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# A HYMN TO THE BEER GODDESS AND A DRINKING SONG\*

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In addition to the list of technical terms about beer and brewing in ancient Mesopotamia, collected in the 23rd tablet of the series 𒄩AR-ra = *hubullu*, published by Professor Oppenheim some years ago (*JAOS Suppl.* 10, Dec. 1950), and the occasional information scattered in letters and economic documents,<sup>1</sup> we have, among the surviving Sumerian literary compositions, two short poems dealing with brewing and drinking. The first is a hymn praising Ninkasi, the beer goddess, the mysterious power which produces the fermentation and changes plain grain and water into the liquid which "makes the liver happy, fills the heart with joy." The various steps of the brewing process are described in the hymn in a poetic, but clearly recognizable, way. The second is the only Sumerian drinking song so far discovered. Although they are quite different in form and content and even seem to imply slightly different brewing techniques,<sup>2</sup> the two compositions<sup>3</sup> are always found together on the tablets so far discovered. The tablets are:

A = AO 5385 (*TRS* 20) = 1-79

B = Ni 5469 iii 24'-iv 34' (copied by H. Kizilyay) = 1-13; 35-68

C = VAT 6705 (*VAS* 10 156) = 6-31; 38-61.

In A follows a short b a l - b a l - e to Inanna totally unrelated to the preceding compositions. B is a collective tablet with other hymns and lyrical songs.<sup>4</sup> C con-

\* Abbreviations are those of *CAD*, with the following additions:

- Ant Lexical series a n t a g a l = *šaḡu*
- ELA S. N. Kramer, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*
- FH Forerunner to 𒄩AR-ra = *hubullu*
- P Proto, before the name of a lexical series
- P Proverb, followed by number of collection
- SKT C. Frank, *Strassburger Keilschrifttexte*
- SP E. I. Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs*
- Ugu Lexical series u g u . m u

<sup>1</sup> Van Dijk published in *Sumer* 13 Pl. 23A the OB Akkadian fragment IM 51650A, which contains instructions for the manufacture of beer; a similar text is the unpublished IM 52196. Both, unfortunately, are in a fragmentary condition, and very little can be gleaned from them.

<sup>2</sup> Note especially that different types of fermenting and collector vats seem to be used.

<sup>3</sup> The only attempt at a translation of *SRT* 20 and *VAS* 10 156 is, as far I know, the rather unsuccessful one of Witzel, *AnOr* 15 25 ff. Some allusions to the Ninkasi hymn are found in S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago, 1963) p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> Some of them are published by S. N. Kramer in his study of the Sumerian love songs, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107/6 485 ff.

tains only our poems. One interesting feature of the latter tablet is the insertion of variant readings, in the form of glosses, a rudimentary form of textual criticism, by which the scribe tried to harmonize conflicting traditions. These variants are given in the textual notes under the siglum C'.

The first composition, Hymn to Ninkasi, consists of twelve four-line strophes with the following pattern:

A  
B  
<sup>d</sup>nin-ka-si A  
B

Interestingly enough, the individual lines seem to follow a uniform metric pattern, but our ignorance of Sumerian phonetics, and still more of its poetic licenses, makes it impossible to verify that supposition. The second composition has a freer construction, with the rhythmic repetitions and parallelisms typical of Sumerian poetry. The "Drinking Song" can be divided in three main parts:

1. Lines 49–57. Enumeration of vats and pots of every type and description used in brewing or serving beer. All of them are ready for the party.

2. Lines 58–68 (line 69 could also belong to this part). Toast to an unnamed individual, apparently a woman, by a group of likewise unidentified persons. Unless lines 64 ff. are only a literary image, the occasion for the drinking party is related in one way or another to the construction of a building.

3. Lines 69–77. Answer by the person to whom the toast has been addressed. The speaker is probably a woman because of the mention of the woman's garment <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>š</sup> N A M . N I N , and because of the repetition in different dialect of the concluding line (see commentary to lines 78–79). The language of lines 69–77 cannot provide a linguistic criterion for the determination of the sex of the speaker because there are no words for which the Emesal form could regularly be expected.<sup>5</sup> The only suggestion we dare to offer for the identification of the woman is that she could very well be an unnamed *sabītu*, since the poem certainly dates from a period when the profession of tavern-keeper was normally reserved to women. In conclusion, it is quite possible that we have before us a poem celebrating the inauguration of a tavern or *é š - d a m - m a* kept by a lady.

Reluctantly, the native words for the various types of vessels have been left untranslated, either because of insufficient information about a particular type of receptacle, or because no English words could translate the Sumerian terms exactly, and one would have to resort to awkward circumlocutions. In any case, the flavor and appeal of the original have been irremediably lost. Less apparent, but perhaps more important, is the difficulty in translating words expressing emotions or states

<sup>5</sup> Isolated Emesal forms, in addition to line 79, are the var. *m u - u n -* in line 13, and *è m* in line 61.

of mind (g u r<sub>4</sub>, m e - s i - g a , u l - t i - a). See the pertinent commentary for the justification of the translations.<sup>6</sup>

The purpose of this article is only to make available this source for the study of the ancient brewing techniques. A concise poem of an evidently lyrical nature is not the best starting point for a technological investigation, and the analysis of the practices of the ancient brewers is too complex an undertaking to be attempted here.

a-zal-le ù-tu-da [x]<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [x (x)]  
<sup>d</sup>nin-ḥur-sag-gá-ke<sub>4</sub> mí-zi-dè-[eš dug<sub>4</sub>-ga]  
<sup>d</sup>nin-ka-si a-zal-le ù-tu-da 'x<sup>1</sup>[x x (x)]  
<sup>d</sup>nin-ḥur-sag-gá-ke<sub>4</sub> mí-zi-dè-eš dug<sub>4</sub>-ga

5 uru<sup>1</sup>-zu lâl-ḥur-re<sup>2</sup> ki ús-sa  
 bàd-gal-bi šu mu<sup>1</sup>-ra-an-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>  
<sup>d</sup>nin-ka-si uru<sup>1</sup>-zu lâl-ḥur-re ki<sup>2</sup> ús-sa  
 bàd-gal-bi šu mu<sup>1</sup>-ra-an-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>

a-a-zu <sup>d</sup>en-ki en-<sup>d</sup>nu-dím-mud-e<sup>1</sup>

10 ama-zu <sup>d</sup>nin-ti nin-abzu-a  
<sup>d</sup>nin-ka-si a-a-zu <sup>d</sup>en-ki en-<sup>d</sup>nu-dím-mud-e  
 ama-zu <sup>d</sup>nin-ti nin-abzu-a

si níg-sila<sub>x</sub><sup>1</sup> <sup>š</sup>iš-mar-maḥ-a<sup>2</sup> du<sub>3</sub>-a-zu<sup>3</sup>  
 šim-lâl<sup>1</sup>-ta ub<sub>4</sub>-ba bappir<sub>2</sub> ḥe-ḥe-a

15 <sup>d</sup>nin-ka-si si níg-sila<sub>x</sub><sup>1</sup> <sup>š</sup>iš-mar-maḥ-a<sup>2</sup> du<sub>3</sub>-a-zu<sup>3</sup>  
 šim-lâl-ta ub<sub>4</sub>-ba bappir<sub>2</sub> ḥe-ḥe-a

bappir<sub>2</sub> udun-maḥ-e<sup>1</sup> du<sub>3</sub>-a-zu  
 zar-gú-nida-àm<sup>1</sup> si sá-sá-àm<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>nin-ka-si bappir<sub>2</sub> udun-maḥ-e du<sub>3</sub>-a-zu<sup>1</sup>

20 zar-gú-nida-àm si sá-sá-àm

munu<sub>3</sub> saḥar-gar-ra a si-ga-zu  
 ur-me-me nam<sup>1</sup> gam-gam-ma-àm  
<sup>d</sup>nin-ka-si munu<sub>3</sub> saḥar-gar-ra a si-ga-zu<sup>1</sup>  
 ur-me-me nam gam-gam-ma-àm

25 sún dug-a a gar-ra-zu<sup>1</sup>  
 i-zi zi-zi<sup>1</sup>-dam i-zi gá-gá-dam  
<sup>d</sup>nin-ka-si sún dug-a a gar-ra-zu  
 i-zi zi-zi<sup>1</sup>-dam i-zi gá-gá-dam

<sup>6</sup> The words u r<sub>6</sub> and š à as organs of emotions and mental acts have been simply translated by "liver" and "heart." Cf. the old, but still valid, study of E. Dhorme. *L'emploi métaphorique des noms des parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien*, 109 ff., 128 ff.

- titab <sup>ε</sup>kid-maḥ-a bara<sub>3</sub>-ga-zu  
 30 šà-šed<sub>8</sub> AN dab-ba-a<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>nin-ka-si titab <sup>ε</sup>kid-maḥ-a bara<sub>3</sub>-ga-zu  
 šà-šed<sub>8</sub> AN dab-ba-a
- <sup>kaš</sup>dida-gal šu-tab-ba gál-la-zu  
 làl geštin téš-ba sur-ra-a  
 35 <sup>d</sup>nin-ka-si <sup>kaš</sup>dida-gal šu-tab-ba<sup>1</sup> gál-la-zu  
 làl geštin téš-ba sur-ra-a
- [NÍG ]  
 [<sup>kaš</sup>dida dug-šè mi-ni-in-x-x]  
 [<sup>d</sup>nin-ka-si NÍG 'x'] ]
- 40 <sup>kaš</sup>dida dug-šè [m]i-ni-in-<sup>1</sup>'x-x'<sup>1</sup>
- <sup>du</sup>g<sup>n</sup>íg-dúr-bùr-e gú-nun-di-dam  
 laḥtan-maḥ-a mi-ni-in-si-sá-àm  
<sup>d</sup>nin-ka-si <sup>du</sup>g<sup>n</sup>íg-dúr-bùr-e gù-nun-di-dam  
 laḥtan-maḥ-a<sup>1</sup> mi-ni-in-si-sá-àm
- 45 kaš-si-im-<sup>du</sup>g<sup>l</sup>aḥtan-na<sup>1</sup> dé-a-zu<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>íd</sup>idigna <sup>d</sup>buranun-na sag sì-ga-àm<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>nin-ka-si kaš-si-im-<sup>du</sup>g<sup>l</sup>aḥtan-na<sup>1</sup> dé-a-zu<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>íd</sup>idigna <sup>íd</sup>buranun-na sag sì-ga-àm<sup>1</sup>
- 
- <sup>ε</sup>igakkul-e <sup>ε</sup>igakkul-e
- 50 <sup>ε</sup>igakkul-e <sup>du</sup>g<sup>l</sup>am-sá-re  
<sup>ε</sup>igakkul-e níg ur<sub>5</sub> šag<sub>5</sub>-šag<sub>5</sub>-ge  
<sup>du</sup>g<sup>l</sup>am-sá-re<sup>1</sup> níg šà húl-húl-e  
<sup>du</sup>g<sup>u</sup>-gur<sup>1</sup>-bal níg é-a me-te-bi  
<sup>du</sup>g<sup>š</sup>à-gub-bé níg kaš si-si-ge
- 55 <sup>du</sup>g<sup>a</sup>m-am DU.DU-<sup>du</sup>g<sup>l</sup>am-sá-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>  
<sup>ε</sup>i<sup>1</sup>bunin-<sup>ú</sup>búr <sup>ε</sup>i<sup>1</sup>ba-an-du<sub>8</sub><sup>1</sup>'x-x<sup>1</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub>  
 dug-sig<sub>5</sub> dag-dug-e<sup>1</sup> sa-gi<sub>4</sub>-a  
 šà-dingir-za ḥu-mu-ra-ab-ḥun-e  
 igi-<sup>ε</sup>igakkul-àm igi-me na-nam
- 60 šà-<sup>ε</sup>igakkul-àm šà-me na-nam  
 èm šà-zu gur<sub>4</sub>-gur<sub>4</sub>-ru ní-bi-a  
 šà-me-a gur<sub>4</sub>-gur<sub>4</sub>-ru ní-bi-a<sup>1</sup>  
 ur<sub>5</sub>-me bí-šag<sub>5</sub> šà-me bí-húl  
 sig<sub>4</sub>-nam-tar-ra a dé-zu<sup>1</sup>

- 65 silim-ma ḥé-gál-e ki ús-sa-zu<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>nin-ka-si za-da ḥu-mu-u<sub>8</sub><sup>1</sup>-da-an-ti  
kaš geštin ḥu-mu-ra-an<sup>1</sup>-bal-bal-e  
gurun<sub>x</sub>-lâl-e gù-nun ḥa-ra-ni-ib-bé  
<sup>e</sup>bunin-<sup>d</sup>búr-a kaš-ku<sub>7</sub>-ku<sub>7</sub>-dam
- 70 sagi lú-tur-ra lunga bí-in-DU-en  
a-nigin<sub>2</sub>-e nigin-na-mu-dè  
gur<sub>4</sub>-gur<sub>4</sub>-re-gá gur<sub>4</sub>-gur<sub>4</sub>-re-gá-mu-dè  
kaš-nag-e me-e sì-ga-mu-dè  
gurun<sub>x</sub>-nag-a ul-ti-a-mu-dè
- 75 šà-ḥúl<sup>1</sup>-la ur<sub>5</sub>-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-mu-dè  
šà-gá šà-ḥúl-la gál-la-bi  
ur<sub>5</sub>-šag<sub>5</sub> <sup>tu</sup>g<sub>3</sub>pala<sub>3</sub>-a ša-mu<sub>4</sub>-ra-mu-dè  
šà-<sup>d</sup>inanna ki-bi ba-ab-gi<sub>4</sub>  
šà-ga-ša-an-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub> ki-bi ba-ab-gi<sub>4</sub>

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[bal-bal-e(?)-<sup>d</sup>nin-k]a-si-kam

## TEXTUAL NOTES

5. <sup>1</sup>A: uru; B: uru<sub>2</sub>; cf. line 7, note 1, for C. <sup>2</sup>A: -re; B: -e (but -re in line 7).
6. <sup>1</sup>A: šu ma-; B: ša mu- (but cf. line 8); C: šu mu-.
7. <sup>1</sup>A: uru; B: uru<sub>2</sub>; C: uru<sup>ki</sup>. <sup>2</sup>In A there is an erasure between ki and ús.
8. <sup>1</sup>A: šu ma-; BC: šu mu-.
9. <sup>1</sup>BC interchange the order of lines 9/10 and 11/12.
13. <sup>1</sup>A: mu-un-sila<sub>x</sub> (šID); C: níg-LAGAB; C': níg<sup>l</sup>-sila<sub>x</sub><sup>l</sup> (collated by F. Köcher). <sup>2</sup>A: -a; C: -e. <sup>3</sup>A: i-in-du<sub>8</sub>; C: du<sub>8</sub>-a-z[u].
14. C' adds a -ta, after šim.
15. Reading níg-sila<sub>x</sub> according to C' in line 13; for the rest of the line same var. as above.
17. <sup>1</sup>AC': -a; C: -e.
18. <sup>1</sup>A: -àm; C: -a; C': -e. <sup>2</sup>A: -àm; C om.
19. <sup>1</sup>A om. lines 19-20.
22. <sup>1</sup>A: nam<sub>4</sub> (rúG) [collated]; C: nam.
23. <sup>1</sup>A om. lines 23-24.
25. <sup>1</sup>C' on edge: titab gi (see commentary).
26. <sup>1</sup>A: zi-zi-; C: zi-i-zi.
28. <sup>1</sup>var. as in 26<sup>l</sup>.
30. <sup>1</sup>A: -a; C: -àm.
35. <sup>1</sup>A: -tab<sup>l</sup>-ba<sup>l</sup>.
37. <sup>1</sup>Strophes 37-40 and 41-44 only in BC; A om.
44. <sup>1</sup>C: -a; B om.

45. <sup>1</sup>A: -na; C: -a; B unclear. <sup>2</sup>AC: dé-a-zu; B: d]é-a-za; C': mi-ni-in-.
46. <sup>1</sup>AC: -àm; B: -a; C': -za<sup>7</sup> (cf. note 2 to line 47).
47. <sup>1</sup> = 45<sup>1</sup>. <sup>2</sup>B: d]é-a-za; C: -dé-a; C': -za (unless it belongs to the preceding line). <sup>3</sup>A om. 47-48.
48. <sup>1</sup>B: -a; C: -àm. Dividing line after line 48 only in C.
52. <sup>1</sup>C: -e; C': -re.
53. <sup>1</sup>C: u-gur-bal; C': SIG<sub>7</sub>-bal.
55. <sup>1</sup>BC: <sup>d</sup>u<sub>8</sub>; A om.
56. <sup>1</sup>AB: -du<sub>8</sub>; C: -du.
57. <sup>1</sup>A: a-LAGAB/GIŠ; B: a-GIŠ; C: DAG-BI-e; C': a-+ba (for GIŠ? [not collated]).
62. <sup>1</sup>Line according to A; B: ]NIGIN<sub>2</sub>.NE[...].NE.BI.
63. <sup>1</sup>A: -a-dé-zu, with undeciphered gloss underneath; B: ]GIŠ.NI (both signs probably a miscopy) -a-za.
65. <sup>1</sup>A: -zu; B: -za.
66. <sup>1</sup>A: -u<sub>8</sub>-; B: -e-.
67. <sup>1</sup>A: -an-; B om.

Subscription only in C, left edge; on the upper third of the same edge the sign ZA, or 4 (meaning?).

1 Borne *by* the flowing water [. . .],

Tenderly cared for by Ninḫursag,

Ninkasi, borne *by* the flowing water [. . .]

Tenderly cared for by Ninḫursag.

5 Having founded your town on "wax,"

She finished its great walls for you,

Ninkasi, having founded your town on "wax,"

She finished its great walls for you.

Your father is Enki, the lord Nudimmud,

10 Your mother is Ninti, the queen of the abzu.

Ninkasi, your father is Enki, the lord Nudimmud,

Your mother is Ninti, the queen of the abzu.

You are the one who handles dough (and) . . . with a big shovel,

Mixing, in a pit, the *bappir* with sweet aromatics.

15 Ninkasi, you are the one who handles dough (and) . . . with a big shovel,

Mixing, in a pit, the *bappir* with sweet aromatics.

You are the one who bakes the *bappir* in the big oven,

Puts in order the piles of *hulled* grain.

Ninkasi, you are the one who bakes the *bappir* in the big oven,

20 Puts in order the piles of *hulled* grain.

You are the one who waters the earth-covered malt,  
 The *noble* dogs guard (it even) from the potentates.  
 Ninkasi, you are the one who waters the earth-covered malt,  
 The *noble* dogs guard (it even) from the potentates.

- 25 You are the one who soaks the malt in a jar,  
 The waves rise, the waves fall.  
 Ninkasi, you are the one who soaks the malt in a jar,  
 The waves rise, the waves fall.

- You are the one who spreads the cooked mash on large reed mats,  
 30 Coolness overcomes . . . .  
 Ninkasi, you are the one who spreads the cooked mash on large reed mats,  
 Coolness overcomes . . . .

- You are the one who holds *with both hands* the great sweetwort,  
 Brewing (it) with honey (and) wine.  
 35 Ninkasi, you are the one who holds *with both hands* the great sweetwort,  
 Brewing (it) with honey (and) wine.

[. . .]

[You . . . the sweetwort to the vessel].

Ninkasi, [. . .],

- 40 [You . . .] the sweetwort to the vessel.

The fermenting vat, which makes a pleasant sound,  
 You place appropriately on (top of) a large collector vat.  
 Ninkasi, the fermenting vat, which makes a pleasant sound,  
 You place appropriately on (top of) a large collector vat.

- 45 You are the one who pours out the filtered beer of the collector vat,  
 It is (like) the onrush of the Tigris and the Euphrates.  
 Ninkasi, you are the one who pours out the filtered beer of the collector vat,  
 It is (like) the onrush of the Tigris and the Euphrates.

- 
- The *g a k k u l* vat, the *g a k k u l* vat,  
 50 The *g a k k u l* vat, the *l a m - s á - r e* vat,  
 The *g a k k u l* vat, which makes the liver happy,  
 The *l a m - s á - r e* vat, which rejoices the heart,  
 The *u g u r - b a l* jar, a fitting thing in the house,  
 The *š à - g u b* jar, which is filled with beer,  
 55 The *a m - a m* jar, which carries (the beer of) the *l a m - s á - r e* vat,  
 The . . . reed buckets and the reed pails of . . . ,  
 The beautiful vessels, are ready on (their) *pot stands!*



- May the heart of your god be well disposed towards you!  
 Let the eye of the g a k k u l vat be our eye,  
 60 Let the heart of the g a k k u l vat be our heart!  
 What makes your heart feel wonderful,  
 Makes (also) our heart feel wonderful.  
 Our liver is happy, our heart is joyful.  
 You poured a libation over the brick of destiny,  
 65 You placed the foundations in peace (and) prosperity,  
 May Ninkasi live together with you!  
 Let her pour for you beer (and) wine,  
 Let (the pouring) of the sweet *liquor* resound pleasantly for you!

- In the . . . reed buckets there is sweet beer,  
 70 I will make cupbearers, boys, (and) brewers stand by,  
 While I turn around the abundance of beer,  
 While I feel wonderful, I feel wonderful,  
 Drinking beer, in a blissful mood,  
 Drinking *liquor*, feeling exhilarated,  
 75 With joy in the heart (and) a happy liver—  
 While my heart full of joy,  
 (And) (my) happy liver I cover with a garment fit for a queen!

The heart of Inanna is happy again,  
 The heart of the queen of heaven is happy again!

1. Cf. a - s a - l a 'ù' - t u - d a , in broken context, in *VAS* 2 37:11.

5-8. We have no evidence to identify Ninkasi's town. There is late evidence for the existence of a city named LĀL.ÚR<sup>ki</sup>, connected with Adad, <sup>d</sup>IM EN LĀL.ÚR<sup>ki</sup>, in Craig, *ABRT* 57:22, but the grammatical construction of lines 5/7 shows that l à l - ħ u r is the object of the verb k i - ú s and not in apposition to u r u - z u .

l à l - ħ u r , Akk. *iškuru* (*CAD* 7 251 f.), is a type of wax different from g a b - l à l , in spite of the fact that both have the same Akk. equivalent; l à l - ħ u r is not attested after Ur III outside of the lexical texts and Sumerian literary passages. A significant reference is *UET* 3 1498 i l , where this wax is used in the shop of the d i b i r a , together with ivory and precious woods, Other references from the same period are *UET* 3 567:1-3 and *ITT* 4 7059:1. In the former, twelve shekels of l à l - ħ u r are used for two unidentified silver objects,<sup>7</sup> in the latter, ten mana

<sup>7</sup> For wax (GAB.LĀL) used by the *gurgurru* (DIBIRA) to cast objects with the cire-perdue technique see *VAS* 8 103, quoted by *CAD* 5 137. In *UET* 3 567 the use of wax for a mold is excluded because that technique cannot be applied to silver.

of the same material are listed among garments, perfume, and *in-da ħ-š u-u m*.<sup>8</sup> A derived meaning has to be assumed for the following passages:

gá-e mušen-š a<sub>6</sub>-ga gal-zu-me-en  
 kin-š a<sub>6</sub>-ga ugun-tag-ga-mu-š è  
 l à l- ħ u r- k ù- z u k i n l a- b a- a n- s i- g a  
 "I am (the bird speaks) a beautiful and very intelligent bird,  
 Beautiful work (has been done) in my embellishment,  
 (But) your . . . has not been worked!"  
 (Contest between the Bird and the Fish 72-74).  
 é-<sup>d</sup>e n- k i- k e<sub>4</sub> l à l- ħ u r- k ù k u r<sub>7</sub>- a k  
 "Inspecting the . . . in the temple of Enki"  
 (Eridu Hymn 38).

These two passages clearly require a meaning like "material from which an object is made,"<sup>9</sup> a meaning that can be easily derived from "modeling wax." In our context, unparalleled in the literary texts, "founded on *l à l- ħ u r*" is an image to express the noble quality of the ground on which the city is built.

The subject of *š u m u- r a- a n- d u<sub>7</sub>- d u<sub>7</sub>* in lines 6/8 is Ninĥursag.

9-12. <sup>d</sup>n i n- t i is here an epithet of Enki's wife, and different from the <sup>d</sup>n i n- t i, the *nin-iti-e*, born of Enki and Ninĥursag (*BASOR SS* 1 20:265-66, 277) and sister of Ninkasi, whose birth is described also in the same passage (259-60).

The following strophes contain an enumeration of the most important activities of Ninkasi, the Brewer. The question might be raised, whether the hymn describes successive steps in the preparation of beer, or just isolated aspects in an arbitrary order. Since the strophe 13-16 obviously starts with an early stage of the process, and the last lines of the composition (strophe 45-48) describe the pouring of the finished product, it must be assumed that by and large successive steps are described, although in some cases parallel, or even alternate, ways of processing the grain may be intended. We must not forget, however, that the composition has no didactic purpose, and that some operations are not even mentioned in this short and concise poem. To help the understanding of the text, a brief and schematic relation of what we know about the raw materials and intermediate products of the old Mesopotamian brewing process will be given here:<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Cf., for the present, Gelb, *MAD* 3 47 2, MTĜš.

<sup>9</sup> The meaning "mold," in the sense of "form," is not excluded (see n. 7). The same *l à l- ħ u r* appears in the divine name <sup>d</sup>l à l- ħ u r- g a l- z u *ŠL* 109, 13.

<sup>10</sup> For additional information on particular terms and expressions, even when no explicit reference is given, the reader is referred to Oppenheim's study already mentioned. Bibliography on Mesopotamian brewing can be found in Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, n. 8. The study by B. Landsberger and K. Balkan announced there was published in *Bellesten* 14 243 ff. Some remarks by H. Lewy are in *Or* 28 118<sup>3</sup>.

The various materials and intermediate products are dealt with in the text in the following order:

	Ninkasi Hymn	Ḫb XXIII
bappir <sub>2</sub>	13-20	iii 8-14
munu <sub>3</sub>	21-24	iv 3-24
sún	25-28	iii 15-25
tita b	29-32	iii 27-iv 2
dida	33-40	[         ]
fermentation and pouring	41-48	—

1) b a p p i r<sub>2</sub> is a cooked mixture of (fermented?) dough and aromatic herbs. In some cases it could be shaped into cakes and counted by number, but usually was measured by volume. It is uncertain whether malted cereal was used in its preparation. This question has probably to be answered negatively.

2) m u n u<sub>3</sub> (DIM<sub>4</sub>, also written m u n u<sub>4</sub> [DIM<sub>4</sub>+ŠE]) is the cereal which, after germination, will become greenmalt.

These two are the basic indispensable ingredients of the beer, as shown by the so-called beer "recipes" from Presargonic Lagaš,<sup>11</sup> as well as by later references (Oppenheim, *Beer*, n. 35).

3) s ú n is a crushed greenmalt infusion (mash), before decoction.

4) t i t a b is the cooked mash. It is not clear if the crushed greenmalt could be roasted without previous watering, or if all t i t a b had to pass first the s ú n stage.<sup>12</sup>

5) d i d a is the sweetwort, i.e., an infusion of the mash with lukewarm water, with the addition of substances rich in sugar. See commentary to lines 33 ff., for the justification of this interpretation which differs from the one commonly accepted.

One of the many points which remain unclear is how and when the b a p p i r and the greenmalt, presumably in form of t i t a b, were mixed together. The mixture of b a p p i r and greenmalt is mentioned in the passage *KUB* 17 10 ii 23 (translated by Goetze, *MVAG* 32/1 73): "like the greenmalt and the b a p p i r are intimately joined together. . . ." That, when mixed, the greenmalt was in form of t i t a b, is suggested by a brief description of the brewing process in the Contest between Laḫar and Ašnan 117-19:

b a p p i r<sub>2</sub> u d u n - n a m u n u s ù - b a - n i - d u<sub>3</sub>  
 t i t a b u d u n - n a ù - b a - n i - d ù  
 ḏ n i n - k a - s i - k e<sub>4</sub> m a - a b - š á r - š á r - r e

<sup>11</sup> Discussed by Hrozný, *Das Getreide*, 152 ff. See also Deimel, *Or* 32 (1928) 60 ff.

<sup>12</sup> That the basic ingredient of t i t a b is malted cereal was already recognized by Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, 18. We cannot follow him, however, in his interpretation of the BARA<sub>2</sub> of the logogram as ḫalāšu. The original logogram for t i t a b is L ù . M U N U<sub>3</sub> in Fara (Deimel, *Fara* 2 20 vi 10; 43 ix 11; etc.), in the Presargonic and Ur III texts, as well as in part of the OB texts (*MSL* 7 29 [Fore-runner texts not collated]). This L ù could be an indication—nothing is however more dangerous than to analyze the components of a logogram with semantic intentions—that t i t a b was "malt stirred (in water)."

“After the woman has baked the *bappir* in the oven,  
 After the *tita b* has been prepared in the oven,  
 Ninkasi mixes them for me.”

13–20. *Preparation of the bappir*. The meaning of *si* (line 13) and its relation with the following word are uncertain. A likely meaning for *si* is “sprouts,” either of germinated grain, or of the aromatic herbs mentioned in the following line. There is no other evidence, however, to assume that malted cereal was used in the preparation of the *bappir* and, furthermore, in that case we would expect the *si* after *níg-sila<sub>x</sub>*. More probably, the *si* is identical with the difficult <sup>(ninda)</sup>*si-gal* (parallel to <sup>(ninda)</sup>*gúg-gal*) of Gud. Cyl. A xxviii 6 and VAS 10 214:15'. It is uncertain whether there is any connection with the *bappir si.A* of the Forerunner *SLT* 12 iii 12 (dupl. *SLT* 16 and *OECT* 4 154) and *bappir-sig<sub>5</sub>-si.A* of *ITT* 2/2 892 i 7'. After *si*, the texts give:

A *mu-un-šid*  
 C *níg-LAGAB*  
 C' *níg-šid* (collated by F. Köcher)

the intended word is thus in all probability *níg-sila<sub>x</sub>* “dough.” For the reading *silag* for *šid* in this meaning see Ea VII 198–99 (*JCS* 13 129). The var. *LAGAB* remains unexplained. The first element *mu-un-* in A must represent the emesal form of *níg*, cf. *mu-un-ga* = *níg-ga* in *MSL* 4 31:34, proving thus that we must read *níg-sila<sub>x</sub>* and not *ninda-sila<sub>x</sub>*. For *níg-sila<sub>x</sub>* “dough,” we have the following passages in literary texts: <sup>si</sup>*bunin-níg-sila<sub>x</sub>-gá-zu níg-kud la-ba-ab-ak-[e]* *Hendur-sagga* Hymn 33 (also 123'', 126''); <sup>si</sup>*bunin-níg-sila<sub>x</sub>-gá nu-luḥ-ḥa é gi<sub>8</sub>-ù-na-ka bí-dib-ba* UM 55-21-438:15'–16'; *zé-da tur-tur-bi níg-sila<sub>x</sub> ì-bí-kú* Contest between Silver and Copper C 78, this last passage to be compared with *Iraq* 23 160:78; *ninda-gúg-du<sub>8</sub> šà-níg-sila<sub>x</sub>-gá in-nu-ù* “a baked cake is not (to be found) in the middle of the dough” Gordon, *SP* 1.52.<sup>13</sup>

For <sup>si</sup>*m ar* as a tool of the brewer, see *Hh* VII B 18–20. Since the baking of the *bappir* is described in the strophe 17–20, it is perhaps better to take *du<sub>8</sub>* not as *epû* “to bake,” but as “to shovel” or the like.

The aromatic herbs used for the *bappir* are unknown. For later periods, see B. Landsberger, *Afo* 18 337.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Our translation differs from the one given by Gordon, *loc. cit.*; his interpretation of *níg-šid* is hardly acceptable.

<sup>14</sup> The use of *ka-si-ia* as a mere flavoring agent is, however, subject to serious doubts. In one of the texts quoted there, from Ungnad, *NRV* 76 ff., the *ka-si-ia* accounts for more than 20 per cent of the total material by volume (*VAS* 3 40).

The kiln for the *bappir* (line 17/19) is listed in *Ḫ* X 359, alongside the one reserved to cook the mash (*tita b*). For the reading of *nunuz* as *nida* see *Ḫ* XXIV 130–33, quoted in *CAD* 5 127 sub *gubūtu*. Since *gú-nida* is usually preceded by *gig* (Contest between Winter and Summer 77) or *zíz* (*RTC* 69:1; 70 v 1; Nikolski 63 v. 6; etc.) it is hardly, at least originally, a particular species. The translation *gubūtu* (*CAD loc. cit.*) and the passage *gú-nida ellag<sub>x</sub> (BIR)un<sub>x</sub> (BÀD)-na ga-mu-ra-túm* Van Dijk, *Sagesse* 69:139, where the epithet *ellag<sub>x</sub>* is to be explained by *lú-še-ellag<sub>x</sub>-ak = mu-qá-li-pu-ú* OBLu A 201, support a translation “hulled grain.” The grain for the *bappir* was thus without husks, while for the *tita b* the husks were kept, since their presence in the mash is a desirable feature because it helps the filtering.

21–24. *Soaking and germination of the greenmalt.* For *munu<sub>3</sub>* see above p. 76. “(Slightly) covered with earth,” according to *saḥar-gar-ra = kut-tu-mu* Ant VIII 186, is preferable to an explanation based on *iš-gar = ša-pi-[ik íd]* *Igituḫ* X 287, usually written *iš-gar-íd-da*, for which see *RA* 54 67. The covering of the grain with a thin layer of earth had the purpose of helping the germination, keeping the grain moist. For *a-si-ga*<sup>16</sup> in relation with greenmalt cf. *ELA* 363: *munu<sub>3</sub> a-si-ga-na a-šà mu-ni-[. . .]* “[covered?] the fields with his watered greenmalt” (cf. also *ELA* 327). The germination of the grain was supervised by the <sup>14</sup>*MUNU<sub>3/4</sub>.MÚ.(MÚ)*, Sum. reading ‘a’-ma-a-n (*MSL* 2 70 ad 479c), Akk. *bāqilu* (references from economic texts in *ŠL* 60 43). The need to keep the grain within the right range of temperatures, lest the germination not start, is mentioned in the Contest between Silver and Copper B 3:26 *munu<sub>3</sub>-mú-en-te-en ní nu-te-te . . .* “the sprouting grain does not need to be kept cool in winter. . .”

Line 22/24 shows that dogs were used to keep people away and protect the germinating grain from being trampled. Of the meanings of *ur-me-me*:

- a) = *ka-lab ašá-maš* *Ḫ* XIV 87
- b) = *sa-ma-nu* *Prac. Voc. Assur* 431
- c) = *šar šar-r[i]* *Lu* I 41 b

the first (cf. E. D. Van Buren *Afo* 11 14 ff.) is to be preferred because of the use of the verb *gam*, said typically of the watch dog, for example: *ur-gir<sub>x</sub> máš gam-gam nu-ub-zu* *BASOR SS* 1 10:16 “the dog which watches the kids was not (yet) known.” Cf. also *ur gam-gam* (var. *ur gam-ma* from *CBS* 13924 + *UM* 29-15-355) = [*ka-na-nu šá*] *UR.GIR<sub>x</sub> Nabnitu* XXII 5. Other

<sup>16</sup> The Akk. term is *raṭābu* and, occasionally, *šabū* *CT* 43 8:12, 15 (cf. also *munu<sub>4</sub>-a-di-a* [for -d é - a] = *ši-bu-tum* *Ḫ* XXIII iv 4). Whether there is any difference in the use of these terms, that is, whether they were used both for the watering of the grain before germination and for the infusion of the germinated grain when making the mash, is a question which still needs investigation.

examples of the verb *ga m* with the meaning "to curb, to restrain," usually with an animal as the object, are: *a m - s a<sub>6</sub> a m - k u r - r a l ú - g e š p u<sub>2</sub> - g i n<sub>x</sub> i m - m a - d u . d u l ú - l i r u m - m a - g i n<sub>x</sub> i m - m a - š i - g a m* "the brown wild ox, the wild ox of the mountains, like a strong man he carried it away, like a fighter he restrained it" Lugalbanda and Ḫurru<sup>m</sup> 356; *a m a r - e i m - t a - è a m a r - e b a - a n - g a m* "he left the calf free, (but) he kept it watched" P 5.36:4 (Gordon, *JCS* 12 18).

For the following *na m/n a m<sub>4</sub>* the meaning seems assured by *na m t ú g = ru - bu - ú MSL* 2 129:8; although *Ea I* 166 gives *na - a m t ú g = t é - e - mu*, and an unpublished forerunner to *á - A (MAH 15850 + viii 37')* gives *t ú g* (reading *na m<sub>4</sub>*) = *š i - im - tum*, this last meaning being verified by *na m<sub>4</sub> - tar*, for *na m - tar*, writing attested in an unpublished Ur III literary text.

The need to protect the germinating greenmalt lying on the ground from careless trampling gave origin to the phrase *a m - s i m u n u<sub>3</sub> - s i g<sub>7</sub> - s i g<sub>7</sub> a l - d a g - g e* "the elephant tramples the sprouting greenmalt" Dialogue 1:17, to describe a clumsy person. Also, in a broken context, in Lugalbanda and Ḫurru<sup>m</sup> 302: [... *m*] *u n u<sub>3</sub> a m - s i k á r - k á r*. Other enemies of the greenmalt were the birds (*BASOR SS* 1 10:19–20, completed by U 7754, to be published in *UET* 6): *n u - m u - u n - s u m u n u<sub>3</sub> ù r - r a b a r a<sub>3</sub> - g a - b a m u š e n - a n - n a m u n u<sub>3</sub> - b i n a - a n - k ú - e* "when a widow had spread greenmalt on the roof, the birds of the sky did not eat that malt." But this spread malt could refer, in this particular case, equally well to the cooling of the cooked mash. See commentary to lines 29–32.

25–28. *Preparation of the mash: infusion of greenmalt.* The var. *t i t a b g i* of *C'* must be interpreted as an indication that some mss. interchanged the strophes 25–28 and 29–32. In both A and C the first sign could also be read *G I R<sub>4</sub>*, but the context of lines 26/28 requires *s ú n* (< *s u m u n (u) P E a* 588). This word is extremely rare in the texts, the infusion *s ú n*, Akk. *narṭabu* (Ḫḫ XXIII iii 15; *S<sup>b</sup>* II 337), being only an intermediate product: *d u g - s ú n*, Akk. *karpāt muratṭibi* Ḫḫ X 74 (but cf. *DUG ner-ṭa-bi* in *KAR* 382 r. 45), is mentioned in *RTC* 307 vii 18' and *ITT* 2/2 892 vii 18'; [*x*] *s ú n d u I T T loc. cit. i 5'*.

For line 26/28 cf. *i - i z z i - g a = (a - g u - ú) t e - b u - u*, *i - i z g á - g á = (a - g u - ú) š á - k a - n u* *I z i V* 86–87.

29–32. *Cooling of the cooked mash.* Since it is desirable to keep rather low temperatures during the decoction of the mash, once the mash had reached the right point, it was taken out of the oven and spread on reed mats to cool off. As a sample of the elliptical style of our poet, it should be noted that the decoction itself of the mash is merely implied. The oven where this operation was carried out was called *u d u n - t i t a b* Ḫḫ X 360; cf. also the passage from the Laḫar-Ašnan Contest quoted on p. 76. The reed mat on which the mash was cooled is well known <sup>8</sup> *i k i d - t i t a b = k i - t ú t i - t a - p u* Ḫḫ VIII 338. It must be assumed here that *m a ḫ*

in the present case is merely an adjective (compare  $\text{𒀭}^{\text{i}}\text{m a r-m a ḥ}$  [13/15],  $\text{u d u n-m a ḥ}$  [17/19], and  $\text{l a ḥ t a n-m a ḥ}$  [42/44]), in other words we do not deal with the special type of reed mat  $\text{𒀭}^{\text{i}}\text{K I D.M A Ḥ}$  (=  $\text{m u r u}_x$ ) discussed by Goetze, *JCS* 2 176 ff. (cf. also *MSL* 7 25). The Ur III text *TCL* 5 6036 xiii 30-35 gives detailed information about the materials used in the manufacture of a reed mat for the  $\text{t i t a b}$ :

3  $\text{𒀭}^{\text{i}}\text{k i d-t i t a b}$  ( $\text{L}^{\text{U}}.\text{M U N U}_3$ ) -  $\text{b a e s i r}_2$   $\text{s u-b a}$   
 $\text{k i-l á-b i}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\text{s a r}$   
 $\text{g i-b i}$  18  $\text{s a}$   
 $\text{p e š-b i}$   $1\frac{1}{2}$   $\text{m u r g u}$   
 $\text{e s i r}_2$ - $\text{b i}$  29  $\text{s i l a}$   
 $\text{á-b i}$   $\text{u}_4$ -4

The size of one mat was therefore about 54 sq. feet. In the Contest between the Reed and the Tree 89-90, the miserable end of the reed implements is thus described:

$\text{𒀭}^{\text{i}}\text{m u r u}_x$  ( $\text{K I D.M A Ḥ}$ )  $\text{n a m-s u m u n-b a k a-g i r}_4$ - $\text{r a}$  [...]  
 $\text{𒀭}^{\text{i}}\text{k i d-t i t a b}$   $\text{l ú š u-g u r-r a š e-i r-t a b-b a}$  [...]

“The large reed mats, when they get old, [are thrown] to the mouth of the kiln,  
 The reed mats for the mash, which one used to roll up (carefully), [are now used  
 for] fences.”

The reading  $\text{b a r a}_3$  (g) for  $\text{D A G}$  with the meaning “to spread” is proved by a number of lexical entries and literary passages:

a.  $\text{p}^{\text{a-á}}\text{D A G}$  =  $\text{š e-t u-ú}$ , followed by  $\text{p á r-d u g}_4$ - $\text{g a}$  =  $\text{š u-p a r-r u-r u}$ , *Erimḥuš* V 160-61. Reading  $\text{b a-r a}$  in *MSL* 2 138 Text f 6: [ $\text{b a}$ ]- $\text{r a D A G}$  =  $\text{š u-p a-r u-r u-u m}$  (thus, not  $\text{-r u m}$ ), same equation in *S<sup>b</sup>* II 235. Cf. finally, *Izi Bogh.* A 298 ff.:  $\text{D A G}$  =  $\text{š a-t a-d u}$  (probably an error for  $\text{š a t ú}$ ), =  $\text{m e-i š-t u-u}$ , =  $\text{m e-e l-t u-u}$ .

b. *CT* 15 18:38:  $\text{é}^{\text{ú}}\text{š e m-b a r a}_3$ - $\text{g a-n a u r b a-e-n á}$ , with unpublished phonetic duplicate CBS 145:5':  $\text{è m-b a-r a-g a-n a u r}_4$   $\text{b é-n u}$ ; *Keš Hymn* 50:  $\text{é a n-š è u t u-g i n}_x$   $\text{è-a k i-š è i d}_4$ - $\text{g i n}_x$   $\text{b a r a}_3$ - $\text{g a}$ , with var.  $\text{-b a-r a-g a}$ . See, for more references, Falkenstein, *AnOr* 28 24.

The Akkadian term is  $\text{še}^{\text{t}^{\text{u}}}$ , used in a literary image frequent in the Assyrian royal inscriptions: [ $\text{k}^{\text{i}}$ ]  $\text{b u ḡ l i e r r e š a t t ú š a l a m t u}$  “the corpses are spread out like parched malt” Bauer, *Asb.* 77 d 8; also Borger, *Esarh.* 56:70, and *TCL* 3:134, 226. We must mention also the Akkadian proverb (Lambert, *BWL* 246:23-24, and 250):  $\text{b u-u ḡ-l i n a-ṽ-p i m e š-t ú-ú u l u ḡ-h u r-š ú}$  “for cooked greenmalt, spreading cannot be delayed.”

Line 30/32 is extremely difficult. It is evident that it alludes, in one way or another, to the cooling of the mash, but the translation of  $\text{A N}$  is better left undecided for the moment. It is unlikely that it represents a verbal prefix. Although  $\text{a n-}$  is well attested (see *RA* 54 56<sup>3</sup>), the parallelism with other lines, all of which have pre-

fixless forms, excludes this interpretation. It is possible to take AN as dingir and translate: "the coolness (of the mash) captivates the gods," but such a translation is not supported by any parallel passage and sounds like too daring an image for the simple Sumerian poetry. The word an can designate also the upper part of the stalks with the heads of grain (*antum ša še'im*) or without them (*hāmū*, etc.), but such a meaning is out of place in this context.

33–40. *Preparation of the wort.* In the assumption that the brewing operations are described in an approximately successive order, it seems natural to take <sup>k</sup>ašdida as a still unfermented product, in all probability the (sweet)wort. This translation is not completely free of objections, but it apparently agrees well with what we know about dida. The "mixture" implied by the Akkadian translation *billatu* (PDiri 425; Diri V 228; S<sup>p</sup> I 67a) is clearly explained in line 34/36. The addition of sweeteners is well known in the history of brewing. The addition of honey, for instance, to the barley beer is mentioned by Pytheas in Strabo IV 201. Substances rich in sugar, added before fermentation, increase the alcoholic content of the final product. The usual translation of dida and *billatu* as "second-quality beer, inferior beer" is based solely on the logogram ús.sá. It must be noted, furthermore, that *billatu*, in later times, is very often qualified as *damiqtu*, an ill-fitting qualification for an inferior type of beer. The dida was drunk as such, unfermented, on some occasions: dida-nag lâl-zú-lum-ma-dùg-da šár-ra...igi-š<sup>i</sup>šbanšur-ra-ka si ba-ni-in-sá-sá-e-eš "they duly presented in front of the table... dida mixed with good date honey" Lugalbanda and Hurrum 94 ff.

The meaning of šu-ta-b-ba is uncertain. Of the lexical references available,<sup>16</sup> none seems to fit the context. It is quite possible, and perhaps preferable, to translate simply "with both hands." For the use of the hands in brewing, see the remarks of B. Landsberger and K. Balkan, *Bellethen* 14 245 C end.

Sumerian sur (transitive) means simply "to perform an action from which a liquid product results," without indicating concretely the action by means of which the liquid is obtained. Compare: ga — sur "to milk" Nies, *UDT* 59:85; Deimel, *Fara* 2 26 x 5; i — sur "to make oil," geštin — sur "to press grapes," a — sur "to urinate" (dug-a-sur-ra = *karpāt šināti* H<sup>h</sup> X 339; cf. also giš — sur Gordon, *SP* 2.59). kaš — sur represents the last and essential stage of fermentation and filtering, and stands, by synecdoche, for the whole of the beer-making process: káš-bi é-gal-la e-sur *DP* 169 iv 4; káš-bi

<sup>16</sup> 1. [(ta-ab) TAB = šá šU.TAB 'x' [ ]  
           = šá šU.TAB.LÁ ha-nu-'x'-'y]  
           = šá šU.TAB ub-bu-r[u?]

2. šu-ta-b-ba = e-še-pu Erimḫuš IV 157

3. šu-ta-b = (ke-pu-u) šá GĪR Nabnitu XXII 125

4. šu-ta-b = um-ša-tu K. 207 i 27 (List of diseases)



é - m u n u s - k a b a - s u r DP 170 ii 6 ff. For the Akkadian equivalent *mazû*, see Landsberger and Balkan, *loc. cit.*

Lines 37–40 are too poorly preserved to identify the action described; they presumably deal with putting the *dida* into the vat in order to start the fermentation. If a reading *ḥu n - g á* is admissible (the traces in the copy are unreliable), it could refer to letting the mixture stand for a few days in the vat to complete the fermentation.

41–44. *Filtering of the beer.* The *ḏ u ṣ n í g - d ú r - b ù r* (reading from gloss in *Ḥḡ* X 123) is a special type of fermenting vat with a draining hole at the bottom, as recognized already by Landsberger and Balkan, *op. cit.*, 246<sup>58</sup>. Examples of large vessels with a hole at the bottom are D.556. 540a (Delougaz, *OIP* 63 Pl. 195) and D.555.510b (*ibid.*, Pl. 194), types attested at least until the Agade period. The *n í g - d ú r - b ù r* is rarely attested in the texts, presumably because it could be included under a more generic designation such as *g a k k u l* (both translated in Akkadian by *namzîtu*). Cf. *ḏ u ṣ d ú r - b ù r* CBS 7269:14 (unpubl. Presargonic lexical list of clay objects), and, perhaps, *ḏ u ṣ d ú r . ṣ ú*, listed among other brewing vessels, in *RTC* 307 viii 7' and *ITT* 2/2 892 viii 3'. Like other vats, the *n í g - d ú r - b ù r* needed a stand as shown by a ritual from later times *KAR* 184 obv. 7 ff.<sup>17</sup> where three sticks (*sil-ti*) of cedarwood are used to support an unfired *n í g . d ú r . b ù r* vat. The beer vats are always represented on such stands (for instance *UE* 2 pl. 194, 33, and *passim* in the representations of drinking scenes).

The “pleasant sound” (*g ù - n u n — d i*) refers to the dripping of the beer being filtered through the hole at the bottom, and falling into the collector vat, the *l a ḫ t a n*.

The inscribed *LA* of *NUNUZ+ÁB×LA*, i.e., *l a ḫ t a n* (*MSL* 2 93 C 6; *S<sup>b</sup>* II 298; *Diri* V 245), is clearly seen in text C. The reading *l a ḫ t a n* is, furthermore, confirmed by the phonetic complement *- n a* in line 45/47, so that no confusion with the *m ù d* (= *NUNUZ+ÁB×BI*) vat, or with related signs such as *NUNUZ+ÁB×TITAB* (*ŠL* 394 c'), is possible. *l a ḫ t a n* (Frank, *SKT* 38 r. 2 [after *namzîtu*]; *YOS* 2 152:40, 43, 44; *KAR* 376 r. 26) is explained in *Ḥḡ* to *Ḥḡ* X (*MSL* 7 109:65) as *namḫaru* (cf. the etymology of receptacle, recipient) and, as clearly shown by our passage, is the collector vat, where the beer drops after filtration.

45–48. *Pouring of the beer.* The adjective *si-im* can be translated by “fragrant,” cf. *ir-si-im* and *si-im — ak* (*Iraq* 23 168 f.), but in the present context it is better taken as a syllabic writing for *sim* “to sift” and, when said of liquids, “to filter”: *si-im* = *ša-ḫa-lum* OBG T XV 12; but usually written *NAM*, with gloss *si-im* (*Ant* III 225–26; *Nabnitu* I 94), Akk. *napû*, *šahālu*. For line 46/48, cf. *s a g - s i* = *na-áš-pa-an-tu* “flood” *Kagal* B 235.

<sup>17</sup> = Ebeling *TuL* no. 21 (as corrected by von Soden, *ZA* 43 273).

49. The *g a k k u l* (also in lines 59–60) is a fermenting vat, attested with both *g i* and *d u g* as determinatives:

1) <sup>d u</sup> *g a k k u l* = *kakkullum*, *namzītum* Diri V 259–60; *Ḫḫ* X 211–12; *S<sup>b</sup>* II 165–66; A VIII/2 132–33.

2) <sup>ḡ</sup> *g a k k u l* *FḪ* VIII–IX 107–09 (see *MSL* 7 48 for the main text), Akk. equivalents not preserved, but presumably the same as above. Special types: <sup>ḡ</sup> *g a k k u l - a b - b a* (var. *- a - a b - b a*) and <sup>ḡ</sup> *g a k k u l - k a š* (var. *- d i š - k a š*) *FḪ loc. cit.* (also <sup>ḡ</sup> *g a k k u l* = *kakkullu*, *nažītu* *Ḫḫ* VII A 108–09).

3) *g a k k u l* = *īnu ša* *KAŠ*, *k a š g a k k u l - a - a b d ù* = *šikara īna nadī* (where *g a k k u l - a - a b* represents the same item listed in *FḪ* VIII–IX 108) *Nabnitu* I 185–86. This lexical passage will be discussed later.

*g a k k u l* is written either as *U+DIM*, *U+DIM×ŠE*, or *U+DIM-gunû*, without any difference in meaning. All the texts of the Ninkasi hymn write *U+DIM*.<sup>18</sup>

The *g a k k u l*-vat was normally of clay, exceptionally of metal: *g í r - n é g a k k u l - z a b a r - r a*<sup>19</sup> *i m - m a - a n - š ú - š ú* (*SEM* 98 ii 18' and dupl.), see also Landsberger and Balkan, *op. cit.*, 247<sup>63</sup>. As for the *g a k k u l* listed among the reed objects, it was either made of wickerwork coated with bitumen (Oppenheim, *AOS* 32 28 f.) like the *b u g i n* “trough,” or an earthen container protected, like a demijohn, by a reed wrapping (Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, 156), permanently, or at least for transportation. Compare, perhaps, the seal impression *UE* 2, pl. 194, 23.

From *KAR* 94:26 f. (quoted in *CAD* 6 225 sub *ḫuḫāru*) we learn that the *g a k k u l* was a rather paunchy vessel with a narrow opening. It had an opening called the “eye,” as shown by our line 59. Since the term for a normal top opening in a pot is “mouth” (*k a*), cf. *KAR* 94, *loc. cit.*, we might assume that the *g a k k u l*-vat had also a draining hole at the bottom like the <sup>d u</sup> *ḡ n í g - d ú r - b ù r* (see discussion above), although the possibility that the normal opening on top was called in this particular case “eye” to stress its reduced size, cannot be dismissed. The presence of an “eye” in the *g a k k u l* explains the equations of *Nabnitu* given above. The first one plays on the double meaning of *īnu* “eye/source” and describes the fermenting vat as the “source” from which the beer flows. The second equation means simply “beer dropped through the ‘eye’ (of the vat).”<sup>20</sup> It must be noted that both entries are in favor of the presence of a second opening at the bottom of the vat.

<sup>18</sup> In Presargonic and, occasionally, in Ur III texts, it is written also *DIM×ŠE*, without the preceding *u*, to be read *g a k k u l*: *Nikolski* I 264 ii 2; *DP* 507 ii 7 (*DIM×ŠE* - *l a*, note the phonetic indicator!), followed in both cases by *l a m - r e*; <sup>ḡ</sup> *g a k k u l*, (*DIM×ŠE*)-*ab-ba* *UET* 3 862.

<sup>19</sup> Var., from *UM* 29-13-7, adds determinative: <sup>ḡ</sup> *g a k k u l - z a b a r - r a*.

<sup>20</sup> These equations are quoted in *CAD* 7 151 *īnu* 2d. The entries from *Nabnitu* I 181–84 quoted there obviously mean “spring,” not “bubble,” and they belong to the following section 2e.

The *g a k k u l* is listed with the <sup>d u</sup> \**l a m - s á - r e*, as one of the two basic tools of Ninkasi in Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 17: [<sup>d u</sup> \**g a k*] *k u l - a - n i* (var. adds -*t a*) <sup>n a</sup> *z a - g ì n - d u r ÿ - r u* (var. om. -*r u*): *nam-zi-is-sa uq-nu-ub-bi*. The other references (*CT* 4, 8a, 8, 21, 22; *CT* 17, 35:78-79; *SBH* no. 4:64-65) all stress the fact that this type of vat was kept carefully closed, and has become thus a literary image of mystery and secrecy.

The same word *g a k k u l* designates also a part of the human eye, the eyeball in all probability: *g a k k u l - i g i - m u* = *ka-ku-u[l-ti i-ni-ia]* Ugu 66 and B 2.<sup>21</sup> The pupil is thus compared to the opening of the vat, and the flowing of tears from the eye was also a factor in the choice of this term. The texts mentioning the *šer-ān īni*, corroborate also the meaning "eyeball," the translation "variculae of the conjunctiva" (Oppenheim, *Or* 31 28) is preferable to "artéριοles de l'iris" (Labat, *TDP* 53:14), the first being much more apparent and apt to strike the observer.

Finally, in UM 29-16-85:24-26

<sup>g i</sup> *š k i r i x - m u ḥ i - i z<sup>s a r</sup> - à m a i m - m i - d u g<sub>4</sub>*  
*ḥ i - i z<sup>s a r</sup> g a k k u l - à m m a x (KA×SAR) i m - m i - d u g<sub>4</sub>*  
*ḥ i - i z<sup>s a r</sup> - b i ù - m u - u n - e ḥ é - k ú - e*

"In my garden, I watered the lettuce,  
 Of the lettuce, I crushed the *g a k k u l*.  
 Let the lord eat that lettuce!"

The choicest part of the lettuce is obviously meant, and in spite of the existence of a term "heart of the lettuce" (*l i b i š - ḥ i - i z<sup>s a r</sup>*, see *CAD* 7 325 *janzu*), we must admit a parallel, perhaps merely poetic, term "eye of the lettuce." An interpretation of the passage above as a proof that lettuce was crushed and fermented in a vat, in a process similar to the preparation of sauerkraut, is not supported by the grammar.

The <sup>d u</sup> \**l a m - s á - r e* is also a brewing vat which seems to play, in relation to the *g a k k u l* vat, the same role that the *l a ḥ t a n* has in relation to the *n í g - d ú r - b ù r* (cf. above commentary to lines 41-44). It is mentioned already in the oldest texts, but disappears, except for the lexical lists, in the early OB period, except for a doubtful reference in Frank *SKT* 38 r. 3.<sup>22</sup> The exact form of the word is difficult to establish because of variations in writing:

*l a m - r e* Deimel, *Fara* 2 43 ix 15, without determinative but with other brewing vessels: *d u g - t i t a b*, *d u g - n i n d a - m u n u<sub>3</sub>* (*ibid.* 11, 12); Nikolski I 264 ii 3, also without determinative but again among brewing vessels; *RTC* 307 viii 6'; *ITT* 2/1 892 viii 2'; *ITT* 5 6862 i' 11', ii' 7', etc. All the latter references have the determinative *d u g*, except

<sup>21</sup> Cf. GEŠTIN.UD.A *kak-kul-ti* IGI<sup>II</sup>-šú *PBS* 10/4 12 iii 1. More references in *AHw.* 423.

<sup>22</sup> Text: <sup>d u</sup> \**l a m - i r - u š*. Frank's copy is basically correct and confirmed by a recent collation by E. Laroche.

𒂗<sup>i</sup>𒍪<sup>l</sup> a m - r e : DP 507 ii 8; 490 iv 3 (𒂗<sup>i</sup>𒍪<sup>l</sup> a m - r e - k á š) ; VAT 4632 iii 3 (*Or* 12 198).

<sup>d</sup> u 𒂗<sup>l</sup> a m - s á - (r) , with - r a in our hymn line 55, or with - r e , our lines 50 and 52, and *SRT* 1 v 1 (and dupl.):

<sup>d</sup> u 𒂗<sup>l</sup> a m - s á - r e 𒀭 u - b u - u l - d a - b a - a l m u - u n - d a - a b - z a .

<sup>d</sup> u 𒂗<sup>l</sup> a m - s i - s á Erimḫuš VI 26, Akk. *lamsisû*; to be restored also in Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 18.

<sup>d</sup> u 𒂗<sup>e</sup> (e) l l a g<sub>x</sub> (B I R) - s i - s á 𒄩 X 28 and the corresponding 𒄩g 69.<sup>23</sup>

It is certainly a foreign word, like practically all the technical terms of the Mesopotamian brewer. The only way to account for all the different writings is to assume an original \*l a m s r e or \*l a m s (a) r e , the central consonantal cluster not being expressed in the older writings, and also a change r > s, certainly old because it is found already in Lugalbanda and Enmerkar.

53. The var. of C shows that the reading of s i g<sub>7</sub> as a name of a clay pot is to be read u g u r<sub>(2)</sub>. This reading is already known from Ea I 271: p a p - u - g u r (var. p a - a p - ú - k u r) P A P . S I G<sub>7</sub> = šá \*PAP (text AN).SIG<sub>7</sub> ú-ga-ru. The u g u r - b a l pot is listed in 𒄩 X 248 (with 𒄩g 73), preceded by s i g<sub>7</sub> - g í d and s i g<sub>7</sub> - i g i , but is not mentioned elsewhere, unless <sup>d</sup> u 𒂗<sup>g</sup> à r - b a l in Nikolski I 264 ii 1 represents the same word, which is very probable.

54. <sup>d</sup> u 𒂗<sup>g</sup> à - g u b = šu-bu, preceding <sup>d</sup> u 𒂗<sup>e</sup> l l a g<sub>x</sub> - s i - s á , in 𒄩 X 27; in *RTC* 307 viii 5' and *ITT* 2/2 892 viii 1' it precedes also <sup>d</sup> u 𒂗<sup>l</sup> a m - r e . The only literary reference is *SRT* 1 v 1, quoted above.

55. The a m - a m is also a typical container of the tavern keeper. In the other occurrences, all lexical, the word is written <sup>d</sup> u 𒂗<sup>a</sup> m - m a - a m , Akk. *ammammu* 𒄩 X 218 and 𒄩g 67, where it is explained by *namḫar ša sâbî*; Erimḫuš VI 22; also made of reeds: 𒂗<sup>a</sup> m - m a - a m F 𒄩 VIII-IX 105, and <sup>n</sup> 𒂗<sup>a</sup> m - m a - a m - z a - g ì n = šu-[nu] 𒄩 XVI 78 shows that it also could be made of stone. The form of the receptacle is unknown and, to judge from our line, it was used to carry the beer taken from the l a m - s á - r e vat.

56. The 𒂗<sup>i</sup> b u n i n (LAGABXA, according to text C, but A.LAGABXA<sup>1</sup> in line 69, according to text A) is a reed container coated with bitumen, used for liquids as well as solids (see for the b u n i n where the dough was kneaded the references quoted in the commentary to lines 13-20). The lexical references are collected and discussed by B. Landsberger in *MSL* 7 46.<sup>24</sup> The 𒂗<sup>i</sup> b u n i n for beer is mentioned in Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 21-22:

SILA.ŠU.DU<sub>8</sub> k a š d i - d i - d a - n i g i n - n a n u - k ú š - ù  
<sup>d</sup> n i n - k a - s i 𒂗<sup>i</sup> b u n i n z a g - g a - [n i - š è i m - m i - i n - l á]

<sup>23</sup> The final consonant of l a m is a normal m in PEa 917; the only indication of a final ġ for L A M is the value l u - u g in Diri II Bogh. 222a.

<sup>24</sup> The distinction between LAGABXA and LAGABXGAR seems to be late and perhaps artificial; the older texts have always LAGABXA.

“The cupbearer who does not get tired distributing her beer, Ninkasi, carries the *b u n i n* at her side.”

And in Dialogue 5:85:

é - k a š - g á l - l a \*<sup>i</sup>b u n i n - b i - i m<sup>25</sup>

[*bi-it ši-ka-ru*] *i-ba-aš-šu-ú ku'-ni-na'* (text 'tu'?) - ša

“Of the house where there is beer, you are its *b u n i n* .”

Cf. also \*<sup>i</sup>š b u n i n - NUNUZ+ÁB×TITAB DP 75 vii 2; VAT 4632 iv 4 ff. (*Or* 12 199).

The <sup>ú</sup>b ú r is a plant product used as binding or matting in the manufacture of reed objects. Since the evidence for this word is somewhat confusing, the references will be given in some detail:

1. Ur III economic texts.

a. <sup>b</sup>ú r (without <sup>ú</sup>): *RTC* 307 vi 15': 3 g ú 15 2/3 m a - n a <sup>b</sup>ú r (after *e s i r*<sub>2</sub>, *n a g a*, *i m - b a b b a r*, and before *K A × S A*, *p e š - S I G*<sub>4</sub>, etc.); *ITT* 2/2 892 vi 14' (parallel text); Reisner, *Telloh* 113 v. 9': 3 g ú 40 m a - n a <sup>b</sup>ú r (follow *K A × S A* and pieces of wood).

b. <sup>ú</sup>b ú r: *TCL* 5 6036 xvii 3: š u - n i g i n 16 m a - n a <sup>ú</sup>b ú r (cf. already iii 34); this total is specified in col. ix 17, 22, and 11. The <sup>ú</sup>b ú r is used there in the manufacture of sieves (\*<sup>i</sup>m a - a n - s i m); *UET* 3 1265 ii 7'-8' (cf. already 2'-4') 5 g ú 35 m a - n a <sup>ú</sup>SAL+KU, 2 g ú 36 2/3 m a - n a <sup>ú</sup>b ú r (among materials for the basket weavers). In this context <sup>ú</sup>SAL+KU, i.e., *n i n*<sub>9</sub>, stands for <sup>ú</sup>n i n n i<sub>5</sub><sup>(TIR)</sup><sub>(TIR)</sub>, as will become clear from the passages 2 a-b, below.

2. Lexical texts.

a. *FH* VIII-IX 56: \*<sup>i</sup>p i s a n - <sup>ú</sup>b ú r' (collated), followed by \*<sup>i</sup>p i s a n - <sup>ú</sup>n i n n i<sub>5</sub>.

b. In the main text of *Hh* we find <sup>ú</sup>G í R in the places where <sup>ú</sup>b ú r is expected:

1'. *Hh* IX B b 6-7:

\*<sup>i</sup>p i s a n - \*<sup>ú</sup>. \*<sup>ú</sup>G í R = šá *um-ša-[tum]* (see note, *MSL* 7 41)

\*<sup>i</sup>p i s a n - <sup>ú</sup>n i n n i<sub>5</sub> = šá *áš-[lu]*

2'. *Hh* IX 128-29:

\*<sup>i</sup>m a - s á - a b - <sup>ú</sup>. <sup>ú</sup>-kur<sup>G</sup> í R = šá *um-ša-tum*

\*<sup>i</sup>m a - s á - a b - <sup>ú</sup>n i n n i<sub>5</sub><sup>ni-in</sup> = šá *áš-lu*

The gloss <sup>ú</sup>-kur is due to an already confused tradition, and is not a sufficient reason to introduce a reading *k u r* for either *G í R* or *B ú R*. The constant mention of *umšatu* and *ašlu* together justifies the assumption, above 1 b, that *n i n*<sub>9</sub> stands in the text from Ur for *n i n n i*<sub>5</sub> (note the gloss *n i - i n*).

<sup>25</sup> Var.: B: \*<sup>i</sup>LAGAB×A-b i - m e - e n; NOPR \*<sup>i</sup>A.LAGAB×A - b i - i m; Q: *b u*<sup>n</sup> - *n i n*<sup>n</sup> - b i - i m.

## 3'. Hh X 172-72a:

$^d u \text{ } ^s k \text{ } \acute{r} - ^d G \text{ } \acute{r} = \acute{s} \acute{a} \text{ } um\text{-}\acute{s} \acute{a}\text{-}l \acute{u}$   
 $= nam\text{-}\acute{s} \acute{a}\text{-}tu$  (cf. also Hg to X 76)

In the numerous texts available for this passage the sign G $\acute{r}$  is clearly written. This type of *kirru* jar was protected (cf. *namšartu*) by wickerwork.

c. A VIII/2:199: b u - ú r B Ú R = *um-ša-tu*. This passage is so far the only witness for an expected, but as yet unattested, equation  $^d b \text{ } \acute{u} r = um\acute{s}atu$ . The XVII tablet of Hh has preserved only  $^d G \text{ } U \text{ } G_4 = um\text{-}\acute{s} \acute{a}\text{-}tum$  (line 6).

For *umšatu* see Thompson, *DAB* 9. The proposed identification with gen. *Rumex* (Sorrel), although etymologically suggestive, is in disagreement with the use of the plant in basketry.

The exact function of the  $^d b \text{ } \acute{u} r$  as a material for the b u n i n cannot be determined. The expression reappears again in line 69.

The  $^s i b \text{ } a - a n - d u_8$  is, like the b u n i n, a reed container to carry liquids, as shown by the Akk. translations *naḥbū* and *madlū* in Hh X 223 ff. The writing with - d u instead of - d u<sub>8</sub> in text C is in agreement with FH VIII-IX 96 ff.

At this point it is worth noting, because of its technological interest, the fact that most of the receptacles used in brewing and serving beer could be made of bitumen-coated basketwork or of wood (cf.  $^s i \text{ } ^s l \text{ } a \text{ } m - r e$ ), instead of clay.

57. The texts differ in the second complex of this line: d a g - d u g - e in C can be explained as "on the pot stands." Although a meaning \**šubat karpātī* is not expressly attested for that expression, note d a g = *šubtu* *MSL* 2 138 f. 4; *Erimḥuš* II 322; etc. The other texts have a g i š which can be interpreted as "the drink (and all) the implements." For a possible a - n i g i n<sub>2</sub> in A, see line 71. For s a - g i<sub>4</sub> - a see *OBT* XV r. 3-4, and *CAD* 4 307 *ersū*.

59. For the "eye" of the g a k k u l - vat, see commentary to line 49.

61. "To feel wonderful" is an approximate translation of g u r<sub>4</sub>, lit. "to be, to feel big." This word (*kabru*, *rabū*, *kabtu* A I/2:2 ff.; Ea I 23 ff.) not only refers to mere physical size ("big, thick"), but also to social rank and prestige ("honored, important"),<sup>26</sup> and especially to the consciousness of one's own superiority ("feeling of importance, pride"): *ašnan-e nam-gur<sub>4</sub>-ra-na šà im-mi-in-da b* "Ašnan felt hurt in her pride" *Laḥar-Ašnan Contest* 168; e n - t e - e n á - d i r i n í n a - a n - a b - g u r<sub>4</sub> - r e - e n "Winter, do not feel so proud about (your) superior strength!" *Winter and Summer Contest* 265; d i r i - š è n í - z u n a - a b - g u r<sub>4</sub> - r e - e n "do not feel excessively proud about yourself!" *Dialogue* 2:34. Note the presence of both š à and n í in our passage, stressing the subjective meaning.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *in-nin šà-gur<sub>4</sub>-ra* CBS 13982:1, phon. *in-nin šà-ku-ra*, Akk. *in-ni-na ra-bi-tam' li-ib-bi* (phon. and Akk. from Van Dijk, *Sumer* 13 pl. 1:1-2).

64-65. These two lines suggest that the occasion for the drinking party described in the poem could well have been the start of the construction of a building. For *sig<sub>4</sub>-na m-tar-ra* see Gud. Cyl. A i 15; v 7; *CT* 36 26:12; *SLTN* 102:3.

68. "Liquor" must be taken here in the general meaning of alcoholic beverage; a closer rendering has not been attempted because of the uncertainty of the composition of the *guru<sub>x</sub>* (DIN).<sup>27</sup> It is certainly not wine, as suggested by Poebel, *ZA* 39, 146 ff., because *kurunnu* and *karānu* are listed side by side as two different things: *KAR* 10 r. 20; *BA* 3 339 ff. ii 8; Thompson, *Esrarh.* 12 vi 37, 52; etc. It is listed, furthermore, in the beer section of *U<sub>3</sub>* XXIII ii 4 ff. In some cases, at least, it was made from sesame: *ku-ru-un-še-giš-ì* = *ku-ru-un-nu* *U<sub>3</sub>* XXIV 89.<sup>28</sup>

70. Reading *sagi* for *SILA.SU.DU<sub>3</sub>* according to Jacobsen, *ZA* 52 191<sup>59</sup>. For (l ú) .šIM the reading *lunga* has been arbitrarily chosen from the manifold variants of this foreign word: *lu-um-gi*, *lu-un-ga*, *nu-un-gi*, *ni-in-gi*-(in): references in *MSL* 3 101 ad 67c, 103 ad 76 (with addition to this line in *MSL* 4 205 ff.). The final -n in Gadd, *Second Lamentation for Ur* 62:11 *é-lunga-na káš nu-un-gál munu<sub>3</sub> nu-un-gál*; but vocalic ending in *RTC* 56 vii 6 *lú-BI×GAR-ke<sub>4</sub>-ne*.

71. The reading *a-nigin<sub>2</sub>* is somewhat uncertain. We assume here that it is *a-nigin<sub>(2)</sub>* = *amirānu* "pool," cf. *ku<sub>6</sub> a-nigin<sub>2</sub>-na lu-ga-gin<sub>x</sub>* "like fish living in a pool" Sumer and Akkad Lament 401. In the present context it designates, in a poetic exaggeration, the large amount of beer available for drinking.

72. For *gur<sub>4</sub>* see comments to lines 61-62.

73. The expression *me-e si-ga* is not paralleled elsewhere, but the *me* is evidently the same as in *me-gar*, *me-gá-gá* = *qālu* Nabnitu A 169 ff. *Izi E* 36, as well as in *nfg-me-gar* = *rīšātu* GrVoc III C 10, = *qālu* Nabnitu A 173, and in *mud<sub>5</sub>* (šIM)<sup>29</sup> - *me-gar* = *rīšātu* Erimḥuš IV 137; cf. Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 20 (*CT* 15 41): *káš al-tuš-a-ni mud<sub>5</sub>-me-gar ina ši-kar uš-ša-bu r[i-šá-a-ti]*, in parallelism with *nfg-kiri<sub>3</sub>-zal ta-ši-l[a-ti]* (*ibid.* 19).

<sup>27</sup> Reading *guru<sub>x</sub>* from PEa 200, elsewhere *kurun<sub>2</sub>*. The imprecision of the meaning of *guru<sub>x</sub>* is apparent in the lexical passages:

DIN = *ka-ra-nu*  
*ši-ka-ru*  
*ku-ru-nu*

MAH 15850 + ix 52' (Forerunner to á:A); same equations in *Diri V* 233 ff.; *PDiri* 426 f. (without *karānu*); and *A V/1*:129 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Thompson, *Gilg.* XI 72 (Pl. 46) *si-ri-[šū KU.RU.]UN.NU.ì.GIŠ u<sup>58</sup>karānu* "beer, sesame wine, and (grape) wine."

<sup>29</sup> Reading *mud<sub>5</sub>* from *A V/1*:183 ff.: *m-u-d šIM* = *ri-šá-a-tum, e-bi-rum, qu-ú-lu* (following the same equations with the reading *a-si-il-la* for *šIM*); value *mud<sub>5</sub>* also in *Rec. Ea F* 10'; cf. *mud-me-mar-ra CT* 42 15:25 f.

The parallelism with *ul-ti-a* in our line 74, on the one hand, and the meaning *qālu* as well as the frequent association of *níg-me-gar* with *u<sub>6</sub>-di* (Falkenstein, *SGL* 1 75), on the other, suggest a mixture of joy and silent admiration.

74. For *ul-ti-a* see *CAD* 6 8, *ḫabāṣu* A.

77. The *-ra-* after *mu<sub>4</sub>* is difficult to explain. The verb *ru<sub>6</sub>-r* and the possibility of *-r-* being a mere element to eliminate the hiatus will be discussed in the writer's forthcoming book, *Sumerian Literary Contests*.

78-79. "Queen of heaven" translates *ga-ša-an-na* which is nothing but the Emesal form of *ḫi<sub>4</sub>na<sub>4</sub>*. The fact that the two lines differ only in dialect shows that they must be attributed to different speakers: line 78 presumably to the speakers of section 58 ff. and line 79 to the female speaker of section 70 ff. The expression *ša<sub>4</sub>ki-bi<sub>4</sub>gi<sub>4</sub>*, lit. "to restore the heart," meaning "to be (again) in the usual good mood and disposition," is often found in the conclusions of letters: *dingir-mu<sub>4</sub>lu<sub>4</sub>-kúr-zu<sub>4</sub>nu<sub>4</sub>-me<sub>4</sub>-en<sub>4</sub>ša<sub>4</sub>-zu<sub>4</sub>ki-bi<sub>4</sub>ḫa<sub>4</sub>-ma<sub>4</sub>-ab<sup>1</sup>-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>* *TMH NF* 3 56:10 (and dupl.);<sup>30</sup> *ša<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>šulgi-lugal-gá<sub>4</sub>ki-bi<sub>4</sub>ḫa<sub>4</sub>-ma<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>* Letter Collection B 1 end; and it is a standard expression at the end of the *ér-ša<sub>4</sub>-ḫun-gá* prayers; see, for instance, *CT* 44 14:31': *ša<sub>4</sub>-dingir-mu<sub>4</sub>ki-bi<sub>4</sub>ḫa<sub>4</sub>-ma<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>*.

<sup>30</sup> Page 20 of the Introduction to *TMH NF* 3 to be corrected accordingly. Var. om. *-ab-* in the verbal form.