e-ISSN 2036-5845

KASKAL
Vol. 3 – Nuova serie – Novembre 2026

From the *Electronic Babylonian Literature* Lab 57-59

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Abstract This instalment features contributions from several collaborators: the new fragments of the *Cuthean Legend* edited by T. Mitto (no. 56), those of the Theodicy edited by Heinrich and Mitto (no. 57), and that of G. Rozzi on the *Šamaš Hymn* (no. 58) expand on previous contributions to these texts. Finally, the Ur III manuscript of *Lugalbanda and Anzû* published by J. Peterson (no. 59) shows that old versions may have circulated side by side with newer, bilingual editions.

Keywords Atram-ḫasīs. Anzû. Cuthean Legend. Theodicy. Shamash. Lugalbanda. Cuneiform.

Summary 57 New Fragments of the Theodicy – Part 2. – 58 New Fragments of the Great Šamaš Hymn (4). – 59 A Fragment of a Manuscript Reflecting an Ur III Version of Lugalbanda and Anzu from the Rassam 1880-11-12 Lot.

57. “New Fragments of the Theodicy – Part 2”, Adrian C. Heinrich and Tonio Mitto
58. “New Fragments of the Great Šamaš Hymn (4)”, Geraldina Rozzi
59. “A Fragment of a Manuscript Reflecting an Ur III Version of Lugalbanda and Anzu from the Rassam 1880-11-12 Lot”, Jeremiah Peterson

Edizioni Ca'Foscari

Peer review

Submitted 2025-12-19
Accepted 2026-03-12
Published 2026-11-13

Open access

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DOI 10.30687/KASKAL/2036-5845/2026/03/008

57 New Fragments of the Theodicy – Part 2

1. BM.94273+BM.94331

BM.94273+BM.94331 is a fragment from the lower left corner of what must originally have been a four-column tablet containing the entire text of the *Theodicy*.[1] The bottom and left-hand edges are partly preserved. The left edge shows two so-called firing holes located at obv. i 4′ and i 12′.

The find-spot of the tablet is unknown. According to the British Museum's online catalogue, both pieces were purchased from I.É. Géjou and registered in the collection in 1901 under the numbers 1901-7-13, 119 and 1901-7-13, 177, respectively.

On the basis of paleography alone, the time of writing is difficult to ascertain. The script is typical of Late Babylonian literary tablets, with some diagnostic sign forms (UG, GI, AḪ, LU) that point to a date of origin in the late Achaemenid or early Seleucid period. Furthermore, BM.94273+ closely matches BM.68589[2] in spelling and content, which A.R. George characterizes as "Late Babylonian" in the catalogue to CTL 1.[3] Consider, for example, the spelling *ak-kab-ti-ia* (SipLB1 i 3′ // BM.94273+ i 5′) for *ak-kabtî*. As already discussed by Jiménez,[4] the ending *-ia* seems to represent the lengthening of the final vowel, thus marking the sentence as a question.

Preserved are ll. 45-66 in column i on the fragment's obverse and ll. 217-28 in column iv on its reverse. The total number of columns can be calculated with a high degree of certainty since (a) the total number of lines of the *Theodicy* is known to amount to 297 (because of the composition's regular strophic and acrostic form, with 27 stanzas of 11 lines each) and (b) the last line of column i is preserved and corresponds to *Theodicy* 66.[5] Although it can thus be excluded that the tablet originally contained six columns, a simple calculation based on the number of lines of text preserved in column i alone does not yield a satisfactory reconstruction of the tablet's original layout, since it leaves 33 lines of text unaccounted for. Most likely, the scribe – realizing that he was running out of space in column iv – in some lines decided to break with the even colometric layout, in which each of the four accentual units in a line occupies its own subcolumn, and instead placed two lines of text in a single line of tablet (presumably separating them with a *Glossenkeil*). This layout not only explains why ll. 222 and 225 seem to be missing from the manuscript, but also how the scribe managed to fit the 69 lines following l. 229 in column iv 10 into the same space that, in column i, contained only the 44 lines preceding l. 45 (i 1′). Although BM.94273+ contains some textual variants (see below), this explanation seems preferable to the hypothetical claim that the scribe not only omitted ll. 222 and 225 but also inserted two yet unknown variant lines (in ll. 228ff.) to complete the 11 lines of the *pu*-stanza (*Theodicy* 221-231).

New text

First signs of **217** (*re*]-ᵍe¹-[) and **220** (*re-e*-x [*lū*); first half of **221** (*pūḫ sakkili* [) and **224** (*puḫḫurū illata*)

New orthographic variants

47 (*a*]*k-*ᵍ*ka-a*¹-[*ta* || *ak-k*]*a*ʾ-*ta*, *ak-*ᵍ*ka*¹-*ta*), **61** (ᵍ*ge*¹-*ri bu-ul* [*lab-bu* (?) || *ge-er bu-li*, *g*]*e-er bu-lu*$_4$), **65** (ᵍ*ge*¹-*ri an-nu-*[*ti-ía* || *ge-er-ri an-nu-tu-ú*, *an-n*]*u-*ᵍ*ti*¹-*ía*), **219** (*ri-de-e-*(ras.)-*m*[*a* || *ri-di-ma*), **223** (*bu-*ᵍšа¹-[*a*) || *bu-šá*)

New attestations of known textual variants

57 (ᵍ*gi-mir*¹ *n*[*ag-bi* as in SipLB1 *gi-mir nag-bi* vs. *gi-mil na-gab* in NinNA2 and SipLBCom1), **59** (ᵍ*gi-it-mul*¹ as in SipLB1 [*g*]*i-it-mul* vs. *gít-ma-lu* in BabaLBCom1),[6] **60** (ᵍ*gi-mir*¹ as in SipLB1 [*g*]*i-*ᵍ*mir*¹ vs. *gi*]-ᵍ*mil*¹ in NinNA2 and unclear *gi-mi*[*s*ʾ in BabaLBCom1), **63** (*ge-gu-né-*[*e* as in SipLB1 *ge-g*]*u-né-e* vs. *gi-is maš-re-e* in NinNA2)

1 For the first part of this series of notes on additions to the textual reconstruction of the *Theodicy*, see Mitto, Heinrich 2023. In addition to the two new pieces published here, BM.35252 (Sp-II.819), a badly abraded fragment from the middle of the first column of a multi-column tablet from Late Babylonian Babylon, is probably another new manuscript of the *Theodicy*; see, e.g., i 3′: *na-ad-nu*]*-ú ab-bu-n*[*i* (*Theodicy* 16), i 4′:] *ḫu-bur* ᵍ*ib*¹¹*-bi-ri* [(*Theodicy* 17?), i 7′: [*na-a*]*m-*ᵍ*ra-a*¹ [(*Theodicy* 20), and i 11′ʾ: ᵍ*ku-mur-re*¹-[*e*/*ma* (*Theodicy* 24?). However, corroboration of the identification of BM.35252 as a library manuscript of the text requires collation of the original.

2 MS SipLB1 in Heinrich 2022.

3 George, Taniguchi 2019, 14 sub no. 252.

4 Jiménez 2014, 103 fn. 10.

5 Note that although in BM.40098(+) (MS BabLB3 in Heinrich 2022) the last line of column i also corresponds to *Theodicy* 66, BM.94273+BM.94331 and BM.40098(+) do not join and hence belong to different manuscripts.

6 Formerly SipLBCom1. On the likely provenance of the *Theodicy* commentary from Borsippa, see below sub no. 2.

e-ISSN 2036-5845

Obverse

45 i 1′ [*ak*]-⌜*tam*ʔ⌝-[*sak-ku rūʾa ātaḫaz milikka*]
46 i 2′ [*a*]*q*-x-[x *duššupa siqar šaptīka*] (?)
47 i 3′ [*a*]*k*-⌜*ka-a*⌝-[*ta* o o (o o) *gana luqbīka*]
48 i 4′ [*a*]*k-ka*-[*nu serrēmu ša iṭpupu šumuḫ šammi*]
49 i 5′ [*a*]*k-kab-ti-i*[*a pakki ilī uzunšu ibši*]
50 i 6′ [*a*]*g-g*[*u lābu ša ītakkalu dumu šīri*]
51 i 7′ ⌜*ak*⌝*-ki-mil-t*[*i iltī šupṭuri ubil maṣḫassu*]
52 i 8′ ⌜*ak*⌝*-kab-t*[*i bēl pāni ša uṣṣubūšu naḫāšu*]
53 i 9′ *aq*-⌜*ra*⌝-[*a ṣārira iḫīṭ ana māmi*]
54 i 10′ *ak-la-*⌜*ma*⌝-[*a nindabâ iliš usappi*]
55 i 11′ *ak-ru*-[*ub sattukki iltim-ma qibītī* o o o]

---

56 i 12′ ⌜*gi-šim-ma*⌝-[*ri iṣ mašrê aḫī aqru*]
57 i 13′ ⌜*gi-mir*⌝ *n*[*ag-bi nēmeqi illuk* o o (o o)]
58 i 14′ ⌜*gi*⌝*-na-t*[*a-a ammatiš nesi milik ili*]
59 i 15′ ⌜*gi-it-mul*⌝ [*ṣēri serrēma uṭul ina …*]
60 i 16′ ⌜*gi-mir*⌝ ⌜*qar*⌝*-b*[*a-a-tú irḫiṣu itâršu mulmullu*]
61 i 17′ ⌜*ge*⌝*-ri bu-ul* [*lab-bu* (?) *ša taḫsusu gana bitri*]
62 i 18′ *gi-*⌜*il*⌝*-lat né-*⌜e⌝-[*šú īpušu petâssu ḫaštu*]
63 i 19′ *ge-gu-né*-[*e bēl pāni ša qurrunu makkūra*]
64 i 20′ *gi-ri*-[*iš ina ūm lā šīmati iqammīšu malku*]
65 i 21′ ⌜*ge*⌝*-ri an-nu*-[*ti-ía īkušū alāka taḫšiḫ*]
66 i 22′ ⌜*gi*⌝*-mil du*[*m-qí ša ili dārâ šite*ʾʾ*e*]

(end of column)

Reverse

217 iv 1 [*re*]-⌜*e*⌝-[o o o (o o) *palkû nibīssu*]
218 iv 2 ⌜*ri-i*ʔ⌝-[*ši našši baši ṣabûšu*]
219 iv 3 *ri-de-e-*(ras.)*-m*[*a ūs ilī uṣur mēsīšu*]
220 iv 4 *re-e-*x [*… šipil-ma ana damiqti naškin*]

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221 iv 5a *pu-uḫ* ⌜*sak-ki-lu*⌝ [*ma-qu-ru ḫarḫaru*] →
222 iv 5b [:… *kalīšunu isḫappū*]
223 iv 6 *bu-*⌜*ša*⌝-[*a kitmusū lā āšibu ša …*]
224 iv 7a [*p*]*u-*⌜*uḫ*⌝*-ḫu-ru i*[*l-lat šitkunū ḫubūršun*] →
225 iv 7b [: *būlu … lā māgiri …*]
226 iv 8 [*p*]*u-ut*-[*tu-ú kikurrêti … tabīnī*]
227 iv 9 *pu-uq-q*[*a-ak ana ṭēm*(-)……]
228[7] iv 10 *b*[*u-liš lutūr*ʾ …]
(rest of column broken)

Translation

221[7] In place of *the hoarder* [the *deprived one* (?) is (seen as) a crook].
222 [… all of the… (call him) a villain],
223 [(while) he who amasses] possessions [is (considered) tireless *(and) of*…].
224 (When) they (scil. the people) assemble as a gr[oup, each armed with their beer-stein].

7 For a translation of lines 45-66, 217-20, and 225-8, see Foster *apud* Heinrich 2022. In what follows, italics denote tentative translations.

Commentary

46. Given the space left between *aq-* and the following unidentifiable sign traces, it seems unlikely that the restoration initially proposed (*aqtana'ʾal* "I take to heart")[8] is correct, because the necessary signs would hardly fit into the available space of the first accentual unit's subcolumn; [*a*]*q-t*[*u-ul* "I took to heart", however, can still be considered a semantically fitting reading of the line's first word.

58. Of the two other manuscripts that partly preserve the first word of the line, one (K.9290+ = NinNA2) spells the enclitic with *-ma*, whereas the other (BM.68589 = SipLB1) features the Late Babylonian spelling *gi-na-ta-a* with *-a* expressing -/ma/ reduced to -/wa/ (or -/â/).[9] The spelling in BM.94273+ probably corresponded to BM.68589, but this is not certain.

60. The reconstruction of the spelling follows BM.68589 = SipLB1 i 14′.

65. The reconstruction of the formulation and spelling follows BM.68589 = SipLB1 i 19′.

223. The spacing suggests that the word constituting the first accentual unit – *būša* "possessions" – is written here with three signs rather than two, as in VAT.10567 (AššNA1) iii 2b: *bu-šá*. BM.94273+ thus appears to use the variant form *bušû* of the word (AHw. 144a).

220. The last two signs of the first word in this line's second accentual unit ([...]... *šipil-ma*) are preserved in BM.47745 = BabLB4 iii 16. Collation has shown that, contrary to the published copies of the piece,[10] the reading ˹*lu*ʾ˺ cannot be maintained. Instead, the traces are best be read as (o]-)x-˹*ir*˺; a reading o-*m*]*uk* is a second possibility.

221. The hitherto unattested adjective *sakkilu* (*si vera lectio*) is understood to be derived from *sakālu*(*m*) I "sich (heimlich) aneignen" (AHw. 1010b) by the nominal pattern *parris* (GAG^3 §55 Nr. 20a) and thus to describe a person characterized by habitually acquiring or hoarding possessions; hence the proposed translation of the word as "hoarder". – *ma-qu-ru* remains problematic. As already noted in the commentary on this line,[11] the spellings with KUM in VAT.10567 (AššNA1) and BM.40098 (BabLB3) make it difficult to parse the word as a form of *makkūru* "possessions".[12] The attested spellings of *makkūru* show no alternation between /q/ and /k/. Content and poetic form suggest that the line was constructed around a polar word-pair, so *ma-qu-ru* is presumably a kind of antonym to *sakkilu* and may describe a person without, or bereft of, possessions.

222, **225**. See the introductory remarks.

223. Collation of BM.40098 iv 13 showed that the first partly preserved sign in the line cannot be *ma* (traces of four horizontals) and is better read *la*, which yields a new reading of the third accentual unit as *lā āšibu* "tireless" (lit. "one who does not sit down"). For the meaning "tireless", compare the collocations of *lā āšibu* with *lā āniḫu*.[13] According to Lambert's copy,[14] the traces of the corresponding sign in VAT.10567 (AššNA1) can likewise be taken to belong to *la* rather than *ma.*

224. The spelling *il-lat* is taken to express an adverbial accusative.

227f. In iv 9, the signs are written very closely together. This may be taken as an indication that, as in iv 5 and iv 7, the scribe placed two lines of text in a single line of tablet. In this case, iv 10 would contain Theodicy 229 rather than 228, as suggested in the transliteration above.

8 Heinrich 2022.

9 On this phenomenon, see Jiménez 2017a, 278 ad E.

10 CTL 1, no. 253; Oshima 2014, pl. xv.

11 Heinrich 2022.

12 As proposed by Oshima 2014, 363.

13 Collected by Jiménez, Rozzi 2022, 174 ad 7.

14 Lambert 1960, pl. 23.

e-ISSN 2036-5845

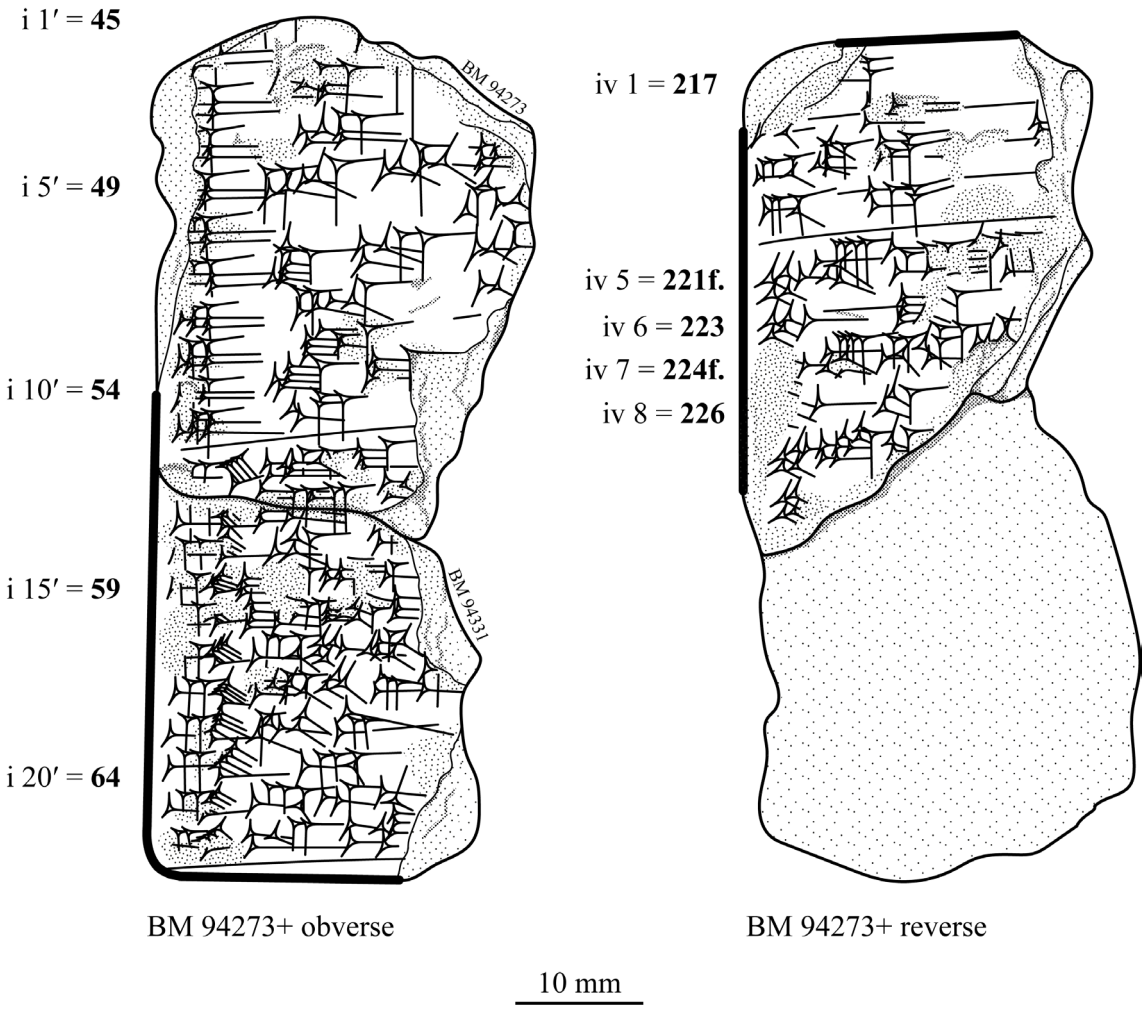


Figure 1 Drawing of BM.94273+ by A.C. Heinrich

2. BM.66882++F.78

F.78,[15] recently photographed by K. Wagensonner, joins the *Theodicy* commentary BM.66882+,[16] restoring its upper right corner. With the words discussed in it, the new fragment helps to better understand the broken lines at the beginning and the end of the *Theodicy*.

Moreover, it allows to complete the colophon of the commentary by revealing the filiation of its scribe. The *lišlim* formula at the beginning of the tablet had already cast doubt on its supposed Sippar provenance:[17] since it invokes Marduk and Nabû, it was suggested that the tablet may have originated from Late Achaemenid or Hellenistic[18] Borsippa (or possibly Babylon).[19] With the new join, the scribe is now identified as a member of the well-known Iddin-Papsukkal family, active in both Babylon and

15 For the "F collection", see Finkel 2014, 264-5. The fragment was first included in the *eBL* edition (Heinrich 2022) in October 2024. It has already been discussed in the postscript to a recent article by N. De Zorzi (2024).

16 CTL 1, no. 255; Jiménez 2017b.

17 The fragments making up the commentary tablet belong to the 82-9-18, A.H.83-1-18 and 83-1-21 consignments, which, by and large, contain material from Tall Abū Ḥabba, i.e. Sippar (see Reade *apud* Leichty 1986, xxvii, xxxiii-xxxiv), hence the assumption followed in Lambert's (1960, 69) and, conventionally, also in the *eBL* edition (Heinrich 2022) of the *Theodicy*.

18 For the temporal distribution of the *lišlim* formula, see Roth 1988.

19 See accordingly Oelsner 1986, 227 (with reservations Oelsner 1986, 225); Jiménez 2017b.

Borsippa,[20] which confirms this suspicion.[21] The lines affected by the join run as follows (new signs underlined):[22]

1 [*āšiš*$^{?}$] | *itpēšu* || *gana* | *luqbīka*	O sagacious [*mentor*], come, let me tell you,
(1) ⌜*a-šiš*$^{?}$⌝ *it-pe-šú* : °\MIN° : *ma-li-ku* : *ga-na* : *al-ka* ⌜:⌝ *g*[*a-na* : o]-x [:] ⌜*ga*⌝-*na* : *i-na-an-na* :	"*encompassing*, expert": ditto = "counsellor" *gana* = "come!"; *g*[*ana* = ...]...", *gana* = "now"
2 [*attamṭal* (?) | *tappê* || *namrāṣ*]*a* | *lušannīka*	Let me recount to you, [my friend],[(for) constantly have I seen (?)] hardship.
(1) *a-ta-*⌜*am-ṭa*$^{?}$*- li*$^{?}$⌝ : *a-tu-*⌜*u*⌝ [*ø*] | (2) MIN : *la-mad*: *tap-pu-ú* : *šu-ta-pi* : MIN : *šu-za-pi* : *tap-pu-*⌜*ú*⌝: ⌜*šu*⌝-*ta*[*š-nu-ú* :]	"I have seen constantly" (→) "to find"; ditto (→) "to learn" "friend" = "partner" (*šutāpu*); ditto = "partner" (*šuzāpu*); "friend" = "do[ubled]"
[*n*]*am-ra-ṣa* : *mar-ṣa-a-*⌜*tú*⌝ :	"hardship" = "suffering"
3 [...] | *litmunu* || [...] ... | *karšukka*	[...] the most grievous [...] in your mind.
lit-⌜*mu*⌝*-nu* : *ana* ⌜*le*⌝*-m*[*e-nu*]	"very bad" → "to be b[ad]"
5 *a*[*yyāna* | *b*]*ēl pakki* || [*m*]*aṣi* | *malāka*	Where is another man of wisdom who is a peer to you?
(3) *a-a-na* : *ai-*°*a-nu*° ⌜:⌝	*ayyāna* = "where"
6 *ay*[*yiš* | *m*]*ūdû* || *iššanin* | *ištīka*	Whence a man of knowledge who could be compared to you?
a-a-iš : *ai-a-nu-uš* : *mu-du-u* : *tup-šar-ri* ⌜:⌝ [*šá-na*]-⌜*nu*⌝ [:] *k*[*a-š*]*á*$^{?}$-⌜*di*⌝ ⌜:⌝ ⌜*iš-ti-ku*⌝ [:] *i*[*t-t*]*i*$^{?}$-⌜*ku*⌝ [:]	*ayyiš* = "whence" "wise" = "scribe" "[to equ]al" = "to r[ea]ch" *ištīka* = "w[it]h you" (*ittīka*)
7 *a*[*li*] | *mundalkum-ma* || *nissata* | *lūtamīšu*	Where else be such a counsellor I can tell of woe?
[*mun-dal-ku* (?) : o o (o)]	["counsellor" = "..."]
(4) *ni-is-sa-tú* : *ni-iš-šá-tú* :	*nissatu* = "wailing"

20 For the Iddin-Papsukkal family in the Late Babylonian period, see Gabbay 2014, 242-3, 236-7, 250-1, 274-5. Genealogical trees of the Babylon and Borsippa branch of the family can be found in Young 2023, 609, 612.

21 For another Late Babylonian commentary tablet written by a member of the Iddin-Papsukkal family in much the same Pseudo-Neo-Babylonian hand, compare BM.42286 (CT 41, 39; Jiménez 2015).

22 Translation based on Foster *apud* Heinrich 2022.

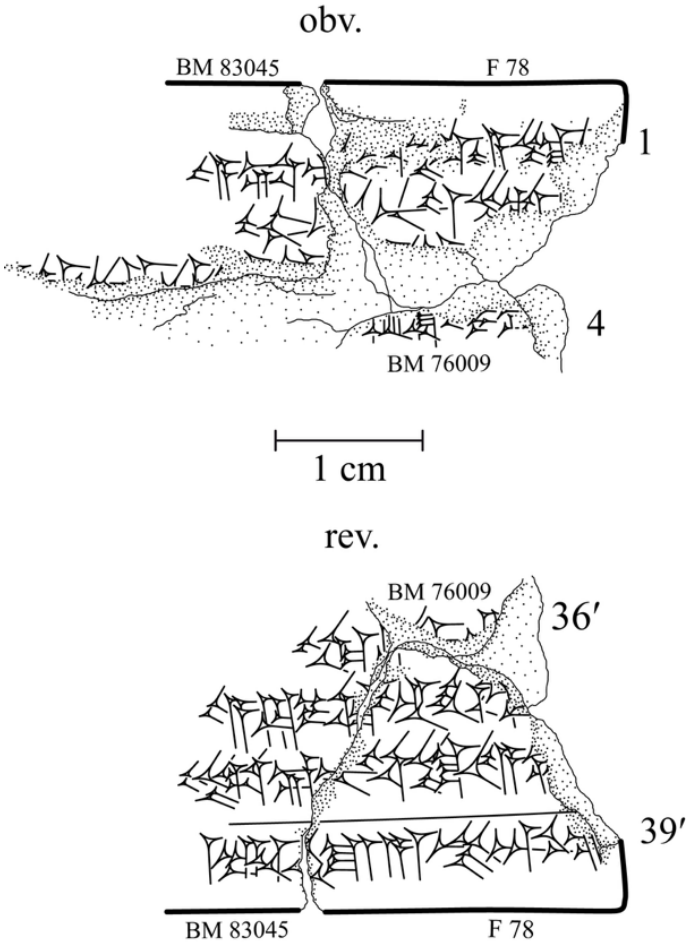


Figure 2 Drawing of join BM.66882++F.78 by T. Mitto

286 *šarbābiš* | *ušḫarammūšu* || *uballûšu* | *kīma lāmi*
They make him go numb with fear, they snuff him out like an ember.

(35′) ⌜*šar*¹-*ba*-*ba* ⌜:¹ x [o o] | (36′) [o o o]-°*na*° : *uš*-⌜*ḫa*¹-°*ram*°-*ma*-*mu*-*uš* : *n*[*a*-*ḫar*-*mu*-*mu* : *n*]*a*-⌜*ḫar*¹-*muṭ* : MIN : *la*-*ba*-*ku* : *la*-*a*ʾ-*me*: *di*-⌜*iq*-*me*¹-e[*n*-*nu*]
"impotence" =... [...]; [...]...
"they make him collapse" (→) "to c[ollapse" = "to di]ssolve"
ditto = "to become soft"
"ember" = "ash[es]"

288 *rēṣam*-(*ma*) | *namrāṣa* || *amur* | *lū tīdi*
Help me, see (my) distress, you should be cognizant of it.

(37′) [*re*-*ṣa*-*a*]*m*-*ma* : *ra*-*a*-*ṣa* : *a*-*lak*: *šá*-*niš* DAḪ : *r*[*a*-*a*-*ṣa* : DAḪ : *a*-*ṣ*]*a*-*bu* : Á.DAḪ : *re*-*ṣa* : °\MIN° : *a*-*lik i*-⌜*dí*¹:
"[help m]e!" (→) "to go to aid" = "to go"
alternatively: *daḫ* = "to g[o to aid"; *daḫ* = "to a]dd"
a-*daḫ* = "helper"; ditto = "companion"

289 *rēšu* | *palkû* || *mutnennû* | *anāku*
I am a suppliant, versatile servant,

mut-*ne*[*n*-*nu*-*u*] | (38′) [*mu*-*ṣ*]*al**-*lu*-*u*:
"sup[pliant" = "pr]aying"

294 *rēšiš* | *ul ātallal* || *ina puḫur* | *itbā*[*rīya*]
I was not given to servile flattery among my associates.

re-*ši*-*iš* : GIM ÌR :
"servilely" = "like a slave"

295 *rēṣa* | *lišku*na || *ilu* | *ša iddânni*
May the god who has cast me off grant help,

šá id-*dan*-*ni* : ŠUB [: *na*-*du*-*u*: ŠUB :] ⌜*e*¹-*zeb* °\:°
"who has cast me off": *šub* [= "to cast off"; *šub* =] "to abandon"

296 *rēma* | *liršâ* || *ištar* | *ša i*[*pparkânni*]
May the goddess who has [forsaken me] take pity,

na-*par*-*ku*-*u* : *ba*-*ṭa*-*lu* :
"to cease" = "to interrupt"

297 *rēʾû* | *šamši nišī* || *iliš* | *lī*[*tânni*]
May the shepherd, the Sun of the People, select [me] as a god would!

li-*tan*-⌜*nu*¹ : *ut*-*tu*-*u* : *a*-*m*[*ar*]
"may he select me" (→) "to discover, choose" = "to se[e]"

Colophon

(39′) [*ṣa*]-˹*a*¹-*tú u šu-ut* KA *maš-a-a-al-tú* ˡᵘ*um-man-nu šá a-š*[*iš*? *it-pe-š*]*u*?
ⁱᵐ*gì-ṭi Nabû-šumu-iddin*(?, ᵐᵈAG-MU-MU)[23] *mārīšu*(A-*šú*) <*šá*> *Bēl-bullissu*(ᵐᵈ+EN-˹TIN¹-*su*)
mār(a) *Iddin-Papsukkal*(ᵐMU-ᵈ*pap-*˹*sukkal*¹)

"[Bili]ngual equations and oral explanations, a scholarly 'questioning' of 'O [*sagacio*]*us men*[*tor*]'. One-column tablet of Nabû-šumu-iddin (?), son <of> Bēl-bullissu, descendant of Iddin-Papsukkal."

Really *āšiš itpēšu*? The Theodicy's incipit reconsidered

The first word of the *Theodicy* is thus far only attested in the commentary discussed here. The two signs which make up this word, however, are preserved only fragmentarily. Therefore, the reading now so commonly agreed upon, *a-šiš*, is not as certain as it might seem. In fact, in the *editio princeps* of the *Theodicy*, Landsberger[24] admitted to not being able to positively identify the signs in question, mentioning *a-šiš* merely in the commentary as "nicht unmöglich".[25] Only with Lambert's edition,[26] who read the first entry of the commentary as "*a-š*[*i*]*š* <:> *it-pe-šú* : A (! error for MIN) : *ma-li-ku*", was the reading cemented. Read this way, the commentary seems to explain *āšiš*(*u*) "engulfing" first with *itpēšu* "expert" and subsequently with *māliku* "counsellor", which indeed makes good sense.

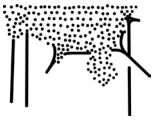
Note, however, that Lambert had to emend the entry by adding a *Glossenkeil*. Moreover, the Babylonian version of the *Catalogue of Texts and Authors* (BM.34487 11′)[27] now offers a new attestation of the *Theodicy*'s incipit: [o o] *it-pe-šú* [*ga-n*]*a lu-*˹*uq*¹-[*bi*]-*ka* and thus proves that *itpēšu* is not part of the explanation but of the base text. This means that MIN likely refers back to the first two words together, which are then explained as *māliku* "counsellor". Hence, a re-evaluation of the extant traces of the *Theodicy*'s first word as preserved in the commentary is in order. Here is how they have been depicted:


(CT 41, pl. 40)


(Lambert 1960, pl. 26)


(Oshima 2014, pl. XXVI)


(CTL 1, 177)


(authors' collation)

The last representation in this row is based on the photographs available on the website of the *CCP* project.[28] In the meantime, all but traces of the final wedges have chipped off from the tablet. The doubled wedge heads as copied by Gadd in CT 41 are likely the result of encrustations in the respective wedge heads. In this assessment, the authors agree with Lambert's own judgment in his later copy. The last wedge, however, is vertical beyond doubt, as is apparent from its continuation beneath the *Winkelhaken*. Only Gadd's drawing shows this final vertical wedge. As a result, the sign can only be maintained as ŠEŠ if we presuppose an erasure. However, the identification of *itpēšu* as the second word of the *Theodicy* implicates that its uncertain first word does not need to mean "expert, scholar" anymore. It may thus be preferable to read ˹*a-ḫu*?¹[29] *itpēšu gana luqbīka* "O my sagacious brother, come, let me tell you".

Adrian C. Heinrich and Tonio Mitto

23 Or possibly Nabû-nādin-šumi. On both names and their spelling conventions, see Thissen 2024, 104-5.

24 Landsberger 1936, 44 fn. 1.

25 Landsberger 1936, 72 ad Z. 1.

26 Lambert 1960, 70.

27 Mitto 2022, 132.

28 Jiménez 2017b.

29 Probably to be understood as *aḫī* "my brother", compare, e.g. BM.35405 (MS BabLB2) i 39′ // *Theodicy* 56: [*a*]-*ḫu a*[*q-ru*] for *aḫī aqru* "my treasured brother". For the sign form, compare, e.g. ḪU in *na-as-ḫu-ri* in obv. 17 of the same tablet.

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58 New Fragments of the Great Šamaš Hymn (4)

BM.48914: a new fragment of the LB school tablet BM.33465+

This school fragment comes from the excavations of H. Rassam.[30] It joins BM.33465+, a school manuscript of the 2a type (according to Gesche's classification) probably from Babylon. BM.33465+ contains extracts from incantation, literary and lexical texts. On the obverse, it preserves: (a) *Muššu'u* VII 7-9;[31] (b) *Great Šamaš Hymn* 69-80;[32] on the reverse, a lexical extract (*Ura* VIIB, probably 221-3).[33] The new fragment BM.48914 duplicates lines 78-84 of the *Great Šamaš Hymn*, contributing to the reconstruction of l. 80 of the hymn.

BM.48914, obv.

1′. ⌜*ta*⌝-⌜*par*⌝-[*ra-as arkāti*ʾ *taše*ʾʾ*e napšāti*ʾ]
2′. *tu*-⌜*ub*⌝-⌜*bal*⌝ [*... ana nišīšu*]
3′. [*ina*] KUR.⌜NU⌝.GI$_4$.⌜A⌝ K[Iʾ-*tì lā târi*ʾ *tuballaṭ mīta*]
4′. ⌜d⌝15-MEŠ [*šabsāti ana nišī tusallam*]
5′. [*ṣ*]*i-ra-t*[*a-ma ul innennâ qibīt pîka*]
6′. [dUT]U ⌜*i-na*⌝ *š*[*u-uš-kal-li-ka ḫābila tasaḫḫap*]
7′. [*ina*ʾ *gi*]*š-par-ri-k*[*a lāpit dāmi ul uṣṣi*]

Translation: Foster *apud* Rozzi 2021a

BM.48914, rev.

1’. [geš]ur-abʾ-[x(x)] […] // MSL 6, 131: 221
2’. ⌜geš⌝ur-[x (x)] […] // MSL 6, 131: 222
3’. gešur-[gu-la] […] // MSL 6, 131: 223

Commentary

o 3′. This fragment allows for a revision of the previous reading of line 80 of the *Great Šamaš Hymn*, which had so far been reconstructed as following: *ina kurnugê tuballaṭ mīta*.[34] However, the present fragment makes it clear that the sign following KUR.⌜NU⌝.GI$_4$.⌜A⌝ cannot be TU. In fact, the visible traces seem to be reconcilable with KI, hence the restoration offered here: K[Iʾ-*tì*]. The Nineveh manuscript NinNA1 corroborates this reading, showing a partially visible KI after KUR.NU.GI$_4$.A (ii 13′):[35] KUR.NU.GI$_4$.⌜A KI⌝-[*tì*ʾ x x x x x x x x (x)].

Fragment BM.33465, which belongs to the same manuscript as BM.48194, preserves the end of the line, previously read as:...] x *tu-bal-l*[*a-ṭ*]*u* ⌜*mi*⌝-⌜*i*⌝-⌜*tu*$_4$⌝.[36] In light of the new reading in BM.48194, a new reconstruction of the second half of line 80 can be suggested. In BM.33465, before TU, a vertical wedge and, at the bottom, faded traces of an oblique wedge are visible, making the sign RI a likely candidate for

30 Leichty, Finkel, Walker 2019, 700; cf. Reade *apud* Leichty 1986, xxxii. Identification by Zs. Földi.

31 Lambert 2013, 157, MS G.

32 Cf. CTL 1, no. 137; Rozzi 2021b, 220-2.

33 The lexical extract preserved on the reverse of this tablet fills a gap in the text of *Ura* VIIB as published in MSL 6, 131-2 (MS U = UET 7, 135), likely containing lines 221-34 of the composition, which until now had been only partially reconstructed. Three additional fragments overlapping with this same section of *Ura* are known: a recently identified fragment probably from Babylon, BM.37492 (transliteration available at: `https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/BM.37492`); a fragment from Warka, W.23698 (Cavigneaux 1979, 131-2); and the school fragment Ashm-1924.1883 (MSL SS/1, 24). An edition of the lexical extract preserved in BM.33465+ and its duplicates is currently being prepared by the author.

34 Cf. Rozzi 2021b, 221-2 no. 5.

35 See Rozzi 2021a.

36 Rozzi 2021b, 222.

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restoration (although RU cannot be excluded). Line 80 of the *Great Šamaš Hymn* would thus contain the phrase: *kurnugê erṣeti lā târi*, widely attested in literary texts (e.g., in *Ištar's Descent*, l. 1: ˹*a-na* KUR.NU˺.GI$_4$.A *qaq-qa-ri l*[*a*$^?$ *târi*?]),[37] incantation texts (such as an incantation ritual against witches: ˹KUR˺.NU.GI$_4$.A KI-*tì la ta-ri*),[38] and lexical sources (*CAD* E sub *erṣetum*, lex. sec.).[39] Hence, the whole line now reads: *ina kurnugê er*[*ṣeti lā târ*]*i tuballaṭ mīta*, "You rescue the dead from the *kurnugê*, the land of no return".

r 3′. ^{geš}*urgula* has been restored from the duplicates, cf. UET-7.135, v, r. 6′ (MSL 6, 131: 223) ^{geš}ur-gu-[la]; W.23698 o.10′ ^{geš}ur-g]u-˹la˺; Ashm-1924.1883 o. 6′ ^{geš}ur-g[u-la], o. 7′ ^{geš}ur-˹gu˺-[la]; BM.37492, o. 7′ ^{geš}ur-g[u-la], o. 8′ ^{geš}ur-g[u?-la]. It probably denotes a musical instrument fashioned in the shape of a lion or bearing the name of the *urgulû*-lion; see the commentary on the entry in MSL 6, 124 ad 84-86.

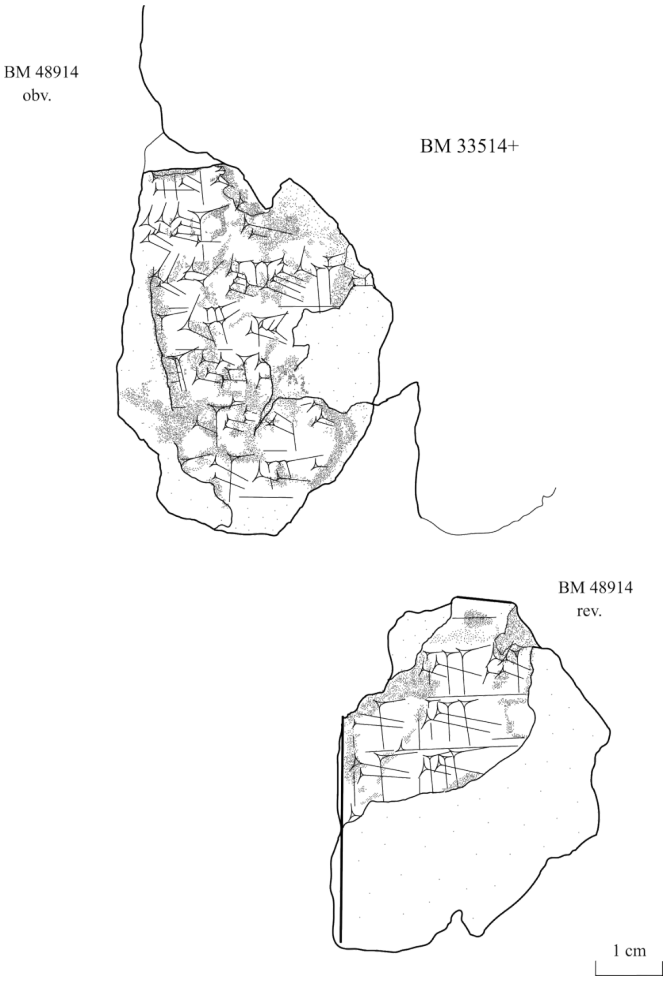


Figure 3 Drawing of BM.33465++BM.48914, by G. Rozzi

37 Setälä 2022.

38 Abusch, Schwemer 2016, Text 8.25, l. 224 r iv.

39 I am thankful to M. Luukko who kindly suggested this reading to me, pointing out the parallel in the incantation ritual mentioned above.

The Fragment 1880,0617.2987

As with most pieces in the 1880,0617 collection, the exact provenance of this fragment is uncertain, though it most likely comes from Babylon.[40] Its small size does not allow for any reconstruction of the tablet's original format. This fragment preserves lines 131-6 of the *Great Šamaš Hymn*. As is typical of late Babylonian orthography, the use of case endings is often inconsistent, and the distinction between nominal and accusative endings is frequently confused (see e.g., l. 1′ *kit-mu-su* for *kitmusa* and l. 2′ *dun-na-ma-a* for *dunnamû*).

1′ (131). [*šukenna kit-mu-s*]*u*ʾ ˹*lit*¹-˹*ḫu*¹-[*ša*ʾ *labān appi*]
2′ (132). [*ana ḫurri pîšu d*]*un-na-*˹*ma*¹-*a* [*išassīka*]
3′ (133). [*ulālu enšu ḫu-ub-b*]*u-lu* [*muškēnu*]
4′ (134). [*ummisalla ma-as-d*]*a-ri g*[*i-na-a imaḫḫarka*]
5′ (135). [*ša rūqat kimtašu né-s*]*u-ú* [*alûšu*]
6′ (136). [*ina šūrubat ṣēri rēʾû i*]-˹*maḫ*²¹-[*ḫar-ka*]

Translation: Foster *apud* Rozzi 2021a

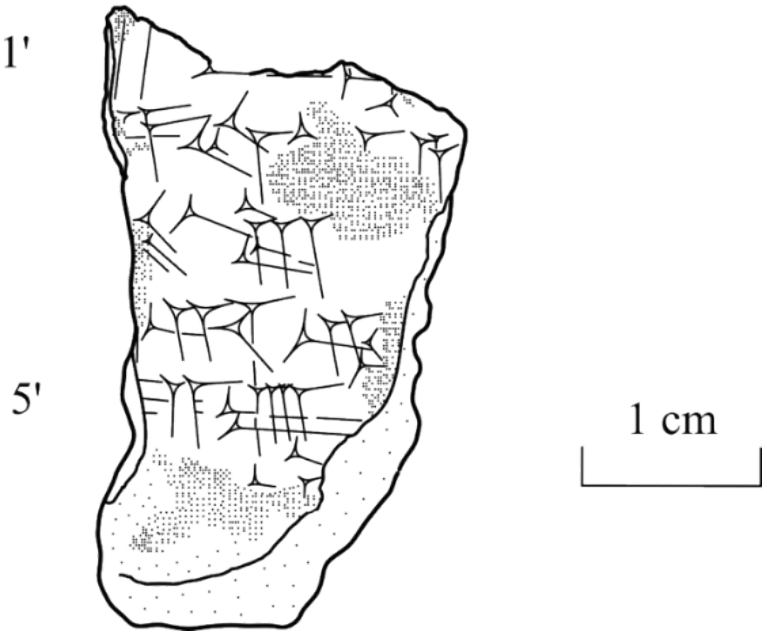


Figure 4 Drawing of 1880,0617.2987, obv., by G. Rozzi

The School Fragment BM.40396

This school fragment, exhibiting a Neo-Babylonian ductus, belongs to the 1881,0324 collection excavated by H. Rassam at Babylon.[41] Its obverse preserves two literary extracts: ll. 117-21 of the *Great Šamaš Hymn* and ll. 106-8 of Tablet I of *Enūma eliš*; the reverse is lost.

40 Leichty, Finkel, Walker 2019, 316.
41 Leichty, Finkel, Walker 2019, 438.

§1. *Šamaš Hymn*
1′ (117). [*ana bītīšu ul ir-r*]*u-*˹*bu*¹ ˹*šu*¹-[*nu aḫḫūšu*]
2′ (118). [*ummânu ki*]-˹*ni*ʔ¹ ˹*na*¹-*din* ŠE-*i*[*m ina kabri*(?) *pāni ušattar dumqa*]
3′ (119). [*ṭa-a-a*]*b*ʔ ᵈUTU *ba-la-ṭ*[*u uttar*]
4′ (120). [*urappaš ki*]*m-tu*$_4$ ˹*meš*¹-˹*ra*¹-*a* ˹*i*¹-[*ra-áš-ši*]
5′ (121). [*kīma mê na*]*g-*˹*bi*¹ ˹*da*¹-˹*ru*¹-˹*ú*¹ [*zerūšu(nu) dāri*]

§2. *Enūma eliš*
6′ (106). [*qa-tu-uš-š*]*ú*ʔ *ú-mál-la-a m*[*a-ri limmellū*]
7′ (107). [*ibšim-ma* SAḪAR-Ḫ]I.A *me-ḫa-a ú-*[*ša-az-bal*]
8′ (108). [*ušabši a*]-˹*ga*¹-˹*am*¹-˹*ma*¹ [*idallaḫ tiāmta*]

Translation: §1. Foster *apud* Rozzi 2021a; §2. Foster *apud* Heinrich 2021

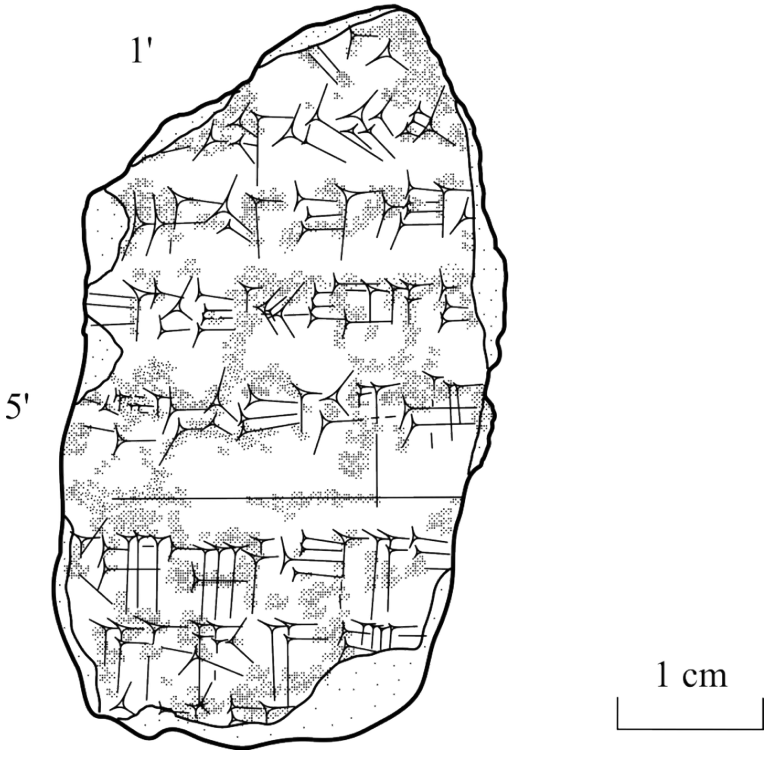


Figure 5 Drawing of BM.40396, obv., by G. Rozzi

Geraldina Rozzi

59 A Fragment of a Manuscript Reflecting an Ur III Version of Lugalbanda and Anzu from the Rassam 1880-11-12 Lot

The fragment BM.39482 = 1880,1112.1368 almost certainly reflects an Ur III recension of Lugalbanda and Anzu (Lugalbanda II) as indicated by its close reflex of lines 393-4 of the Old Babylonian version. It is therefore to be provisionally added to two fragments from the Inana temple at Nippur that have been previously associated with Lugalbanda and Anzu by Civil, Rubio, and Alster (6N-T908b = ISACM-A.33656.B and perhaps 6N-T 912 = IM.70115).[42]

The paleography of the fragment is unequivocally Ur III. However, it is not entirely clear when

42 See Civil 1985, 27; Rubio 1999, 90-2; Alster 2005, 61.

BM.39482 was written. It was catalogued by Leichty, Finkel and Walker,[43] where it is described as "a Late Babylonian copy of an Ur III or Old Babylonian Inscription". This is a perfectly reasonable initial supposition, given the general character of the antiquarian tablet finds within the vaguely provenienced Rassam 1880-11-12 lot, the bulk of which are attributed to Babylon.[44] The high quality of the hand of the Lugalbanda fragment, however, suggests a scribe that was very familiar with the particulars of Ur III script, as demonstrated by the distinct incision angles and the use of exceedingly light and prolific supplementary incisions.[45] This hand is distinct from the more laboured and inexact hands seen with archaizing copies in the 1880-1112 lot, and the format of the fragment, with roughly square-shaped registers advanced in narrow columns, is also compatible with an original.[46] It seems quite possible, therefore, that rather than reflecting an antiquarian copy this fragment instead reflects an Ur III original, either as a complete outlier to the lot with no connection to the other pieces, or perhaps it was collected by the antiquarian scribe or scribes that produced the archaizing copies found within the lot.

Among the Rassam 1880-11-12 lot are a number of late copies of royal inscriptions from Sargonic, Ur III, Old Babylonian, and Kassite kings, some of which are preserved colophons that include descriptions of findspots,[47] as well as copies of the Laws of Hammurabi and copies of Akkadian Old Babylonian letters.[48] Additionally, there are numerous published and unpublished manuscripts of Sumerian literary compositions that were maintained within contemporary tradition in the series of *Sidu*,[49] several of which have been identified and reconstructed by Tonio Mitto. In some instances, these preserve colophons that prove mutual authorship of the antiquarian copies. These include BM.39675 = 1880,1112.1562,[50] which reflects the obscure composition reflected by *Sidu* 12, and BM.38370 = 1880,1112.252(+)1880,1112.2536,[51] a copy of the *Poem of Early Rulers* from a wax tablet in Assur, which was *Sidu* tablet 35.[52]

There are also published and unpublished manuscripts of earlier Sumerian literary compositions not currently attributable to *Sidu* within this lot. This includes several late bilingual copies of *Lugalbanda and Anzu*, BM.38195 = 1880,1112.77 (identified by Mitto: this piece is attributed, however, with the more generic provenience of Babylonia), BM.39507 = 1880,1112.1393 (identified by Jiménez), and BM.39620 = 1880,1112.1507+1884,0211.634.[53] It is possible that these contemporarily rendered bilingual copies of Lugalbanda and Anzu may have been compiled using the potentially original Ur III manuscript that is reflected by BM.39482 for reference. The fact that there are also several later copies of the text and an entry in a catalogue from Assurbanipal's library[54] suggests its general maintenance in later literary traditions, although it is certainly possible that the text could have been obscured and re-discovered

43 Leichty, Finkel, Walker 2019, 419.

44 See Reade *apud* Leichty 1986, xx; Leichty, Finkel, Walker 2019, 381.

45 There are, however, clear examples from elsewhere of expertly rendered archaizing copies whose intent was to mimic the original (see, for example, the instances compiled by Hallo 1989, 244-5 and fn. 65).

46 For example, multi-column exemplars of this approximate type are found among the Ur III literary manuscripts from the Inana temple at Nippur.

47 Note especially BM.38162 = 1880,1112.44 (see the eBL version by Jiménez), a compilation of Amar-Suen and Ur-Nammu baked brick inscriptions found at various unclear locations within the ziggurat and Ekišnuĝal temple at Ur and BM.38947 = 1880,1112.833 (RIME 3/2.4.6.1), a copy of an inscription from the *šakkanakku* period of Mari (perhaps of Itlal-Erra) with a colophon designating it as being copied from a stela that was located in Sippar, signed by the junior scribe Rēmūtu. Another junior scribe, possibly to be restored as Kabti-ilāni-Marduk, who was the author of several manuscripts in the 1880,1112 lot, was the author of BM.39374 = 1880,1112.1260, a copy of a Šulgi inscription possibly found at Kutha and dated to what may be the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar II (see the eBL version by Uri Gabbay and Zsombor Földi).

48 BM.38892 = 1880,1112.778, see Lambert 2007, 156, pl. 57.

49 For an overview of this series, see Frahm 2010, 169-72; Cohen 2018, 47-54.

50 Authored of a son/descendant of Suḫaya, name not preserved. Identified by Mitto.

51 Authored by Kabti-ilani-Marduk, scribe and son/descendant of Suḫaya. Identified by Mitto.

52 Identified by Mitto. For the *Ballad of Early Rulers* in later tradition, see Rutz 2013, 268-70, Viano 2016, 298-310.

53 The former was identified by Leichty, Finkel, Walker 2019, 422 and the latter was identified and joined by Mitto. BM.36263 and BM.39620+ end with line 142, with line 143 advanced as a catchline. This could point to a six tablet distribution of the text of roughly 70 lines per tablet, while the division at NA Nineveh may have been seven tablets to judge from the 61 line *nisḫu* extract reflected by K.4628 (4R², 14/1, CT 15, pl. 41-2, Wilcke 1969, 86).

54 K.4628, K.5187+ (CT 15, 43, Wilcke 1969, 86), and BM.123396 (CT 51, 181, Wilcke 1976, 219 fn. 31), and the catalogue entry K.13684+ (Lambert 1976, 314).

independently in separate traditions.[55]

Our current knowledge of the Ur III versions of the Lugalbanda tales are limited. In fact, there is no decisive reason that *Lugalbanda Ḫurrim* (Lugalbanda I) and *Lugalbanda and Anzu* (Lugalbanda II), which are clearly chapters of the same tale,[56] could not have been parts of an undifferentiated and significantly different composition or compositions in the Ur III period. Currently, we only have the significant testimony of one substantial exemplar reflecting *Lugalbanda Ḫurrim* (6N-T 638), which suggests a marked divergence with the Old Babylonian version.[57]

The meager preserved contents of this fragment would seem to reflect Inana's exchange with Lugalbanda at the conclusion of the Old Babylonian version of Lugalbanda and Anzu, where she responds to Enmerkar's plea for her intervention in the siege of Aratta by provisioning a meal offering of a baked ^{ĝeš}u r i$_3^{ku_6}$ fish for her *a'ankara* weapon that will secure victory for Enmerkar and his troops. The fish is to be procured from a marsh along with tamarisk growing by the waterside for the construction of a ^{ĝeš}b u n i ĝ container[58] (here to be employed as a container to hold the fish[59] or possibly as a trap)[60] and dead reeds (perhaps for fuel, to decorate a container in emulation of a marsh, or to disguise a trap). This may reflect a rare description of a protocol for the acquisition and preparation of a fish offering under pristine conditions.[61]

The passage in r i′ 2′ perhaps reflects a substantially differing version of Inana's query to Lugalbanda about the state of the campaign to Aratta in lines 353-6 of the OB version. If this parallel holds, then the order of the columns would be right to left, suggesting that it belongs to the reverse of the tablet. This would exclude the possibility that this fragment came from a prism.

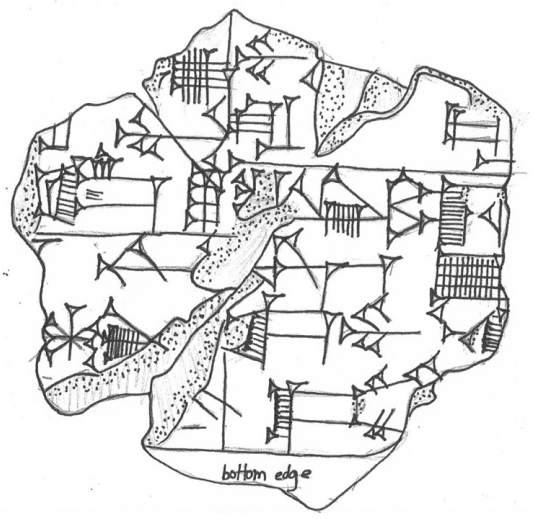


Figure 6
Drawing of BM.39482, by J. Peterson

55 Although it is hardly a decisive marker of overall textual superiority, one could point to the superiority of a Babylonian over an Assyrian exemplar for line 67, where BM.39507 appears to have the 10 gur of the Old Babylonian versus the divergent variant NIM of the NA version K.5187, where U GUR was reinterpreted (perhaps prompted by reliance on a partially broken or effaced source text) as the paleographically similar NIM, perhaps for a nim "highland water" rather than "tidal pool" (*lā'irānu*(*m*)). Additionally, ZE$_2$ was reinterpreted as LA and DE$_2$ was reinterpreted as SA$_{10}$, both probably paleographically conditioned errors that were was more likely to have occurred with an a misunderstood or more likely partially broken or effaced Assyrian source text. For this line and the divergence of this NA source, see Civil 1972, 386.

56 See the discussion of Wilcke 1969, 5-8; Falkowitz 1983, 103-4; Rubio 1999, 91; Michalowski 2010, 13.

57 Rubio 1999, 88-118; Michalowski 2010, 13.

58 For this passage and the various attested uses of tamarisk wood, see Streck 2004, 276 fn. 56.

59 For various containers used to hold caught fish that also functioned as units of measure from Ur III administrative contexts, see Englund 1990, 149-52.

60 Thus Wilcke 1969, 13 "eines Gerätes zum Fischfang". I am not currently aware of explicit evidence that the ^{ĝeš}b u n i ĝ was a technical term or nickname for a fish trap.

61 See the discussion of Black 1998, 72, 108 who describes it as an "oracular response", and Michalowski 2010, 16, who understands it as a magical procedure.

e-ISSN 2036-5845

Reverse col. i′
0-1′. [... gu$_3$?] | m[u-...]-|ra-˹ra˺
2′. ˹d˺[L]ugal-ban$_3$-da | ˹d˺Inana-ke$_4$ | gu$_3$ mu-na-/d[e$_2$]

Reverse col. ii′
1′. [...] x | [...] u$_2$ | [kur?-r]a? ˹mu˺-|[(x)]-gu$_7$-e
(// OB Lugalbanda and Anzu 393)
2′. [(x) ĝe]š?uri$_3$ / diĝir ˹suḫur˺[k]u$_6$?
(// OB Lugalbanda and Anzu 394)

Commentary

r i′ 1′. Perhaps the compound verb gu$_3$ ... ra.ḫ "to shout" is to be restored here. If correct, it may describe Inana screaming at Lugalbanda before she speaks with him, perhaps as a reflection of a heavenly or bellicose manifestation. This would contrast the OB version, where Inana seems to be located within her temple at Uruk/Kulab.

r ii′ 1′. From the available space, it seems most likely that the generic designation u$_2$ "grass, plants" occurs here rather than the specific floral designation ^{u_2}*i-li-a-nu-um* of the OB version.[62] This version uses the highly transitive and agent-centered conjugation prefix mu- versus the conjugation prefix i$_3$- of the Old Babylonian version, where the action may be understood as being conducted by a secondary actor, the ki ĝ$_2$-tur^{ku_6}, which has been conventionally understood as a type of frog, functioning within the scenery as background to the main plot.[63]

The ensuing kur-ra has been understood as a genitival, *de facto* attributive construction (ETCSL 1.8.2.2)[64] as the direct object of the verb. This geographic designation is utilized for secondary floral and faunal terms elsewhere. It may, however, be a locative construction, although it is not marked as such in the prefix chain, which would fit the depiction of a more peripheral amphibious water dweller that could inhabit fully dry land as a peripheral actor to the ^{ĝeš}uri$_3^{ku_6}$ carp that could inhabit river bottoms, as well as flooded banks and meadows (u$_2$-sal) as described in line 391.

r ii′ 2′. The fish term ^{ĝeš}uri$_3^{ku_6}$ is also found in Šulgi R 76,[65] where it also occurs in conjunction with the semi-mythical suḫur-maš$_2^{ku_6}$ among the numerous fishes reacting to Ninlil's barge as it sails.[66] From the position of what is likely the final diagonals of the KU$_6$ sign before a small break, there may have been an indent where the maš$_2$ sign occurred. Note, however, the more mundane variant suḫur^{ku_6}, "carp" in the OB source T (W-B 162 = Ashm-1922.162, OECT 1, pl. 5f.).

This version seems to determine only the second fish term. For the varied usage of the fish determinative in the Old Babylonian sources with the two terms, only one of which (source A = CBS 1451+) determines both, see Wilcke 1969, 217. The status of the grapheme diĝir here as a determinative or noun (i.e., "divine goat carp" versus "god of the goat carp", the latter of which seems to be dependent on an explicit genitive, as it occurs in some OB exemplars (source A, W = HS 1463), with similar effective meanings, cannot be currently speculated upon, but the former seems more likely given the likelihood that the line was not resumed with the new column.

Jeremiah Peterson

62 See Wilcke 1969, 187-8; Rubio 1999, 119; Attinger 2023, 710, the former of whom relates it to *allānu*(*m*), traditionally "oak, acorn" (see also ETCSL 1.8.2.2) but perhaps reflects the hazelnut (for this identification, see the study of the Old Assyrian evidence by Sturm 2009), which also occurs in line 243.

63 For this function of the prefix i$_3$-, see Woods 2008, 135-7.

64 Wilcke 1969, 127.

65 Klein 1990, 106, 127-8.

66 For the faunal term, see Attinger 2023, 1456.

e-ISSN 2036-5845

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