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“Enlil and Namzitara” Reconsidered

Four decades ago, Miguel Civil (1977) published “the brief, but fortunately complete tale” (Civil 1977: 65) of “Enlil and Namzitara.” In that publication, Civil deployed all the virtues ascribed to him by Samuel Noah Kramer (1991): “a sharp eye and a photographic memory” that made him “a master at identifying” Sumerian literary fragments, “making ‘joins’ whenever possible, and assigning them to the right compositions;” a “special flair and talent for matters technological;” and “an affinity for, and attraction to, lexicographical problems and details” which made him “the unchallenged master” of Sumerian lexicography. To Kramer’s concluding encomium – “original, innovative, creative, extraordinarily productive, and (justifiably) self-confident” – one only need add warm, congenial, and extraordinarily generous.

The initial publication of a Sumerian literary text is never the last word on that composition, and a number of scholars made small improvements to our understanding of “Namzitara” before it was re-edited together with the later bilingual version from Emar (published only after Civil’s first edition; see Civil 1989: 7) by Bendt Alster in 2005 (327–38).1 More recently Yoram Cohen (2010, 2013) and I (Cooper 2011) have returned to the composition, Cohen more interested in the wisdom aspects of the text, especially in its Late Bronze Syrian iteration,2 whereas I focused on the Old Babylonian version and its puns, as well as the interpretation of a recurring Sumerian phrase as nam-mu tar-ra “Bless me!” rather than nam mu-tar-ra “the one who determines destinies.” Wilfred Lambert (2013: 286–87) offered a different take on that phrase in his explication of our tale’s Enmešara episode, for which see below. Yet after all has been said and done, Miguel’s succinct description of the composition forty years ago remains absolutely on target:

[“Enlil and Namzitara”] is a Sumerian variation of a well-known theme, attested in the folklore of many cultures: a) D (= a deity, a holy man, or a semi-divine hero) in disguise meets H (= a man), b) H recognizes the true identity of D, and c) D rewards H with a blessing, material goods, or spiritual powers (Civil 1977: 65).

What follows is a presentation of the manuscripts and text with translation of Old Babylonian “Enlil and Namzitara,” an examination of the composition’s

1 See the bibliography in Alster 2005: 327; Cohen 2013: 163.
2 In addition to the Emar version a fragment of the Akkadian translation has turned up at Ugarit (Arnaud 2007: 141–42, pl. xxii no. 47).

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origin and role in the Nippur curriculum, as well as a discussion of certain aspects of its interpretation that remain controversial. More comprehensive manuscript details and textual matrices for the composition will be found at the end.

Miguel Civil’s edition of “Enlil and Namzetara” utilized seven manuscripts, and those remain the only witnesses to the OB text. Three of those (C, D, E) are type II school tablets according to Civil’s typology (e.g., 1979: 5; 1995: 2308). The other four are on compilation tablets together with compositions that Miguel has dubbed the “Lisina-group:” the “Tale of Lisina,” “a short letter (?) of ca. 14 lines,” the composition “Nothing is of Value”, “Enlil and Namzitara,” and “a short composition ... very incompletely preserved” (Civil 1977: 67). Of these five, only our composition and “Nothing of Value” (Alster 2005: 266–87) have been edited. Five of the tablets containing “Enlil and Namzitara” are short-line tablets. Ms. A has ten very narrow columns; in our composition, many of the lines of text as found in mss. B and F are spread over two and even three (1, 6, 10, 15, 17, 27) independent, that is, non-indented, lines. Line 18 is spread over four lines, and in 10, A breaks a short line in the middle of a verbal prefix chain. Mss. C, D, E and G also have short lines to varying degrees, but none with the consistency of A, and there is only one instance among them of a “normal” line spread over three short lines (G: 15). The lineation used below follows B and F.

Eclectic text

1 nam-zi-tar-ra d’en-lil₂ mu-zal-le
2 inim in-na-an-du₁₁
3 me-ta-am₃ nam-zi-tar-ra
4 e₂ d’en-lil₂-la₂-ta
5 bala gub-ba-mu bi₂-silim-ma-am₃
6 ki gudu₄-e-ne-ka udu-bi-da i₃-gub-bu-nam
7 e₂-mu-še₃ al-du-un
8 nam-mu-un-gub-be₂-en
9 gir₃-mu u₄ ul₄-ul₄
10⁶ a-ba-me-en za-e-me-en lu₂ en₃ mu-e-tar-re

3 For compilation tablets, see Kleinerman 2011: 57–74; Worthington 2008: 625–27. The German Sammeltafel is often translated into English as “collective tablet,” but “compilation tablet” is a less ambiguous rendering.
4 The Lisina tale is discussed briefly in Michalowski 1987–90: 32–33.
6 See the mss. variants to this line in the textual matrices.
"Enlil and Namzitara" Reconsidered

Translation:

1 Namzitara was passing by Enlil, (and)
2 He (Enlil) spoke to him:
3 “Where (are you coming) from, Namzitara?”
4 [N:] “From the temple of Enlil –
5 “I have completed my turn of service there;
6 “I serve with the gudu4-priests and their sheep, (but now)
7 “I’m going home.
8 “Don’t stand in the way!
9 “I’m in a hurry!
10 “(And anyway,) who are you to be asking me questions?”
11 [E:] “I am Enlil!”
12 (Then) Enlil changed his appearance, (and)
13 After he had turned into a raven (uga),

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7 Mss. A and D conflate lines 12 and 13, skipping from IGi in 12 to U3 (IGI.DIB) in 13, then going back to 13’s beginning. The conflation must have first occurred in a ms. that did not omit the u3- in 13, as do D and E.
8 Ms. B omits this line, probably because of the d-en-lil2-me-en both here and in the preceding line.
9 For the many still unresolved difficulties, see Cooper 2011: 41–42.
10 Mss. A and D conflate 12 and 13: After Enlil had turned into a raven.
He (Enlil) was making bird calls.

“How did you know that I’m Enlil?”

“When Enmešara, your father’s brother, was captured, you carried off Enlilship saying, ‘As of this day (u₄), I shall (ga-) assign destinies/blessings!’”

“You may acquire precious metals, you may acquire jewels, you may acquire herds, you may acquire flocks, (but when)

“The time of a human being has come,

“What good will your possessions be?”

“You’re Enlil! Bless me!”

“What is your name?”

“Namzitara (‘given a good/reliable destiny/blessing’) is my name.”

“May you be blessed according to your name:

“Be outstanding in the temple of your lord, (and)

“May your heirs pass through my temple on a regular basis!”

Enlil’s Blessing

There is general agreement that Namzitara earns Enlil’s blessing in lines 26–27 because he has seen through Enlil’s avian disguise (18), remembering the syllables in Enlil’s words quoted in l. 18 that combine to form the word u₄ga “raven”. Only W. G. Lambert (2013: 286–87; 1989: 509) denied this, pointing out, quite logically, that Enlil had already identified himself as such in 11. But logic is not a necessary constitutive principle in this composition when it comes to identification: Enlil recognizes Namzitara by name in line 3, but asks his name

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11 For the imperative nam-mu tar-ra and the translation “Bless me!,” see Cooper 2011.
12 Lit. “Where will your possessions be brought?” In other words, you can’t take it with you.
13 Lit. “who” (a-ba) rather than the expected a-na, and though preserved in only one ms., it apparently was transmitted as such to Emar (Civil 1989: 7).
14 The name also has a meaning even more specific to this text: “Given a good/reliable temple position.” Prebends in OB were designated by nam + the position’s function, so nam-gudu₄, nam-i₃-du₈, etc.
15 See Cooper 2011: 41.
16 Or possibly “in the house of your king;” see Cooper 2011: 41.
In a recent article and book, Y. Cohen (2010; 2013) proposed that the bit of wisdom offered here in lines 20–21 (and expanded in the Late Bronze Syrian versions) is spoken not by Enlil, as usually supposed, but by Namzitara, that is, like Lugalbanda rejecting the initial blessings of the Anzu-bird, Namzitara is holding out for something he considers more valuable. According to Cohen, when Enlil offers a prosaic blessing of riches (OB 19), Namzitara rejects them on the grounds that men die and then their riches are of no use (OB 20–21). He again demands a (real) blessing, and Enlil complies by granting him a hereditary prebend in Enlil’s temple, a blessing that will survive Namzitara and grace his descendants. For this to work, Cohen must assume that nig₂-tuku₃-zu in l. 21 means “the possessions I (Namzitara) get from you” rather than simply “your possessions” and that the Late Bronze Syrian version’s equivalent (B 17’) ku₃-babbar-zu etc. = kasapka etc. must be understood not as Enlil addressing Namzitara (“your silver” etc.) but as Namzitara rejecting “the silver etc. I get from you (Enlil)” (Cohen 2013: 159). This is very awkward, as is, despite the parallels Cohen adduces (2010: 95–96), the notion of lowly Namzitara lecturing the chief of the pantheon.

I (Cooper 2011) prefer to see Enlil attempting to wriggle out of having to bless Namzitara, or, perhaps, testing Namzitara to see if he is just trying to get rich, and telling Namzitara that a conventional blessing of riches is pointless (the vanity theme) because humans are in any case mortal. Namzitara insists (22) on receiving the blessing he is due, which will be a heritable prebend in Enlil’s temple (27), a blessing that will persist even after his death. The best argument for Cohen’s position is in the Ugarit Akkadian fragment’s translation of the Late Bronze Syrian Sumerian B 18’ me-šê₂ al-tum₃ as [ayyik]â’ alqe’ anâku,¹⁸ which Cohen (2013: 155) understands as Namzitara asking where he could take the possessions Enlil might bless him with. But Arnaud’s interpretation (2007: 141) is equally plausible: Enlil is asking to what end he might give Namzitara those possessions, since, as the Late Bronze Age text continues, human life is limited.

¹⁷ Lambert was using Civil’s original lineation, in which l. 16 begins nam-mu-tar-ra, but, in fact, there is no ms. that begins the line with that phrase, and the omission of 16 by ms. B is easier to explain if that line begins as I have it here.

¹⁸ From Arnaud’s copy (2007: 256 no. 47) the alqe is far from certain, although on p. 140 he transliterates it without any brackets whatsoever. The anâku, however, is perfectly clear.
Namzitara’s prebend

Miguel Civil (1977: 65) recognized that the tale he was publishing told “how Namzitara’s family ... gained possession of a prebend, one of the most important sources of familial wealth in Old Babylonian Nippur.” In lines 4–6, Namzitara explains that he is coming from Enlil’s temple, where he has been serving “with the gudu4-priests and their sheep,” and in 27, Enlil proclaims that Namzitara’s heirs will be a regular presence in his (Enlil’s) temple. However, there were no gudu4-priests at Enlil’s temple Ekur in OB Nippur: it is the nu-eš3-priest, who “ist im wesentlichen auf das Ekur Enlils in Nippur beschränkt ... wo er dem gudu4-Kultp. anderer Heiligtümer entspricht.” (Sallaberger and Huber Vulliet 2005: 630). Moreover, the gudu4-priests “brachten vor allem unblutige Opfer dar.” There is no indication that they dealt with “blutige Opfer” (Renger 1969: 162), the sheep of our l. 6. These are things anyone in OB Nippur would have known, and it may be that, in addition to the many amusing puns laced throughout the composition, the entire premise of the story is a big joke.

However, there are records from OB Nippur of a gudu4 prebend handed down through the family of Mannum-mēšu-liṣṣur (Wiebke 2015) said to be for a specific manifestation of Enlil called Enlil-urumah-anki, who was worshipped in Ekurigigal (Richter 2004: 44 n. 198), which was not just a part of Enlil’s temple Ekur, but a separate structure with a courtyard, storehouse, its own gate and a variety of cult installations (Richter 2004: 43–45; Michalowski 2006: 157–59). So it may be, rather, that a student or scholar in OB Nippur would have known that a reference to gudu4 at “the temple of Enlil” situated Namzitara not in Ekur, but in the Ekurigigal, a temple with links to both the curricular use of the Namzitara tale (see below) and to the Enmešara myth invoked in lines 17–18.

Enlil and Enmešara

In our lines 17–18, Namzitara recalls that when Enlil’s uncle Enmešara was captured, Enlil took for himself the “Enlilship,” that is, the leadership of the pantheon that enabled him, Enlil, to assign fates and functions (nam). Lambert (2013: 281–98) has edited a first millennium myth that related how Marduk defeated and captured Enmešara, and subsequently reorganized the pantheon. Unfortunately, the preserved manuscripts begin only after Enmešara has been captured, and are only fragmentary as well. Therefore, the details of the battle between Marduk and Enmešara remain obscure, as does, necessarily, the ear-
lier story of the conflict between Enlil and Enmešara that lies behind the first millennium myth. As Lambert (2013: 284) notes, “the best-attested characteristic of Enmešarra is that he was a primaeval god who held power before the gods worshipped by the historical Sumerians and Babylonians.” For this reason, I prefer to see the battle between Enlil/Marduk and Enmešara as a succession myth, rather than, with Lambert (2013: 287), as a story of a rebellion put down. Lambert insists that the “Enlilship” in our composition “would hardly have been called ‘Enlilship’ if it had first, and legally, belonged to any god other than Enlil.” But Lambert himself goes on to describe how, in Enūma Eliš Tiamat gives “Anuship” to Qingu, long before it becomes Anu’s much later in the story. Also, the name en-me-šar₂-ra “lord of the myriad cosmic powers” implies that the god once legitimately controlled those powers (pace Lambert 2013: 288), before they passed into the possession of Enlil, and later Marduk.

If, in fact, Namzitara was serving in the Ekurigigal and not the Ekur itself (see above), then his evocation of Enmešara and the succession myth takes on added significance. A first millennium cultic commentary (OECT 11: 69) reports that Enlil married Šuziana, the daughter of Enmešara, and ina libbi ekurigigal dINGIR ilmassima “the god had intercourse with her inside the Ekurigigal” (Gurney 1989: 27). Šuziana was venerated at Nippur (Richter 2004: 86–89; Such-Gutiérrez 2003, I: 299–302),19 and the collection of Sumerian temple hymns already calls her dam ban₂-da a-a d'en-lil₂-la₂ “secondary wife of father Enlil.” Since our text calls Enmešara Enlil’s paternal uncle (17), if the first millennium report that Šuziana is Enmešara’s daughter holds for earlier periods, Enlil has taken his patrilateral parallel cousin (father’s brother’s daughter) as a bride, a choice which remains preferred today in the Middle East. Again, assuming the first millennium report reflects earlier traditions, Enlil enjoyed his honeymoon with Šuziana in the very temple where Namzitara served as gudu₄-priest. Perhaps this is why Namzitara was so familiar with Enlil’s history with Enmešara, and was thus able to see through his disguise. He remembered Enlil’s words after he took over Enmešara’s powers – u₄ ... ga-zu “now I will

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19 Šuziana’s cult in Nippur figures in the post-Old Babylonian comic story “Why do You Curse Me?” (Foster 2005: 937–38 with bibliography) In that composition, a doctor from Isin arrives in Nippur to collect his fee from a patient who resides there, and is told that the patient is not home, but has gone to present an offering the temple of his god, Šuziana. The joke here must be due to the equation of Šuziana with Gula, the goddess of healing and titulary deity of Isin, in later texts (Krebernik 2011–13: 377–79). The hilarity is compounded by both the office held by the physician, sanga of Gula, and the injury for which he treated the patient, a dog bite. Gula was traditionally associated with and symbolized by a dog.
assign” (18) – and reinterpreted them, as Miguel Civil (1977: 67) told us, to read uga zu “recognize the raven.”

**Namzitara and the Nippur Curriculum**

In his 1995 discussion of “Ancient Mesopotamian Lexicography,” Miguel Civil (1995: 2308) describes his Type II class of cuneiform tablets containing lexical lists:

Type II is limited to the period of the Old Babylonian schools. Such tablets contain divergent material on each of its two sides. To the left of the flat side (II/1) there is a carefully written lexical passage extracted from a fuller list, apparently the work of an instructor, while to the right the passage is copied by a student. On the convex side (II/2) of a Type II tablet, there is a multicolunm excerpt from a longer list.

These tablets “predominate in Nippur, ... are less common at other sites and are almost unknown at Ur.” (Tinney 1998: 45) Three of our “Enlil and Namzitara” manuscripts are II/1 tablets (C, D and E), preserving only the left-hand side. Type II tablets belong to the elementary level of scribal education, and usually contain lexical texts, the lists of signs and values that are learned by a beginner as well as more advanced lists, or the model contracts and proverbs that constitute the next step in the curriculum. “Enlil and Namzitara” is one of the very few literary texts to appear on Type II tablets (Veldhuis 1997: 65–66), and thus stands near the very beginning of a student’s initiation into the corpus of Sumerian literature.

Steve Tinney has noted that the short-line format of mss. A, C, D, E and G is typical for texts “used early in the course of scribal training.” While unavoidable perhaps for Type II/1 tablets (C, D and E), the use of short lines on other multi-column tablets (A and G) is likely because the student, having learned

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20 The precise significance of the raven in our text remains mysterious. The bird is sometimes associated with Enlil, but with other gods as well (Veldhuis 2004: 299–301; Weszeli 2007: 210–13). P. Michalowski reminds me, also, that in Wilcke’s (1996) reading of the “Figure aux plumes,” Enlil’s son Ningirsu is identified with a raven.

21 Because the student’s work on the right-hand side was repeatedly rubbed smooth and rewritten, that side of the tablet grew ever thinner and eventually broke or was broken off, so that many Type II tablets preserve only the left-hand side (Tinney 1998: 45; Veldhuis 1997: 32).

22 For the Nippur elementary curriculum, see Veldhuis 2014: 204–12.

23 To Veldhuis’s list, add, for Lipit-Èstar B, Peterson 2011: No. 176.

24 For the literary curriculum, see Delnero 2010; Kleinerman 2011: 75–81.
the composition on Type II/1 tablets, “laid out” his tablet “in a manner ... reminiscent of the type II texts.” (Tinney 1995: 11). Another feature of our mss. that derives from the position of “Enlil and Namzitara” early in the literary curriculum is the complete absence of the ligature AN+EN in mss. A, C, F and G. In D, the two signs are clearly separate in 11 and 17, but in 12 and 15 the ligature must have been present because the preserved end of the EN indicates that it stands at the beginning of the line (so no room for a separate AN), and it was probably present in 16 and 18 as well. It is noteworthy that C and D are both Type II/1, so models theoretically inscribed by an instructor.25 The other Type II/1 tablet, E, does use the ligature (although the bit of the tablet preserved has only one possibility, as is the case for C as well). Neither A nor G use any determinative before the name Enmešara; D has an unligatured determinative there, as does B, which otherwise always uses the ligature with Enlil.

When our composition does not occur on Type II/1 tablets, it is found on compilation tablets26 (A, B, F and G) with one or more other short compositions. Most literary compilations fall into two groups: literary letters and associated miscellany, and wisdom compositions. According to A. Kleinerman (2011: 58) “there is very little overlap among these ... groups,” and, looking at her list of so-called wisdom compilations (2011: 65), it is clear that even among these, certain compositions tend to group together, and not all are “wisdom,” no matter how that term may be defined. This is certainly true of Civil’s Lisina-group (see above), which is named after its longest composition, a lamentation of the goddess Lisina over her dead son. There may be a tenuous connection between Kleinerman’s “Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany” and our composition. Four of the twenty-two compositions Kleinerman’s epistolary compilations are not letters; the longest and best known of the four is the Tumal Text (Kleinerman 2011: 139–143; Michalowski 2006), a fictional history of the sanctuary of Ninlil at Tumal, south of Nippur, featuring father-son pairs of Sumerian kings, of which the father builds part of Enlil’s temple complex at Nippur, and the son “made Tumal resplendent” (pa bi2-i-e3) and led Ninlil thither. The final line of the text reads, simply “Išbi-Erra built Ekurigigal, the storehouse of Enlil.” That is, this staple of the Nippur schools concludes its history of the sanctuaries of Nippur’s chief god and goddess with the construction of Ekurigigal, the very temple where Namzitara may have served (see above).

“Enlil and Namzitara” is set in Nippur and the name Namzitara itself was borne by an Ur III governor of Nippur from the distinguished Urmeme family.27

25 The misshapen BA in C’s rendering of our l. 5 suggests that perhaps a more advanced student or teaching assistant was responsible for the model, and not the instructor himself.
26 For the term, see above, n. 3.
27 As pointed out to me by P. Michalowski. For the Urmeme family, see Zettler 1984.
A. Kleinerman (2008) has discussed the use of the names of historical Nippur personages of the Ur III period in the literary Nippur correspondence and related texts that were studied by students in Old Babylonian schools. She cited Veldhuis's (2004: 40) perceptive remarks on the relationship between OB Sumerian literary compositions and specific cities. In her words, “As scribal themes were associated with Nippur, so, for example, epic heroes were associated with Uruk.” Although there is nothing specifically scribal about our composition, it was among the first texts an aspiring scribe learned in Nippur, and hence fitting that the name of an eminent Nippurian of centuries past was appropriated for the human protagonist.

**Manuscripts**

**A** 3N-T326 (IM 58427; fig. 1) + 3N-T360 (A 30218; P274955) rev.
Ten narrow very short-line columns (five per side) containing the entire Lisina group, “Enlil and Namzitara” beginning in 3N-T360 ix 8 (toward the top of the rev.) and continuing onto 3N-T326 for the rest of col. ix, returning back to 3N-T360 at the top of col. x, and ending on 3N-T326 x 8. The tablet’s contents are discussed by Alster 2005: 275–276, with photos of the Nippur casts there on pls. 36–39. The CDLI image of 3N-T360 is of the actual tablet; the photo of the cast of 3N-T326 in fig. 1 here is courtesy G. Rubio.

**B** CBS 4605 (P260904)
A single-column tablet containing all of “Enlil and Namzitara” through the upper reverse, followed by the beginning of Civil’s text d). The last clear line begins dumu-sag lugal and is then very worn, as is the reverse in general. The lower two-thirds of the reverse looks as if it were erased, or else is just very abraded. The text of our composition is clear through line 18; the ends of 19–20 are quite unsure, based on the traces on broken lower right edge of the obverse. Line 23 is assumed from the single zu preserved on the lower edge, and 24–27 on reverse are quite uncertain.

**C** N 5149 (P229658)
The top of a Type II/1 tablet, preserving lines 2–9 of our composition. The only short line occurs in 6, an exceptionally long line.

**D** N 5909 (P230162)
Type II/1 (so Civil, but not certain), preserving lines 6–18, breaking lines only for the very long lines 6 and 15.

**28** Images of all mss. except 3N-T326 can be found online at CDLI under the P-numbers indicated.
Fig. 1: Photo of the cast of 3N-T326 (IM 58427), obverse and reverse, at the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago (G. Rubio).
E  CBS 7917+N 4784 (P230161)
   Type II/1 fragment preserving 10–14. Short lines at 10 and 12.

F  UM 29-16-79A (P256684)
   Upper right fragment of a two-column tablet, with the Lisina lament on the
   obverse, and lines 19–27 of “Enlil and Namzitara” on the reverse, ending
   at the bottom of col. iii. According to Civil, the tablet contained the entire
   Lisina-group, but what is visible of col. iv seems empty except for a clear
   BAR in the middle of the column, so the entire group may not have been
   (P256685) seems to be a complete Ur III tablet.

G  CBS 6924+N 3097 (P264351)
   Obverse (?) fragment of compilation tablet with three or more columns per
   side. The right-hand column contains “Enlil and Namzitara” 15–18 in short-
   line format; to the left is nig₂-nam mu-kal version D (Alster 2005: 276–9).
   The entire tablet is transliterated separately by Alster 2005: 281, with photo
   on pl. 34.²⁹

New Textual Matrices for Namzitara

(+=sign present, −=sign omitted, .=sign partly present, o=entirely broken,
  x=unidentified sign, *=determinative not in ligature with EN, |=new line)

1  nam-zi-tar-ra  d.en-lil₂  mu-zal-le
   A  +  +  +  +  |  + +  +  |  +  +  +  +  +
   B  o  .  +  .  .  +  +  +  +  +

2  inim in-na-an-du₁₁
   A  +  +  +  +  +  +
   B  o  +  +  +  +  +  !
   C  .  +  +  +  +  +

3  me-ta-am₃ nam-zi-tar-ra
   A  +  +  +  +  +  +  +  +  +  +
   B  o  .  +  +  +  +  +  +
   C  +  +  +  +  +  +  +  +  +  +

²⁹ Alster seems to have learned of CBS 6924 late in the preparation of his manuscript, and
   didn’t realize that it was joined with the same tablet (N 3097) that he used in the same volume
   for his edition of “Enlil and Namzitara.” His transliteration of the joined tablet on p. 281 is
   imprecise.
4  $e_2\cdot d.en\cdot l_2\cdot l_a l_2\cdot t_a$
A  + + + + +
B  o o + + x-kam
C  + + + + +

5  bala gub-ba-mu $b_i_2$-silim-ma-am$_3$
A  + + + + | . . . .
B  + + + + + + + -
C  + + +! + + . + + -

6  ki gudu$_4$-e-ne-ka udu-bi-da $i_3$-gub-bu-nam
A  + . + . . | + + de$_3$ | + + . x
B  + + + + ke$_4$! + + + + + + +
C  + + + + + + + | + + . +
D  o o . + + + . o | o + + o

7  $e_2$-mu-še$_3$ al-du-un
A  + . + | + . +
B  + + + + + +
C  + + + + + +
D  o + + + + 0

8  nam-mu-un-gub-be$_2$-en
A  + + + + + +
B  + + + + + +
C  + + + + + .
D  . + + + + +

9  gir$_3$-mu $u_4$ $u_l_4$-ul$_4$
A  . + + + +
B  + + + + +
C  . . . . . .
D  + + + + +

10  (see individual mss.)
A  a-[b]a-am$_2$ za-e-me-en|lu$_2$ en$_3$ mu-e-ši-tar-r[e-e]n
B  a-ba-me-"en za?-e-me-"en lu$_2$" en$_3$ mu-tar-re
D  a-ba-me-en za-e lu$_2$ en$_3$ mu-e-tar-re
E  [a-ba]-me-en za-e | [l]u$_2$ en$_3$ mu-e-tar-re
11 \( \text{ga}_2^\text{e} \text{ d en-lil}_2^\text{me-en} \)
A \( + + +^* . + + + \)
B \( + . + + + + + + + \)
D \( + + +^* + + . + \)
E \( . + + + + + + + \)

12 \( \text{d en-lil}_2\text{-le} \text{ igi-ni mu-ni-in-gi}_4 \)
A \( +^* + + + | - - - - - - \)
B \( + + + + + + g + + + o \)
D \( . + + - - - - - - \)
E \( o . + + | . - . . + + \)

13 \( \text{uga}^\text{muşen-aš} \text{ u}_3\text{-mu-ni-in-ku}_4 \)
A \( + + + | . + + + + \)
B \( + + + + + - - - - o \)
D \( + + \text{še}_3 - + + . . \)
E \( + + \text{še}_3 - + + - + \)

14 \( \text{gu}_3 \text{ al-de}_2\text{-de}_2\text{-e} \)
A \( . + + + - \)
B \( + + + + o \)
D \( + + + + . \)
E \( + + . + + \)

15 \( \text{uga}^\text{muşen} \text{ nu-me-en} \text{ d en-lil}_2\text{-me-en} \text{ nam-mu tar-ra} \)
A \( . + + + + + | o . + + + | + . + + \)
B \( + + + + + + + + + o o o o o o o \)
D \( . + + + + . | + . . . + + + . \)
G \( o o o o o | +* . o o o | + + o o \)

16 \( \text{ga}_2^\text{e} \text{ d en-lil}_2\text{-me-en} \text{ a-gin}_7 \text{ bi}_2\text{-zu} \)
A \( o o +^* + - - | o o + + \)
B \( \text{(omits)} \)
D \( . + . o . + + + + i_3 o \)
G \( + +^* . o o o | + + . o \)
17  \( u_4 \) en-me- šar₂-ra šeš ad-da-zu \( LU_2xKAR_2-da-a \)  
   A + − . . + + + | + + + + | \( LU_2xŠE_3 \) + +  
   B + +* + + d + + + + . o o + o  
   D + +* + + . + + a + + . o o  
   G + − + + . o o o o o | + x o  

18  nam \( d \) en-lil₂ ba-e-de₆-a \( u_4-ne-en-gin_7 \) nam ga-zu-e-še  
   A + +* + + | + + + + | + + + + + | + + + +  
   B + + + + + . + + + + . o o o o o + ! .  
   D o o . . . o o o o o o o o o o o o o o  
   G . .* . o o o o o o o o o o o o o o  

19  ku₃ he₂-tuku za he₂-tuku gu₄ he₂-tuku udu he₂-tuku  
   A + + + + + + | + + + + + + +  
   B . . . o o o o o o o o .  
   F + + + + . o o o o o o o o  

20  \( u_4 \) nam-lu₂-lu₇ al-ku-nu  
   A + + + + + + +  
   B o o o o o o .  
   F + + + + lu + + o  

21  (see individual mss.)  
   A \([nig₂-tu]ku-zu me-še₃ e-tum₃-ma\)  
   F nig₂-tuku-zu me e-D[U?-?]  

22  \( d \) en-lil₂-me-en nam-mu tar-ra  
   A o o o + + | o o . +  
   F +*+ + + + + + + .  

23  a-ba-am₃ mu-zu-um  
   A o o o o o +  
   B o o o o o + −  
   F o + + + o o
24 nam-zi-tar-ra mu-mu-um
   A . . . o | . . +
   B o o o o o + -
   F . . + + + +

25 mu-zu-gin₇ nam-zu he₂-tar-re
   A . . + + + [nam?]³₀ + + +
   B o o o o o . .
   F + + + + + +

26 e₂ lugal-za-ka e₃-a
   A o o . + + +
   B (illegible)
   F + + + + + +

27 ibila-zu e₂-ga₂ si-sa₂-e he₂-en-dib-dib-be₂-ne
   A o . | o o + + + | o o + + +
   B o o . . . . - . . . x o o
   F + + + + + - + + + + + +

Bibliography


³₀ Ms. A never indents lines, thus there should be a sign at the broken beginning of the line, preceding he₂-. 


