | [^d Nin].á.gal | " | šá [LÚ].nap-pa-ḫi |
| 127. | [^d]'Nin'.DÍM | " | šá [LÚ].i-din-[ni] |
| 128. | [^d]'X'.gi.rim. ma | " | šá 'LÚ'.NU.GIŠ.SAR |
| 129. | ^d KÙ.GI.bàn.da | | šá 'LÚ'.ku-ti-[im- mi] |

121. = aa:3 (emend the end of aa:3 to 'ZU'.[AB]).

122. = aa:4. See An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet II 133.

123. = aa:5.

124. = aa:6. See RA 46 34:34 where ^dE-a is called ^dNin.igi.kù.

125. = aa:7, where the name is given ideographically as ^dDUG.QA.BUR (see An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet II 160) and the pronunciation is given (in the first column) as nun.úr.ra. The second half of the line in A xii 48 gives [LÚ].'DUG'.LIŠ.BUR (for the interchange between QA and LIŠ, see under An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet II 156) as an ideogram for pa-ḫa-ri. It is evident from line 128 below that LÚ is to be restored in this line.

126. = aa:8. See An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet II 346. A xii 49 gives 'LÚ'.DÉ instead of nap-pa-ḫi.

127. = aa:9, which gives the pronunciation of DÍM as muš.da. A xii 50 gives [LÚ].DÍM instead of i-din-ni. In aa:9, the name appears as ^dDÍM instead of [^d]'Nin'.DÍM.

128. = ab:9. B xi 117 ff. omits the professional determinative in this and the following lines, but A xii 51 ff. preserves this sign. The name in the present line may be [^d]'En(!)'.gi.rim.ma, in which gi.rim.ma may represent a phonetic spelling of GIŠ.SAR.

129. = aa:15. Cf. An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet I 316. A xii 52 writes, ideographically, LÚ.KÙ.DÍM instead of LÚ.ku-ti-[im-mi]. In view of the first part of aa:15, the name in this line may have been read ^dKù.gi.bàn.da instead of ^dGuškin.bàn.da. If the latter pronunciation represented the real pronunciation for the name, it seems that aa:15 would have given a form like *Gu.uš.kin.bàn.da, instead of Kù.gi.bàn.'da'.

| A | B | | |
|------|------------------------------------|---|------------------|
| 130. | ^d Šu.nam.ri | " | šá LÚ.gur.gur.ri |
| 131. | [^d]'Lum'.ḫa | " | šá LÚ.ka-le-e |
| 132. | [^d]'Tum'.ga | " | šá 'LÚ'.na-a-ri |
| 133. | [^d En.é].nu.ru | " | šá 'LÚ'.a-ši-pi |
| 134. | [^d Máš.šu.gid]. gid | " | šá 'LÚ'.ba-re-e |
| 135. | [].'ki' | " | šá LÚ.dup-šar-ri |
| 136. | [].'me | " | šá LÚ.a-se-e |
| 137. | [].'zu' | " | šá LÚ.áš-la-ki |
| 138. | [].'x' | " | šá LÚ.iš-pa-ri |
| 139. | ^d [].'kin'.kù | " | šá SAL.iš-pár-ti |
| 140. | ^d [X].'x'.lá | " | šá LÚ.gal-la-be |
| 141. | ^d [Nin.sír].sír | " | šá LÚ.ma-la-ḫi |
| 142. | ^d 'Du'.[ud].ru | " | šá LÚ.ad-'ku'-pi |

130. = ab:4.

131. = aa:11. See An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet II 307. Instead of ka-le-e, A xii 54 gives UŠ.KU.

132. = aa:10, which gives du.un.ga as the pronunciation of ^dNAR (see An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet II 304) and explains the name as ^dE-a ša LÚ.NAR. In A xii 55, LÚ.NAR is given instead of na-a-ri.

133. Cf. An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet II 155; aa:22; and ab:2. A xii 56 gives LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ instead of a-ši-pi.

134. = ab:10. A xii 57 gives LÚ.ḪAL instead of ba-re-e. The restoration of the first part of the present entry is conjectured from the familiar equation, MAŠ.ŠU.GID.GID : barū.

135. A xii 58 omits the final ri.

136. A xii 59 gives LÚ.A.ZU.

137. Instead of áš-la-ki, A xii 60 gives LÚ.TÚG.

138. Possibly = aa:19. Instead of iš-pa-ri, A xii 61 gives LÚ.UŠ.BAR.

139. Possibly = aa:20. Instead of iš-pár-ti, A xii 62 gives SAL.UŠ.BAR.

140. = ab:12. A xii 63 gives LÚ.ŠU.I.

141. = aa:12. See An : ^dA-nu-um Tablet II 332. Instead of ma-la-ḫi, A xii 64 gives LÚ.MÁ.LAḪ₄.

142. = aa:13, which gives ^dNin.dú.ud.ra. A xii 65 gives LÚ.AD.KID instead of ad-'ku'-pi. The word in the last part of the line is usually written ad-DU-pu. Meissner, MVAG 12

| | | | | | |
|---|---|------|--|---|----------------------------|
| A | B | 143. | d _r Ši ¹ . [ka].gu | " | šá LÚ.áš-ka-pi |
| : | | 144. | d _{Za} . [di].in | " | šá *LÚ.sa-si-ni |
| : | | 145. | d _{En} .tur | " | šá rē'î ensi(SIPAD. ÙZ) |
| | | 146. | d _{UL} .za. 'x' | " | šá LÚ.ik-ka-ri |
| | | 147. | d _{PAD} .AN. 'x' | " | šá pu-kud-de-e |
| | | 148. | d _{Nin} .maḥ | ["] | šá me-qi-ri |
| | | 149. | d _{Nun} . 'gal' | [^d] 'Ma ¹ .nu.gal | šá ši-bit-te |
| | | 150. | d _r X'. [] | ["] | šá ma-šar-te |
| | | 151. | d[] | ["] | šá ḥa-ba-la-te |
| | | 152. | d[] | ["] | šá ma-mi-tu LU.su |
| | | 153. | d[] | [^d]Dīm.me | la-maš-tu |

159 ff., argued that the word should be read addupu (cf. Deimel, ŠL 145, 34), and suggested (OLZ 12 204) that the present line should be emended to *ad-du-pi. But it seems more reasonable to leave the present line unemended and to see in it, instead, an indication of the correct reading of ad-DU-pu as ad-kup-pu; see Goetze, JCS 2 176.

143. = ab:11. Cf. OLZ 14 385. The broken space in King's copy of B xi 132 hardly seems large enough for as large a sign as KA. A comparison of this space, however, with the space similarly required in the lines which follow, creates the impression that the broken spaces in these lines (as drawn in CT 24 43:132 ff.) indicate a slightly shorter break than was actually on the tablet. Instead of aš-ka-pi, A xii 66 gives LÚ.MUG; but this seems to represent a scribal mistake for LÚ.AŠGAB because MUG seems to have had no ties with the aškapu profession (for AŠGAB, see MSL III p. 105 line 110).

144. The restoration is conjectured from the fact that the Sumerian sign for sasinnu "jeweler" is ZADIM.

145. The name seems to be a variant for d_{En}.tùr; cf. KAV 43 i 26.

146. = ab:13. A xii 68 gives LÚ.ENGAR instead of ik-ka-ri. The traces of the final sign in the name in B xi 135a resemble a sign like ŠU, or possibly MÚŠ.

148. = ab:7. B xi 137: me-qi-ri. See Meissner, OLZ 13 102.

149. = ab r. 1. See Meissner, OLZ 13 102.

152. A xii 74: ma-me-tu.

153. The sign DÌM is written RAB X GAN in lines 153-155, 157; but it becomes evident that RAB X GAN is merely a

| | | | | | |
|---|---|------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------|
| A | B | 154. | [^d] | [^d Dīm.me].a | la-ba-ṣu |
| | | 155. | [^d] | [^d Dīm.me]. | aḥ-ḥa-zu |
| | | | | LAGAB | |
| | | 156. | [^d] 'Dù'.tab | d _{Dù} .tab | bi-bi-tu |
| | | 157. | d ^d GI | d _{Dīm} .me.gi ₆ | li-li-tu |

graphic variant of DÌM(RAB X GAM) when CT 11 23 r. 7 is compared with its duplicate OECT 4 plate 14 no. 101:334. For the equation DÌM.ME = lamaštu, see CT 16 13-14 iii 21 f. (la-maš-ti); and CT 17 34:17 f. (la-maš-tum).

154. For DÌM.ME.A = labāsu, see CT 16 1:34 f.; CT 16 14 footnote 41 (la-ba-si as a variant of a text that has la-maš-tum, see line 153 above); CT 17 34:17 f.; and IV R 29:27b.

155. For DÌM.ME.LAGAB = aḥ-ḥa-zu, cf. CT 17 34:17 f. and IV R 29:27b.

156. Instead of bi-bi-tu, A xii 78 gives be-be-nu.

157. The dittos probably indicate that d^dGI is an ideogram for d_{Dù}.tab. From A xii 79, it is evident that the series ends here. B xi 147 ff. continues with other entries of a different nature.

- ^dA, III 199
^d[A], V 21
^dA.a, III 126-134; A45-47
^dA.ba, II 369
^dA.ba₄.ba₄, I 311
^dA.ba₄.ba₄.sig₅.ga, I 312
^d[A.ba.šu.šu], IV 143
^dA.ba.[x], VI 261
^dA.BAD.an.ki, III 125
^dA.BI, V 307
^dA¹.bu.ub.la.¹ab¹, VI 174
^d[A¹.dam].kù, II 81
^dA.di.ku₅, VII 74
^dA.di.ku₅.mah, VII 75
^dA.di.ku₅.še, VII 76
^dA.di.ku₅.še.gal, VII 77
^dA.di.ku₅.še.mah, VII 78
^dA.di.ku₅.še.ušum, VII 80
^dA.di.ku₅.ušum, VII 79
^dA.diri.ga, VII 73
^dA.diri.mah, VII 72
^dA(é.rù).EDIN, II 315
^dA.gá.gig.du₁₁.ga, II 53
^dA.ga.ni, I 335
^dA.gi.ir, III 181
^d[A.gil].ra, II 219
^dA.GIM.ma.na.uš, III 77
^dA.GIM.sig₇.eš, III 76
^dA.gúb.ba, I 354
^dA.hé.LUL, I 55
^dA^(e).kíd, III 120
^dA^(e).la.gá, III 135
^dA.la.KAL.ki, A95
^dA.la.la, I 18
a-ku-ši-tu, IV 133
^dA.ma, II 43
^dA.mah.tuk, III 63
^dA-nu, VI 152, 186; A3
^dA-nu-bu, VI 236
^dA-nu-um, I 1, 3-23
^dA.nun.na, VI 311
^dA-nun-na-ku, VI 311
^d[A]-¹pa¹.[dun], II 211
^dA.ra.zu, VII 93
^dA.ra.zu.gal, VII 94
^dA.ra.zu.mah, VII 95
^dA.ra.zu.še.ga, VII 96
^dA.ra.zu.še.še.gal, VII 97
^d[A].¹ru¹.ru, II 25
^dA.(e.sù)sù, III 231
^dA.šà.nu.gi₄.a, IV 148
^dA.¹ta¹.nam.an, IV 183
^dA.tu.gu.la, II 104
^dA.tu.uri.ki, IV 272

- ^dA.tur, II 105
^dA¹.zi.da.mí.a, V 252
^dA.[x], VI 260
^dA.[], II 376
^d(¹eš¹)_{AB}, I 159
^dAb.ba, II 268
^dAb.kár, III 6; A34
^dAb.kù.ga, V 156
^dAb.lu.lu, III 7; A35
^dAb.na.ar.bu, III 29
^d[Ab.ta.gi₄.gi₄], IV 144
^dAb.ú, V 54, 60
^dAb.ú.ki.^dŠEŠ.KI.ÁG, III 89
^dAb.ú.(nu)_{nunun}(mu.un).du₈.du₈, III 90
^dAB^(a).¹x¹.[x.x], V 18
^dAb:[], II 382
^dAd.du₁₀.nun, I 273
^dAd.gi₄.gi₄, II 94, III 167
^dAd_x(ZA-tenû).gir.haš, I 140
^dAd.níg.[], VI 265
^dAd.[x.x], VI 263
^dAdad, III 283a, VI 157
^dAdad(IM), VI 191, A48-58
^dAG, II 242; A114
^d[Aga].¹kù, II 200
^dAl-la-mu, VI 129
^dAl-la-tum, V 213-216, 226-234
^dAl.ma.nu, IV 283
^dAl-mu, VI 128
^dAl.¹x¹.[x], V 263
^dAlad_x(KALxBAD).ša₆.ga, I 276
^d[d](¹um¹.bi.sag)_{ALAL}, I 158
^dALAM, I 20-21
^d(BI.še.ba)_{ALAM}, III 109
^dALAM, IV 177
^dAlam.zu.[ne].¹ne¹, VI 194
^dAlim.bàn.da, II 149
^dAlim.dara₂, III 228
^dAlim.nun.na, II 148
^dAlim.sì.ki, II 150
^dAm, A42
^dAm.ma.an.ki, II 131, A120
^dAma.áb.zi.kur.ra, V 215
^dAma.du₁₀.(du.ba.ad)_{bad}, II 39
^dAma.é.a, II 118
^dAma(a.ma.MU.ru).GI.LÍL.MAH, V 150
^dAma.gurus^(gu.ru.uš).e.ne, V 145
^dAma.(tu)_{KÁ.an.ni.si}, V 184
^dAma.¹kù¹.[ta], V 268
^dAma.me.dib, I 299
^d[d]_{Ama¹}.me.til, IV 180
^dAma.nir.an.na, II 121
^dAma.nun.si, IV 150

^dAma.ság.nu.di, I 46
^dAma.sud_x(KAXŠU).dè.imin, IV 151
^d"AMA.<ŠA>.GAN(!).DÙ, III 194
^dAma.šu.ha.l.bi, V 183, 189
^dAma.tur, V 181
^dAma.TUR.ma, V 255
^dAma.ù.tu, V 182
^dAma.ù.tu.an.ki, I 28
^dAma.ù.tu.da, II 38
^dAmar.^dEn.zu, III 51
^dAmar.^dEn.zu.na, III 254
^dAmar.ra.a.zu, III 41
^dAmar.ra.hé.è.a, III 42
^dAmar.šuba(ZA+KUS), III 80
An, I 1-2
<d>An.(a.an.bu)_{bu}, I 204
^dAN.KAL.da.ra.kar.ra, VI 189
An.ki, I 3
^dAN.mar.tu, II 292, VI 257
<d>AN.mar.tu, A103
<d>An.me.a, II 117
^rd¹(a.nu)_{An.na}, IV 252
^dAn.na.hi.li.ba, III 56
<d>An^(a).ni, II 41
<d>An.ni.uru₂(ú.ru)_{gal}, II 42
<d>An.nisaba.gal, I 321

An.šár, I 8
An.šár.gal, I 6
[d]An.ta.sur.ra, I 80
An-tum, I 2-23, 29-31
^dAn.za.kàr, A21
Anu(AN), A1-12
^dAra^(a.ra), II 298
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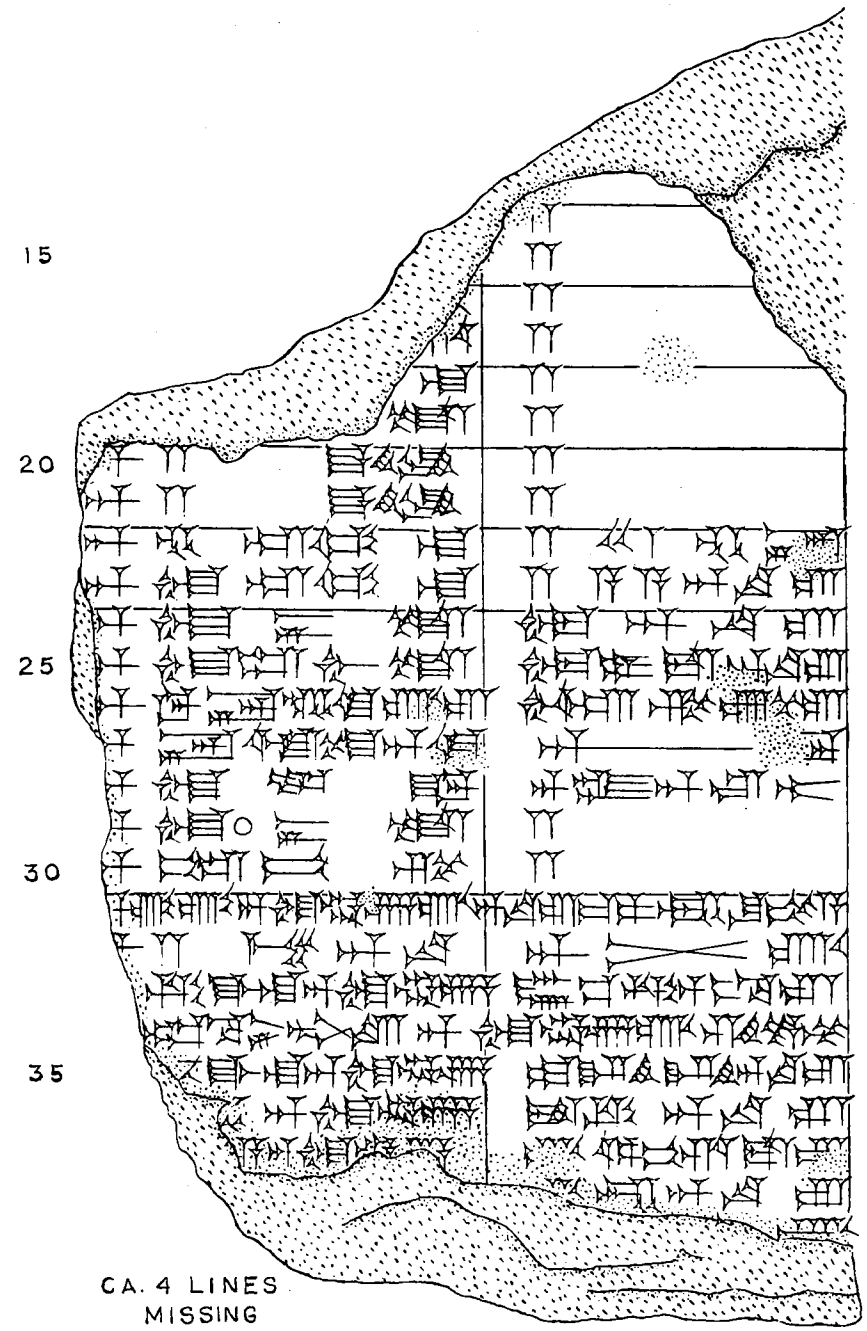
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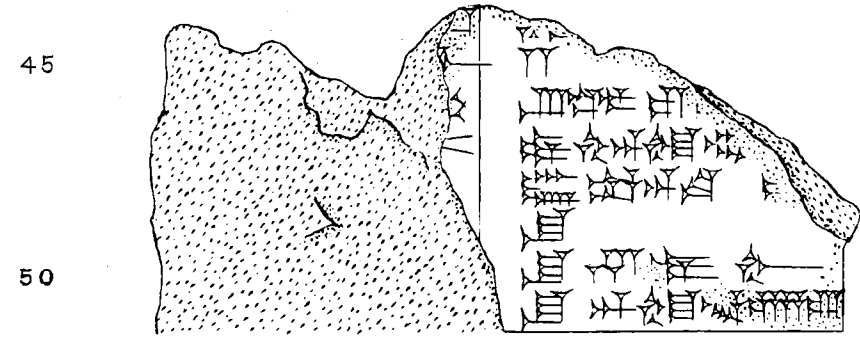
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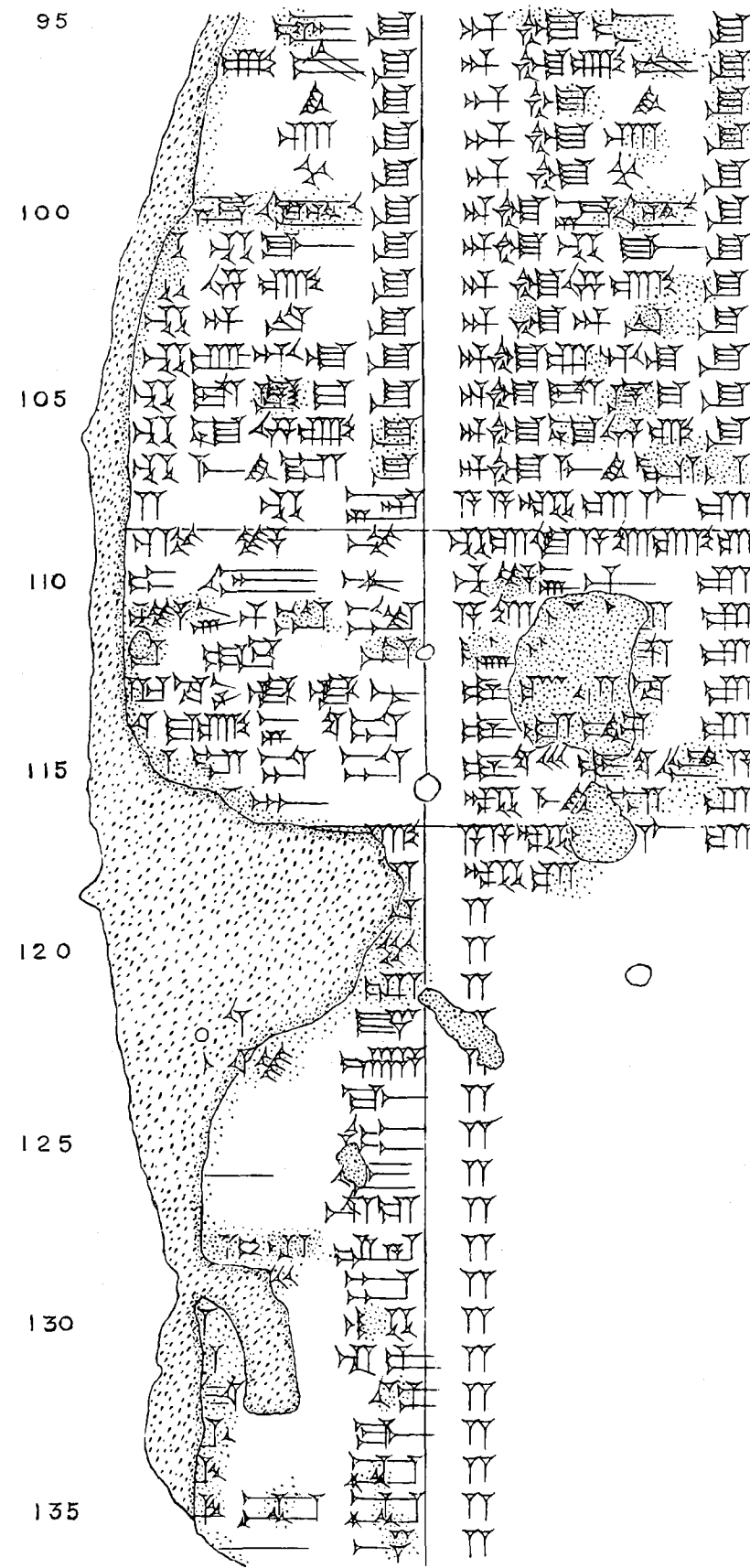
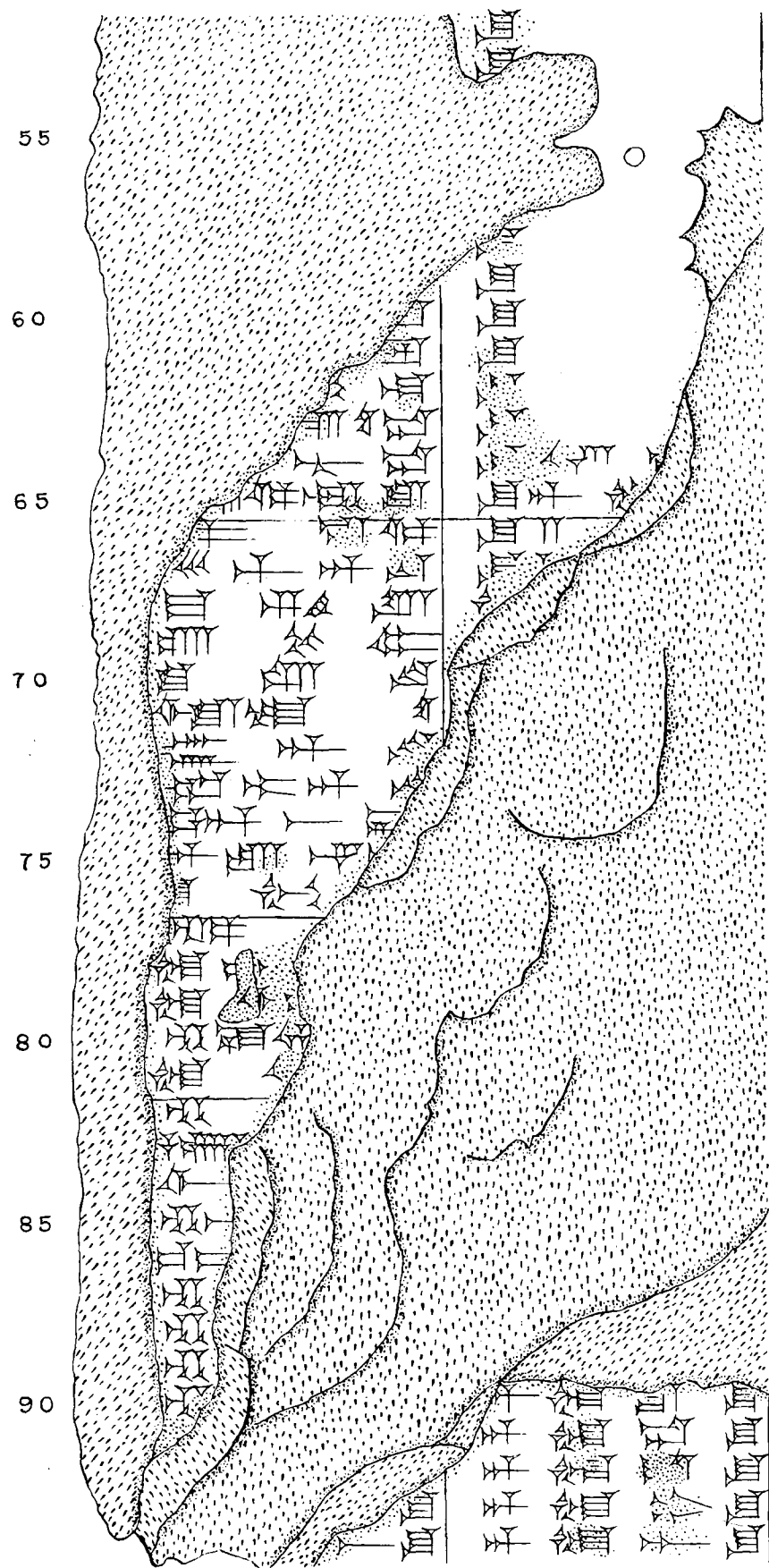
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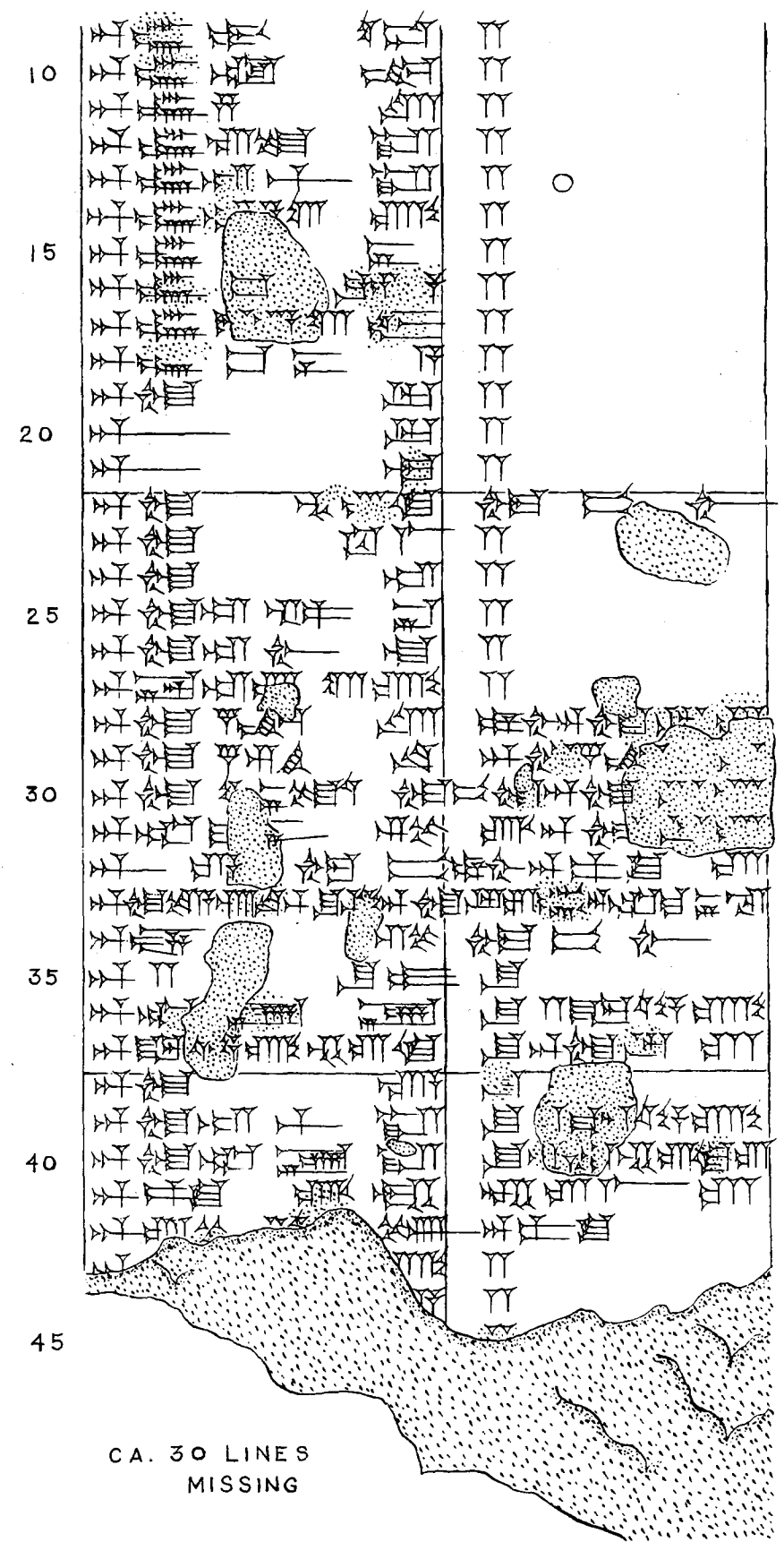
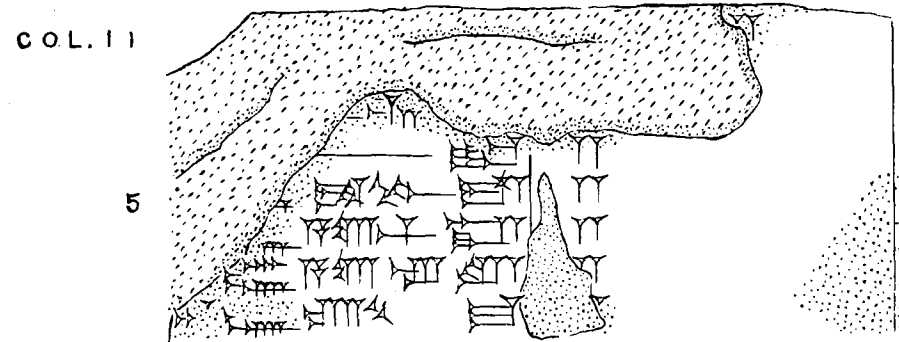
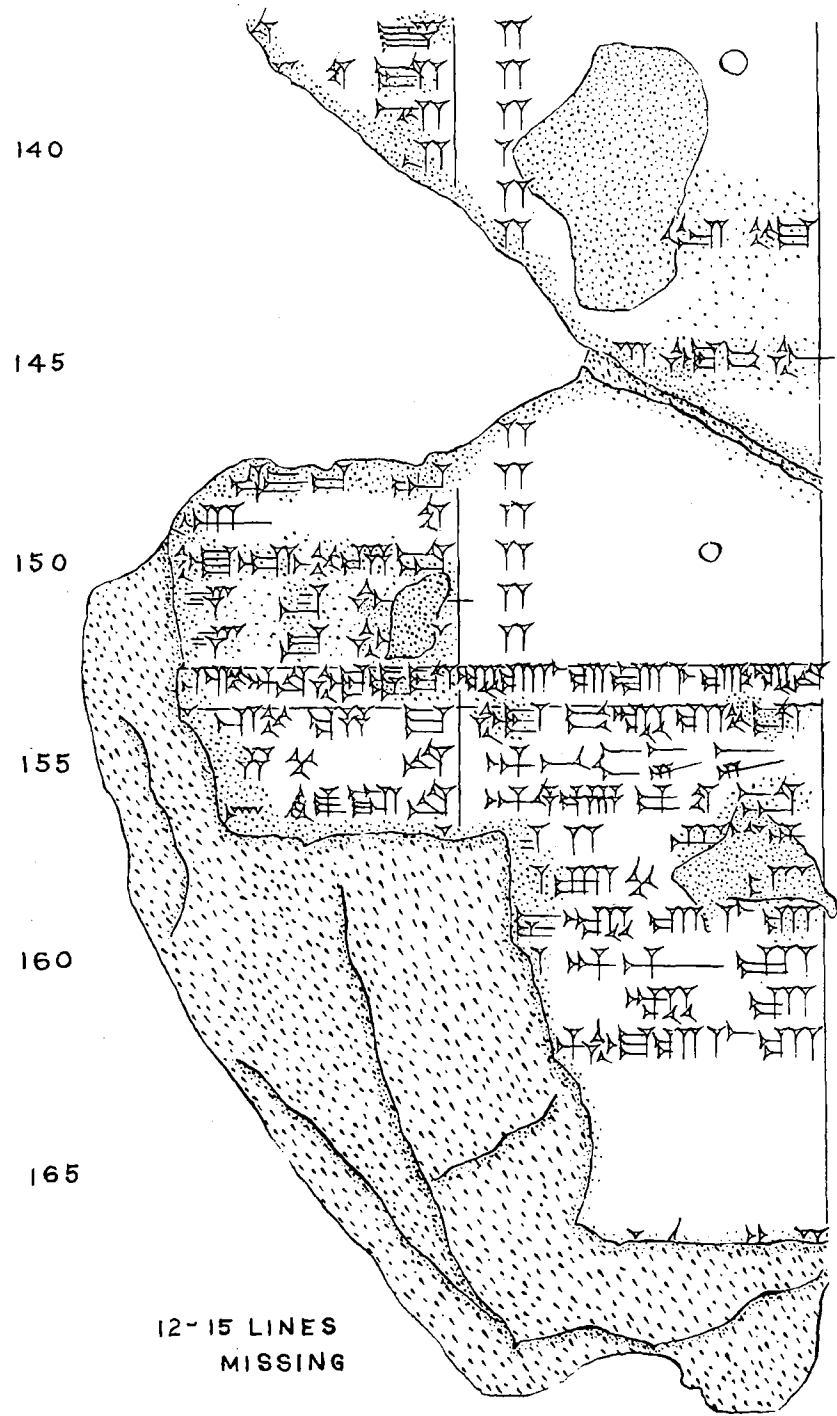
OBV.
COL. I

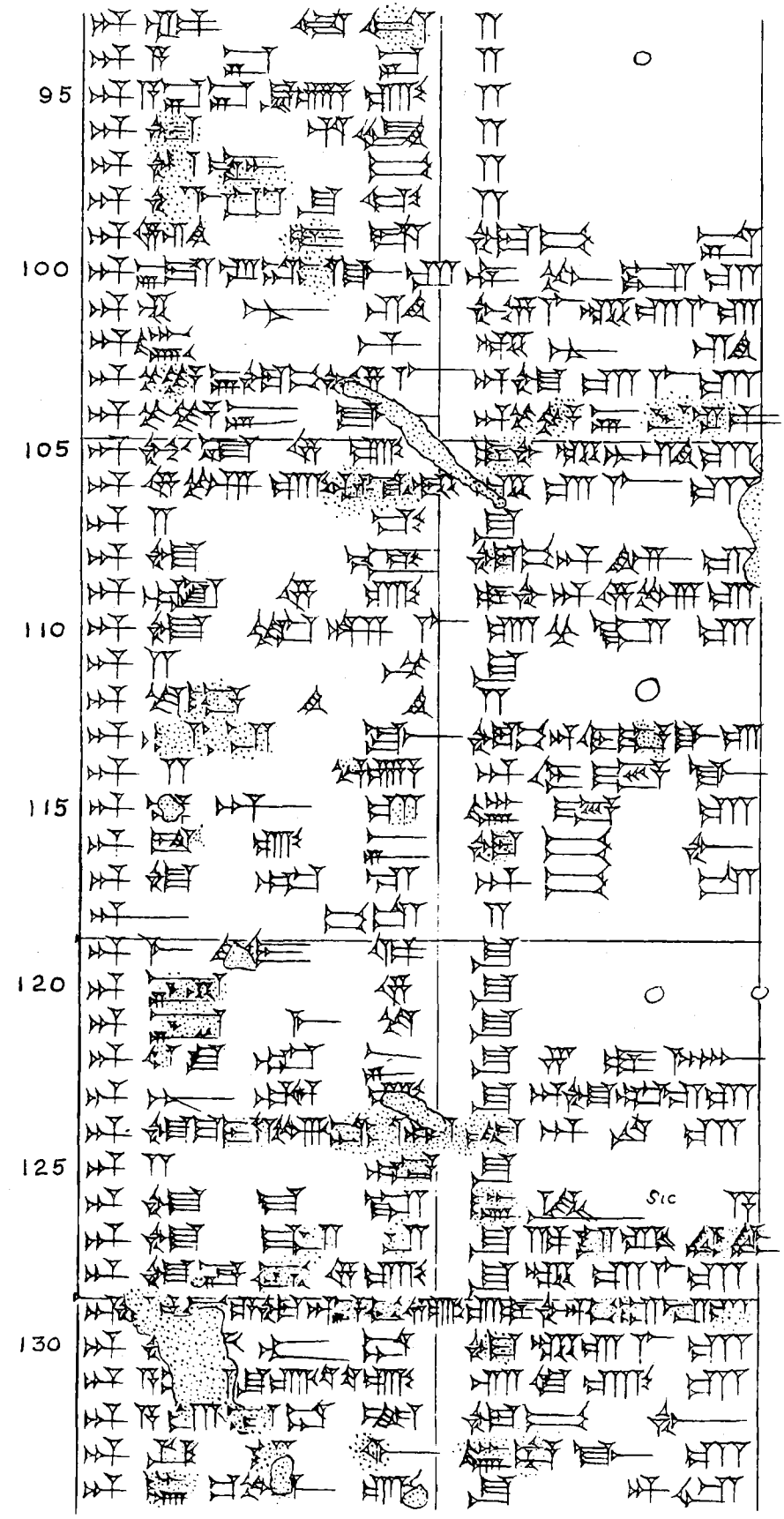
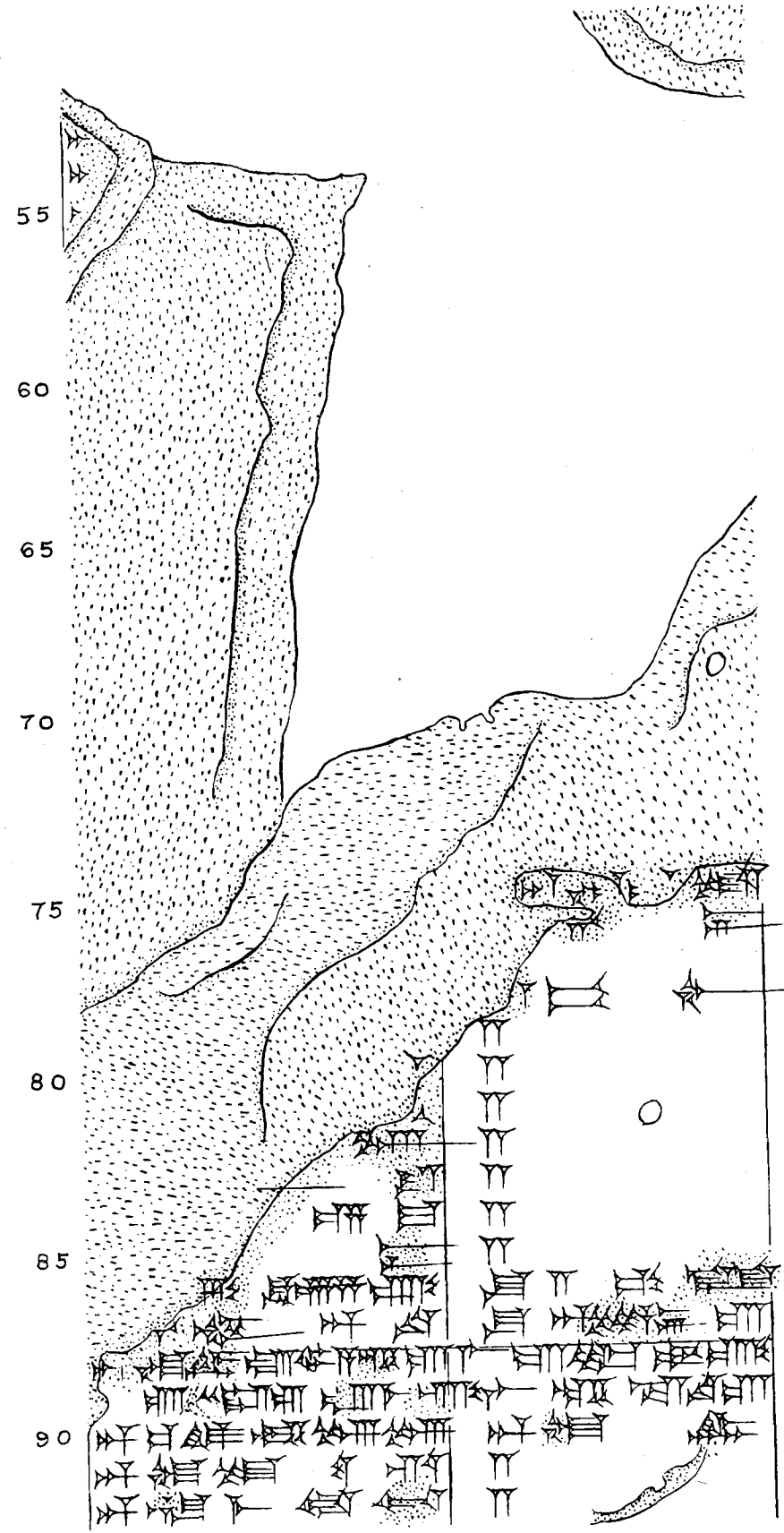


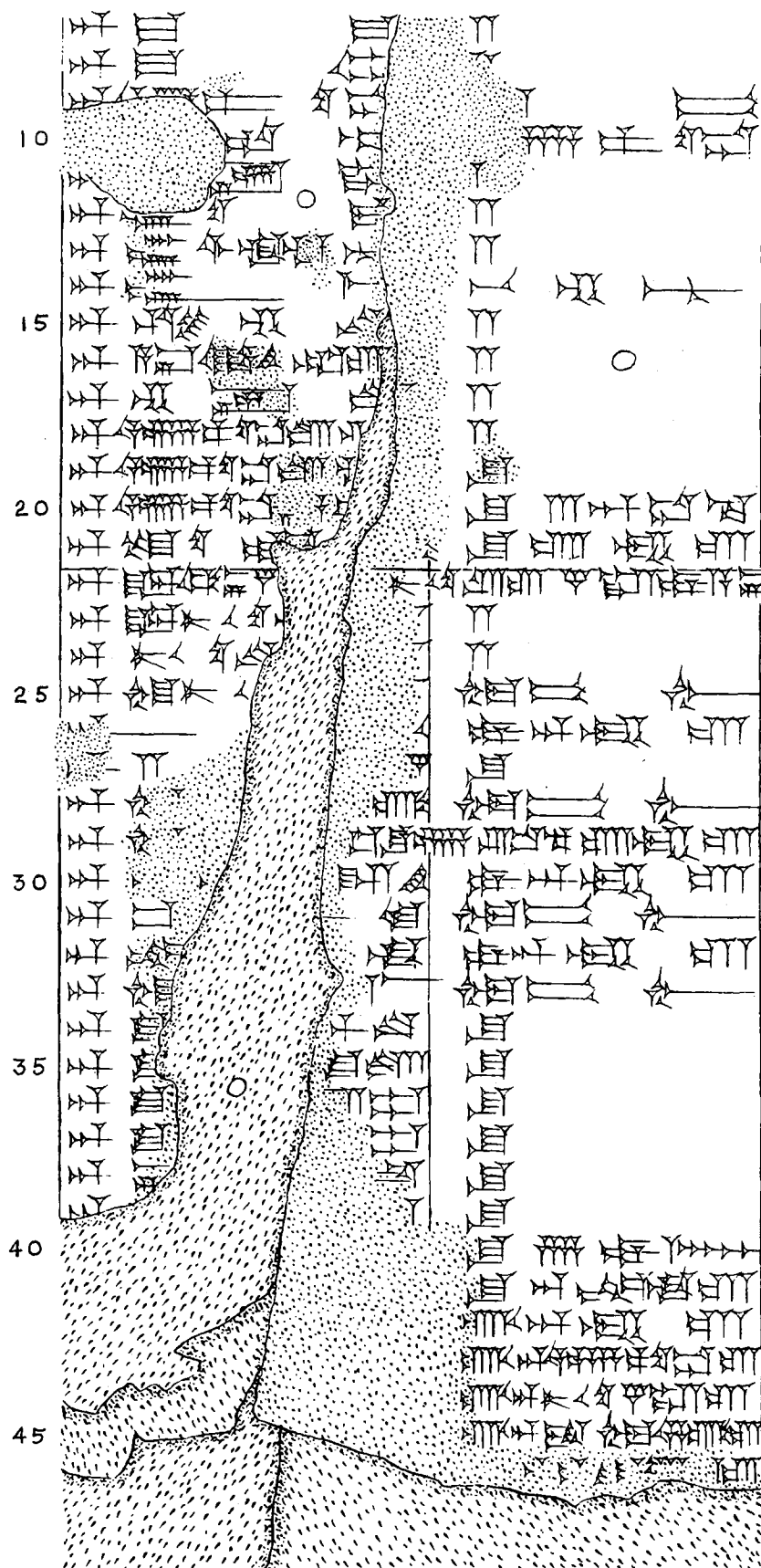
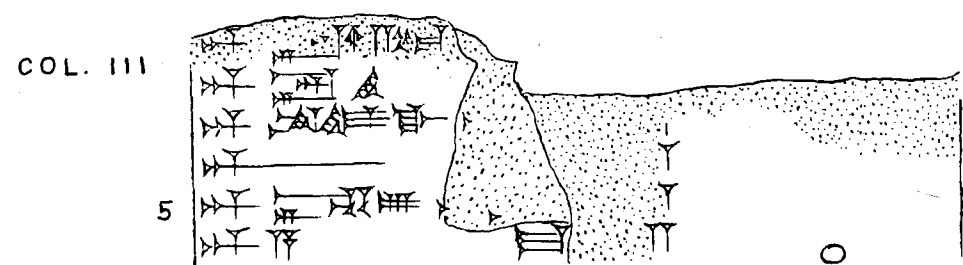
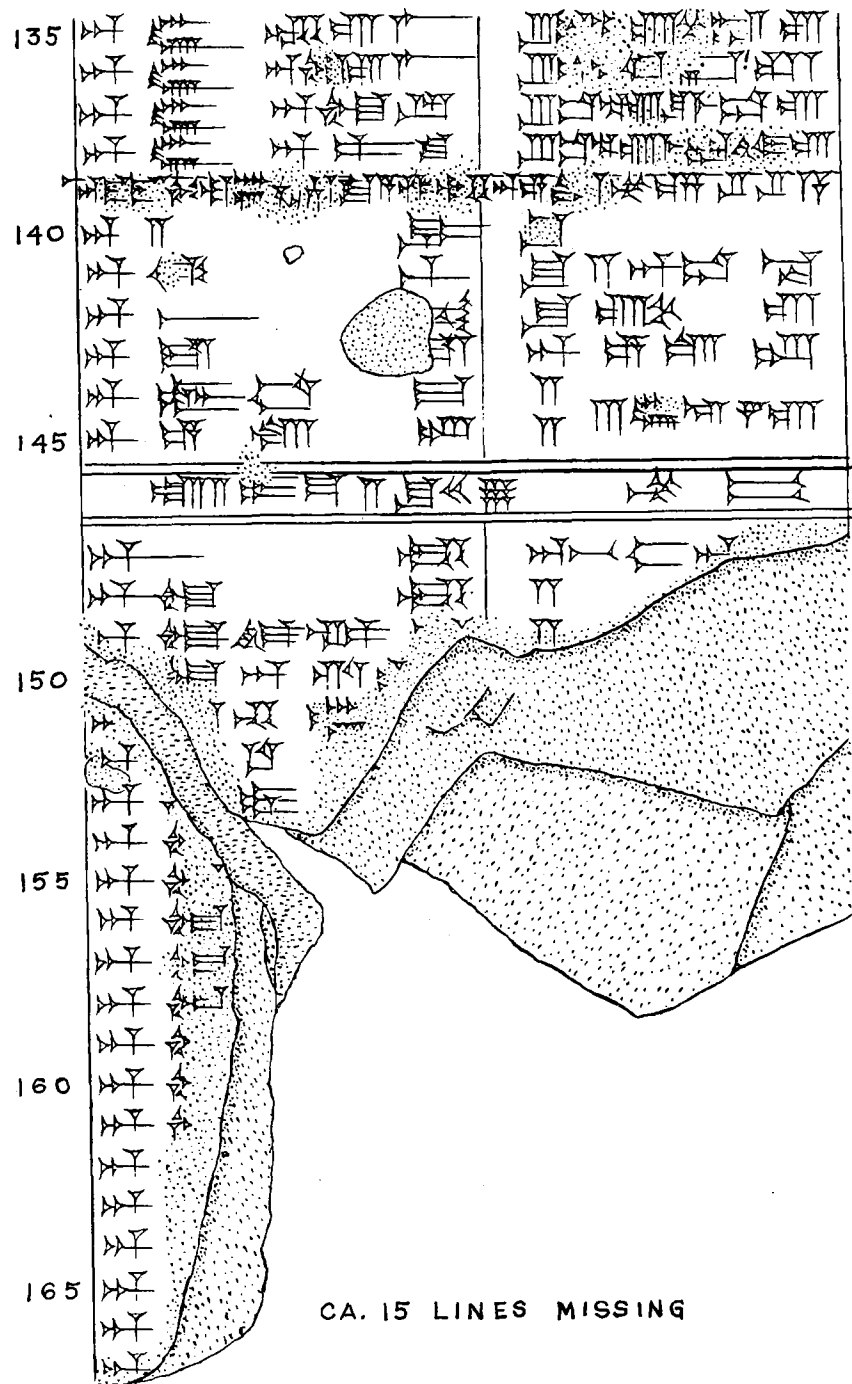
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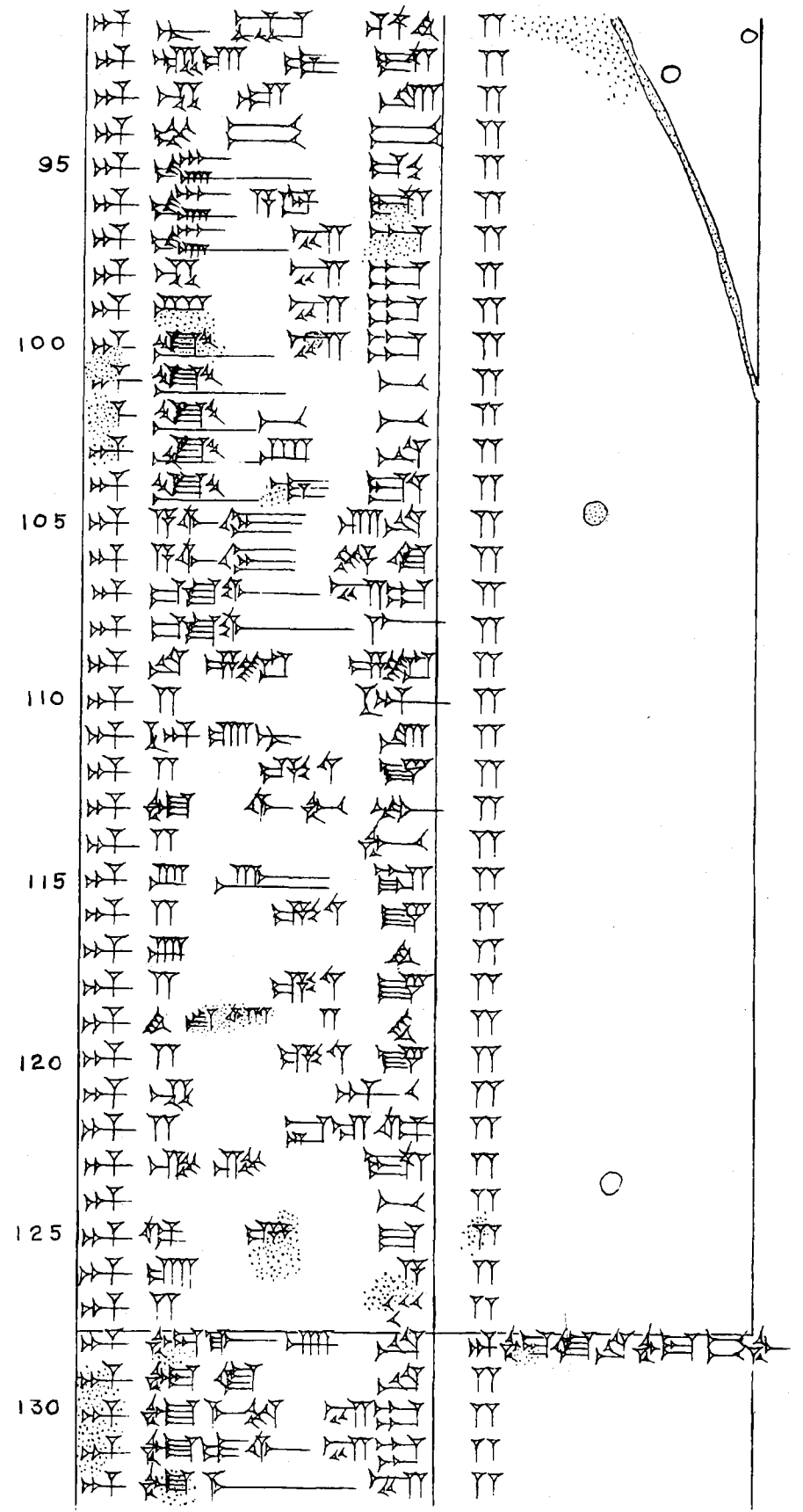
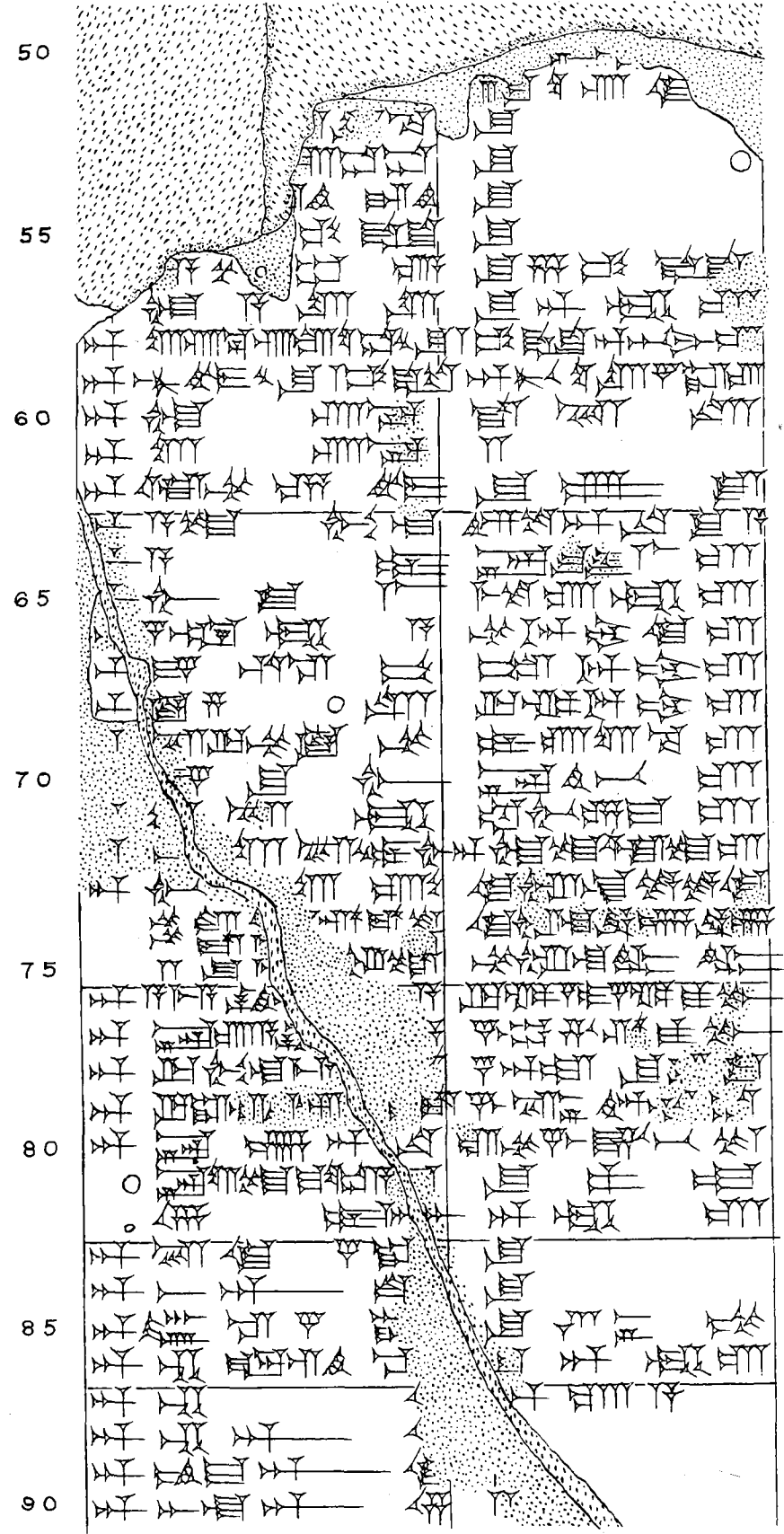


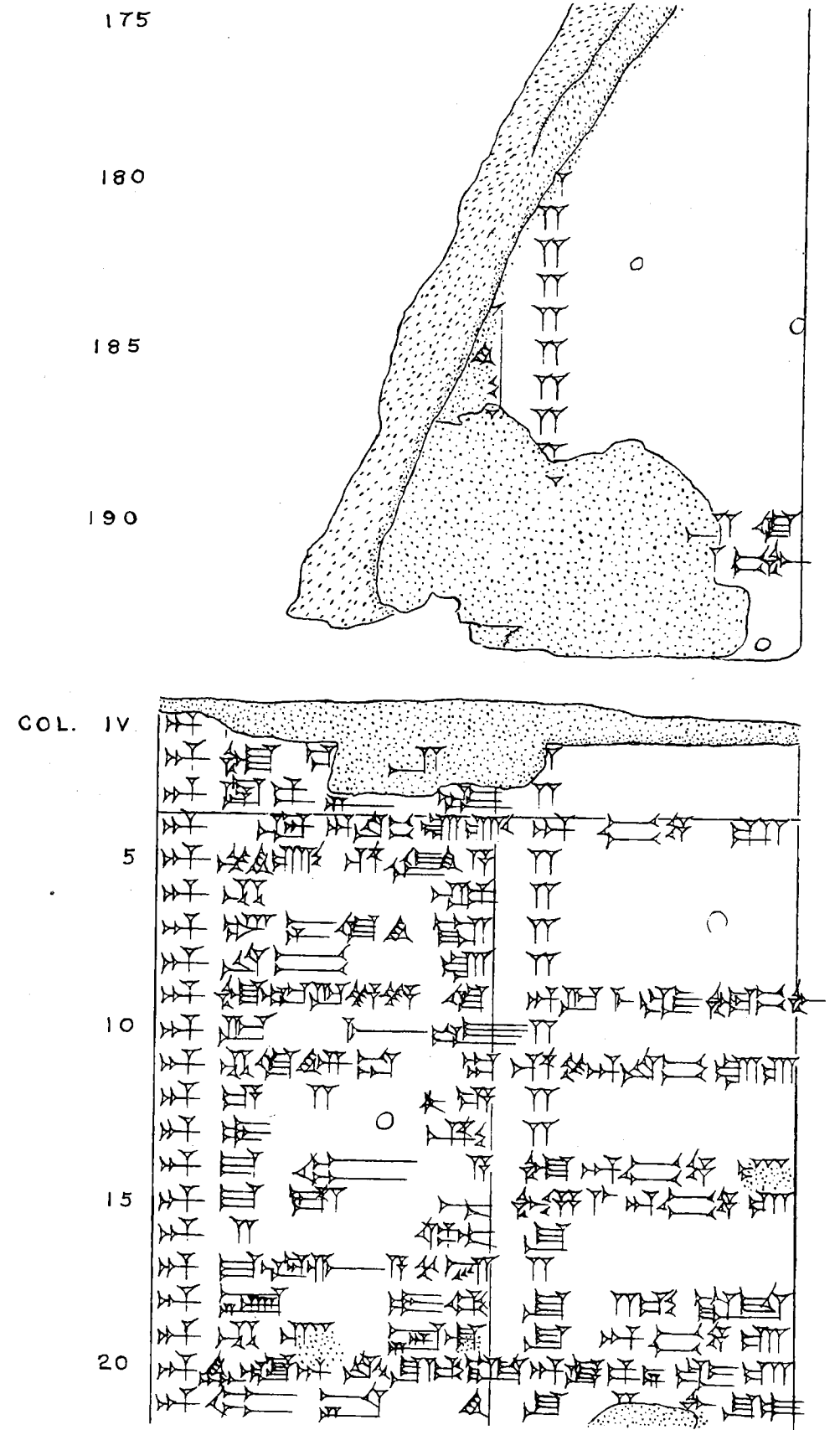
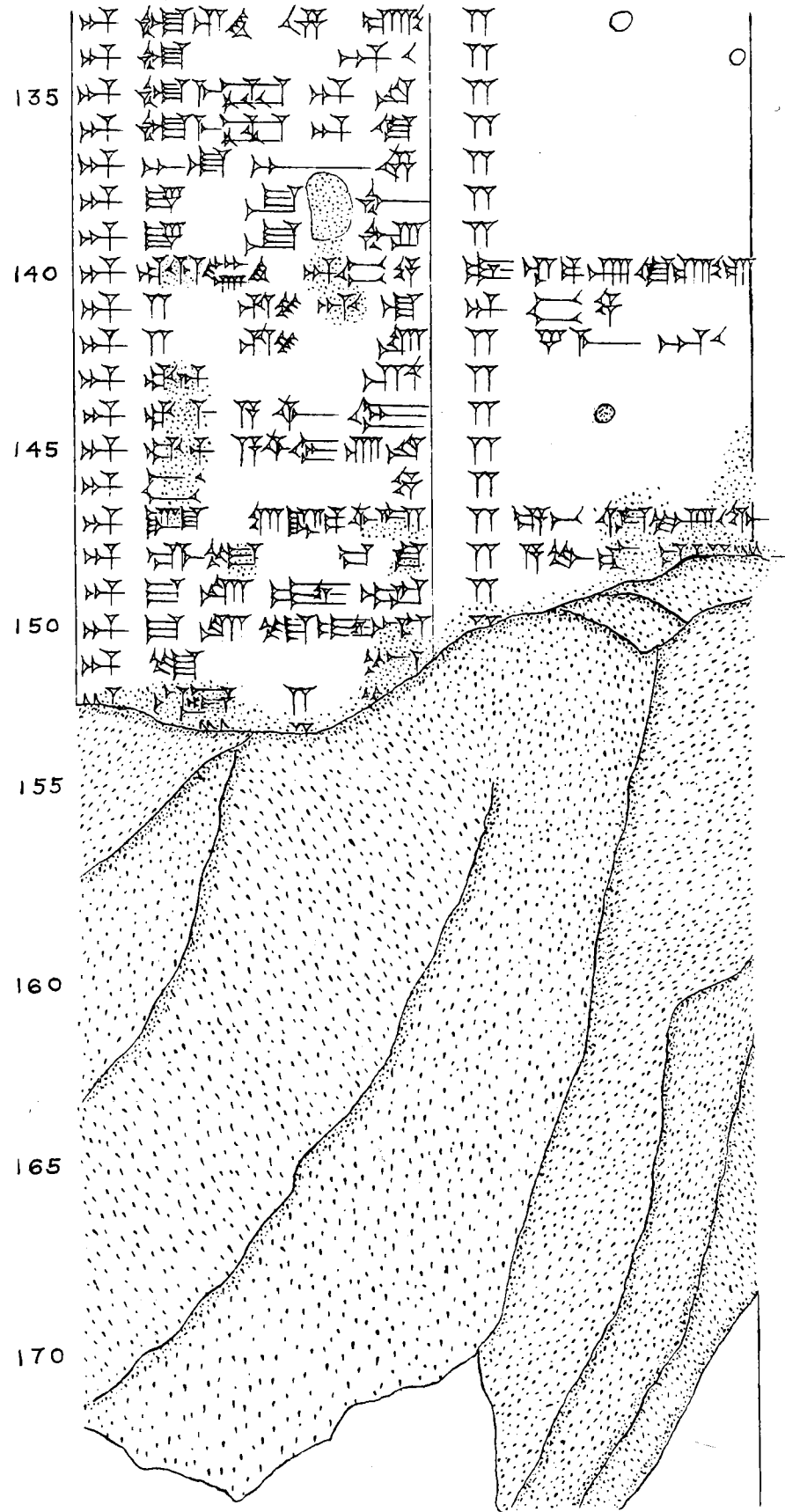


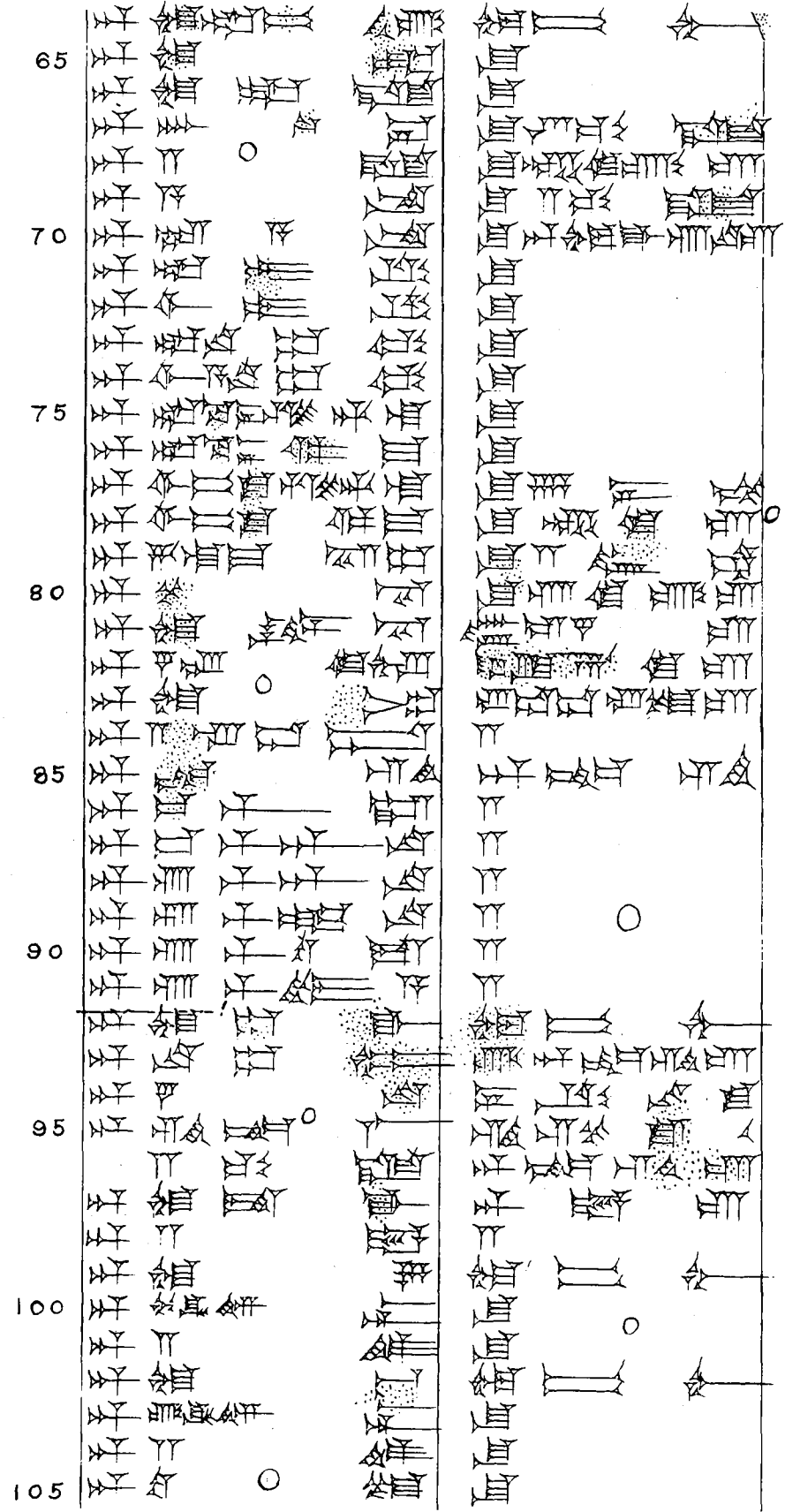
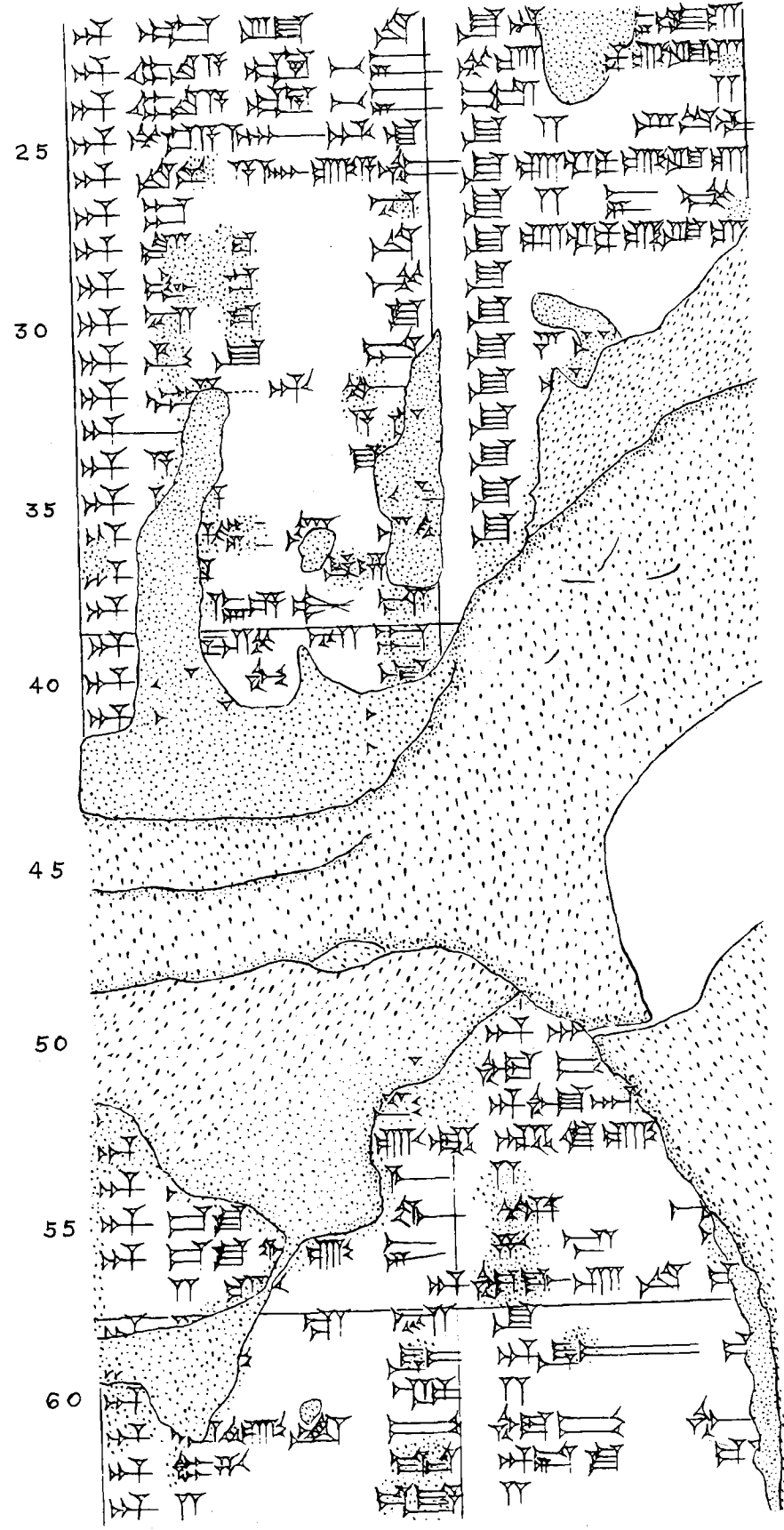


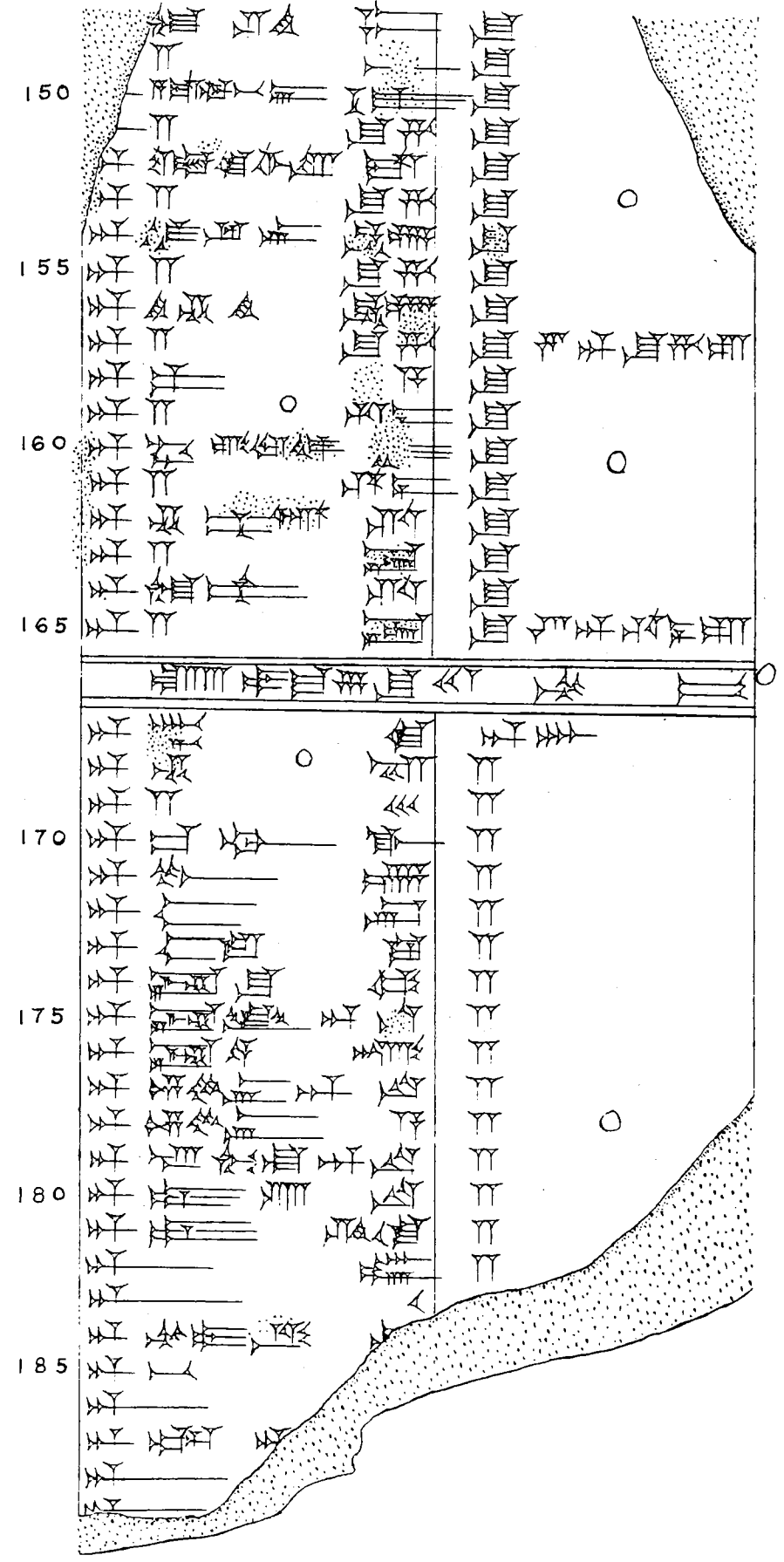
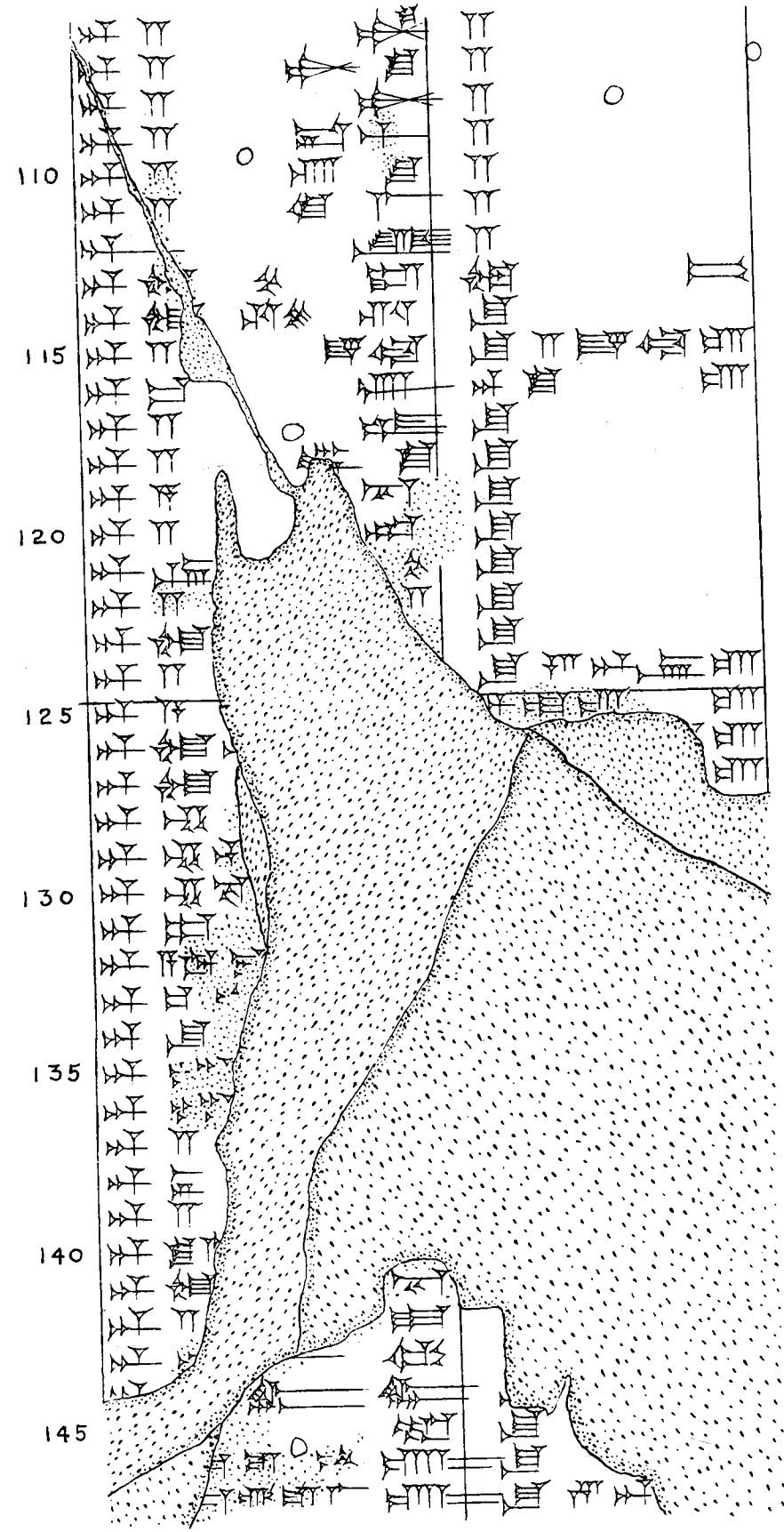


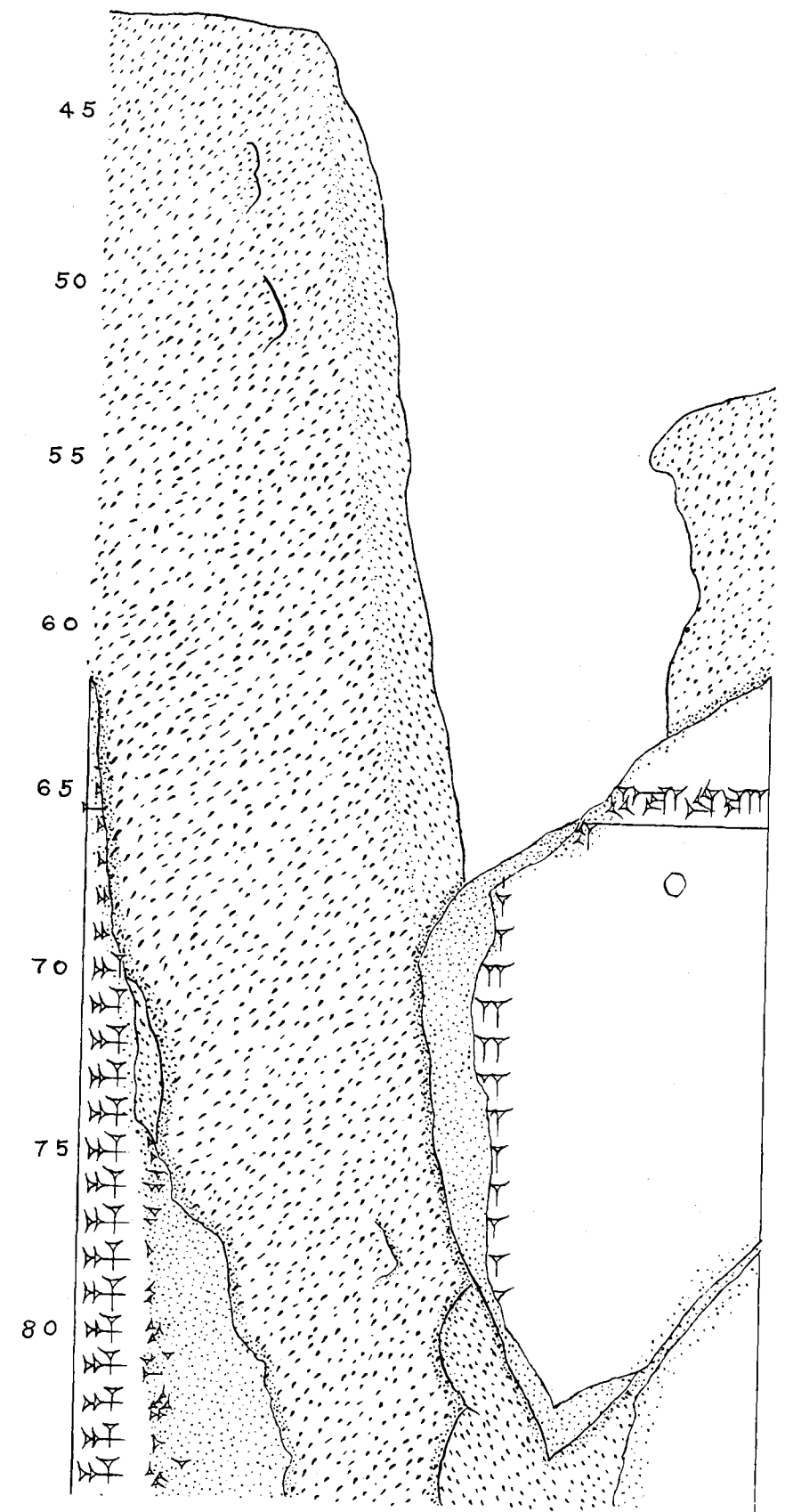
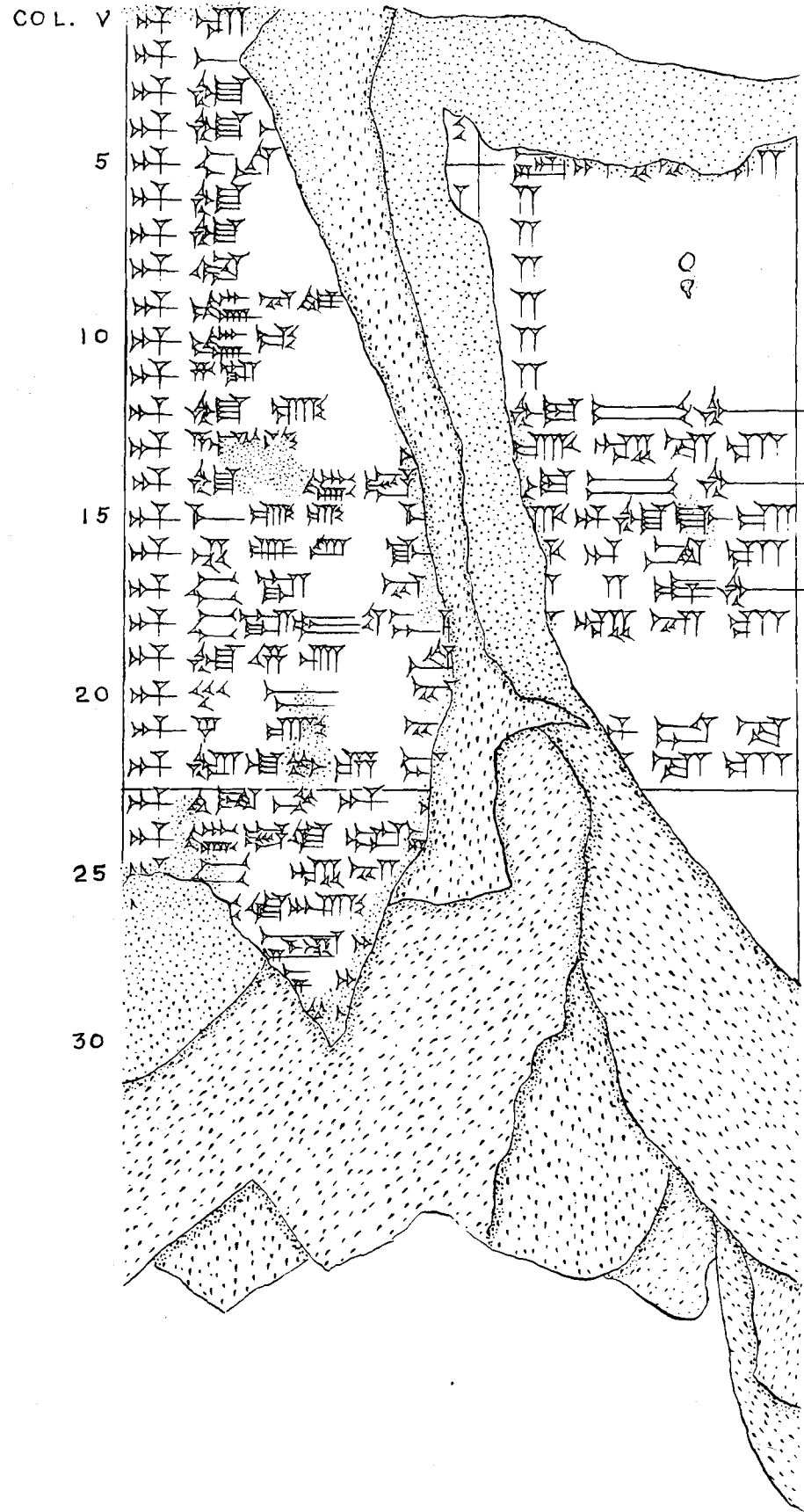


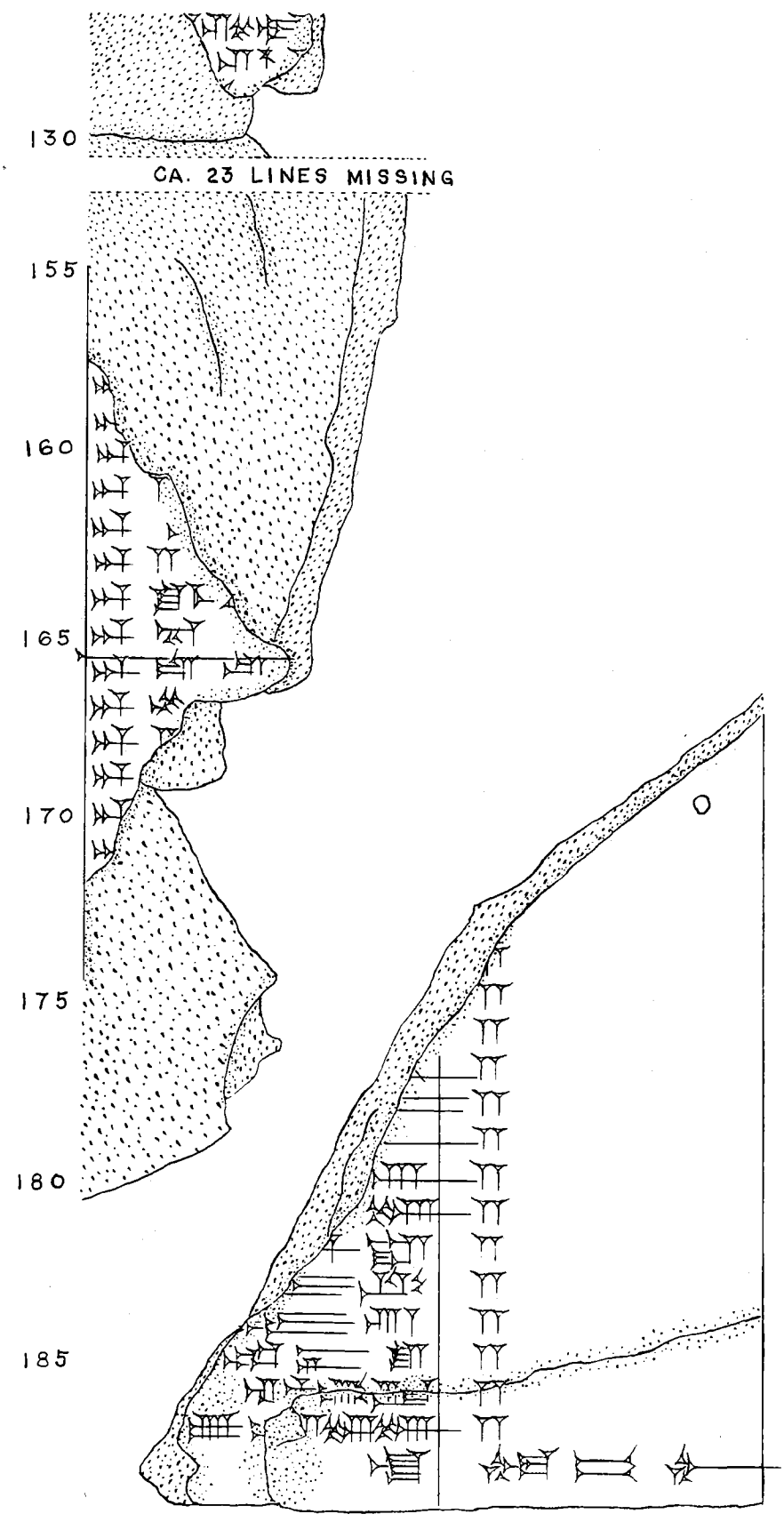
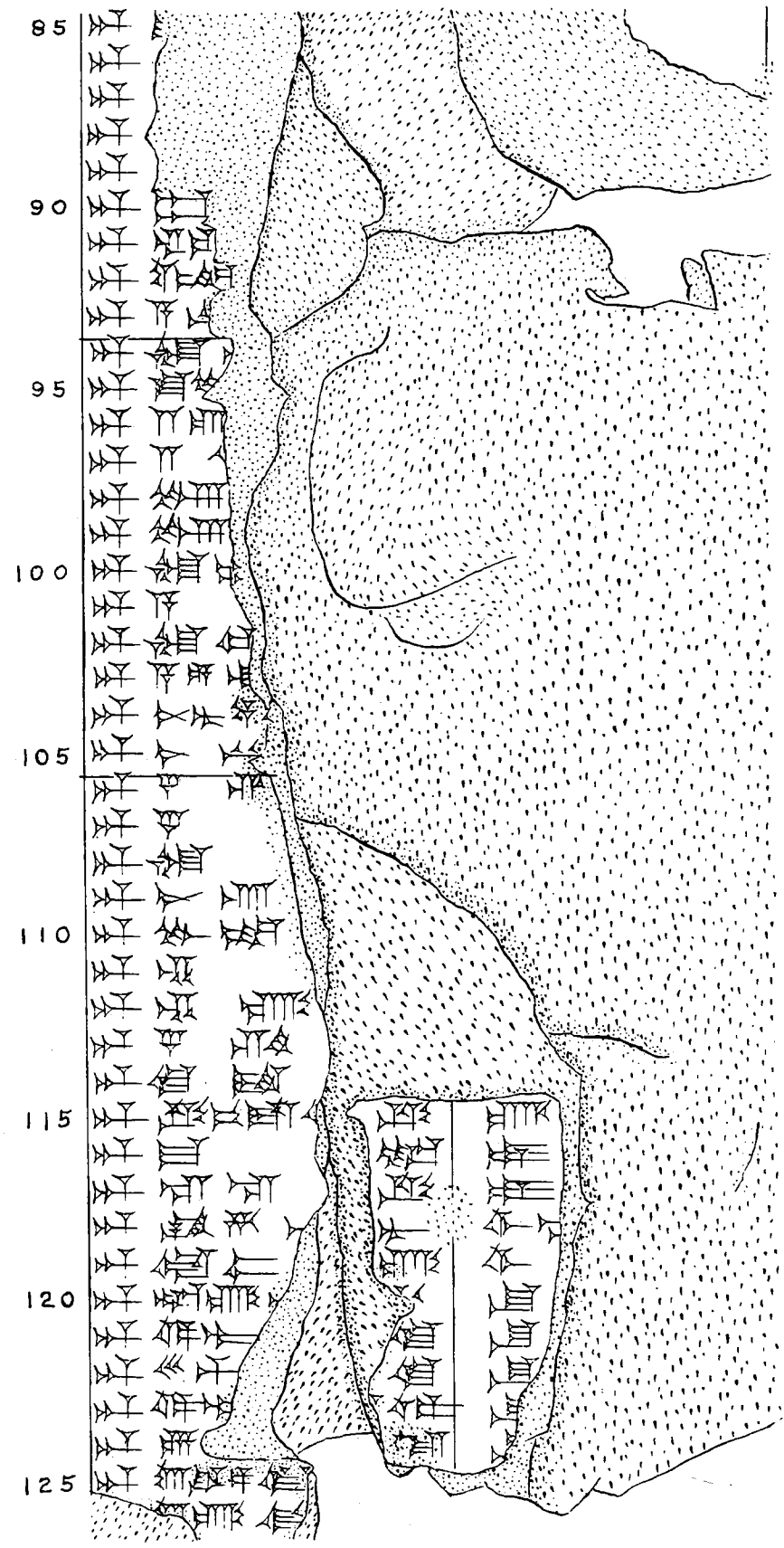




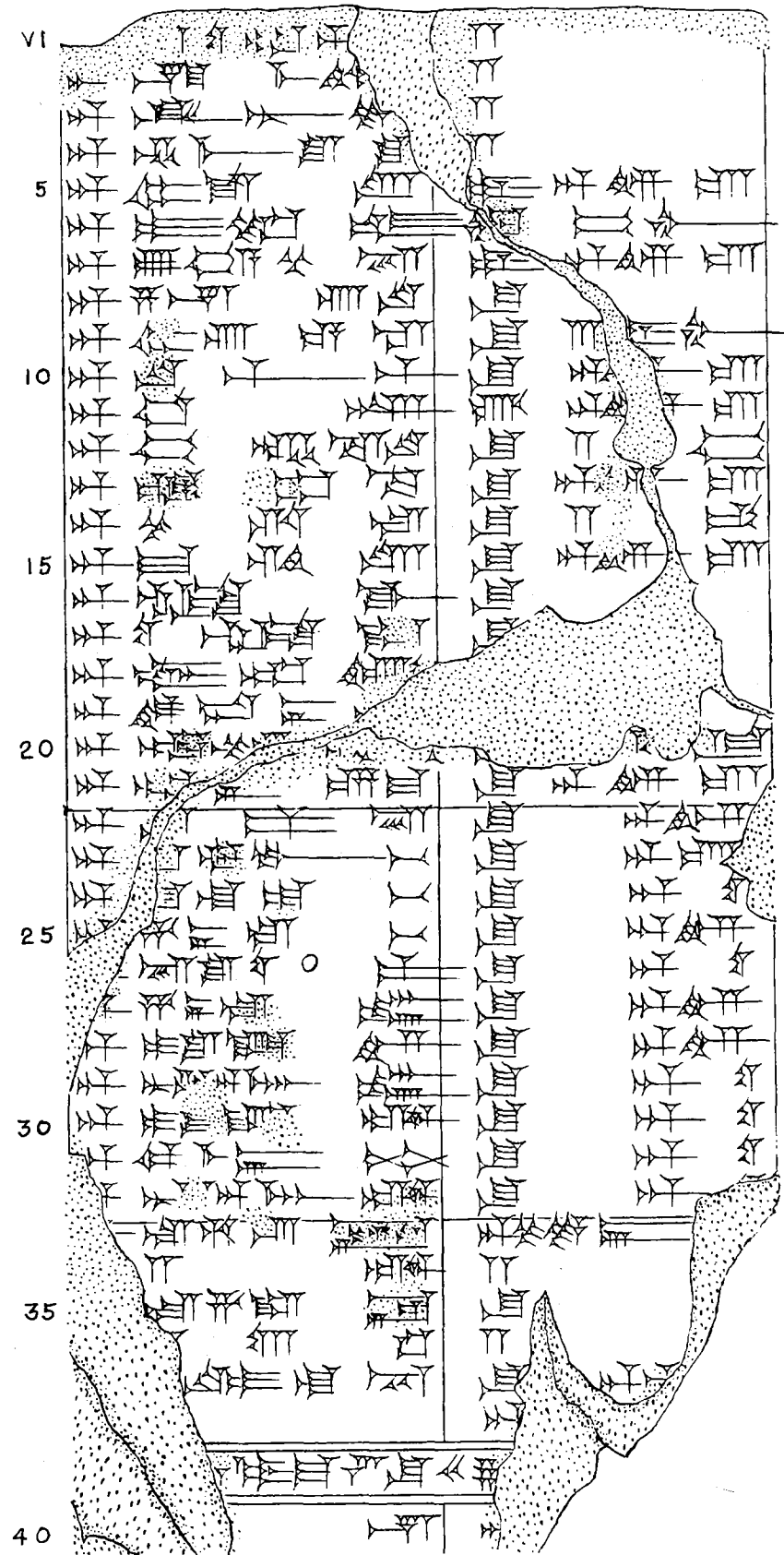




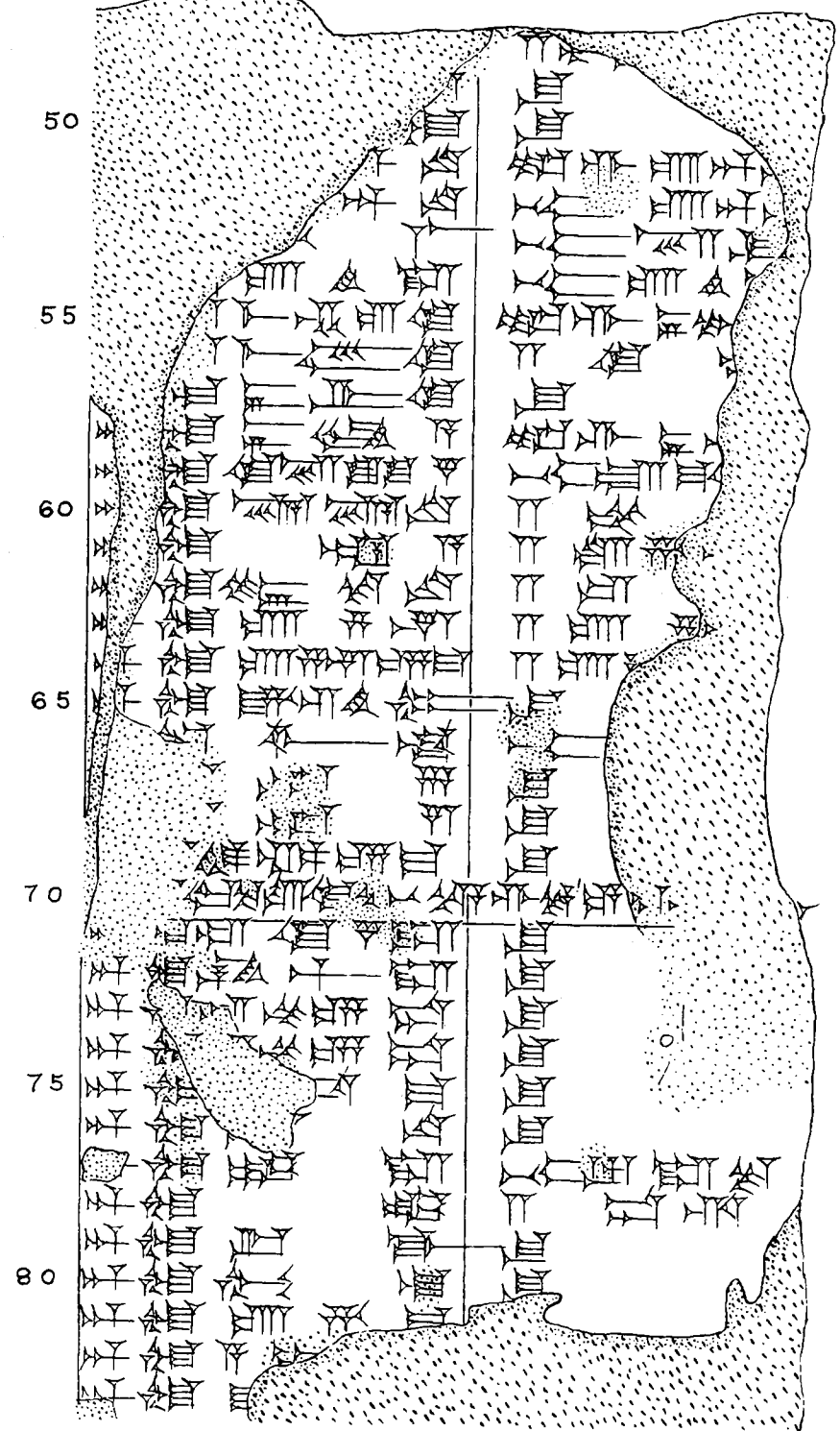


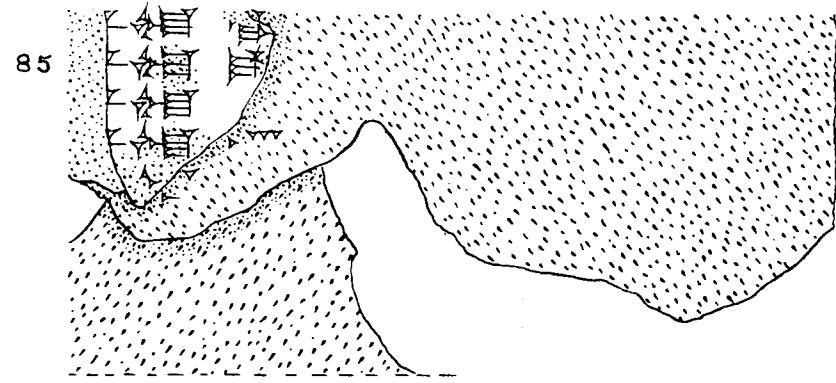


COL. VI

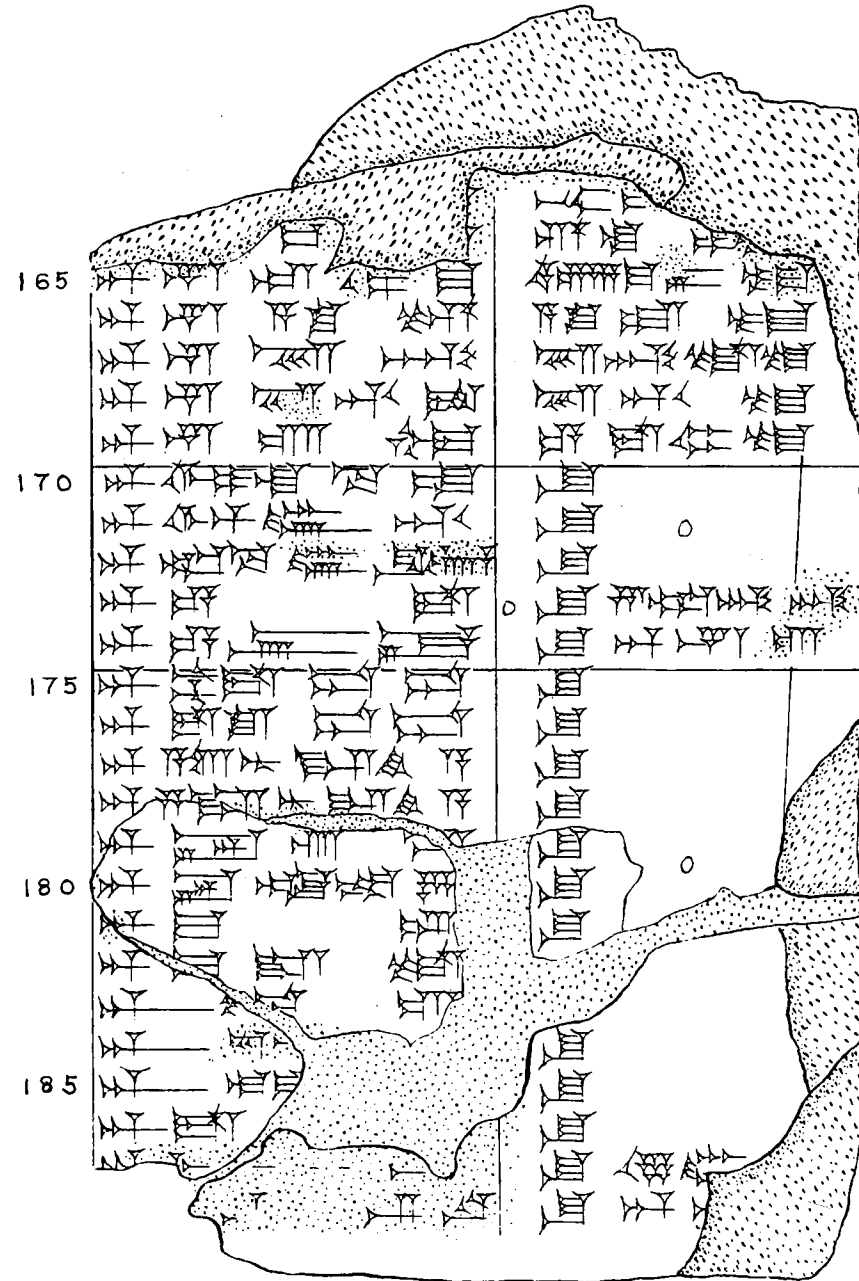


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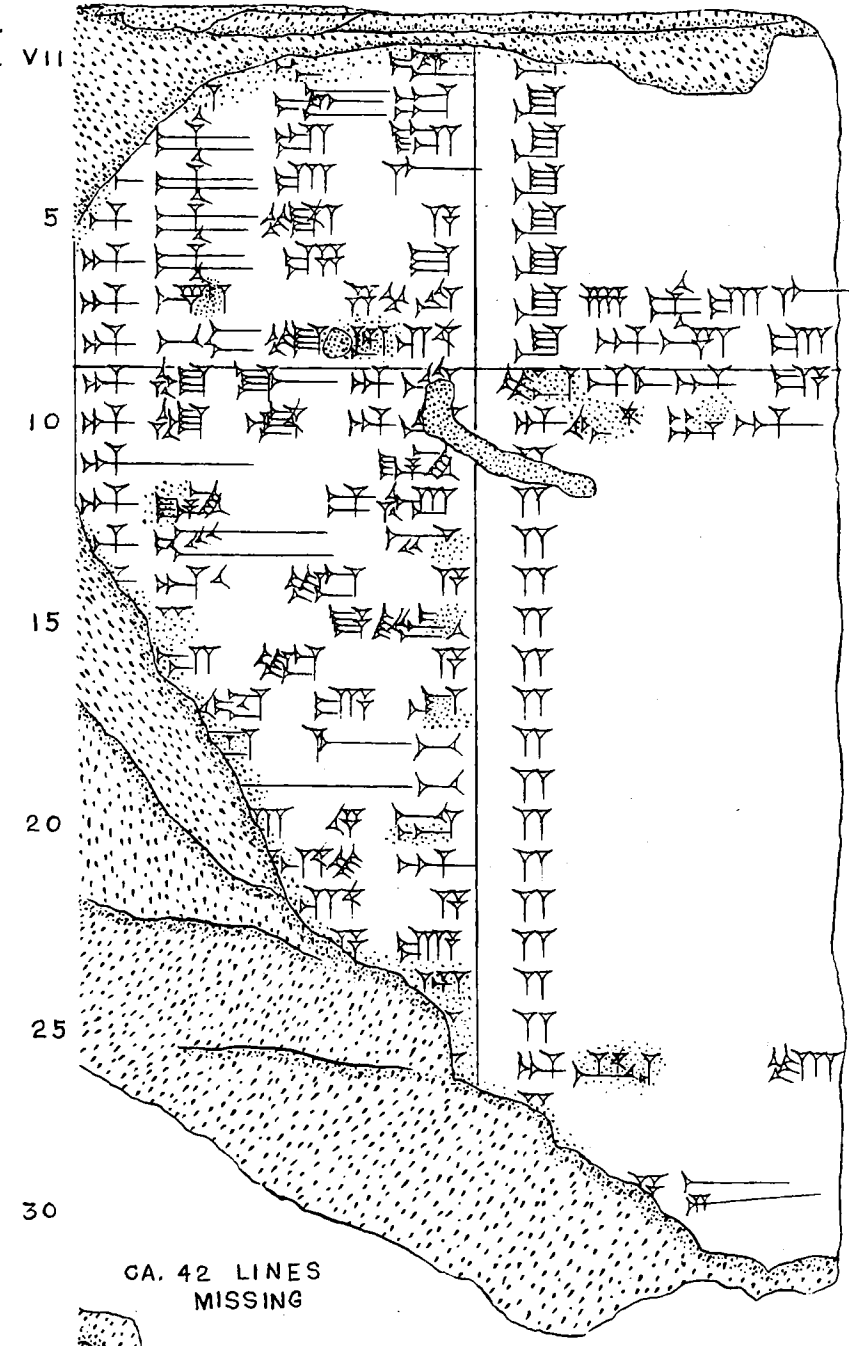




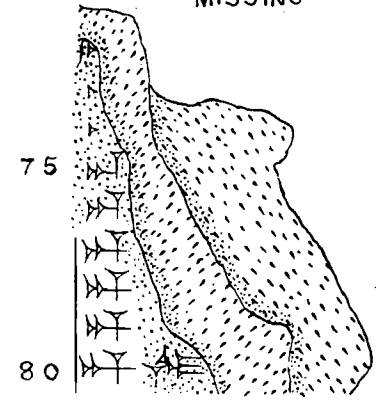
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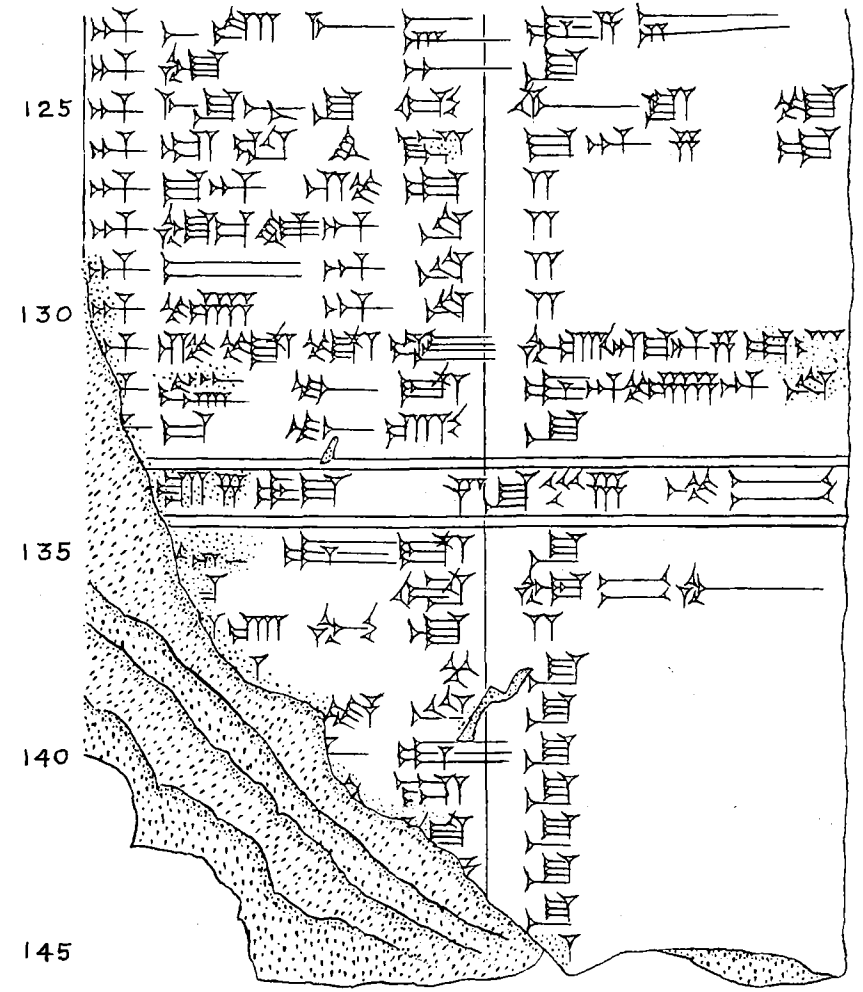
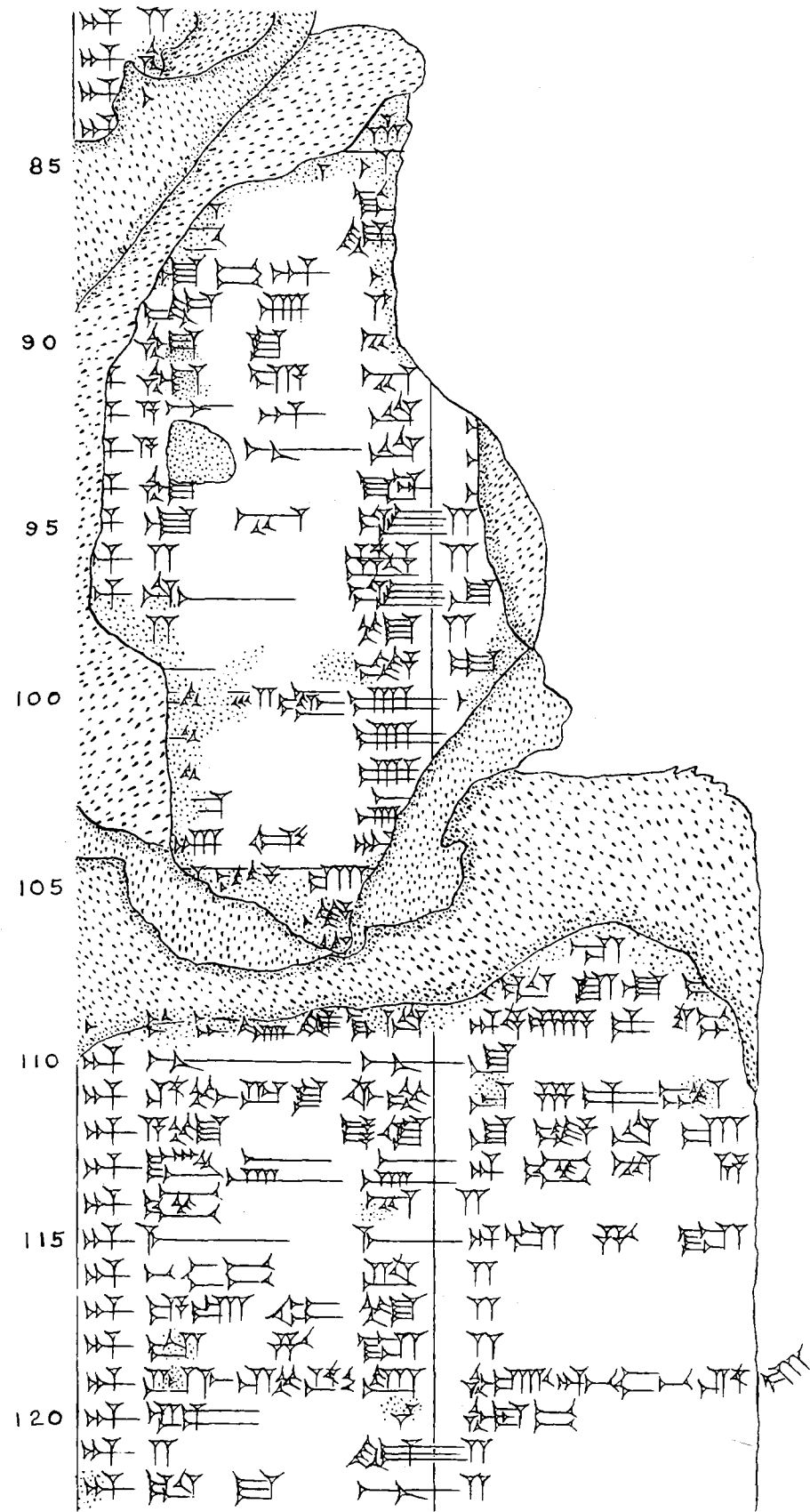


REV.
COL. VII

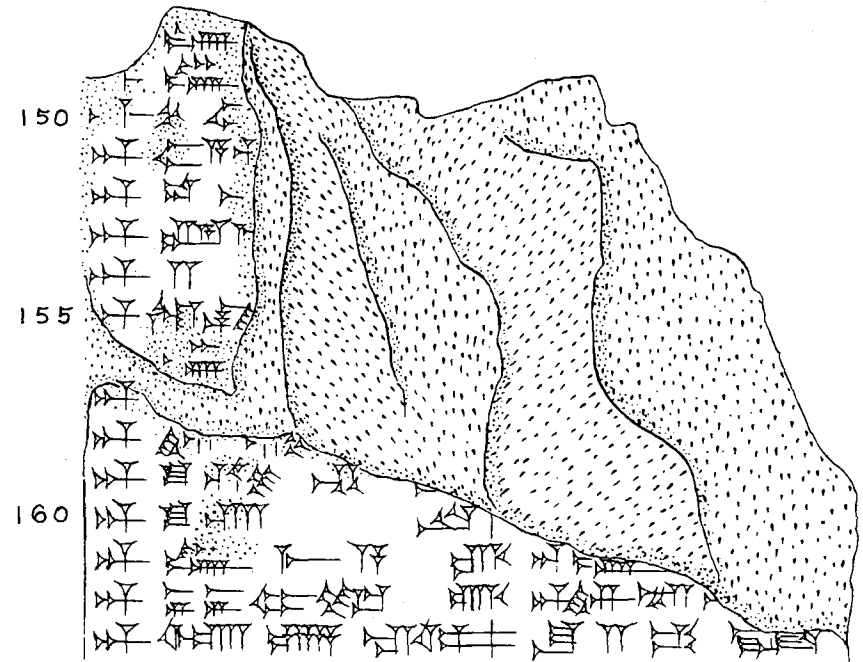


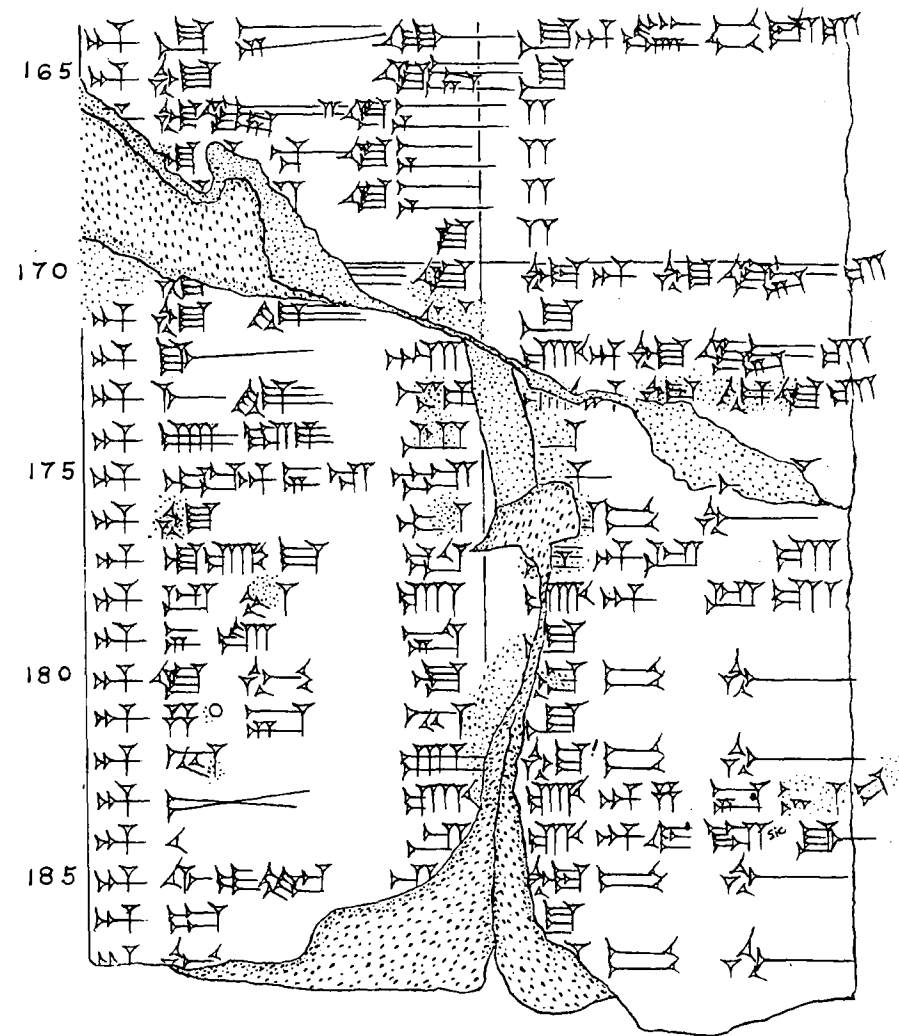
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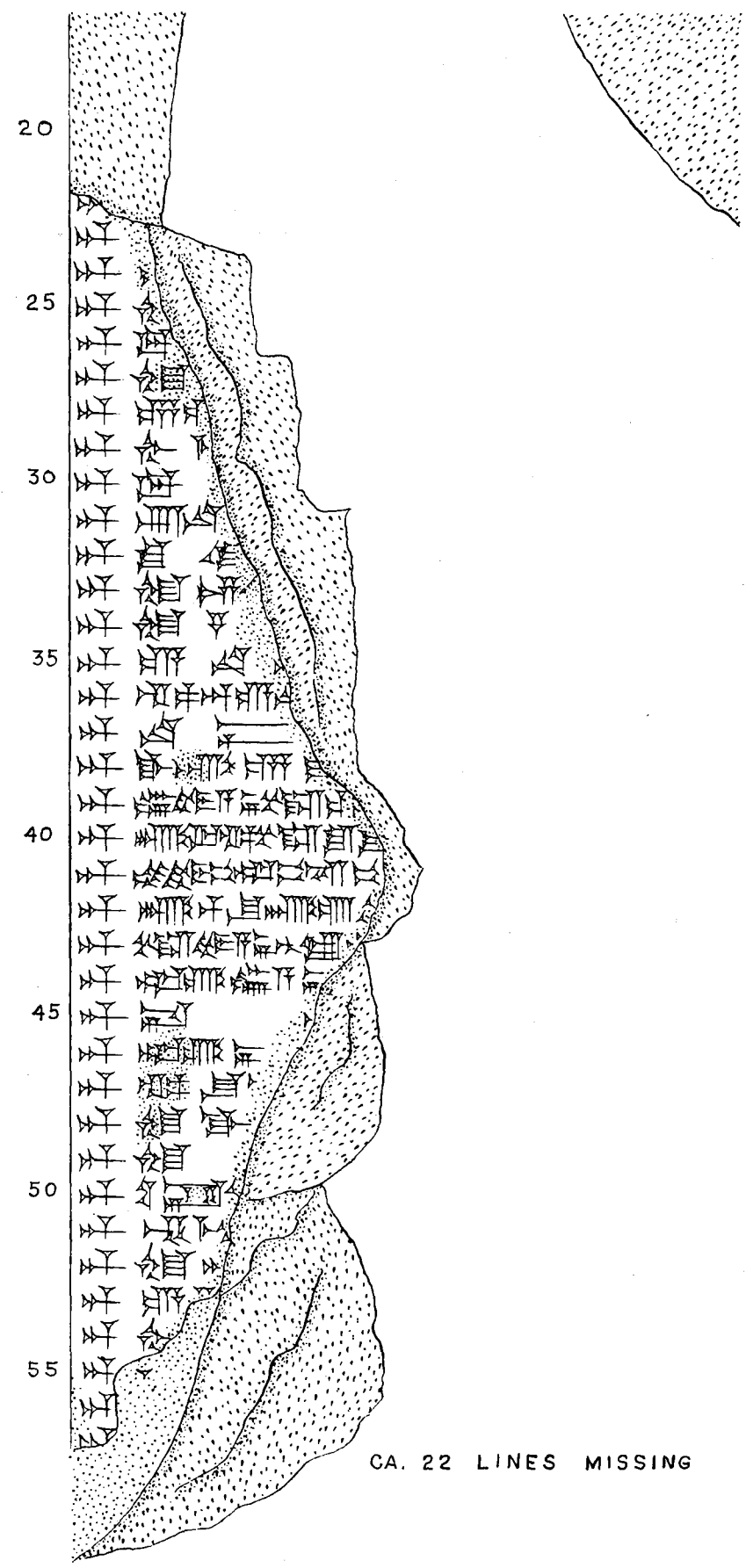
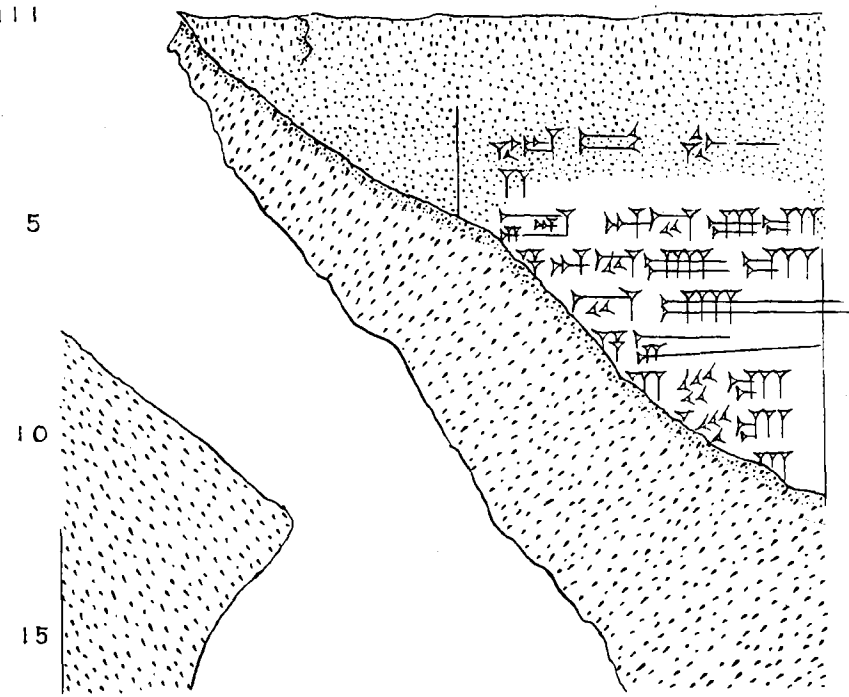


CA. 2 LINES MISSING

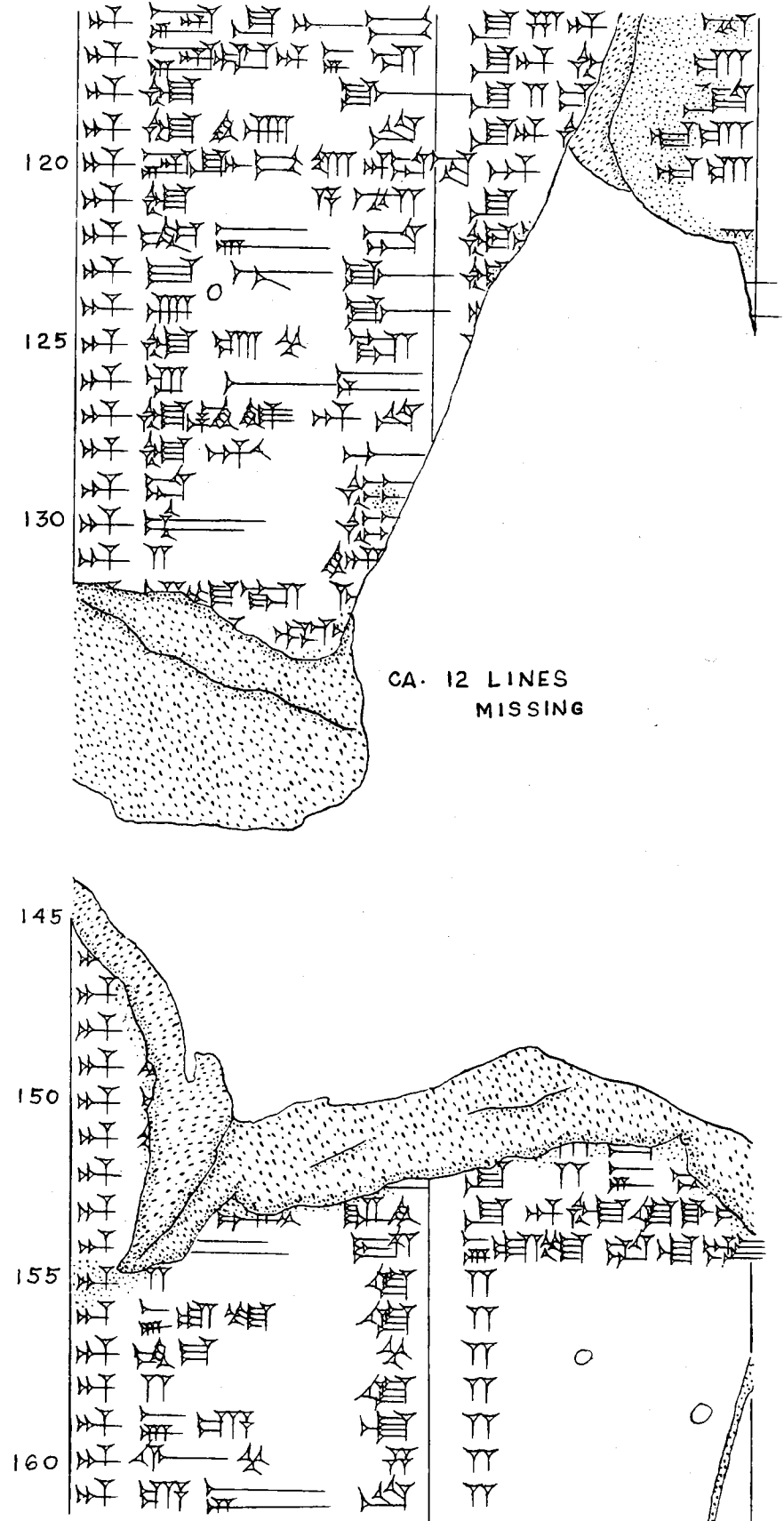
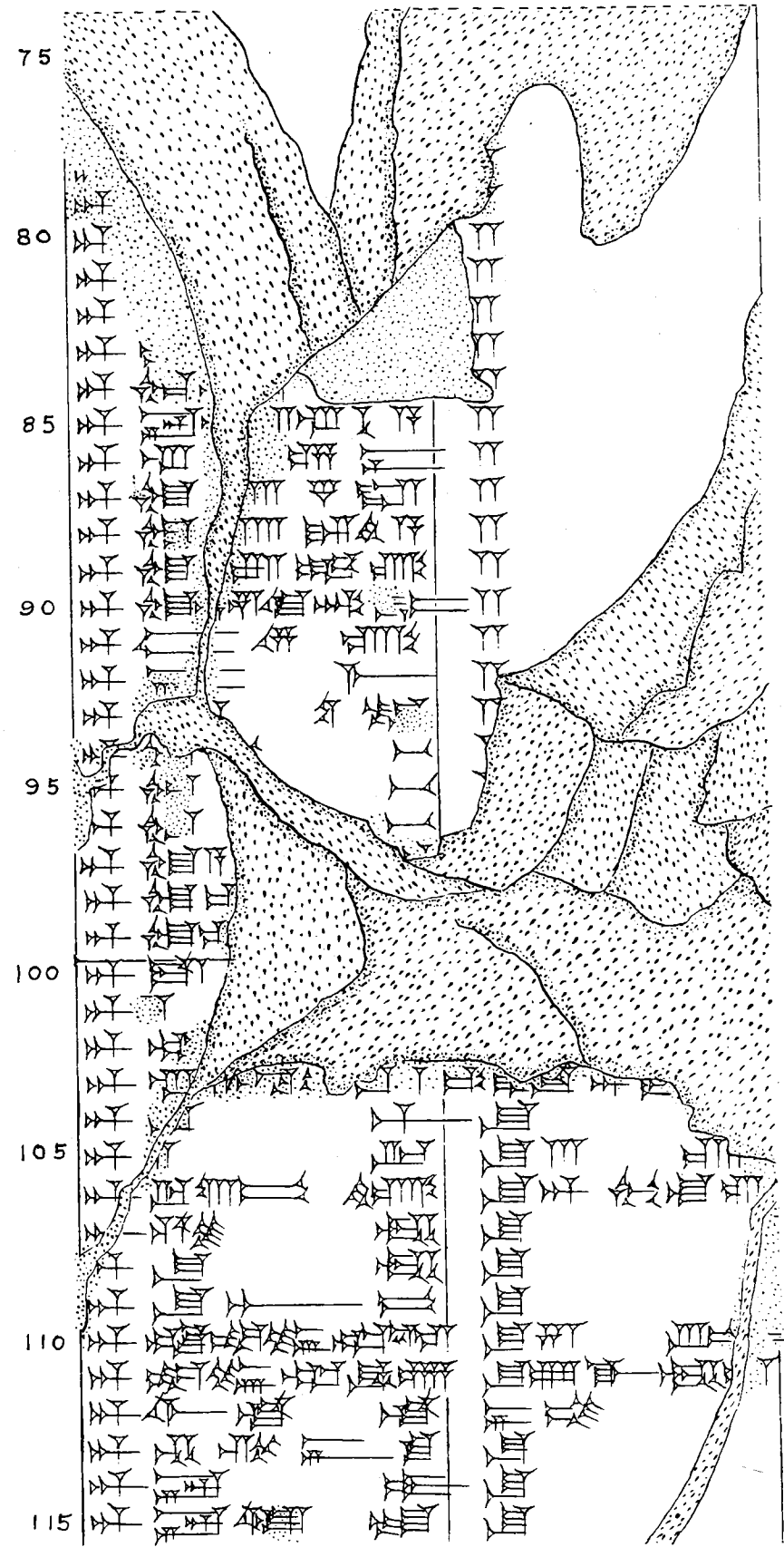




COL. VIII



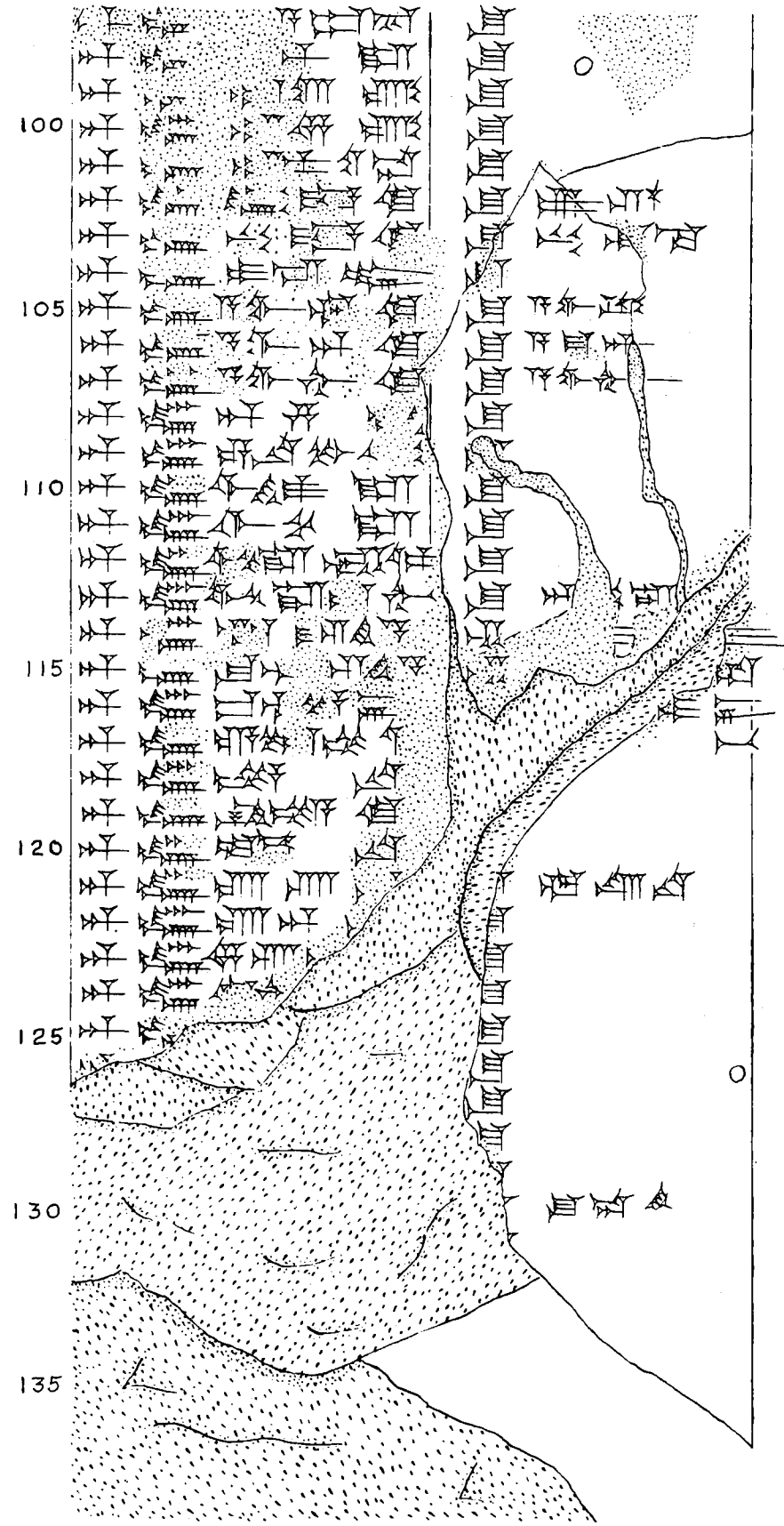
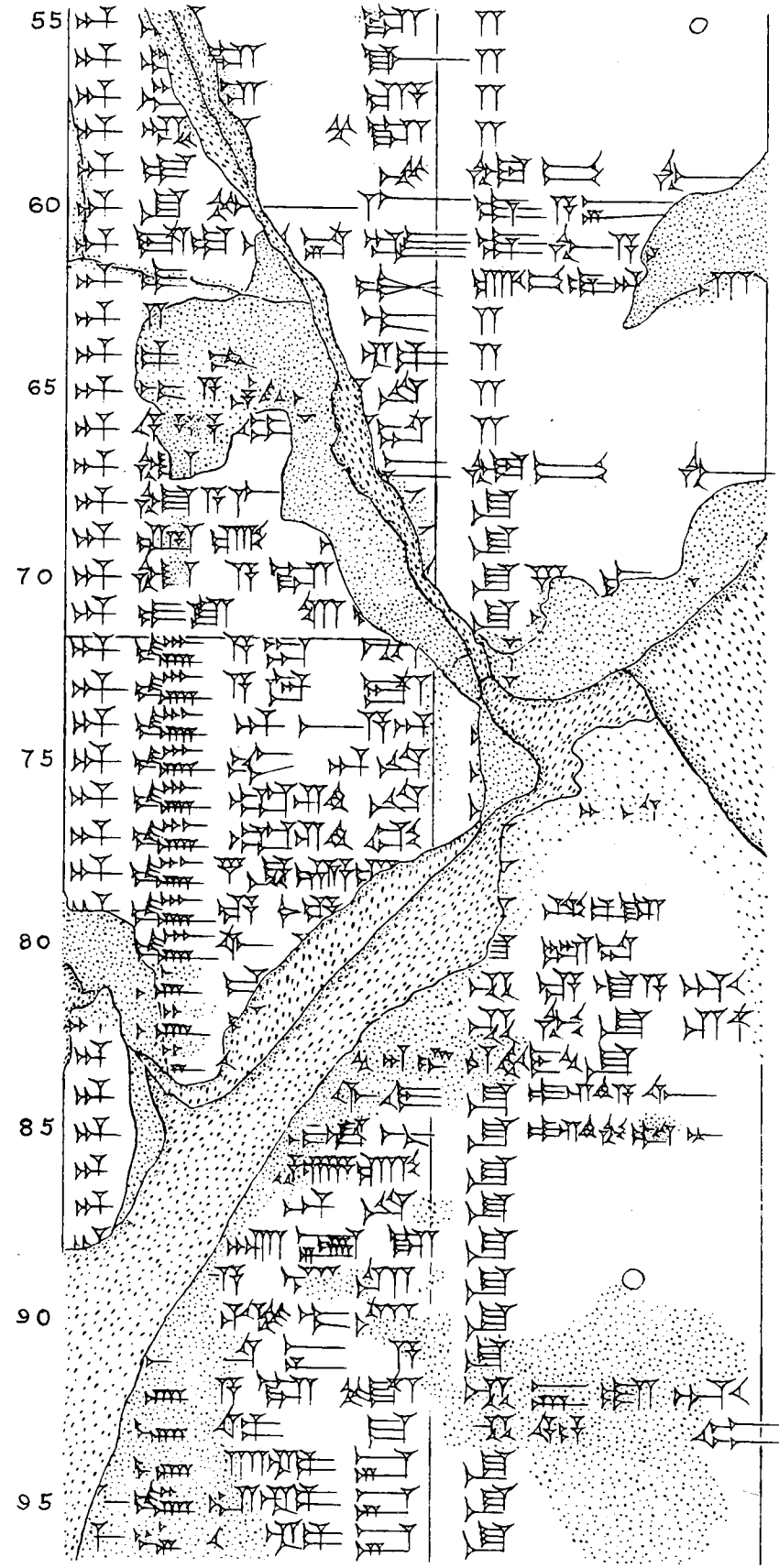
CA. 22 LINES MISSING

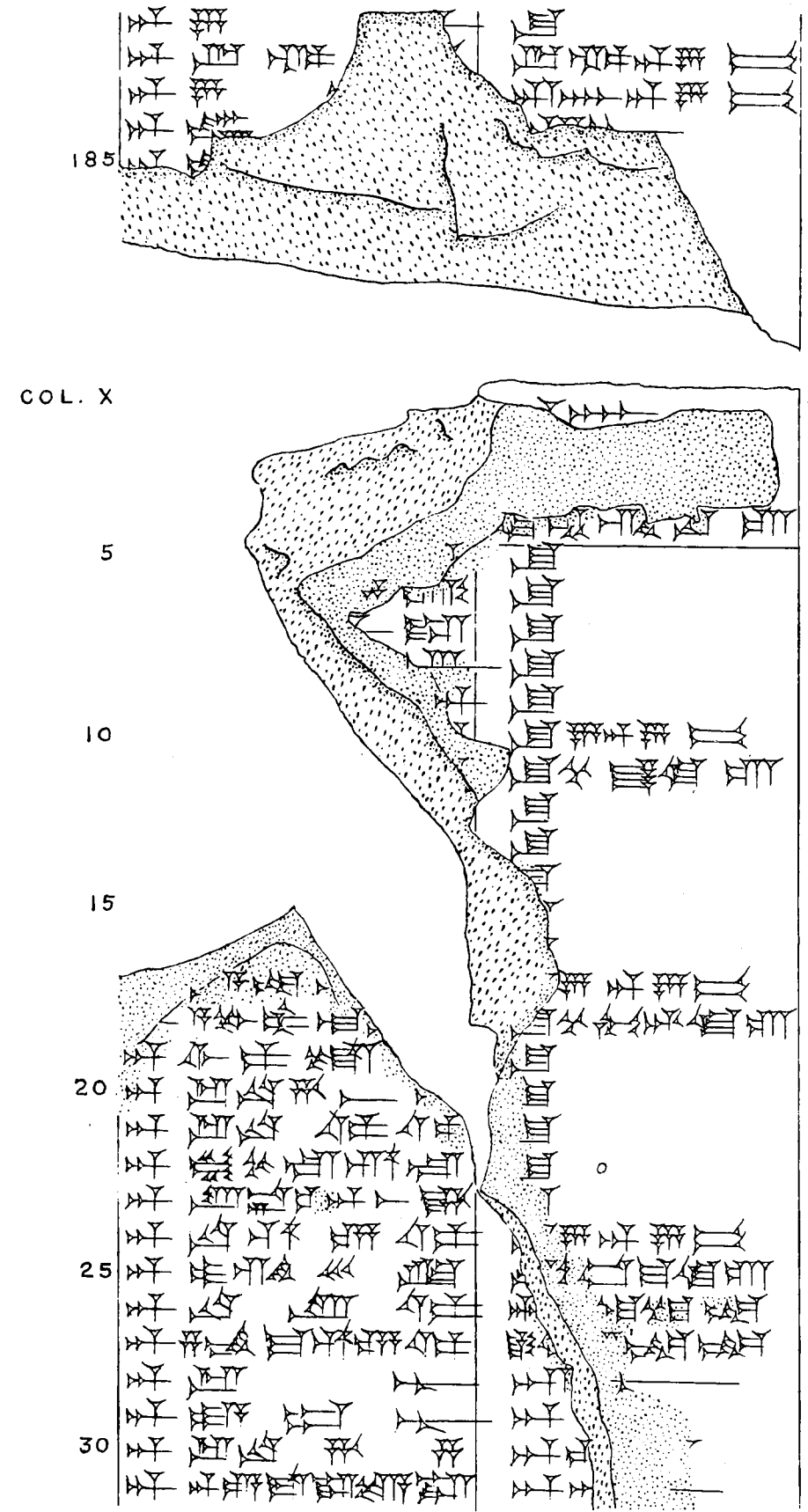
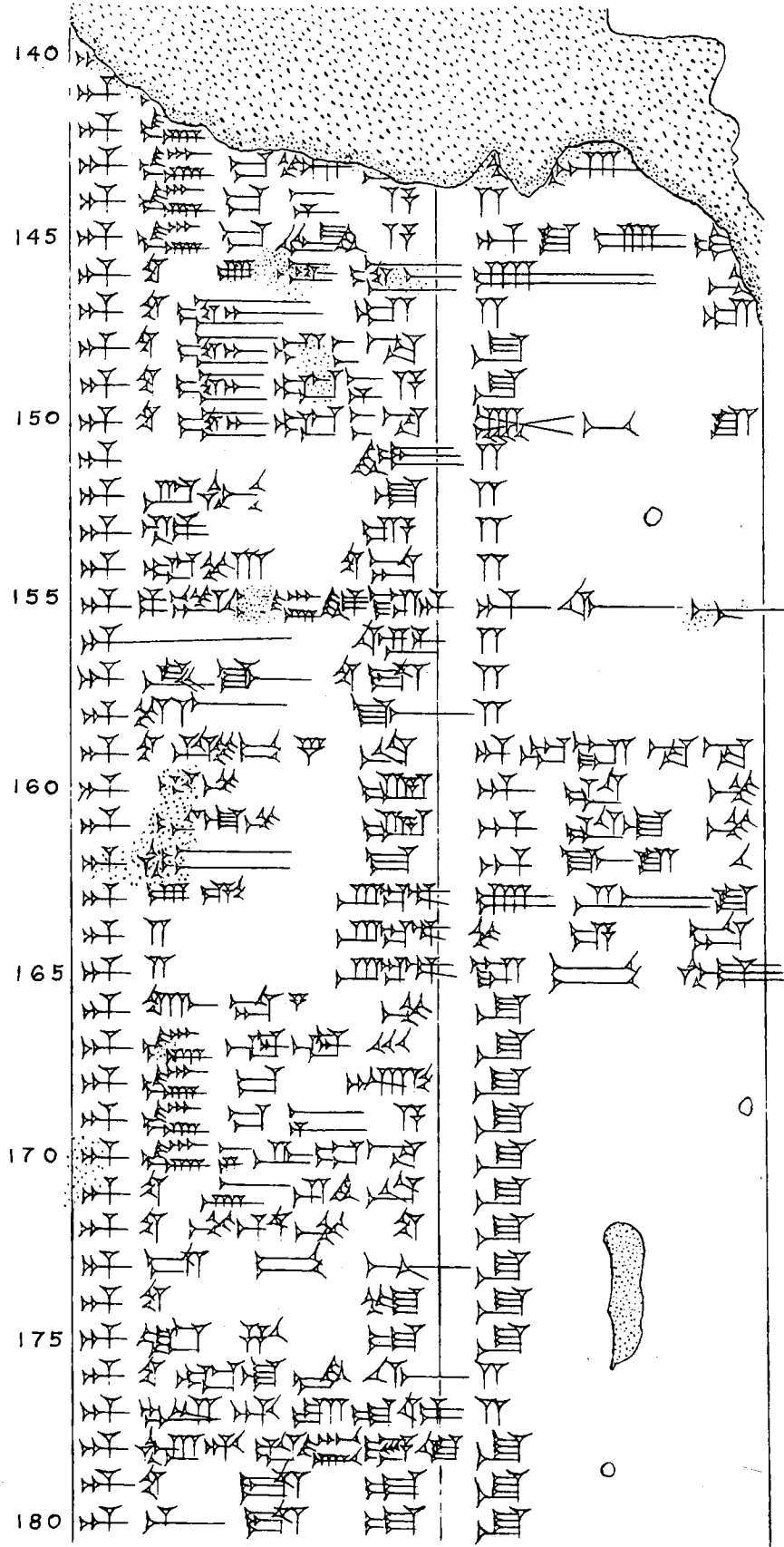


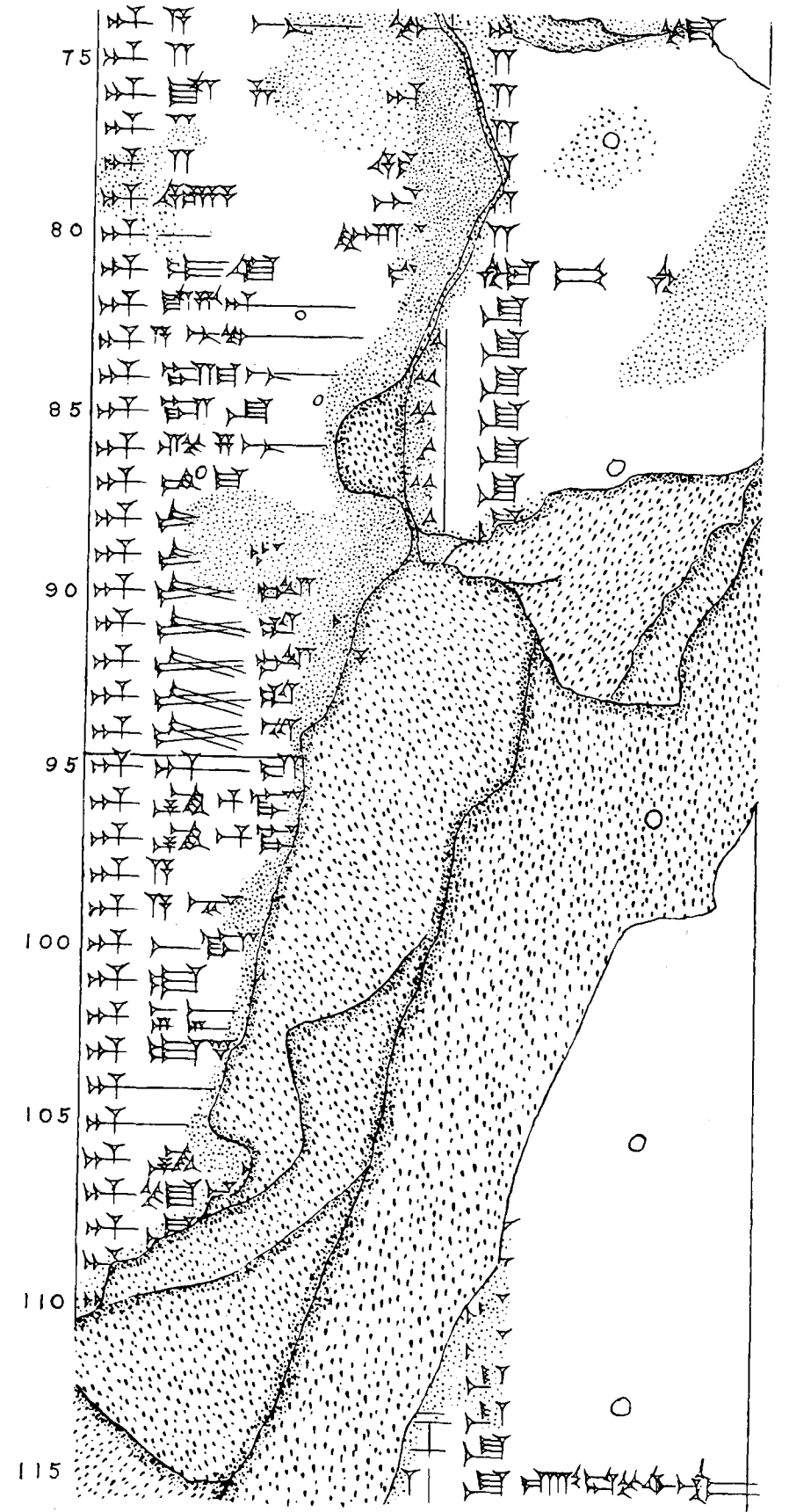
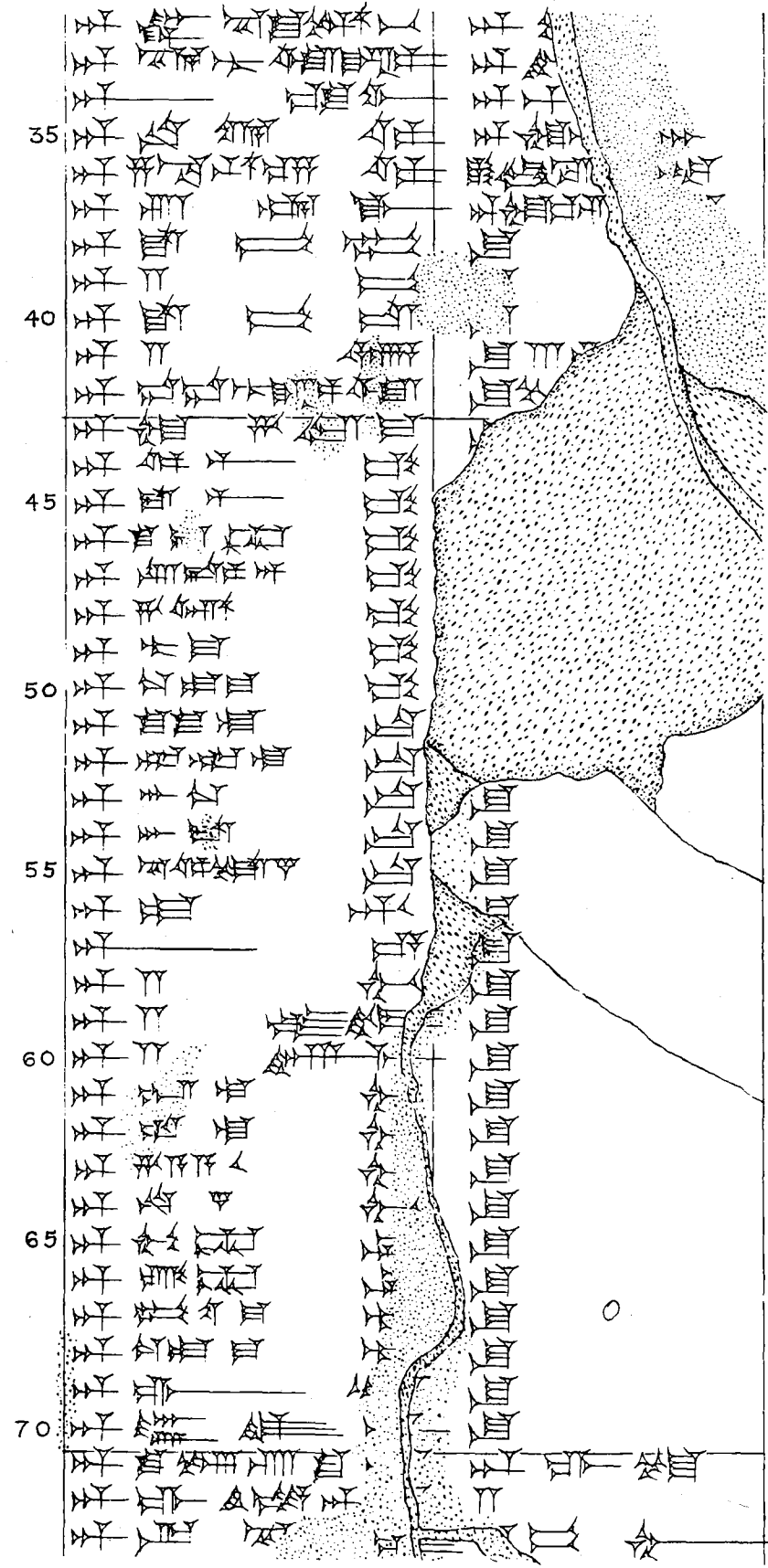
165
 170
 175
 180
 185

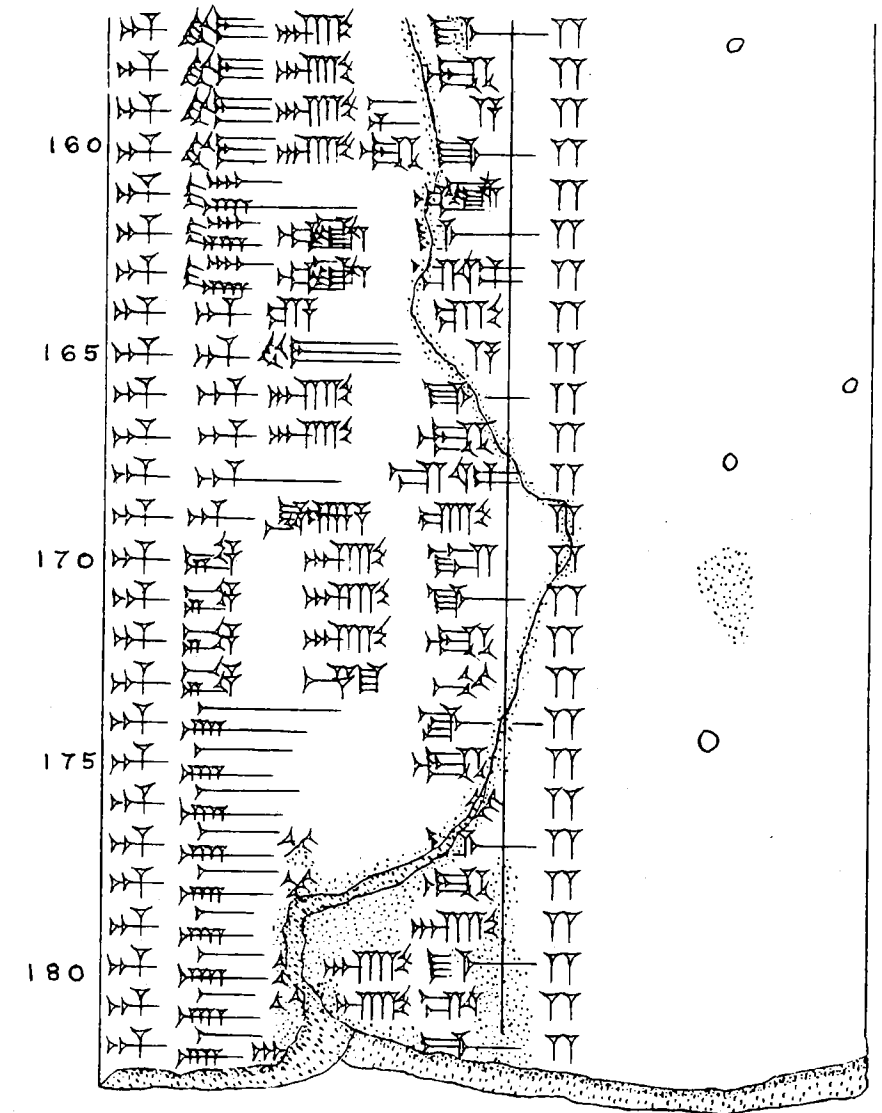
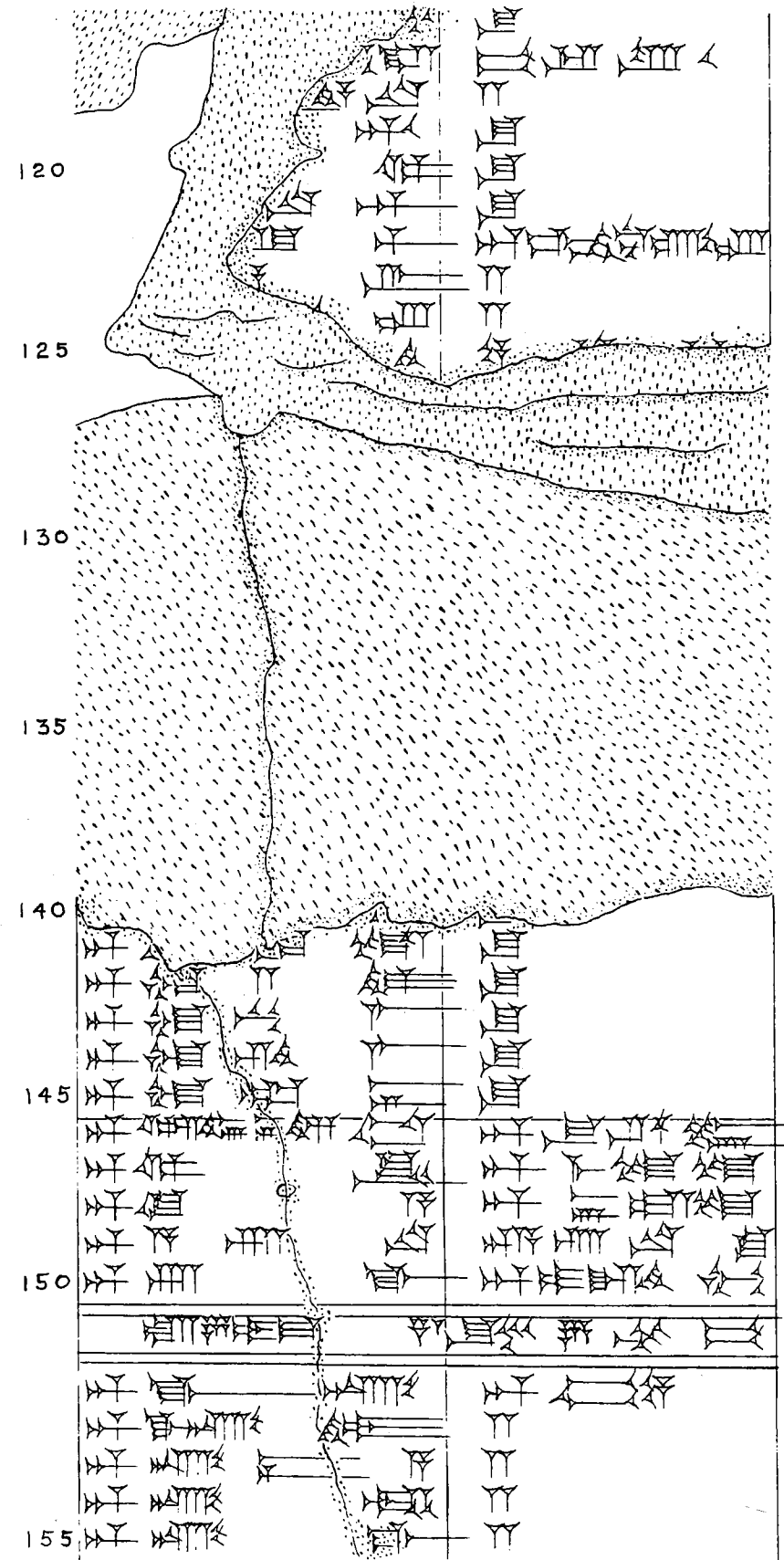
COL. IX
 5
 10

15
 20
 25
 30
 35
 40
 45
 50



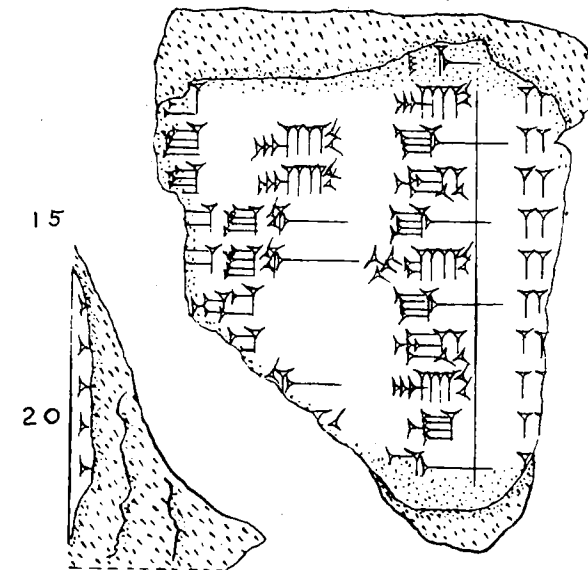


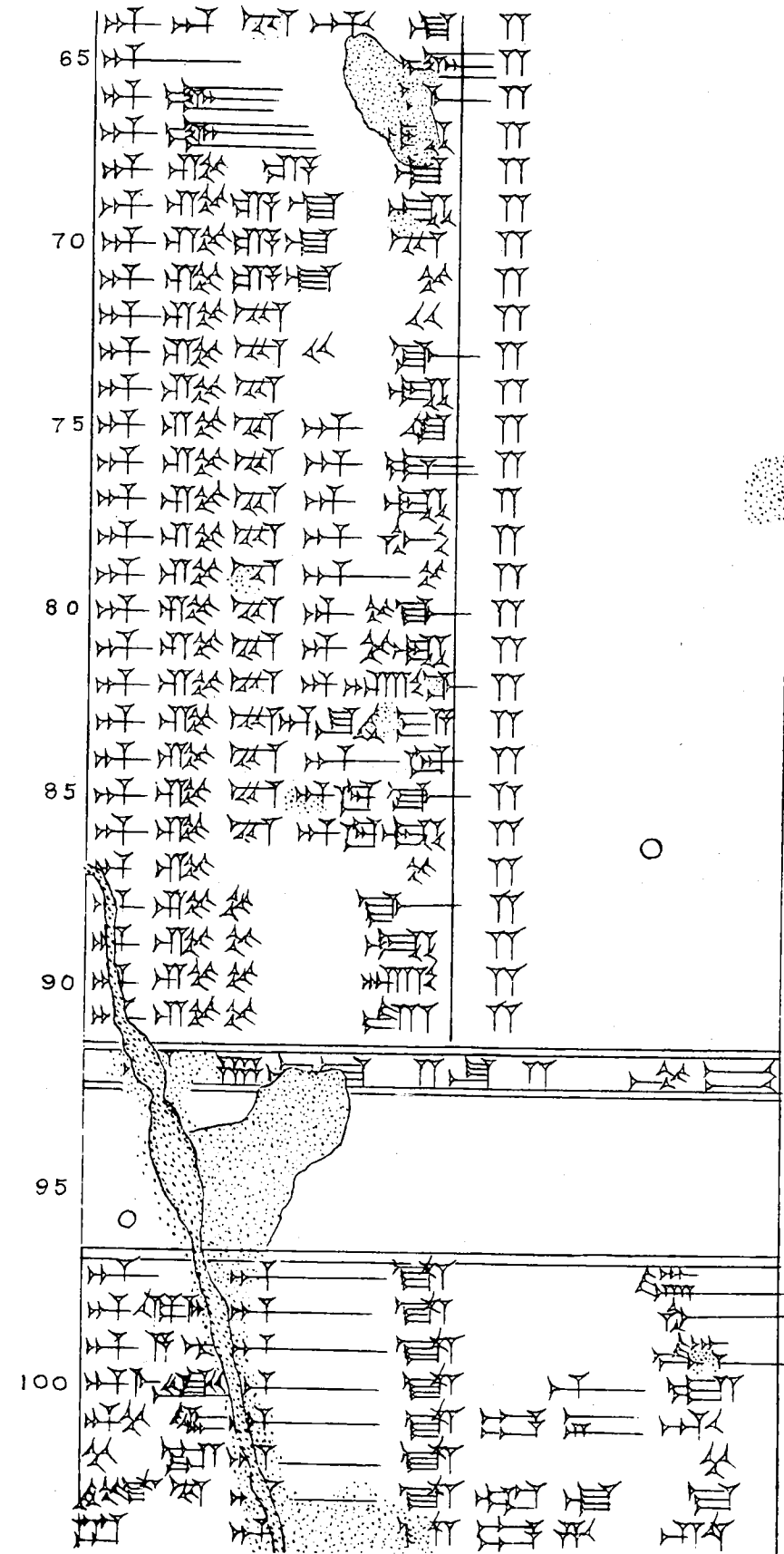
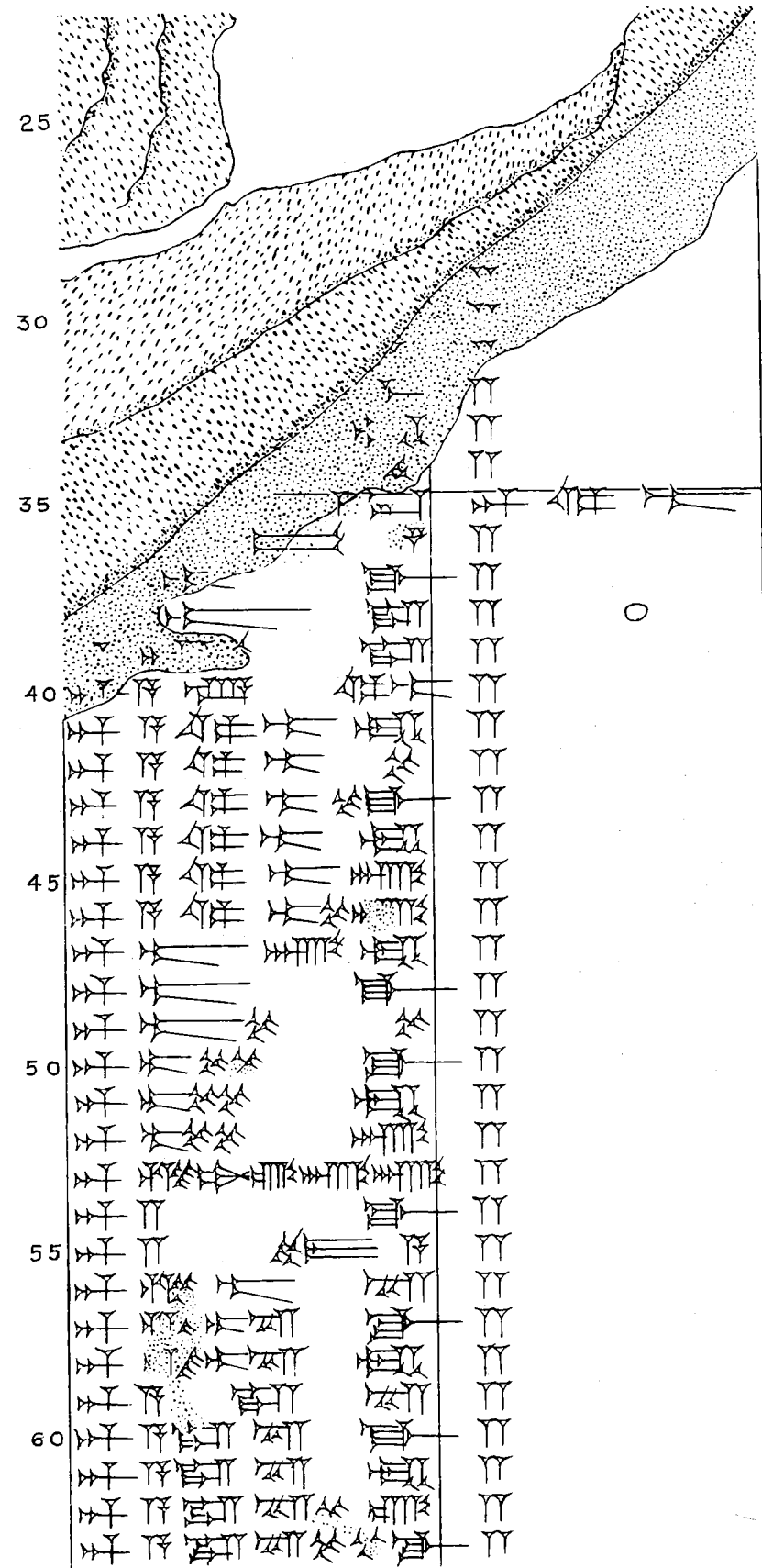


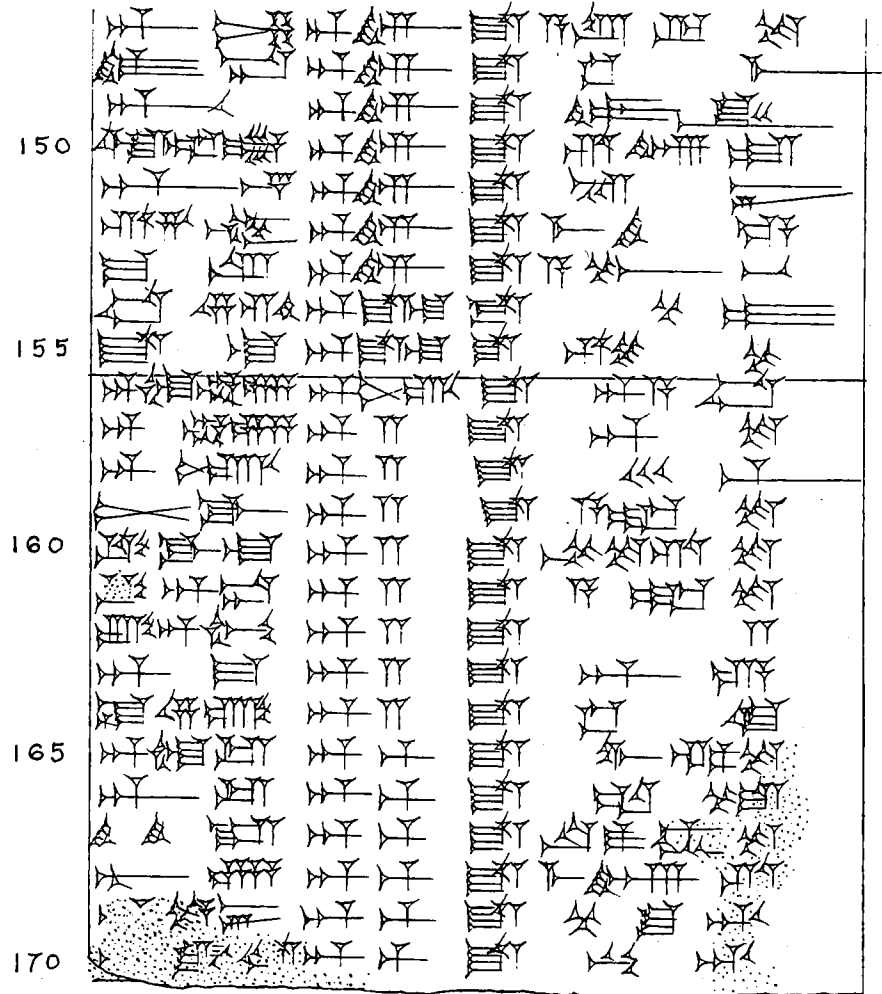
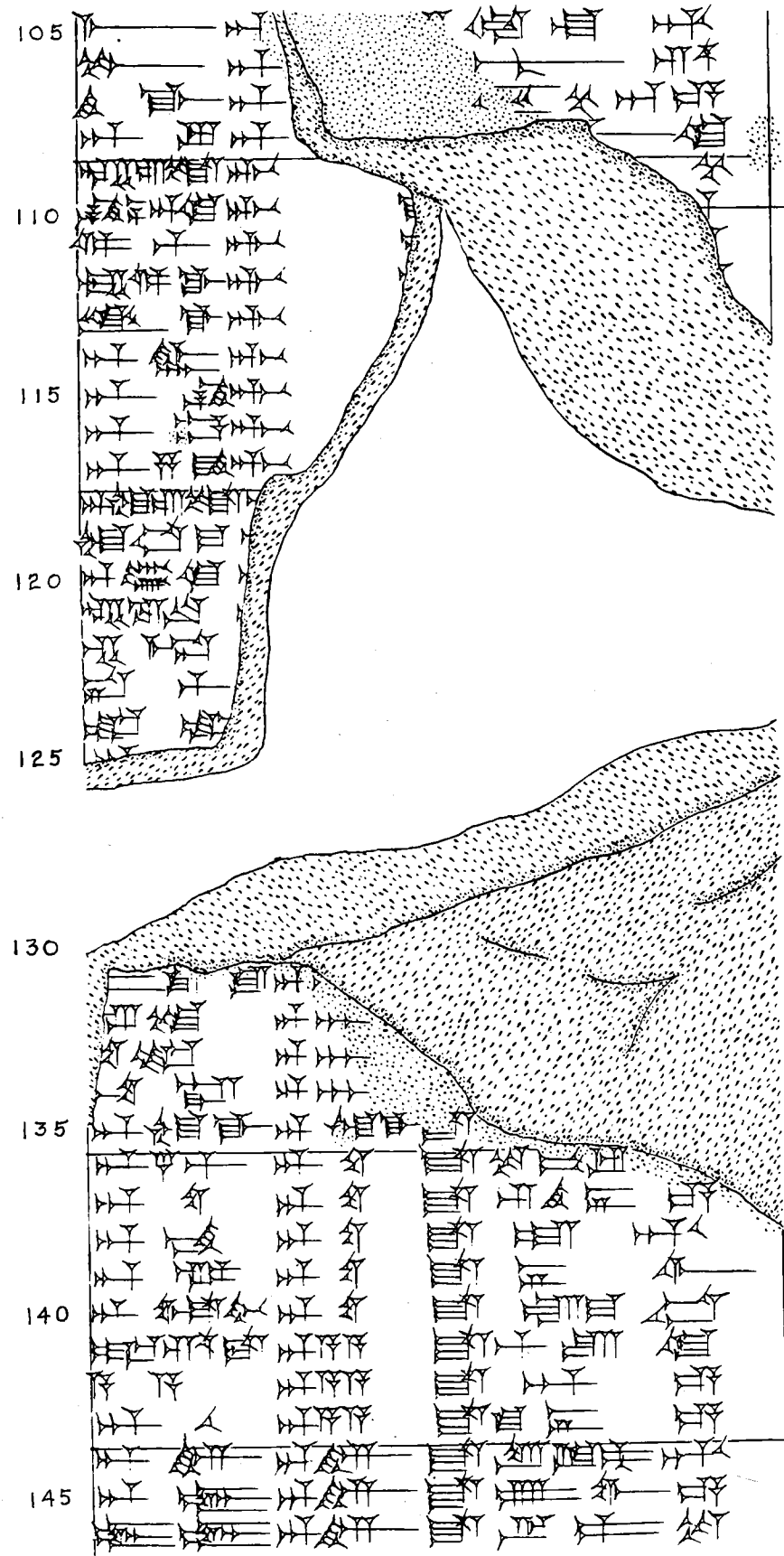


COL. XI

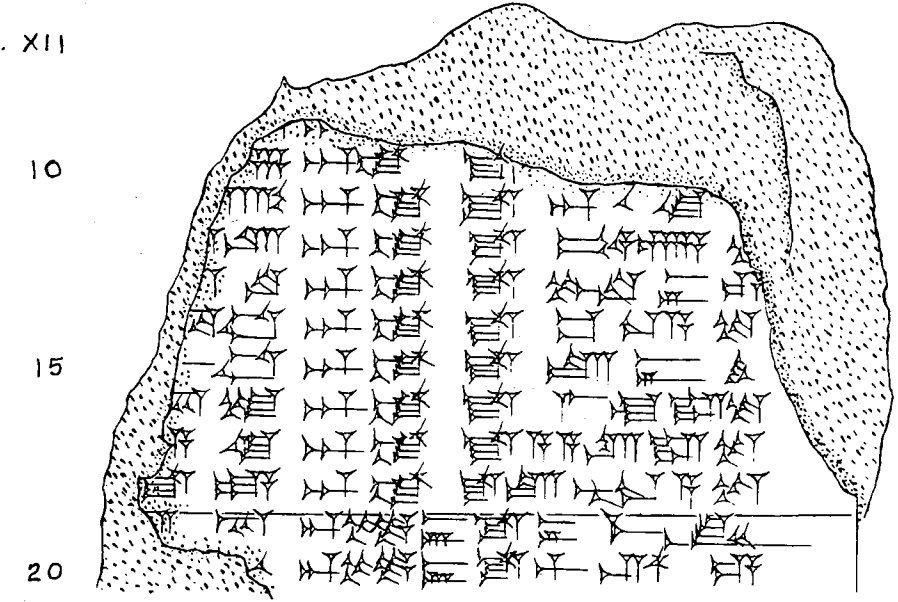
CA. 10 LINES MISSING

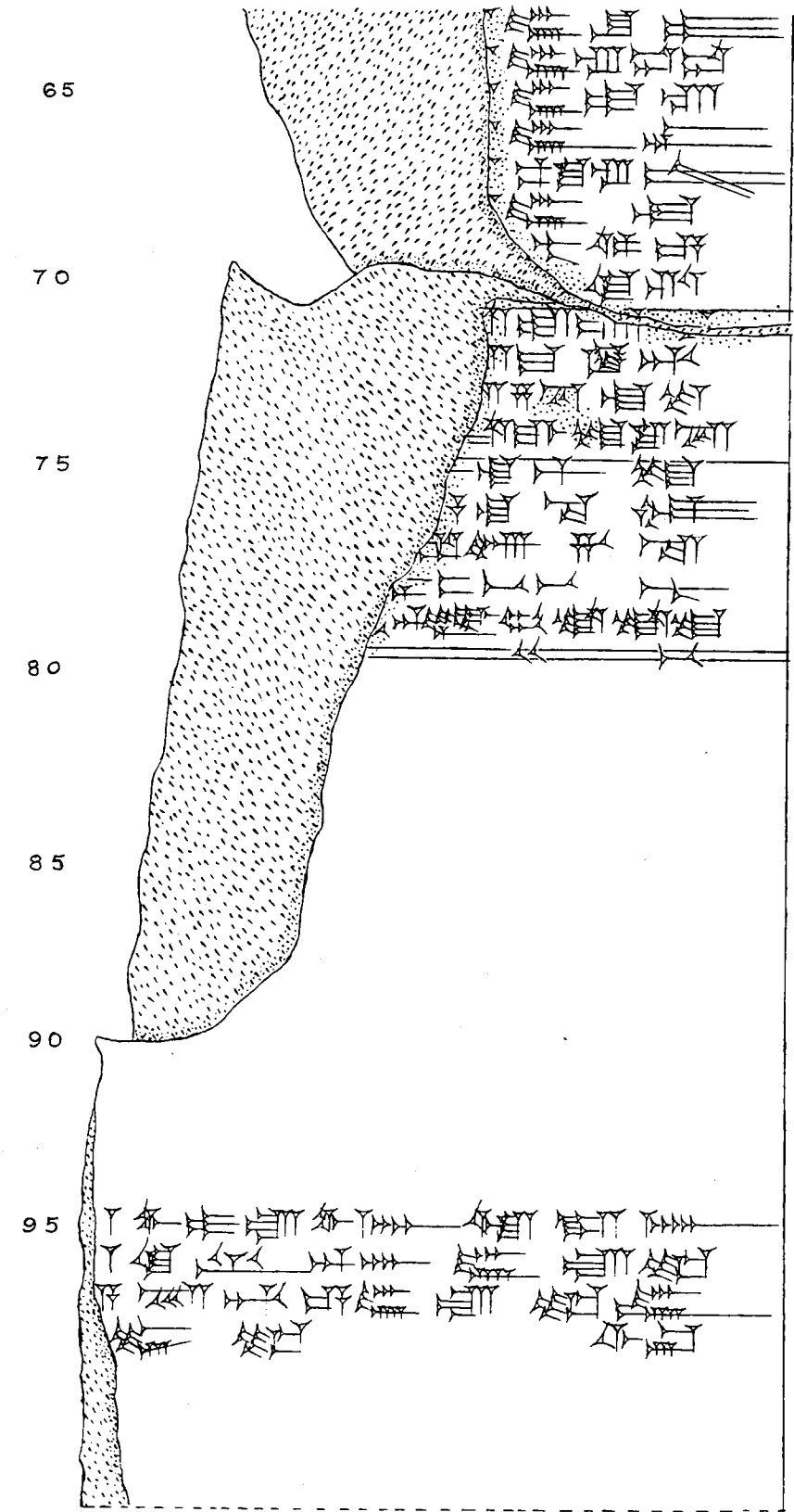
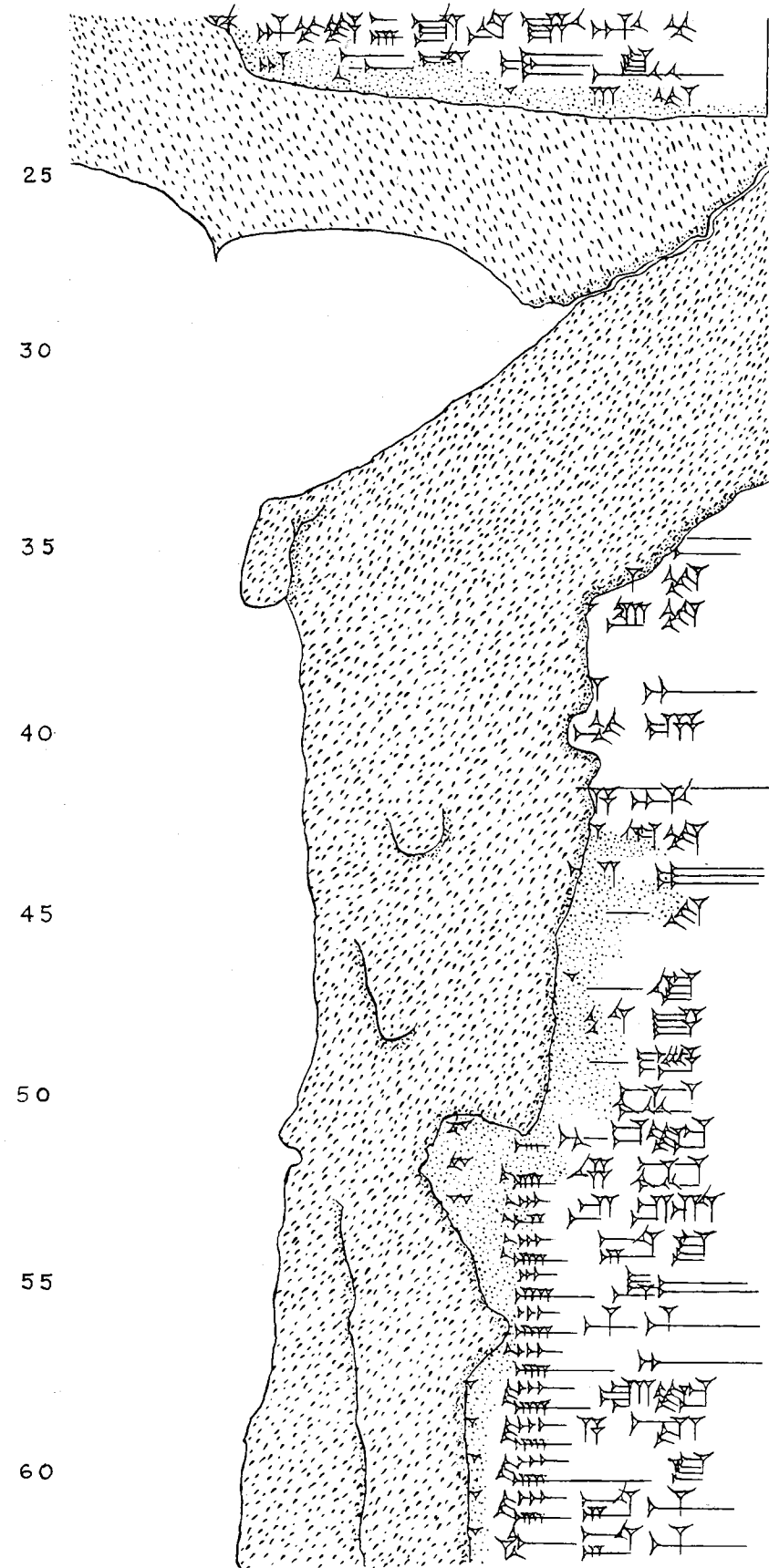






COL. XII





REST OF COL. NOT INSCRIBED