

TAKAYOSHI OSHIMA

Babylonian Prayers
to Marduk

*Orientalische Religionen
in der Antike*

Mohr Siebeck

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Takayoshi Oshima

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To my Mother

Foreword

This is a study of the history of the ancient belief in Marduk, the god of Babylon based on an analysis of Akkadian prayers to him. At the centre of my interest is his role as the divine saviour of mankind.

It was Professor Wayne Horowitz of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem who in 1995 originally suggested Marduk and his cult in Babylonia as a general theme for my graduate school research. After completing my M.A. thesis, *The Royal Inscription of Agum-Kakrime and its Relating Issues*, in 1997, I continued my research on the god Marduk and chose Sumero-Akkadian religious texts dedicated to him as the topic of my PhD research, in the hope of learning not only the history of the worship of Marduk and of his cult in Babylon but also more about his divine personality and the way he was perceived by the ancient Babylonians. The result was my PhD dissertation, *Hymns and Prayers to Marduk and his Divine Aspects in these Texts*, submitted to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 2003. The current monograph is a revision of that Hebrew University dissertation. In this revised form, it is addressed not only to the community of Assyriologists, but also, more generally, to researchers and students of theology, of biblical studies, and of comparative religious studies as a part of the ORA series; accordingly, many things from the original dissertation needed to be reworked.

First of all, I would like to thank the British Academy for its short-term research fellowship in 2006 and the Alexander von Humboldt Fund for the two year research grant in 2007–2010. My gratitude also goes to my hosts, Professor Andrew George of SOAS and Professor Michael Streck of the Altorientalisches Institut of the University of Leipzig for their hospitality during my stay in London and Leipzig. Most of the cuneiform manuscripts from the British Museum in London which were used in this monograph were either re-collated or copied during the summer 2006 under the grant from the British Academy. The Humboldt fellowship enabled me to revise the entire PhD dissertation and to rework it into the present form in the light of the findings in London and of the collation work done in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin. I am also grateful to the Trustees of the British Museum and to Dr Joachim Marzahn, the Curator of the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, for their kind permission to collate, copy, and publish the cuneiform tablets in their collections.

I am in debt to many scholars. In particular, my gratitude is due to: Professor W. G. Lambert, Dr Irving L. Finkel, Professor Mark J. Geller, Professor Andrew R. George, Professor Nathan Wasserman, Dr Uri Gabbay, Mr Elnathan Weissert, Professor Stefan M. Maul, Professor Michael P. Streck, Professor Manfred Dietrich, and Miss Anna Jordanova. They all gave me helpful suggestions and comments (including even the museum registration numbers of various cuneiform tablets) over the course of the various stages of my original PhD research and of the preparation of this collection of

Akkadian prayers to Marduk. I would particularly like to thank Professor George and Professor Maul. They read my manuscripts and gave me many constructive and insightful remarks during the revision of the original dissertation. Professor Maul also showed me his copies and editions of some prayers to Marduk from the VAT collection prior to the publication of KAL IV. Moreover, during the process of the current revision, Professor Markus Hilgret, Dr Daniel Schwemer, Dr Claus Ambos, Dr Alasdair Livingstone, Dr Wiebke Meinhold and Dr Ivan Hrůša shared their findings with me prior to the publication of their own works. They are all thanked for their generosity.

Last but not least, this book owes much to the advice and encouragement given me by Professor Wayne Horowitz throughout my PhD research and also during the process of its revision. He read through all the manuscripts of my Hebrew University PhD thesis and also all of the revisions of the current monograph. His attentive guidance and comments, together with his incessant generosity and encouragement, have enabled me to complete the research on Babylonian prayers to Marduk.

All errors of omission or commission remaining in the book are mine alone.

Leipzig, May 2009

T. Oshima

Addendum to Foreword

After the manuscripts had been accepted for publication from the series ORA (Oriental Religions in Antiquity), further revisions were made upon request of the editors of the series. The most notable modification is ‘the restoration’ of the discussion of Akkadian prayers, now Chapter I, which had been edited out from my earlier version of the manuscript. I would like to thank the editors of the ORA series for their insightful remarks and Dr Jan Dietrich and Dr Kai Lämmerhirt for further assistance in the finalizing process of my manuscripts. In addition, I am also grateful to Dr Thomas Ripliger for editing my English texts and his constructive and insightful comments.

Jena, September 2010

T. Oshima

Conventions

When I refer to texts from my corpus, I use the line-numbers of the composite texts unless otherwise specified. In the composite texts, I assign line 1 to the first line of each prayer – not necessarily the first line of a tablet – and count the remaining lines accordingly. For example, VAT 9737+9823 preserves 7 prayers as well as the ritual instructions corresponding to them. For example, when I cite passages from IP 15: *KAR 23 i 19ff*, the third payer in VAT 9737+9823, I take the 19th line of the first column of the tablet as line one of this prayer and count the rest accordingly. When the first line of an ancient composition has not been preserved, I assign 1' to the first line available following conventional Assyriological practice.

Individual tablets and their divisions, i.e. columns, are indicated in the following manner. When I refer to a certain verse from an ancient text within a series of tablets, I use Roman numerals in uppercase to indicate the ordinal number of the tablet (i.e., chapter/section) within the series following the ancient scribal tradition. Thus, '*Ludlul IV*' means 'the fourth tablet' or 'Tablet IV' of the *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* series. On the other hand, I use a lowercase Roman numeral to indicate the column number on a tablet, e.g. 'MS K iv 24' indicates line 24 in the fourth column of MS K of a particular text.

Departing from the prescription of *SBL Handbook* §4.4.6, I have placed all titles of the ancient texts – not just original titles like *Enūma Eliš* and their direct translations, but also artificial titles like *The Prayer of Marduk* – in italics. In this way, they are more clearly set off from the running text and they are also clearly distinguished from the names and citations of modern copies of such texts. Thus *KAR 59* is the name given to an ancient composition (IP 1 in my catalogue), whereas *KAR 59* designates the published copy of an ancient manuscript, in this particular case, a cuneiform text published in *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, Bd. 1, Leipzig 1919 by E. Ebeling.

In connection with references to the titles of ancient Babylonian texts in this monograph, I would like to call attention to one further point. Contrary to the general rule of English style according to which titles of literary texts should ordinarily be preceded by 'the' when they are referred to, Assyriologists do not use 'the' before Babylonian titles like *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* and *Enēma Eliš*. Thus I have followed their usage here and generally omit 'the', unless it is needed to make the sentence more intelligible.

Basically, I follow the abbreviation system of *CAD*. If my abbreviations of certain references differ from these or are not listed in *CAD*, I use the abbreviations listed in pp. XVII–XVIII below. When I cite an ancient text, I normally present a transliteration followed by a translation. For the readers' convenience, I have also followed this practice for the texts from my own corpus. The ancient words cited in this monograph are normally followed by their English translations. Since this monograph is not a diction-

ary, I present only those meanings relevant to the discussion. Normally I indicate the translations of ancient words with single quotation marks ('*translation*'). Double quotation marks ("*translation*"), on the other hand, indicate translations which have been suggested by other scholars. As for the texts outside of my own corpus, I have for the most part based my transliterations and translations on the text-editions established by other scholars. Incidentally, because the current monograph is also intended for the non-Assyriological community, the readers are advised to keep in mind that my translations are attempts to convey not only the literal meaning of each phrase but also an understanding of the general conceptions behind it.

Any attempt to translate ancient poetry into English represents a compromise between fidelity to the original text and meeting the demands of readable English. For instance, there are no articles in Sumerian or Akkadian, but English without articles is difficult if not impossible to read, and so I have inserted articles where I felt the context demanded them, but, for the most part, I have not put them in parentheses like the other additions I have inserted into the text, since doing so would cause other difficulties in reading the text. Similarly, these languages have no punctuation corresponding to our periods and commas, though they do have a sign, two or three so-called '*Winkelhaken*', that functions rather like our colon and they sometimes make use of horizontal dividing lines to mark off verses. Thus the periods and commas that appear in the English translation represent, for the most part, an interpretation of the sense of the text rather than anything contained in the text itself.

Likewise the translation of individual words or phrases often poses problems, since it is not always possible to distinguish a figurative or idiomatic usage from the literal meaning or to judge which of a variety of English synonyms and quasi-synonyms best fits the term in question. Where I felt it absolutely necessary, I have added comments in parentheses, either citing the literal text in the form '(lit.: ...)' when my 'interpretation' differs significantly from the literal wording, or giving my 'interpretation' in the form '(i.e. ...)' when I have literally translated the original, despite its strangeness. Nevertheless, I have tried to keep such insertions to a minimum, since they disturb the flow of the text.

As for the transliterations of the ancient texts, I have followed the sound values of signs and Sumerograms assigned by Labat, R. and Malbran-Labat, F., *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne*, Paris, 1995. In principle, I present both a *Partitur* (scores of all available manuscripts) and a composite text for each work in Chapter IV if there are more than one exemplar available, even though this might appear redundant in some cases. However, when there is a recent publication of a particular piece that also includes a *Partitur*, I only present a composite text. In principle, I do not offer critical text editions of the texts that have been recently edited or for which critical editions are currently being prepared for publication by other scholars and which are near completion, unless such critical texts are relevant for the discussions in this monograph.

The essential unit of poetry in Akkadian (as well as Sumerian) is the poetic line (or verse). As with other literary texts in Akkadian, the beginning and the end of a line on the tablet correspond to the beginning and the end of a verse in the texts of my corpus. Thus one can expect a pause at the end of each line. For this reason, I often use the word 'line' instead of 'sentence' or 'verse'. Occasionally, however, two or more lines

form one sentence in Akkadian prayers. Moreover, two or four sentences very often form a single stanza (couplet and quatrain) in Akkadian literary texts. In addition, one often finds horizontal rulings on the tablets that have been drawn after either a set of two lines or after a set of four lines. At first glance, these would seem to set off couplets and quatrains of Akkadian poetry. In fact, however, many such horizontal lines were drawn without regard to logical groupings and there are many cases when the lines do not match the stanzas at all. In the composite texts and the translations, I insert a space to indicate logical partitions, ignoring the physical separations marked by rulings.

Further Conventions:

In the transliteration of the ancient texts:

<i>be-lum še-zu-zu</i>	texts in <i>italics</i> are Akkadian.
DINGIR.MEŠ	texts in UPPERCASE (CAPITALS) are Sumerograms.
dingir šà-lá-sù	texts in lowercase but not in italics are Sumerian words or passages.
AN/DINGIR	Slashes indicate alternative possibilities.
<i>LI IM</i>	<i>ITALIC-CAPITAL</i> letters indicate signs whose exact readings are not certain.
<i>ma-a[ḫ-r]i-ka¹</i>	Square brackets and half square brackets are used to indicate the damaged signs.
ŠĀ [?]	A question mark in superscript indicates an insecure reading.
<i>iḫ-te[!]-tam[!]-ma</i>	Exclamation marks in superscript indicate signs which have been collated from the original cuneiform manuscripts.
<i>a-ra-an-<šu></i>	Angle brackets indicate omissions by the ancient scribes.
<i>mu-<<UZ>>-ḫir</i>	Double angle brackets indicate a sign erroneously inserted by the ancient scribes, e.g., a dittography.
×	A saltire indicates that there are some traces of a sign but that it is beyond recognition due to the damaged state of the tablet.
[×]	The same mark as above but in square brackets indicates high probability for the existence of a sign when the text was complete.
[(×)]	The same mark as above but in both square brackets and parentheses indicates a possible place for an extra sign.
[...]	Ellipsis points mark a lacuna of an uncertain numbers of signs.
<i>mal*-ku*-ut*-ka*</i>	Asterisks indicate signs that have been copied by others but which are no longer visible, probably due to the subsequent deterioration of the tablet.

(error) Smaller parentheses are used to indicate miscellaneous remarks.

In the translations of the ancient texts:

In [yo]ur pre[sence] Square brackets indicate that the translations of these words are based on a reconstruction of the text.

heart *Italics* are used to indicate insecure decipherments or restorations.

.. Ellipsis points in the translation are used to indicate signs whose readings cannot be established.

[... Ellipsis with only one square bracket indicates a lacuna of uncertain length at the end of a line.

(V. his)/(He is) Parentheses indicate miscellaneous remarks, such as readings from variants, complements and supplemental information.

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List of Abbreviations¹

AfO B = *Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft*.

AGANT = BERLEJUNG, A. and FREVEL, CH. eds.: *Handbuch theologischer Grundbegriffe zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, Darmstadt 2006.

Annus, *Ninurta* = ANNUS, A.: *The God Ninurta: in the Mythology and Royal Ideology of Ancient Mesopotamia*, (SAAS XIV), Helsinki 2002.

AO = *Aula Orientalis: Revista de estudios del Próximo Oriente Antiguo*.

BaF = *Baghdader Forschungen*.

CDA = BLACK, J., GEORGE, A. and POSTGATE, N. eds.: *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*, (SANTAG 5), Wiesbaden 1999.

CDOG = *Colloquien der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*.

CM = *Cuneiform Monographs*.

DBH = *Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie*.

Ebeling, *Quellen* = EBELING, E.: *Quellen zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion I-II*, (MVAG 23/1, 2), Leipzig 1918/1919.

FAOS = *Freiburger altorientalische Studien*.

Foster, *Before the Muses*² = FOSTER, B. R.: *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*, Third Edition, Bethesda 2005.

Fs. Böhl = BEEK, M. A. and KAMPMAN, A. A. et al, eds.: *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae; Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl Dedicatae*, Leiden 1973.

Fs. Borger = MAUL, S. M. ed.: *Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994: tikip santakki mala bašmu ...*, (CM 10), Groningen 1998.

Fs. Cagni = GRAZIANI, S. ed.: *Studi sul vicino oriente antico; dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni*, (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor LXI), Napoli 2000.

Fs. Deller = MAUER, G. and MAGEN, U. eds.: *Ad bene et fideliter seminandum: Festgabe für Karlheinz Deller zum 21. Februar 1987*, (AOAT 220), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1988.

Fs. Finkelstein = DE JONG ELLIS, M. ed.: *Essays of the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein; Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences*, vol. XIX, Hamden 1977.

Fs. Hallo = COHEN, M. E., et al. eds.: *The Tablet and the Scroll; Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, Bethesda 1993.

Fs. Klein = SEFATI, Y. et al. eds.: "An Experienced Scribe Who Neglects Nothing", *Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Jacob Klein*, Bethesda 2005.

Fs. Lambert = GEORGE, A. R. and FINKEL, I. L. eds.: *Wisdom, Gods and Literature: Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W. G. Lambert*, Winona Lake 2000.

Fs. Landsberger = GÜTERBOCK, H. G. and JACOBSEN, TH. eds.: *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday, April 21, 1965*, (AS 16), Chicago 1965.

Fs. Matouš = HRUŠKA, B. and KOMORÓCZY, G. eds.: *Festschrifti Lubor Matouš, I and II*, Budapest 1978.

Fs. Meek = MCCULLOUGH, W. S. ed.: *The Seed of Wisdom: Essays in Honour of T. J. Meek*, Toronto 1964.

Fs. Reiner = ROCHBERG-HALTON, F. ed.: *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*, (AOS 67), New Haven 1987.

¹ Basically I follow the abbreviation system of *CAD*. When my abbreviations of certain references differ from or are not listed in *CAD*, I use the following abbreviations. For the sigla assigned to the Akkadian prayers to Marduk in this monograph, see p. 84 below.

- Fs. Sjöberg* = BEHRENS, H. et al. eds.: DUMU-E2-DUB-BA-A: *Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*, Philadelphia 1989.
- Fs. von Soden* = DIETRICH, M. and LORETZ, O. eds.: *Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament, Festschrift für Wolfram Freiherrn von Soden zum 85. Geburtstag am 19. Juni 1993*, (AOAT 240), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1995.
- Fs. Wilcke* = SALLABERGER, W., VOLK, K. and ZGOLL, A. eds.: *Literatur, Politik und Recht in Mesopotamien: Festschrift für Claus Wilcke*, Wiesbaden 2003.
- Geller, *Evil Demons* = GELLER, M. J.: *Evil Demons: Canonical Utukkū Lemnūtu Incantations*, (SAACT V), Helsinki 2007.
- Groneberg, *Syntax* = GRONEBERG, B. R. M.: *Syntax, Morphologie und Stil der jungbabylonischen "hymnischen" Literatur*, Teil 1, Grammatik; Teil 2, Belegsammlung und Textkatalog, (FAOS 14/1 and 2), Stuttgart 1987.
- Heeßel, *Diagnostik* = HEEBEL, N. P.: *Babylonisch-assyrische Diagnostik*, (AOAT 43), Münster 2000.
- Horowitz, *MCG* = HOROWITZ, W.: *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, Winona Lake 1998.
- KAL = *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts*.
- Litke, AN: ^dA-NU-UM = LITKE, R. L.: *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists*, AN: ^dA-NU-UM and AN: ANU ŠÁ AMĒLI, New Haven 1998.
- Mayer, *UFBG* = MAYER, W. R.: *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen "Gebetsbeschwörungen"*, (Studia Pohl; Series Maior, Dissertationes scientificae de Rebus Orientis Antiqui 5), Rome 1976.
- Nougayrol, *Ugaritica 5* = NOUGAYROL, J.: *Textes suméro-accadiens des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit*, in Nougayrol, J. and Laroche, E., et al., *Ugaritica 5: Nouveaux textes accadiens, hourrites et ugaritiques des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit commentaires des textes historiques*, (MRS XVI), Paris 1968, pp. 1–446.
- RAI* = *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*.
- Reiner, *Poetry from Babylonia and Assyria* = REINER, E.: *Your Thwarts in Pieces, Your Mooring Rope Cut; Poetry from Babylonia and Assyria*, Michigan 1985.
- RIA* = *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*.
- SAHG* = FALKENSTEIN, A. and VON SODEN, W.: *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*, Zürich/Stuttgart 1953.
- SANE = Sources and Monographs on the Ancient Near East.
- Scurlock, *Magico-Medical Means* = SCURLOCK, JOANN: *Magico-Medical Means of Treating Ghost-Induced Illnesses in Ancient Mesopotamia*, (AMD III), Leiden/Boston 2006.
- SEL* = *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico*.
- Seux, *Hymnes* = SEUX, M.-J.: *Hymnes et prières aux dieux de babylonie et d'assyrie*, Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1976.
- Sommerfeld, *Der Aufstieg Marduks* = SOMMERFELD, W.: *Der Aufstieg Marduks: Die Stellung Marduks in der babylonischen Religion des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, (AOAT 213), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1982.
- Stol, *Epilepsy* = STOL, M.: *Epilepsy in Babylonia* (CM 2), Groningen 1993.
- Van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction* = VAN DER TOORN, K.: *Sin and Sanction in Israel and Mesopotamia: A Comparative Study*, Assen/Maastricht 1985.
- TUAT = Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments.
- Wasserman, *Style* = WASSERMAN, N.: *Style and Form in Old-Babylonian Literary Texts*, (CM 27), Leiden 2003.
- Zimmern, *BBS* = ZIMMERN, H.: *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, (AB 6), Leipzig 1885.

Introduction

Present Research

This monograph is a study of prayers dedicated to the god Marduk which were written in Akkadian. In the first chapter, I examine various aspects of Akkadian prayers in general: namely, their terminology, their structure, their purposes, and their use.

I also discuss the ancient belief in Marduk as the divine saviour through an analysis of these and other cuneiform texts, such as *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*, which is also known as ‘The Babylonian Job’ or ‘Righteous Sufferer’.¹ In particular, I use *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* as one of the main sources for my discussion because it shares many motives with other Akkadian prayers to the god Marduk.²

Marduk is well documented as the king of gods in the ancient texts (e.g., *Enūma Eliš*, the Babylonian Creation Epic) and has been discussed in this role many times by modern scholars (most notably, for example, by Sommerfeld, *Der Aufstieg Marduks*). On the other hand, many Akkadian prayers depict him in quite a different way as the merciful god who can give help to someone in suffering although he is also known for his devastating anger. Given the fact that all of the Akkadian prayers studied here, with only very few exceptions were most likely used in ritual settings, one can assume that they also represent the ideas held by the Esagila priesthood about Marduk. In other words, Marduk’s being the divine saviour was also part of the official ideology of the Babylonian cult and probably represented the belief of Babylonian intellectuals generally. Nevertheless, with the exception of some studies of Marduk in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*, this aspect of Marduk as the god of salvation and deliverance has hitherto been only scantily attended to.³ However, I am convinced that – along with his high status in the Mesopotamian pantheon – this facet of Marduk as the god of salvation was one of the principal reasons for his great popularity in ancient times. In fact, *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* speaks of human beings’ sufferings and their salvation by Marduk but nowhere in the preserved portions does it refer to either his supremacy nor his kingship. In addition to *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*, I also make use of *Enūma Eliš* to control evidence found in support of or in opposition to the synthesis which I propose here.

¹ As the basis of my composite text of *Ludlul*, I use GEORGE and AL-RAWI, *Iraq* 60, pp. 187–201 for Tablet I; and I use LAMBERT, *BWL*, for the rest of the Tablets. I do not include, however, unpublished materials in this monograph. For further references, see GEORGE and AL-RAWI, *op. cit.*, p. 187, note 2.

² For a similar methodology, treating, however, *Ludlul* as the principal text and the prayers to Marduk only as secondary texts, see, for example, ALBERTZ, in *Fs. Deller*, pp. 23–53.

³ E.g., ALBERTZ, *ibid.*, and SPIECKERMANN, in *Fs. Borger*, pp. 329–341.

The second objective is to collect and to catalogue all the known Akkadian prayers to Marduk. I study the prayers preserved in cuneiform inscriptions (mostly clay tablets) as a single entity with or without ritual instructions. However, I exclude those prayers which form only a part of a text from a different genre (e.g., royal inscriptions, epics, myths, or letters). Thus, despite their use of the same ancient terminology and their similar literary structure, I do not include here the so-called ‘royal-prayers’, i.e. the supplications that are found at the end of Neo-Assyro-Babylonian royal inscriptions, because these supplications are not independent texts but merely served as an epilogue to a royal building inscription. Each entry of the catalogue includes a list of manuscripts with their museum registration numbers, the dates of the manuscripts, and bibliographical references such as earlier text editions, translations, and secondary discussions (Chapter III). Many of the ancient texts and the manuscripts of these texts have already been published in one way or another, i.e., photographs, hand copies, and transliterations. The identifications of many tablets and the readings of some lines from these texts can also be found in the museum catalogues, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (CAD)*, and other studies of cuneiform texts. In particular, the catalogues of the British Museum Tablet Collections prepared by scholars like W. G. Lambert and E. Leichty,⁴ as well as Petra Gesche’s study of school tablets from the Neo- and Late-Babylonian periods⁵ have proven to be very helpful.

The last chapter contains new editions of selected texts. This section includes transliterations, translations, philological notes, and hand copies of cuneiform tablets of those that I have a permission to publish.

Previous General Studies on the God Marduk

The study which comes closest to my own research presented here – namely the attempt systematically to collect and to study religious texts relating to Marduk, – is in fact the hundred year-old study of J. Hehn.⁶ Back then, Hehn had studied in particular 25 texts (editions of some of the texts had already been published previously by other scholars⁷) from the then known corpus of hymns and prayers to Marduk. In addition, based on the texts from his own corpus and *Enūma Eliš*, he discussed various topics relating to Marduk. Regarding Hehn’s methodology, we have nothing to criticize, however, in, terms of its textual basis, his work of almost a century ago is no longer up-to-date.

Advances in the field of the Assyriology, in particular new discoveries of cuneiform inscriptions and the publication of their texts, allow us to gain a much more complete picture of the ancient world. In the course of my research, I have collected and studied 79 prayers to Marduk and other related texts. This is now almost three times the num-

⁴ For the bibliographical references, see under LAMBERT, W. G and LEICHTY, E. in the List of Bibliography in this volume.

⁵ GESCHE, *Schulunterricht*.

⁶ HEHN, *BA* 5, pp. 279–400.

⁷ For example, no. 13=King, *BMS* 9, no. 14=King, *BMS* 12, no. 21=King, *BMS* 11 etc.

ber of texts collected by Hehn. Furthermore, new manuscripts enable us to fill in many large lacunae in Hehn's texts.

Many scholars from the field of Assyriology and other studies have already conducted studies of varying length and depth regarding the Babylonian deity Marduk. Some examples of recent encyclopaedic or general discussions are: W. Sommerfeld, 'Marduk', *RIA* 7, pp. 360–370; J. Black and A. Green, 'Marduk', in *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia*, pp. 128–129; Tz. Abusch, 'Marduk', *DDD*, pp. 1014–1026 and T. Oshima, 'Marduk', in G. Leick ed., *The Babylonian World*, pp. 348–360.

The most recent and the most comprehensive study of Marduk within the second millennium BCE is that undertaken by W. Sommerfeld.⁸ He discusses various subjects: such as the origin of Marduk, theophoric names containing the divine name, and Marduk's titles in royal inscriptions from the Old Babylonian period until the end of the Middle Babylonian period. As defined by the title of his book, Sommerfeld's discussions of Marduk are mainly based on the second millennium materials, most notably a virtually exhaustive number of Old-Babylonian documents. His study of personal names containing the divine name Marduk from various eras represents a particularly interesting approach. While it is very hard to believe that the persons recorded on the clay tablets unearthed represent the entire population of ancient societies, Sommerfeld's study gives a rather clear picture of Marduk's popularity during this period. Needless to say, this is the first full documentation of Marduk's rise to become the chief deity in the Mesopotamian pantheon.

Furthermore, W. G. Lambert has studied wisdom literature including *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*.⁹ W. G. Lambert has also extensively studied *Enūma Eliš*, the Babylonian Creation Epic, and other related texts.¹⁰ In addition to his many publications of various cuneiform texts relating to this subject, Lambert has presented his findings in various articles regarding *Enūma Eliš* and the rise of Marduk in the Mesopotamian pantheon. He is expected to publish a new edition of *Enūma Eliš*, a comprehensive study of this Babylonian myth including Marduk's Fifty Names and other thus far unpublished texts concerning Marduk.¹¹

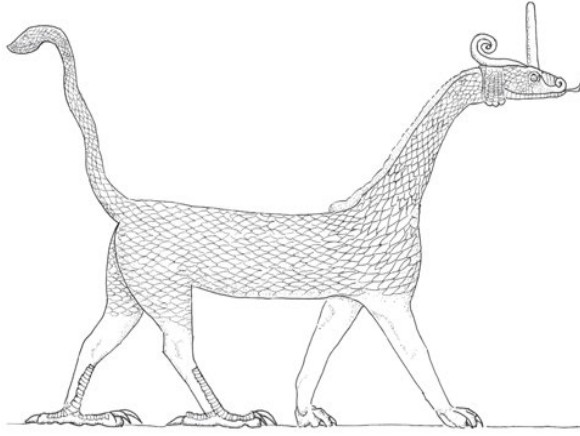
⁸ Sommerfeld, *Der Aufstieg Marduks*. See also the critical review of this book, LAMBERT, *BSOAS* 47, pp. 1–9.

⁹ LAMBERT, *BWL*.

¹⁰ For *Enūma Eliš* in this monograph, we use LAMBERT and PARKER, *Enuma Eliš*, and for the mid-part of Tablet II, AL-RAWI and GEORGE, *Iraq* 52, pp. 149–157. Note also Lambert's translation of the poem in GELLER and SCHIPPER eds., *Imagining Creation*, pp. 37–59; and Talon's recent edition, TALON, *The Standard Babylonian Myth, Enūma Eliš*.

¹¹ Thus, in this monograph, I do not discuss *Enūma Eliš* in depth and nor do I publish new materials concerning it.

For other studies regarding each individual composition to Marduk contained in my corpus, see the catalogue of Akkadian hymns and prayers to Marduk below.



The Snake-Dragon of the Istar Gate of Babylon

Chapter I

General Discussion of Akkadian Prayers

Introduction:

Akkadian Prayers among Other Religious Texts

Praying to divine beings or supernatural power is one of the most common phenomena in any culture. By this, people seek the gods' favour, aid, and protection in different situations, such as life threatening danger, illness, childbirth, or even sports competitions.¹ Prayers are also regularly recited as a part of a religious service in many cultures while they are also used as a technique of meditation in certain religious orders. We pray to divine beings not only on special occasions or as a part of religious norms but also in our daily life when we wish safety and health of the family members or thank deities for welfare.

The practice of prayer, however, can take different forms. For instance, the act of praying can also involve different physical movements and positions. Jews sway the bodies back and forward, Christians make the sign of a cross, Muslims kneel and bow. Hands may be clasped, lifted high, or grasp the hands of others. Eyes may be closed, opened, or raised. People pray privately and individually or together with fellow believers. Many people recite prayer aloud while some choose to 'speak' silently and keep their thoughts in their hearts.

The act of praying generally involves words and phrases: what are called 'prayers'. One may express his request, his gratitude, or his praise by simple phrases while others use very elaborate formulae of supplications to the gods while performing specific rites. In some religions, one expresses his devotions by repeating a short sentence i.e. a 'mantra'.

Whatever the style, a prayer is an instrument of communication with supernatural beings (e.g., gods, demons, or the spirits of ancestors). Through prayer, people attempt to send their wishes, requests and words of gratitude to gods. This multi-functional aspect of prayer is well represented by the variety of words which are customarily used as synonyms for the general term 'prayer' in English – e.g., invocation, devotion, petition, supplication, benediction, and so forth.

The ancient Mesopotamians also offered prayers to gods on various occasions for different reasons. It is very likely that many people normally offered verbal devotions and spontaneous supplications to the gods in private worship while most of the canonical prayers were used in the cult services and official religions (i.e., religious activities

¹ For an observation of prayers in general in light of "speech theory", see, e.g., TILLEY, *Evils of Theodicy*, pp. 55–81.

of the palaces and temples of a city). Some people were well educated enough to compose their own supplications or wealthy enough to commission private prayers to be made. These supplications and benedictions were composed in either Sumerian or Akkadian (often in Sumero-Akkadian bilingual form). Texts could differ from each other in styles, vocabulary, and length. The canonical prayers were written down on clay tablets and kept in temples, palaces, scribal schools, and houses of priests.² On the other hand, it seems that private prayers were often carried by the supplicants on their person as amulets or kept in their houses, probably in the cult niches. The so-called letter-prayers were deposited in front of cult-statues of different gods in the temples.³ A prayer can be as long as 200 lines or more, though short devotions sometimes consist of one or two lines.

The ancient Mesopotamians believed that the deities revealed their wishes, decisions, intentions, feelings, and thoughts through omens.⁴ Therefore, they paid attention to virtually everything in their surroundings that could help them to discover the will of the gods', e.g. organs (liver, lung, and intestine) of animals, movements of stars and planets, colour of stones, behaviour of animals and so forth. Some omens were deemed favourable, while others were feared as the signs of divine wrath. As in the cases of Gudea, the ruler of Lagash,⁵ and Atra-ḥašis, the Mesopotamian flood hero,⁶ gods often 'spoke' directly to humans in dreams. On the other hand, human beings appealed to the gods in prayers, or perhaps more precisely, they thought to communicate with the gods by means of supplications and benedictions.

Although the text is written in Sumerian, the dynamics between human prayers and the gods' responses in omens and dreams are well demonstrated in the *Gudea Cylinder A* which recounts Gudea's building activities of Eninnu, the temple of the god Ningirsu in Grisù.⁷ The plot of the story is as follows: One night, Gudea, the ruler of Lagash, had a perplexing dream.⁸ Because he failed to understand his nocturnal vision, he needed to ask the goddess Nanše to interpret his dream.⁹ Yet, before he came to Nanše, Gudea had to offer offerings and prayers to different gods – Ningirsu, the Master of Bagara, and Gatumdu – in order to ask permission, guidance, and protection to approach Nanše.¹⁰ Each time, his request was answered, mostly by means of a dream. Finally he

² In this monograph, I use the term 'priest' in its wider sense, not as in the Old Testament. For example, SALLABERGER and HUBER VULLIET, *RIA* 10, p. 617, §1: "Als P(riester) bezeichnet man den Fachmann, der als Mittler zwischen der Gesellschaft und der Götterwelt fungiert." For the use of the term in the Old Testament, see e.g., REHM, *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 4, pp. 297–310.

³ For general discussion of 'letter-prayers' see BORGER, *Gottesbrief*, *RIA* 3, pp. 575–576.

⁴ See, e.g., BUTLER, *Dreams and Dream Rituals*, pp. 2ff; MAUL, *RIA* 10, pp. 45ff, esp. 45–47, §1.1; PONGRATZ-LEISTEN, *Herrschaftswissen in Mesopotamien*, p. 12.

⁵ *Gudea Cylinder A*, ix 5–xii 11. For the edition of the *Gudea Cylinder A*, see EDZARD, *RIME* 3/1, pp. 69–88.

⁶ See the Neo/Late-Babylonian version of the myth in GEORGE and AL-RAWI, *Iraq* 58, pp. 182–183, lines 74–96 and *ibid.*, pp. 172–175. Cf., the OB version of the myth, LAMBERT and MILLARD, *Atra-ḥašis*, pp. 76–77, II iii 7–10.

⁷ For a detailed study of rituals and prayers of Gudea on the *Gudea Cylinder A*, see AVERBECK, *The Cylinders of Gudea*, pp. 407ff. Cf. also, ZGOLL, *Traum und Welterleben*, pp. 318–320.

⁸ *Gudea Cylinder A*, i 17–21.

⁹ *Gudea Cylinder A*, i 23–25.

¹⁰ *Gudea Cylinder A*, ii 4–iv 2.

came to the temple of Nanše and again offered her bread, libation, and a prayer. Gudea told his dream to the goddess and asked her interpretation in his prayer.¹¹ When Nanše explained the significance of Gudea's dreams and revealed that Ningirsu wanted Gudea to build his temple, he turned to Girsu with the gifts that were advised by Nanše to make.¹² He asked Ningirsu about the details of the temple in a ritual with sacrifices, incense offering, and a prayer.¹³ Ningirsu accepted his offerings and prayer, and Gudea's request was again answered in a dream.¹⁴ This story of Gudea of Lagash reveals the exact circumstances of Gudea's prayers and their contents, i.e. his very words offered to these deities. This case of the *Gudea Cylinder A* is very rare in the cuneiform literature: generally we do not know the circumstances of ancient prayers.

In official cult activities as in personal beliefs, the prayers composed in the Akkadian language stood alongside different religious texts in both Sumerian and Akkadian – namely, incantations, hymns, lamentations and other kinds of songs as well as longer literary works commonly called myths and epics by modern scholars. Although different ancient terms were used, all Akkadian prayers had more or less similar, if not identical roles in the cult and daily life of these ancient people.

It is, however, rather complicated to determine what 'a prayer' was in antiquity or what kind of ancient texts belonged to the genre of 'prayer'. The modern classifications of ancient Mesopotamian texts are normally given on the basis of comparison of the contents of the ancient texts with their equivalents in the Bible but with no regard to the ancient identifications. Hence these categorizations do not always present entirely accurate pictures.¹⁵ There are two reasons for such inaccuracy: 1) the difference of conceptions with regard to certain styles of compositions between the Akkadian speakers and modern people, and 2) similarities in formulae and contents shared by different genres.¹⁶ Some scholars often classify a text as a prayer while others call the exactly the same text a hymn or a psalm.

W. Mayer defined the word '*Gebetsbeschwörung*' in his study of 'incantation-prayers' as follows:¹⁷

"... eine Gattung von Gebeten (in akkadischer Sprache), die der Einzelne gebraucht, um sich mit seinen persönlichen Anliegen und Nöten in ritueller Form an die Gottheit zu wenden, das vergleichbare Gegenstück in der alttestamentlichen Literatur ist in etwa die Gattung der „Bitt- bzw. Klagegebete (oder -lieder) des Einzelnen“."

This terminology '*Gebetsbeschwörung*' goes back to B. Landsberger. As W. von Soden writes in *RIA* 3, p.168, §12, the modern scholars normally categorise into 'incan-

¹¹ *Gudea Cylinder A*, iv 6–v 10.

¹² *Gudea Cylinder A*, vi 15–26.

¹³ *Gudea Cylinder A*, viii 6ff.

¹⁴ *Gudea Cylinder A*, ix 5–xii 11.

¹⁵ VON SODEN, *The Ancient Orient*, p. 225.

¹⁶ These are probably universal problems in an attempt to classify texts from different cultures. For instance, in the Buddhist tradition, *sūtra* means the words recording the teaching of Buddha; thus, it is expected that they should be categorized as 'wisdom literature'. However, a *sūtra* is very often recited with gong or cymbals with intention of offering praise to Buddha. In this regard, one may interpret a *sūtra* as a hymn.

¹⁷ MAYER, *UFBG*, p. 1.

tation-prayer' genre the prayers with the incipit ÉN (=šiptu) with the "characteristic sumerischen Unterschrift „Worte der Handerhebung“ (inim-inim-ma šu-il-lá^dX-kam)."¹⁸ However, as discussed below, an examination of the contents and structures of Akkadian texts defined by the ancient terms like *unninmu*, *teslītu*, *tespītu*, and *ikribu*, all of which are customarily translated as 'prayer' in English, reveals that Mayer's definition is also appropriate for the most of the Akkadian prayers with and without these "characteristic" incipits and explicits. Thus, one may conclude that, roughly speaking, any text offering praises and petitions to gods was and is ultimately considered as a prayer in Akkadian. In fact, that is also the broad definition of the English word 'prayer'.¹⁹

Our knowledge of cuneiform texts today is much better than a century or even 50 years ago thanks to the discoveries of new tablets. We have now a larger quantity of materials with fuller texts. By using several manuscripts, some prayers can almost completely be reconstructed, often with their ritual instructions.

Nevertheless, since we do not have a complete picture of the ancient world, with few exceptions, the ancient *Sitz im Leben* of many Akkadian prayers is either speculative or lost for good. Textual evidence is mostly circumstantial, and, in many instances, we do not know the exact settings of these texts – when and who recited which prayer, for what, to whom, and in what form. For example, we do not know the precise circumstance of *The Prayer to Marduk* no. 1 (P 1 in the catalogue) despite a relatively large number of exemplars of different dates and provenances of this prayer although it seems, based on the pleas attested in it, that it was probably recited during a ritual for absolution of sin.²⁰

In the following section, I discuss three points in order to study the internal logic of Akkadian prayers. First I examine (1) the Akkadian terms for 'prayer' and (2) structures of the texts designated by these terms. Later, I will discuss (3) the purpose and usages of Akkadian prayers in the cultic life of the ancient people through an examination of the ancient texts. My purpose is to answer a very fundamental question: "What

¹⁸ For the rubric, see below, p. 11.

It is possible that these 'incantation-prayers', or at least some of them, originated in Sumerian. Like them, Sumerian incantations also had the same incipit, ÉN, (=šiptu, 'incantation'), and rubric, KA.INIM.MA, 'spell, prayer'. In order to determine the development of incantation to 'incantation-prayers', we need further studies.

As W. Mayer has already suggested, it is very likely that 'ÉN' in effect marked the beginning of a prayer, MAYER, *UFBG*, p. 23. Yet, as ÉN also appears as the first element of the names of prayers (=incipit) in ritual instructions as well as ancient lists of these prayers, it is very likely that this word primarily signified something else. W. G. Lambert offered a suggestion to take it as a sort of determinative to mark an incantation. LAMBERT, *SAOC* 62, p. 93. In fact, there are many incantations which do not have this incipit (e.g., In 3: *STT* 231, obv. 8–11 in my corpus; and YOS 11, no.5, 1–8; *ibid.*, 9–14; and the *Incantation against Teeth Worm*, DIETRICH, *Fs. Cagni*, pp. 209–220). One may speculate that ÉN is an abbreviation of *én-é-nu-ru* and that these prayers (and incantations) headed by ÉN were probably considered as Enki/Ea's and belonged to the *āšipūtu*, 'the art of exorcism'. Note that AN: *Anu ša amēli* equates [^dén-é]-nu-ru to Ea of exorcist (*āšipūtu*). LITKE, AN: ^dA-NU-UM, p. 239, line 133. See also, FALKENSTEIN, *Haupttypen der sumerischen Beschwörung*, pp. 4–6 and GELLER, *Forerunner to Udug Hul*, p. 13 and p. 16, note 8.

¹⁹ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition, vol. XII, Oxford 1989, pp. 292–293.

²⁰ For further discussion of this prayer, see the introductory section of this prayer below.

did the prayers composed in Akkadian as a whole signify to the ancient people?" My objective is not to repeat the categorizations of Akkadian prayers and comparative studies between the Akkadian prayers and the biblical psalms, which have been proposed by different scholars,²¹ but to identify the internal logic of the Akkadian texts labelled by the ancients themselves as 'prayer, supplication, and petition'. Thus, I will not use terms like 'psalm', 'penitential prayer', nor 'individual lament' as descriptions or titles of prayers discussed in this monograph, lest I 'brand' a wrong impression on each composition. Although these terms may well fit the description of the contents of certain ancient Babylonian compositions, these also have particular connotations or specific cultic meanings in modern religions which are not desirable in the present study. I admit that there is no way of knowing the exact nuances of the different terminologies known to us as we do not have samples of texts for all names known to us. However I believe that analysis of the prayers whose ancient rubrics have survived would suffice to find a criterion/criteria for Akkadian prayers because these words, to a certain degree, were considered as synonyms of each other according to the ancient lexicography, as I will discuss below.

Ancient Terminologies for Akkadian Prayers²²

There are various terms denoting a prayer or supplication in Sumero-Akkadian culture. The Akkadian dictionaries, namely *CAD* and *AHW*, present a number of Sumerian and Akkadian words translated as 'prayer' in English or 'Gebet' in German. These words are:²³

In Sumerian: a.ra.zu; ér; ér.gá.gá; gaba-ĤAR.ĤAR-re; ka. š u.gál [na]m.ga.me.è š siskur₂; (ér).šà.ne.ša₄; šà.šu.gid.bi; šár.kid.kid; šita; šud (KA×ŠU); and u₄.da.gál,

In Akkadian: *atnu* (or *adnu*),²⁴ *karābu*,²⁵ *ikribu*,²⁶ *sullū*,²⁷ *teslītu*,²⁸ *suppū*,²⁹ *tespītu*,³⁰ *tēnīnu*,³¹ *uminnu*,³² *utnēnu*,³³ *tarsītu*,³⁴ and *tēmīqu*.³⁵

²¹ See, for example, VON SODEN, *RIA* 3, pp. 160–170.

²² For these terminologies, see *RIA* 3, pp. 156–157, §§1–2 for the Sumerian and pp. 160–161, §2 for the Akkadian.

²³ For different Sumerian terminologies and their meanings, see AVERBECK, *The Cylinders of Gudea*, pp. 460ff. For the Akkadian equivalents of the following Sumerian words, see below.

²⁴ *CAD* A/2, p. 499 and *AHW*, p. 1546. The word *at-nu-uš* appears as a parallel word to *tas-lit-su*, in *The Great Prayer to Nabū*, line 218, see VON SODEN, *ZA* 61, p. 60.

²⁵ *CAD* K, p. 192 and *AHW*, p. 445 (= siskur₂; a.ra.zu).

²⁶ *CAD* I, p. 62 and *AHW*, p. 369 (= ^{šú-du/šú-du-du}KA×ŠU; siskur₂; ^{ši-ta}ŠITA).

²⁷ *CAD* S, p. 365 and *AHW*, p. 1056 (= siskur₂).

²⁸ *CAD* T, pp. 369–371 and *AHW*, p. 1351 (= siskur₂; a.ra.zu; gid.i; ér^{ap}).

²⁹ *CAD* S, p. 393 and *AHW*, p. 1060 (= siskur₂; šà.šu.gid.bi).

³⁰ *CAD* T, p. 371 and *AHW*, p. 1351 (= inim šags, šags.ga; šár.kid.kid).

³¹ *CAD* T, p. 343 and *AHW*, p. 1347 (= siskur₂; sud×BUM). Note also *tēnintu*, *CAD* T, p. 342.

³² *AHW*, p. 1421 (= siskur₂; šà.ne.ša₄; ér.gá.gá/[i]r.gar.gar; ér; u₄.da.gál; gaba.ĤAR-ĤAR.re).

³³ *AHW*, p. 1444.

³⁴ *CAD* T, p. 241 and *AHW*, p. 1331.

³⁵ *CAD* T, pp. 334–335 and *AHW*, p. 1346. (= [n]am.ga.me.èš; siskur₂).

Very interestingly, while many of these Sumerian terms refer to different manners of reciting prayers, the Akkadian words mostly indicate the various functions of prayers.³⁶

Often, prayers are simply referred to as *qabû*, ‘speech, saying, address’, or *ipiš pî*, ‘act of mouth (i.e., words, utterance, command)’, in ancient texts. For example, the *Gula Hymn of Bulluṣsu-rabi* offers following pleas to Gula and Ninurta at the end of composition, lines 190–191:³⁷

190. [a-n]a e-peš pi-i-šú qu-la ana ni-iš ŠU.MIN-šú i-ziz-za
[m]u-ug-ra un-nin-ni-šú ši-ma-a qa-ba-a-šú

190. [T]o the words of his mouth, pay attention, stand in his prayer with uplifted hands,
[A]cept his prayers, hear his utterance!

As it is clear from the parallelism, *ipiš pî* and *qabû* are taken as synonyms of *nīš qātī* and *unninnu* by the author of this text.³⁸

We can categorize these words roughly into four groups based on their primary meanings:

- I): First of all, the terms like *karābu* and *ikribu* are derived from the verb *karābu*, A) to pronounce formulae of blessing; B) to pronounce formulae of praise, adoration; and C) to invoke blessings upon their persons, before the images of the gods etc.³⁹ Like *unninnu*, the term *ikribu* also appears in colophons, probably as an indication of a genre or class.⁴⁰
- II): The second group consists of words based on verbs with the meaning ‘to appeal, request’, such as *sullû* or *suppû*. Examples of this are *sullû* and *teslītu* – both originate from the verb *sullû* and mean A) to pray, to implore; or B) to appeal.⁴¹
- III): The third group is *tēninu*, *unninnu*, and *utnēnu* – the words which are derived from *enēnu*, ‘to pray, to ask for mercy or forgiveness, to wail’.⁴² Whatever the basic meaning is, the word *unninnu* was applied to all kinds of compositions which are defined as ‘prayer’ with its wider sense.⁴³
- IV): The fourth group of terms referring to prayers consists of the words whose origins are not certain (for example, *atnu*) and there is no obvious semantic connection with

³⁶ In the translations of Sumerian and Akkadian texts in the present monograph, I also use, in addition to the word ‘prayer’, terms like, ‘petition’, ‘supplication’, ‘devotions’, and ‘benediction’ as synonyms for ‘prayer’, in order to represent different Akkadian terms in different ancient texts. Yet, since there are more words for ‘prayer’ in Akkadian than in English, I am unable to assign a one-to-one relationship between the ancient terms and modern equivalents.

³⁷ LAMBERT, *OrNS* 36, pp. 128, 190–191. For other similar examples, see *CAD* Q, p. 19, *qabû* A, 2.

³⁸ See GRAYSON, *Fs. Lambert*, pp. 306–308.

³⁹ *CAD* K, pp. 192–193. Cf. *CAD* I, p. 66, *ikribu* discussion section.

⁴⁰ E.g., DOSSIN, *RA* 32, p. 183, lines 25 (24 *ik-ri-ib mu-ši-ti[m]*, ‘24 (lines) of the prayer of the night’), and 33 (7 *ik-ri-ib mu-ši-ti[m]*, ‘7 (lines) of the prayer of the night’).

⁴¹ *CAD* S, p. 366.

⁴² I would like to thank Joan Goodnick-Westenholz for showing me her manuscript for the entry *unninnu* in the forthcoming *CAD* U.

⁴³ See the colophons of P 1: *The Prayer to Marduk* no. 1 (line 207) and P 16: *The Unninnu-Prayer of Nabû-šuma-ukīn* (line 80) in my corpus. For further discussion of *unninnu*, see the introduction section of P 1: *The Prayer to Marduk* no. 1 below.

Epithets of Marduk in Akkadian Prayers Sorted in Alphabetical Order¹

<i>'āb[it lemnūti²]</i>	The one who des[troys the evil]	[IP 12, 5]
<i>abūb kakki</i>	The flood weapon	IP 4, 7
<i>addu/ adad</i>	Addu/ Adad (Storm God)	P 1, 87 ²
<i>ālik tappūte lā lē'i</i>	The one who goes to help the incapable	IP 5, 4'
<i>alīlu</i>	Powerful	P 15, 32; IP 4, 6
<i>amaruk</i>	Amaruk (Flood ²)	P 1, 5; 7
<i>an (anum)</i>	Anu (The God of the Heavens)	P 2, 9
<i>apil ešarra</i>	The son of Ešarra	P 11, 18
<i>apil lugaldukuga</i>	The son of Lugaldukuga (=Ea)	IP 4, 9
<i>apil nudimmud</i>	The son of Nudimmud (=Ea)	P 15, 18; P 18, 2'; 19, 3' ²
<i>apkal igigi</i>	The sage of the Igigi-gods	P 5, 1; IP 4, 72 (but as an epithet of Asalluhi)
<i>apkal ilī</i>	The sage of the gods	[P 11, 1' ²]; 7; P 15, 65 (+šaqû); [IP 4, 4' ²]; IP 16, 8; In 2, 1
<i>apkal kiššati</i>	The sage of the entire (world)	IP 19, 1
<i>aplu ša ea</i>	The son of Ea	In 1, 1
<i>asalluḫi</i>	Asalluḫi	P 2, 9; P 19, 2'; IP 4, 72; [IP 14, 1' ²]; [2' ²]; [4' ²]; In 2, 3; 4
<i>asare</i>	Asare	P 14, 1; AF 6, 16
<i>ašarēd ašareddē</i>	The foremost of the foremosts	P 15, 41
<i>ašarēd emaḫtila</i>	The foremost of Emaḫtila	IP 1, 6; IP 2, 6
<i>[ašarē]d kiš[šat] šamē</i>	[The foremo]st of the en[tire] heavens and the earth	P 11, 2
<i>u eršeṭi</i>		
<i>ašarēd šamē u eršeṭi</i>	The foremost of the heavens and the earth	IP 19, 1
<i>āšib eulu</i>	The one who dwells in Eulu	AF 1, 25; AF 3, 10; 21; AF 9, 1
<i>āšib esagila</i>	The one who dwells in Esagila	P 19, 4'
<i>āšib šamē</i>	The one who dwells in the heavens	P 13, 2
<i>āšipu il[ī]</i>	The incantation-priest of the gods	IP 14, 2
<i>āšir igigi</i>	The one who masters the Igigi-gods	IP 4, 16; IP 21, 1
<i>atar ḫa[sīsa]</i>	The most wi[se]	IP 10, 1; 3
<i>bābil ḫegalli</i>	The one who brings abundance	IP 19, 5
<i>[bābil² i]špikkāi tuḫdi</i>	[The one who brings a]bundant produce	P 5, 11
<i>bānī</i>	My creator	P 5, 28''

¹ For the siglum assigned to each text, see the introduction of Chapter III. Incidentally, the line numbers are those of the prayers themselves, not of manuscripts. In other words, when a tablet preserves a ritual instruction or another prayer together with a prayer to Marduk, we assign line 1 to the first available line of the prayer and count the rest accordingly. This is the policy taken for the composite texts in this monograph and will also be applied here. Although some are in Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual form, we also list the Akkadian epithets of Marduk in the prayers recited during the *Akītu*-festival. If an epithet occurs in a broken context and the reconstruction of the text is not secured, its reference is marked with [] (square brackets). In addition, one should note that we do not include P 10: KAR 337+304 as we did not have access to the duplicates.

<i>bānū šê u qê</i>	The one who forms barley and flax	IP 4, 14
<i>bānū tenēšet gimri</i>	The creator of the entire people	IP 4, 17
<i>bēlu/ bēlū/bēl' (=dEN)</i>	The lord/ my lord	P 1, 1; 21; 41; 53; 57; 91; 138; 182; 192; P 3, 4'; 6'; 9'; 13'; P 5, 1; 34; 60; 68; 73; 80; 91; 96; 5"; P 6, 23'; 25'; 30'; P 7, 6 ^o ; 27 ^o ; 28 ^o ; P 8, 47"; P 9, 8; P 11, 6 ^o ; 12; 19; P 15, 24; 43; 64; P 18, 10'; AF 1, 2; 4; 8; 12; 15; AF 2, 9; 9; IP 4, 18; 24; 43; IP 6, 13; IP 9, 10'; IP 13, [1]; 2; IP 16, 15 ^o ; IP 18, 3; 16; 19; IP 22, 4; In 3, 3; K. 2832+, i 4; i 18
<i>bēl apsi</i>	The lord of Apsû	P 6, 6'
<i>bēl bābili</i>	The lord of Babylon	AF 3, 21
<i>bēlu ellu</i>	The pure lord	In 1, 1
<i>bēl enlilē</i>	The lord of Enlils	AF 6, 22
<i>bēl esagila</i>	The lord of Esagila	IP 1, 4; IP 2, 4
<i>bēlu gašru igigi</i>	The strong lord of the Igigi-gods	AF 3, 2
<i>bēl ḥegalli</i>	The lord of abundance	IP 4, 10;
<i>bēl ili</i>	The lord of the gods	P 15, 36; [P 18, 3 ^o]
<i>bēlu kabtu</i>	The honourable lord	IP 4, 5; IP 16, 10,
<i>bēlu kibratī</i>	The lord of the (four) quarters	AF 3, 4
<i>bēl [māi]i salīme</i>	The lord of [the lan]d of peace	IP 22, 4'
<i>bēl māti</i>	The lord of the lands	AF 1, 4; 22; 25; AF 2, 10; IP 4, 1; IP 17, 8; IP 18, 8
<i>bēl nagbī šadi u tāmāti</i>	The lord of the deep springs of the mountains and the seas	IP 4, 12
<i>bēl nagbī u tāmāte</i>	The lord of the deep springs and the seas	IP 19, 4
<i>bēlu rabū</i>	The great lord	P 7, 3 ^o ; P 13, 1; 4; AF 2, 6; AF 10, 1; IP 1, 10; 21; [IP 2, 10 ^o]; IP 2, MS D, 20'; IP 3, 7; IP 15, 1; IP 19, 1; 6; 33; 41; 52; In 3, 1; Catchline IP 10; K. 2832+, I 15
<i>bēl šadi</i>	The lord of the mountains	P 2, 1
<i>bēl šarrī</i>	The lord of the kings	AF 1, 10
<i>bēl šiknat napišti</i>	The lord of the living-beings	IP 17, 5
<i>bēl šipti</i>	The lord of incantation	IP 14, 7
<i>bēl tuqumtim</i>	The lord of war	P 2, 6
<i>bēl tuḥdi ḥegalli</i>	The lord of prosperity and abundance	IP 4, 11
<i>birbirrū</i>	Radiance	P 15, 13
<i>bukur enanki</i>	The first-born of Enanki	IP 4, 17
<i>bukur ninšiki</i>	The first-born of Ninšiku (Ea)	IP 10, 2; 4
<i>bukur nudimmud</i>	The first-born of Nudimmud (Ea)	P 15, 32; IP 1, 2; IP 2, 2
<i>dā 'iš kullat ajjābī</i>	The one who tramples all the enemies	IP 16, 10
<i>dajjān kibrat</i>	The judge of the (four) quarters	P 15, 54
<i>dannu</i>	Powerful	IP 12, 5
<i>dimmerankia</i>	Dimmerankia	AF 6, 13
<i>dīpāru namru</i>	The bright torch (i.e. star)	P 15, 34
<i>dumuduku</i>	Dumuduku	IP 4, 8
<i>ēbir šamē</i>	The one who crosses over the heavens	AF 3, 19
<i>eddeššū</i>	Self-renewing	P 15, 2; IP 4, 2
<i>enbilulu</i>	Enbilulu	P 15, 66; In 2, 5
<i>engišgalanna</i>	Engišgalanna (lit. The-Lord-of-the-	P 15, 43

	Station-of-the-Heavens)	
<i>enlil ilī / ilāni</i> [<i>rabūti</i>]	The Enlil of the gods/ [great] gods	P 15, 54
<i>eridu</i>	Eridu-star	AF 6, 15
<i>eršu</i>	Wise	IP 4, 17
<i>etellu</i>	Potentate	P 11, 1; P 14, 1; AF 3, 6
<i>etel anunnaki</i>	The potentate of the Annunaki-gods	P 2, 2
<i>etel eridu</i>	The potentate of Eridu	IP 1, 1
<i>etel igigi</i>	The potentate of the Igigi-gods	IP 10, 1, 3; [5 ³]; IP 12, 1; IP 13, 1; 2; Catchline of IP 11 (MS B, 20')
<i>etel ilī</i>	The potentate of the gods	IP 17, 1
<i>etellu šīru</i>	The splendid potentate	P 15, 5
<i>ēṭir napišti</i>	The one who saves life	IP 12, 2
<i>ezzu</i>	Furious	P 15, 64 (with <i>bēlu</i>)
<i>ezzu nablu</i>	Furious flame	P 15, 32
<i>gāmil enši</i>	The one who spares the weak	IP 18, 4
<i>gāmil niši rapšāti</i>	The one who spares the widespread people	IP 1, 7; [IP 2, 7 ²]
<i>gapaš abūšin</i>	Massive flood	P 1, 5; 7
<i>gašri ilī</i>	The strong one of the gods	P 15, 1
<i>gašru</i>	Strong	P 2, 6; IP 1, 1; IP 2, 1; IP 4, 6; IP 12, 1; IP 17, 1; Catchline of IP 11 (MS B, 20')
<i>gattu šušqū</i>	Tall figure	P 15, 25
<i>gīrra ezzu</i>	Furious Fire(-god)	P 15, 32; AF 6, 20
<i>gītmālu</i>	Noble	P 2, 12; IP 4, 2; 8; IP 8, 1
<i>gugal šamē u eršeti</i> (<i>qaqqari</i>)	The canal-inspector of the heavens and the earth	P 15, 1; 24
<i>hāriru</i>	Blazing (fire)	P 2, 5
<i>hā'it eršeti</i>	The one who inspects the land	AF 3, 19
<i>hā'it huršāni</i>	The one who inspects the mountain regions	IP 4, 12
<i>hājāt ašnan u laḥar</i>	The inspector of grain and cattle	IP 4, 14
<i>hātīn enši</i>	The one who protects the weak	IP 18, 8
<i>ilitti</i> [<i>apsū/ eridu</i>]	The offspring of [Apsū/ Eridu]	IP 12, 4
<i>ilitti apsū</i>	The offspring of Apsū	IP 10, 2; 4; [IP 14, 3 ²]
<i>ilitti eridu</i>	The offspring of Eridu	IP 2, 1
<i>ilu ellu</i>	The pure god	IP 14, 2
<i>il issinni</i>	The god of festival	IP 19, 7
<i>il kiššūtim</i>	The god of might	P 2, 6
<i>ilu muštālu</i>	The judicious god	P 1, 26; 28; P 5, 31
<i>il pišerti izzirī²</i>	The god of liberation from <i>curses</i>	P 5, 67
<i>ilu rēmēnū</i>	The merciful god	P 20, 4'; IP 1, 10; [IP 2, 10 ²]; IP 3, 7; IP 15, 1; IP 19, 2; IP 22, rev. 8'; In 3, 2
<i>ilu šabbašū</i>	Outraged god	P 15, 40
<i>il unnimmu damqu</i>	The god of the favourable prayer	P 5, 66
<i>irat zuqaqīpu</i>	The Chest-of-Scorpion-star	AF 6, 25
<i>itpēšu</i>	Skilled	P 14, 2
<i>kakkabu</i>	Star	IP 4, 10
<i>kakkab kitti u mēšaru</i>	The star of justice and righteousness	AF 6, 19
<i>kakkab šamē</i>	Mars	AF 6, 20
[<i>kakku²/ ūmu</i>] <i>lā pādū</i>	[The] merciless [weapon/ storm] of the Igigi-gods	IP 8, 3
<i>ša igigī</i>		
<i>kābis irat tāmti</i>	The one who treads on the chest of the sea	AF 6, 25
<i>kābis šerri</i>	The one who treads on a serpent	IP 18, 9

<i>kabtu</i>	Honourable	AF 3, 6
<i>kajjamānu</i>	Saturn	AF 6, 19
<i>kapkapu</i>	Burly	P 15, 32
<i>kāšid ajjābī</i>	The one who conquers the enemies	P 2, 4; IP 18, 6
<i>kaškaššu</i>	Almighty	P 15, 5
<i>kippu</i>	Snares	P 2, 5
<i>kubbudu</i>	Honoured	P 15, 50
<i>kunnu māliku</i>	The established governor	P 15, 5
<i>lēqū teslīti</i>	The recipient of supplications	P 1, 25; 27
<i>lēqū teslēti u ikribi</i>	The recipient of supplications and devo- tions	P 9, 3 ²
<i>lēqū unninni</i>	The recipient of prayer	IP 19, 2
<i>lē'ū</i>	Competent	IP 4, 4
<i>mādīdi mē tāmti</i>	The one who measures water of the sea	AF 3, 20; AF 6, 21
<i>māḥir unninni</i>	The one who accepts prayer	P 1, 25; 27
<i>māḥiṣ muḥḥi anzē</i>	The one who strikes the skull of Anzū	P 15, 15
<i>mamlu</i>	Savage	P 15, 43
<i>mār ea</i>	The son of Ea	P 11, 1
<i>mašmaš ilī / ilāni</i>	The exorcist of the gods/ the great gods	IP 4, 72 (but as an epithet of Asalluhi); IP 13, 1; 2; IP 14, 1; 4
<i>rabūti</i>		
<i>mu'abbīt šadi</i>	The one who destroys the mountains	IP 14, 8
<i>mu'abbīt lemmūti</i>	The one who destroys evil	IP 14, 9
<i>muballīt mīti</i>	The one who revives the dead	P 9, 1; AF 10, 10 ¹ ; IP 14, 4; 11; [13]; IP 15, 3
<i>mubukešda</i>	<i>Mubukešda</i> -star	AF 6, 14
<i>mudeššū ašnan ana</i>	The one who supplies grain for the wide- spread people	IP 19, 5
<i>nišī dešāti</i>		
<i>mudeššū balāṭi</i>	The one who provides health	IP 1, 6; IP 2, 6
<i>mudeššū ḥegalli</i>	The one who supplies abundance	IP 4, 10
<i>[mude]šši šerkēti</i>	The one who supplies gifts from the wide land	P 5, 8
<i>eršetim rapaštīm</i>		
<i>mudeššū urqūti</i>	The one who supplies green	IP 4, 14
<i>mūdū gimī[r ...</i>	The one who knows all [...	P 19, 7 ¹
<i>mūdū kalama</i>	The one who knows everything	IP 19, 1
<i>mūde l[ibbi ilāni] šamē</i>	The one who knows the he[arts of the gods] of the heavens and the earth	IP 6, 1
<i>u eršeti</i>		
<i>[mūd]ū tašīmtu</i>	[The one who kno]ws intelligence	P 1, 21 ² ; 23 ²
<i>muḥallīqu mim[ma</i> <i>lemni]</i>	The one who abolishes wha[tever is evil]	IP 18, 4
<i>mukammīr tuḥḍi</i>	The one heaps up abundance	IP 17, 8
<i>mukīl māḥāzi</i>	The maintainer of the sanctuaries	IP 17, 6
<i>mukīn gimīr dadmē</i>	The one settles the entire inhabited world	P 15, 8
<i>mukīn tēret apsē</i>	The one establishes the omen of Apsū	P 15, 55
<i>mukīn ušurti</i>	The one who establishes omens	AF 3, 4
<i>mul babbar</i>	Jupiter	AF 6, 17
<i>mullil šamē u eršetim</i>	The purifier the heavens and the earth	IP 14, 5
<i>munammīr ekletī</i>	The one who brightens the darkness	AF 6, 27
<i>munīḥ qablu</i>	The one who staves off the battle	IP 16, 10
<i>muntalku</i>	Judicious	IP 17, 2
<i>mupattū būr kuppī ina</i> <i>qereb ḥursāni</i>	The one who opens up spring-wells in the midst of the mountain region	P 5, 6
<i>mupattū kuppī u</i> <i>miṭrāti</i>	The one who opens cistern and water- courses	IP 4, 13
<i>mupattū miṭrāte</i>	The one who opens the watercourses	IP 17, 7
<i>muqattū tuqu[n]te]</i>	The one who brings a st[ruggle] to an end	IP 19, 4

<i>murīš é.engura</i>	The one who brings joy to Eengura	IP 1, 3; IP 2, 3
<i>murīš lemnū[ti]</i>	The one who smashes the evil	P 18, 5'
<i>murriš epenni</i>	The one who straightens the plough	AF 3, 20
<i>mušabbī[^t ×]</i>	The one who holds [...	IP 18, 9
<i>mušābil nēmeqi</i>	The one who delivers wisdom	IP 13, 3
<i>[mušābi]l šārī tīk mē</i>	[The one makes] winds [car]ry drizzle	P 5, 10
<i>elu qarbāti</i>	over the field	
<i>[mušabši š]imrī</i>	The one who brings about abundant	P 5, 12
<i>kubuttē išpikkī tattūtū</i>	wealth and profusion of produce	
<i>mušaḥmīṭ zā 'iri</i>	The one who smites adversary	P 15, 33
<i>mušall[^{ik an}]unnaki</i>	The one who makes the Anunnaki-gods	P 5, 14
<i>ana gimir parakkī</i>	fi[^{tting}] for all the daises	
<i>mušallim napišti</i>	The one who protects life	IP 1, 5; IP 2, 5
<i>mušamdīl ašnan</i>	The one who increases grain	IP 17, 5
<i>mušamqītu muzz[^{errē}']</i>	The one who smites adv[ersary]	IP 18, 6
<i>mušātīr dumqī</i>	The one who <i>increases</i> goodness	IP 13, 3
<i>[muša]znin nalšī ina</i>	[The one who lets] dew fall from the	P 5, 9
<i>šerrēt šamāmī</i>	udders of the heavens	
<i>mušaznin nuḥši</i>	The one who rains down fertility	IP 4, 11
<i>mušaznin zunni</i>	The one who lets rain fall	AF 6, 18
<i>mušērū ka[^l] ...</i>	The one who sends all [...	P 5, 17
<i>mušim šīmāti</i>	The one who determines the destinies	P 11, 2; AF 6, 13; IP 4, 8; [IP 18, 1 ²]
<i>mušim šīmāti ša ilī</i>	The one who determines the destinies of	AF 3, 22
<i>kalāma</i>	all the gods	
<i>mušpardū lallarātum</i>	The one who enlightens the female	P 5, 3'
	mourners	
<i>muštabrū zunni</i>	The one who makes rain last	AF 6, 24
<i>muštarrīḥ meḥē</i>	The one who swiftly sends forth the	P 2, 4
	<i>mehū</i> -storms	
<i>muštēšir nagbī nārī</i>	The one who keeps springs and rivers in	IP 17, 7
	order	
<i>muštēšir nārī</i>	The one who puts the rivers in order	IP 4, 13
<i>muštēšir nārī ina qereb</i>	The one who puts the rivers in order in	P 5, 5
<i>šadī</i>	the midst of the mountains	
<i>muṭir salīmē ša ilāni</i>	The one who brings back the peace of	AF 1, 6
<i>rabūti</i>	the great gods	
<i>mutlellū</i>	Exalted	P 14, 1
<i>muttallik qereb</i>	The one who advances in the midst of	P 15, 14
<i>šamāmē</i>	the heavens	
<i>muttallu</i>	Princely	P 11, 1; IP 4, 4
<i>muterri najjālu qereb</i>	The one who brings back the one who	P 5, 2'
<i>qubūri</i>	slumbers (i.e., the dead) from the in- side of the grave	
<i>muterri qabū (ina ka-</i>	The one who brings back the speech (at	P 5, 1'
<i>gal šīmāti)</i>	the great gate of destiny)	
<i>muṭaḥḥī[^{d šikari}]</i>	The one who lavishly [provide beer],	P 5, 16
<i>kurunni naptan zibi</i>	<i>kurunnu</i> -wine, the meal-offerings, and	
<i>šagigurrī</i>	free-will offerings	
<i>muṭarrīd gallī rabūti</i>	The one who drives away the great	IP 14, 6
	Gallū-demons	
<i>muza''iz isqēti</i>	The one who distributes shares	
<i>nādin ḥaṭṭi ana šarri</i>	The one who gives the holy sceptre to	AF 3, 23
<i>pālīḥišu</i>	the king who reveres him	
<i>[nād]in ḥegalli u</i>	[The one who giv]es abundance and	IP 18, 5
<i>mašrē ana ništ ap[^{ātī}]</i>	riches to the widespread people	
<i>nādin isqi u nindabē</i>	The one who gives share and the cereal-	IP 18, 7

<i>ana ilāni šūt alīja</i>	offerings to the gods of my city	
<i>nādin isqi u nindabê</i>	The one who gives share and the cereal-	P 15, 55
<i>ana i[lāni rabūti²]</i>	offerings to the [great ³] g[ods]	
<i>nādin milku u purussê</i>	The one who gives advices and decisions	IP 18, 10
<i>ana ilāni aḥḥē[šu]</i>	to the gods, [his] brothers	
<i>[nād]in nēmeqi</i>	The giver wisdom	IP 18, 1
<i>[nādin²] šammê balāti</i>	[The one who gives] the herbs of life	IP 14, 5
<i>nādin ūmū rūqūtu</i>	The one who gives long days (i.e., life)	P 14, 2
<i>na'du</i>	Looked-up-to	P 15, 47
<i>naku muntalku ilāni</i>	Skilful adviser of the great gods	P 15, 7
<i>[rabūti]</i>		
<i>narām enki/ea</i>	The beloved of Enki/Ea	P 11, 6; IP 17, 2
<i>narām libbi ša enlil</i>	The beloved of Enlil	IP 18, 8
<i>nāših murši</i>	The one who drives away illness	IP 14, 8
<i>nāšir napšāti</i>	The one who watches over life	P 1, 26; 28; IP 14, 10; IP 18, 3
<i>nāšir napišti amēlūti</i>	The one who watches over the life of people	IP 19, 3
<i>nāšir nindabê ana ilī</i>	The one who watches over the food-offerings for the gods	IP 17, 6
<i>nāši ḥaṭṭi u palê</i>	The one who holds the sceptre and the reign	IP 18, 9
<i>nāši šaddu ana kalāma</i>	The one who carries the sign for all	AF 6, 17
<i>nāšū šarrūti</i>	The one who holds the kingship	AF 3, 8
<i>nāšir mīlī ḥegallī ana kal dādmê</i>	The one who pours out the seasonal flood of abundance to the entire world	P 5, 7
<i>nēberu</i>	Jupiter	P 15, 41
^{mm} NE.NE.NÍG	The Nenenig-star	AF 6, 23
<i>numušda</i>	The Numušda-Star	AF 6, 24
<i>nūr amēlūti</i>	The light of the mankind	AF 1, 10
<i>nūr igigi</i>	The light of the Igigi-gods	AF 1, 22
<i>nūr kibrāti</i>	The light of the (four) quarters	AF 6, 26; IP 19, 7
<i>nūri namri</i>	The bright light	AF 3, 10
<i>pāqid kal b[ābī]</i>	The one who checks every do[or]	P 5, 15
<i>pāris purussī</i>	The one who makes decisions	IP 4, 8
<i>parriku</i>	<i>Devastating²</i>	P 5, 2; 4; P 15, 54
<i>[p]āt nagbi nēmeqi</i>	[The one who ope]ns the spring of wisdom	P 5, 35
<i>pāṭiru kalama</i>	The one who releases all	P 5, 66
<i>[pāṭir] kasê</i>	[The one who undoes] the bonds	P 9, 2 ² ; IP 15, 3 ²
<i>puggulu/ pungulu</i>	Burly	IP 4, 6
<i>qabal lā maḥar</i>	Battle without rival	IP 4, 7
<i>qābū dumqī</i>	The one who speaks/ commands favours	AF 1, 22
<i>qā'īšu balāti</i>	The one who grants health	P 1, 29; 31
<i>qardu</i>	Heroic	IP 8, 2
<i>qarrādu</i>	Warrior	IP 3, 1; 30; 40; [K. 2832, I 15 ²]
<i>qarrād ilī</i>	The warrior of the gods	P 11, 18; IP 14, 9
<i>qarrād kal kibrāti</i>	The warrior of the (four) quarters	IP 14, 10
<i>rabū ilī</i>	The greatest among the gods	P 15, 13
<i>rāḥi[š] ...</i>	The one who was[hes] ...	P 15, 15
<i>[rā]im esagila</i>	[The one who lo]ves Esagila	IP 18, 2
<i>rā'im ezida</i>	The one who loves Ezida	P 19, 5 ² ; IP 1, 5; IP 2, 5
<i>rapšā uznū</i>	Wide ears (i.e., wise)	IP 4, 4
<i>rašbu</i>	Awesome	P 11, 12 (+bēlu)
<i>rašubbu</i>	Fearsome	IP 4, 1; IP 8, 3 (<i>ša anunnakī</i>)
<i>rēmēnū</i>	Merciful	P 5, 31; 69; 93; P 8, 47 ² ; 65 ² ; P 9, 1; [IP 6, 7 ²]; IP 17, 5;

<i>rē'i tenešēti</i>	The shepherd of people	IP 18, 11 (See, <i>ilu rēmēnū</i>)
<i>rēštū</i>	Pre-eminent	IP 19, 7
<i>rē'ū</i>	Shepherd	P 15, 32; 41 (<i>ilu rēštū</i>)
<i>rīmu?</i>	Wild bull	IP 4, 22
<i>rubū</i>	Prince	P 2, 3
		P 5, 67; P 11, 6 (for Ea ³); P 15, 47; IP 1, 2; IP 2, 2
<i>rubū muštālu</i>	Judicious prince	P 5, 67
<i>sāpīnu māt ajjābi</i>	The one who flattens the enemy land	AF 3, 12
<i>sīn</i>	Moon	AF 6, 27
<i>šābūt qātē naski</i>	The one who holds the hand of the fallen man	P 9, 2; AF 1, 25; AF 10, 9'; IP 15, 2
<i>šīru</i>	Magnificent	AF 3, 6; IP 4, 3; IP 8, 1
<i>šīri ilāni rabūti</i>	The magnificent one of the great gods	AF 3, 2
<i>šullul māti</i>	The protection of the land	IP 1, 7; [IP 2, 7 ²]
<i>šalbābu 1</i>	Furious	P 1, 192; 194; P 15, 45; IP 4, 1
<i>šalbābu 2</i>	Wise	IP 1, 3; IP 2, 3
<i>šamaš/ šamšu</i>	Sun	AF 6, 26
<i>šamšu nebū</i>	Bright sun	P 15, 34
<i>[šāpi]k piššati elu</i>	[The one who pou]rs anointing oil on the bolt-bar	P 5, 15
<i>šīgarī</i>		
<i>šaḡū</i>	High	P 15, 2; 65 (+ <i>apkal ilī</i>); AF 3, 6
<i>šaḡū ilī</i>	The most high among the gods	P 15, 41; IP 19, 6
<i>šarru damqu</i>	The favourable king	AF 1, 4
<i>šar ilī</i>	The king of the gods	AF 3, 4; IP 18, 3
<i>ša[r²] kullat igigi</i>	The king of the entire Igigi-gods	P 2, 1
<i>šar ništ</i>	The king of the people	P 20, 6 ²
<i>šar šamē u eršeti</i>	The king of the heavens and the earth	IP 17, 8
<i>šar tašimti</i>	The king of the intelligence	IP 19, 4
<i>šarḫu</i>	Splendid	P 6, 6'; IP 4, 2
<i>šārik mēreštu</i>	The one who presents cultivation	AF 6, 16
<i>šarūḫ ili</i>	The most splendid among the gods	P 15, 50
<i>šarūru namru</i>	Bright ray	P 15, 13
<i>šašmu ša ḡirra</i>	The battle of Fire (god)	P 1, 6; 8
<i>šašši abbēšu</i>	The sun of his fathers	P 14, 1
<i>šazu</i>	Šazu	P 5, 51; IP 6, 1; In 2, 6
<i>šēmū taqrībi</i>	The one who listens to (verbal) offerings	P 1, 29; 31
<i>šēmū teslītu</i>	The one who listens to supplication	IP 19, 2; [K. 2832+, I 4 ³]
<i>šēzuzu</i>	Fierce	P 1, 1; 3
<i>šibbu</i>	A <i>Šibbu</i> -dragon (a metaphor for a flood)	P 1, 5; 7
<i>šihḫu</i>	Mercury	AF 6, 18
<i>šitarḫu</i>	Splendid	[IP 8, 1 ²]
<i>šitmāru</i>	Raging	P 5, 2; 4
<i>šitmuru</i>	Raging	IP 8, 2
<i>šitrūḫu</i>	Splendid	P 15, 64 (with <i>bēlu</i>)
^d ŠÚ	ŠÚ (=Marduk)	AF 2, 6; AF 3, 4
<i>šukūdu</i>	Sirius	AF 6, 21
^{mul} ŠU.PA	Šupa-star	AF 6, 22
<i>šūpū</i>	Resplendent	P 15, 43; IP 1, 1; [IP 2, 1 ²]; IP 12, 1; Catchline of IP 11 (MS B, 20')
<i>šurbū</i>	Exalted	P 15, 5; IP 8, 1; IP 17, 1
<i>šušruḫu</i>	Glorified	P 15, 50
<i>šūturū</i>	Outstanding	IP 4, 5
<i>šūtur binātu</i>	Outstanding in figure	P 15, 25
<i>šūturū ḫa[sīsa]</i>	Outstanding in unders[tanding]	IP 14, 12

<i>tajjāru</i>	Compassionate	P 8, 47" (+ <i>bēlī</i>)
<i>tāmeḥ bēlūti</i>	The one who supports the lordship	AF 3, 8
<i>tāmeḥ kippat būrummē</i>	The one who supports the dome of the	P 15, 8
<i>u m[āti]</i>	sky and the earth	
<i>tāmeḥ šamē u erṣeti</i>	The one who supports the heavens and	IP 19, 3
	the earth	
<i>tarbū apsi</i>	The one who is nurtured in Apsū	IP 8, 2
<i>tele'ū</i>	Very competent	P 14, 2; IP 4, 2
<i>tizqāru</i>	Lofty	IP 1, 2; IP 2, 2; IP 4, 3; IP 13, 1; 2
<i>tukultu</i>	Trust	P 20, 6' ²
<i>tukulti bābilī</i>	The trust of Babylon	IP 1, 4; IP 2, 4; IP 18, 2
<i>tutu</i>	Tutu	P 15, 61; IP 11, 12'
<i>ullū gattu</i>	Exalted figure	P 15, 34
<i>ūmu ezzu</i>	The furious storm	IP 14, 6' ²
<i>ūmu lā pādū</i>	The merciless storm	P 15, 32
<i>ušumgal anunnaki</i>	The Ušumgallu-dragon of the Anun- naki-gods	IP 4, 16
<i>ušumgal kališ parakkī</i>	The Ušumgallu-dragon of all the daises	IP 1, 8; [IP 2, 8' ²]
<i>ušumgallu ša šamē</i>	The Ušumgallu-dragon of the great	In 1, 2
<i>rabūti</i>	heavens	
<i>ušumgal šamē u erṣeti</i>	The Ušumgallu-dragon of the heavens	IP 13, 1; 2; IP 14, 11; [13]
	and the earth	
<i>uznu petū</i>	Ears wide open (i.e., wise)	P 18, 6'; P 19, 6'; IP 14, 12

Marduk's Divine Epithets in Incantations Addressing Him together with Other Gods

<i>apkal ilī</i>	The sage of the gods	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 6, 24; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 10, 19; Marduk, Erra, Išum, Sebettu 1, 1
<i>apkal kiššatu</i>	The sage of all	Šamaš, Marduk 1, 2
<i>asalluḫi</i>	Asalluḫi	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 8, 4; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 10, 21; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 18, 18
<i>bānū amēlūti</i>	Those who fashion the mankind	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 12, 3 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>bānū dādmī u ešrēti</i>	Those who form the world and the sanc- tuaries	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 15, 1 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>bēl āšipūti</i>	The lord of exorcism	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 18, 18
<i>bēl eengura</i>	The lord of Eengura	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 10, 3
<i>bēl(ū) šamē u erṣetim</i>	The lord(s) of the heavens and the earth	Ea, Marduk 4, 1; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 16, 1 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>[bēlū] šiknat napišti</i>	[The lords] of the living-beings	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 9, 7 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>dā'inū dīnī</i>	Those who give judgments	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 14, 2-3 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>dā'inū dēn māti</i>	Those who give judgment of the land	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 1, 2; 11; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 2, 2; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 5, 2; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 16, 3 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>dajjānū elīti u šaplīti</i>	The judges of above and below	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 13, 2 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>dajjānū šīrūtu</i>	The magnificent judges	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 3, 2 (with Ea and Šamaš)

<i>dajjānū ša šamē u eršeti</i>	The judges of the heavens and the earth	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 6, 7 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>dēkū maqtū</i>	Those who raise the stricken men	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 6, 5
<i>ēpiš āli u bīti</i>	Th(ose) who make the citi(es) and the house(s)	Ea, Marduk 4, 2 (with Ea); Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 16, 2; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 17, 1 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>ēpiš mimma šumšu</i>	Th(ose) who make whatever its name is	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 12, 2 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>gašru</i>	Strong	Šamaš, Marduk 1, 2
<i>ilānu āšipūti</i>	The gods of exorcism	Ea, Marduk 1, 2 (with Ea)
<i>ilānu rabūtu</i>	The great gods	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 1, 1; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 2, 12; [Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 5, 1]; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 6, 1; 7; 18; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 9, 6; [Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 12, 1]; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 13, 1; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 14, 1; 18; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 15, 1 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>ilānu rēmēnūtu</i>	The merciful gods	Ea, Marduk 2, 1 (with Ea); Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 9, 5 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>ilānu šūpūtu</i>	The resplendent gods	Ea, Marduk 2, 11 (with Ea)
<i>ilittu eridu</i>	The offspring of Eridu	Šamaš, Marduk 1, 2
<i>ilu muttallu</i>	Princely god	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 11, 3
<i>kābisū eršeti rapašti</i>	Those who tread the wide-spread land	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 1, 11 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>kābisū šamē rūqūti</i>	Those who tread the distant heavens	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 1, 12; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 2, 15-16 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>lē'ūtu ša šamē u erše[ti]</i>	Competent ones of the heavens and the earth	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 9, 1 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>mašmaš ilī</i>	The exorcist of the gods	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 11, 3
<i>mašmaššū šamē u eršeti</i>	The exorcists of the heavens and the earth	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 7, 1 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>muballītū marši</i>	Those who give life to a sick man	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 6, 5
<i>mubbibū šuluḥḥē</i>	Those who purify the cleansing rituals	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 2, 6 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>[muddi]šū parakkī</i>	Those who renew the daises	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 16, 5 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>mūdū telilti</i>	Those who know purification	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 2, 7 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>mukinnū isqēti</i>	Those who establish shares	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 2, 4 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>mukinnū māḥāzū</i>	Those who establish cults	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 15, 2; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 16, 5 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>munakkirū lumnī</i>	Those who abolish the evil	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 1, 13; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 2, 16 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>mupaḥḥir nišī sapḥāti</i>	The one gathers the scattered people	Šamaš, Marduk 2, 3
<i>mupassisū aḥḥē idāti</i>	Those who flatten the arms of the evil	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 1, 14-15;
<i>lemnēti šunāti pardāti</i>	signs (and) the dreadful, evil and unpleasant dreams	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 2, 17-18 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>mupašširū namburbē</i>	Those who undo taboos	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 1, 16

<i>mupaṭṭirū namburbē</i>	Those who undo taboos	(with Ea and Šamaš) Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 5, 4 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>muqerrib ništ rūqāti</i>	The one who brings the distant people closer	Šamaš, Marduk 2, 4
<i>murrik ūmē kurūti</i> <i>musallitū qē lumni</i>	The one who prolongs short days (of life) Those who split the thread of the evil	Šamaš, Marduk 2, 3 Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 1, 16; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 2, 18 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>mussiḳū isqēti</i>	Those distribute lots	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 2, 5 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>mussiḳū isqēti ša šamē u eršetī</i>	Those distributes lots of the heavens and the earth	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 1, 3-4; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 14, 4-5 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>mušširū ušrāti</i>	Those who make plans	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 1, 3; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 2, 5; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 3, 3; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 14, 4; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 16, 4 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>mušallimū ḥablim</i>	Those who protect the wronged man	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 6, 6 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>mušappikū ḥursāni</i>	Those who pile up mountains	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 15,2 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>mušarbu māḥāzī</i>	Those who make the shrines great	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 2, 3 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>mušaršidū parakkī</i>	Those who lay the foundation of daises	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 2, 4 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>mušētiq aḥḥ[ē idāti lemneṭi šunāti pardāti lemneṭi lā ṭabāti⁷]</i> <i>mušīm šīmāti</i> <i>mušīmū šīmāti</i>	Those who let the arm[s of the evil signs (and) the dreadful, evil and unpleasant dreams ⁷] pass over The one who determines fates Those who determine fates	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 5, 3 (with Ea and Šamaš) Šamaš, Marduk 2, 2 Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 1, 2; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 2, 2; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 3, 2; [Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 5, 2]; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 6, 2; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 9, 2; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 14, 3 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>mušīmū šīmāti kalāma</i>	Those who determine the fate of all	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 12, 2 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>muštēnū aḥḥē ittāti lemneṭi</i>	Those who alter the arms of the evil signs	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 6, 3
<i>muštēširū purussē šamē u eršetī nagbi tāmātu</i>	Those who put the decisions of the heavens and the earth, and the deep spring in order	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 2, 12-13 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>muštēširū tenēšēti</i>	Those who put the people in order	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 16, 3 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>pāqidū ešrēti</i>	Those watches over the sanctuaries	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 2, 6 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>pārisū purussē</i>	Those who make decisions	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 2, 3; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 14, 3 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>pātiḳū kala mimma šumšu</i> <i>pāṭirū kasē</i>	Those who form everything whatever their names are Those who undo the bonds	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 15, 2 (with Ea and Šamaš) Ea, Marduk 2, 2 (with Ea)

<i>rā'imū amēlūti</i>	Those who love people	Ea, Marduk 2, 3 (with Ea); Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 9, 4 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>sankallū</i>	The foremost	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 14, 2 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>šābitū qātē naskī</i>	Those who hold the hands of the fallen men	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 6, 4 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>šīrūtu</i>	Magnificent	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 14, 2 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>šākinū dumqī</i>	Those who establish favour	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 1, 13; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 2, 17 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>šalbābu</i>	Wise	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 10, 2
<i>šūpūtu</i>	Resplendent	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 9, 1; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 14, 2 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>zāpiqū enšī</i>	Those who correct the weak people upright	Ea, Marduk 2, 2 (with Ea); Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 9, 3 (with Ea and Šamaš)
<i>...] ×-MU nišī rapšāti</i>	<i>...] .. of the wide-spread people</i>	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 9, 8 (with Ea and Šamaš)

Epithets of Marduk in Akkadian Prayers Sorted According to his Divine Aspects¹

High status, lordship over other gods, places and objects		
<i>ašarēd ašareddē</i>	The foremost of the foremosts	P 15, 41
<i>ašarēd emahṭila</i>	The foremost of Emaḥṭila	IP 1, 6; IP 2, 6
[<i>ašarē</i>]d kiš[ša]t šamē	[The foremo]st of the en[tire] heavens	P 11, 2
<i>u eršeṭi</i>	and the earth	
<i>ašarēd šamē u eršeṭi</i>	The foremost of the heavens and the earth	IP 19, 1
<i>āšib esagila</i>	The one who dwells in Esagila	P 19, 4 ¹
<i>āšib šamē</i>	The one who dwells in the heavens	P 13, 2
<i>āšib eulu</i>	The one who dwells in Eulu	AF 1, 25; AF 3, 10; 21; AF 9, 1
<i>āšir igigī</i>	The one who masters the Igigi-gods	IP 4, 16; IP 21, 1
<i>bēlu/bēlī/bēl (=dEN)</i>	The lord/ my lord	P 1, 1; 21; 41; 53; 57; 91; 138; 182; 192; P 3, 4 ¹ ; 6 ¹ ; 9 ¹ ; 13 ¹ ; P 5, 1; 34; 60; 68; 73; 80; 91; 96; 5 ¹ ; P 6, 23 ¹ ; 25 ¹ ; 30 ¹ ; P 7, 6 ¹ ; 27 ¹ ; 28 ¹ ; P 8, 47 ¹ ; P 9, 8; P 11, 6 ¹ ; 12; 19; P 15, 24; 43; 64; P 18, 10 ¹ ; AF 1, 2; 4; 8; 12; 15; AF 2, 9; 9; IP 4, 18; 24; 43; IP 6, 13; IP 9, 10 ¹ ; IP 13, [1]; 2; IP 16, 15 ¹ ; IP 18, 3; 16; 19; IP 22, 4 ¹ ; In 3, 3; K. 2832+, i 4; i 18
<i>bēl apsi</i>	The lord of Apsū	P 6, 6 ¹
<i>bēl bābili</i>	The lord of Babylon	AF 3, 21
<i>bēl enlilē</i>	The lord of Enlils	AF 6, 22
<i>bēl esagila</i>	The lord of Esagila	IP 1, 4; IP 2, 4
<i>bēlu gašru igigī</i>	The strong lord of the Igigi-gods	AF 3, 2
<i>bēl ilī</i>	The lord of the gods	P 15, 36; [P 18, 3 ¹]
<i>bēlu kabtu</i>	The honourable lord	IP 4, 5; IP 16, 10,
<i>bēlu kibirati</i>	The lord of the (four) quarters	AF 3, 4
<i>bēl [māi]i salīme</i>	The lord of [the lan]d of peace	IP 22, 4 ¹
<i>bēl māāti</i>	The lord of the lands	AF 1, 4; 22; 25; AF 2, 10; IP 4, 1; IP 17, 8; IP 18, 8
<i>bēlu rabū</i>	The great lord	P 7, 3 ¹ ; P 13, 1; 4; AF 2, 6; AF 10, 1; IP 1, 10; 21; [IP 2, 10 ¹]; IP 2, MS D, 20 ¹ ; IP 3, 7; IP 15, 1; IP 19, 1; 6; 33; 41; 52; In 3, 1; Catchline IP 10; K. 2832+, I 15

¹ For the siglum assigned to each text, see the introduction of Chapter III. We do not include P 10: KAR 337+304 as we did not have access to the duplicates. If an epithet occurs in a broken context and the reconstruction of the text is not secured, its reference is marked with [] (square brackets).

<i>bēl šadī</i>	The lord of the mountains	P 2, 1
<i>bēl šamē u eršetim</i>	The lord of the heavens and the earth	Ea, Marduk 4, 1
<i>bēl šarrī</i>	The lord of the kings	AF 1, 10
<i>enlil ilī/ilāni [rabūti]</i>	The Enlil of the gods/ [great] gods	P 15, 54
<i>etellu</i>	Potentate	P 11, 1; P 14, 1; AF 3, 6
<i>etel anunnaki</i>	The potentate of the Annunaki-gods	P 2, 2
<i>etel eridu</i>	The potentate of Eridu	IP 1, 1
<i>etel igigī</i>	The potentate of the Igigi-gods	IP 10, 1; 3; [5 ³]; IP 12, 1; IP 13, 1; 2; Catchline of IP 11 (MS B, 20')
<i>etel ilī</i>	The potentate of the gods	IP 17, 1
<i>etellu šīru</i>	The splendid potentate	P 15, 5
<i>gattu šušqū</i>	Tall figure	P 15, 25
<i>gīmālu</i>	Noble	P 2, 12; IP 4, 2; 8; IP 8, 1
<i>il issinni</i>	The god of festival	IP 19, 7
<i>ilu muttallu</i>	Princely god	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 11, 3
<i>kabtu</i>	Honourable	AF 3, 6
<i>kubbudu</i>	Honoured	P 15, 50
<i>kunnu māliku</i>	Established governor	P 15, 5
<i>mādidi mē tāmti</i>	The one who measures water of the sea	AF 3, 20; AF 6, 21
<i>mukil māḥāzi</i>	The maintainer of the sanctuaries	IP 17, 6
<i>mukīn gimir dadmē</i>	The one settles the entire inhabited world	P 15, 8
<i>mukīn tēret apšē</i>	The one establishes the omen of Apsū	P 15, 55
<i>mukīn ušurti</i>	The one who establishes omens	AF 3, 4
<i>murīš é.engurra</i>	The one who brings joy to Eengurra	IP 1, 3; IP 2, 3
<i>mušall[ik an]unnaki</i>	The one who makes the Annunaki-gods	P 5, 14
<i>ana gimir parakki</i>	fi[tt]ing to all the daises	
<i>mušim šimāti</i>	The one who determines the destinies	P 11, 2; AF 6, 13; IP 4, 8; [IP 18, 1 ²]; Šamaš, Marduk 2, 2
<i>mušim šimāti ša ilī</i>	The one who determines the destinies of all the gods	AF 3, 22
<i>kalāma</i>	Exalted	P 14, 1
<i>mutlellū</i>	Princely	P 11, 1; IP 4, 4
<i>muttallu</i>	Princely	P 11, 1; IP 4, 4
<i>nādin ḥaṭṭi ana šarri</i>	The one who gives the holy sceptre to the king who reveres him	AF 3, 23
<i>pāliḥišu</i>	Looked-up	P 15, 47
<i>na'du</i>	Looked-up	P 15, 47
<i>nāši ḥaṭṭi u palē</i>	The one who holds sceptre and reign	IP 18, 9
<i>nāši šaddu ana kalāma</i>	The one who carries the sign for all	AF 6, 17
<i>nāšū šarrūti</i>	The one who holds the kingship	AF 3, 8
<i>pāqid kal b[ābī]</i>	The one who checks every do[or]	P 5, 15
<i>pāris purussī</i>	The one who makes decisions	IP 4, 8
<i>rabū ilī</i>	The greatest among the gods	P 15, 13
<i>[rā]'im esagila</i>	[The one who lo]ves Esagila	IP 18, 2
<i>rā'im ezida</i>	The one who loves Ezida	P 19, 5; IP 1, 5; IP 2, 5
<i>rē'i tenešēti</i>	The shepherd of people	IP 19, 7
<i>rēštū</i>	Pre-eminent	P 15, 32; 41 (<i>ilu rēštū</i>)
<i>rē'ū</i>	Shepherd	IP 4, 22
<i>rubū</i>	Prince	P 5, 67; P 11, 6; P 15, 47; IP 1, 2; IP 2, 2
<i>šīru</i>	Magnificent	AF 3, 6; IP 4, 3; IP 8, 1
<i>šīri ilāni rabūti</i>	The magnificent one of the great gods	AF 3, 2
<i>šullul māti</i>	The protection of the land	IP 1, 7; [IP 2, 7 ²]
<i>[šāpi]k piššati elu</i>	[The one who pou]rs anointing oil on the	P 5, 15
<i>šīgarī</i>	bolt-bar	
<i>šaqū</i>	High	P 15, 2; 65 (+ <i>apkal ilī</i>); AF 3, 6
<i>šaqū ilī</i>	The most high among the gods	P 15, 41; IP 19, 6

<i>šarru damqu</i>	The favourable king	AF 1, 4
<i>šar ilī</i>	The king of the gods	AF 3, 4; IP 18, 3
<i>ša[r²] kullat igigi</i>	The king of the entire Igigi-gods	P 2, 1
<i>šar nišī</i>	The king of the people	P 20, 6 ²
<i>šar šamē u eršeti</i>	The king of the heavens and the earth	IP 17, 8
<i>šarhu</i>	Splendid	P 6, 6; IP 4, 2
<i>šaruḥ ili</i>	The most splendid among the gods	P 15, 50
<i>šitarhu</i>	Splendid	[IP 8, 1 ²]
<i>šitruḥu</i>	Splendid	P 15, 64
<i>šūpū</i>	Resplendent	P 15, 43; IP 1, 1; [IP 2, 1 ²]; IP 12, 1; Catchline of IP 11 (MS B, 20')
<i>šurbū</i>	Exalted	P 15, 5; IP 8, 1; IP 17, 1
<i>šušruḥu</i>	Glorified	P 15, 50
<i>šūturū</i>	Outstanding	IP 4, 5
<i>šūtur binūtu</i>	Outstanding in figure	P 15, 25
<i>šūturū ḥa[sīsa]</i>	Outstanding in unders[tanding]	IP 14, 12
<i>tāmeḥ bēlūti</i>	The one who supports the lordship	AF 3, 8
<i>tāmeḥ kippat būrummē u m[āti]</i>	The one who supports the dome of the sky and the earth	P 15, 8
<i>tāmeḥ šamē u eršeti</i>	The one who supports the heavens and the earth	IP 19, 3
<i>tizqāru</i>	Lofty	IP 1, 2; IP 2, 2; IP 4, 3; IP 13, 1; 2
<i>tukultu</i>	Trust	P 20, 6 ²
<i>tukulti bābilī</i>	The trust of Babylon	IP 1, 4; IP 2, 4; IP 18, 2
<i>ullū gattu</i>	Exalted figure	P 15, 34
Mighty god, abolisher of the evil ²		
<i>'āb[it lemmūti²]</i>	The one who des[troys the evil]	[IP 12, 5]
<i>alīlu</i>	Powerful	P 15, 32; IP 4, 6
<i>bēl tuqumtim</i>	The lord of war	P 2, 6
<i>dā'is kullat ajjābī</i>	The one who tramples all the enemies	IP 16, 10
<i>dammu</i>	Powerful	IP 12, 5
<i>ezzu</i>	Furious	P 15, 64
<i>gašri ilī</i>	The strong one of the gods	P 15, 1
<i>gašru</i>	Strong	P 2, 6; IP 1, 1; IP 2, 1; IP 4, 6; IP 12, 1; IP 17, 1; Catchline of IP 11 (MS B, 20'); Šamaš, Marduk 1, 2
<i>girra ezzu</i>	Furious Fire(-god)	P 15, 32; AF 6, 20
<i>ḥāruru</i>	Blazing (fire)	P 2, 5
<i>il kiššūtim</i>	The god of might	P 2, 6
<i>ilu šabbasū</i>	Outraged god	P 15, 40
<i>kābis irat tāmti</i>	The one who treads on the chest of the sea	AF 6, 25
<i>[kakkū²/ ūmu I]ā pādū</i>	[The] merciless [weapon/ storm] of the Igigi-gods	IP 8, 3
<i>ša igigī</i>		
<i>kapkapu</i>	Burly	P 15, 32
<i>kāšid ajjābī</i>	The one who conquers the enemies	P 2, 4; IP 18, 6
<i>kaškašū</i>	Almighty	P 15, 5
<i>kippu</i>	Snare	P 2, 5
<i>māḥiṣ muḥḥi anzē</i>	The one who strikes the skull of Anzū	P 15, 15
<i>mamlu</i>	Savage	P 15, 43

² Needless to say, many of these epithets indicating the might of the god, such as *alīlu*, *dammu*, and *kašid ajjābī*, are also common epithets of human kings.

<i>mu'abbīt šadī</i>	The one who destroys the mountains	IP 14, 8
<i>mu'abbīt lemnūti</i>	The one who destroys the evil	IP 14, 9
<i>muḫalliqu mim[ma lemnī]</i>	The one who abolishes wha[tever is evil]	IP 18, 4
<i>murīš lemnū[ti]</i>	The one who smashes the evil	P 18, 5'
<i>mušamīṭ zā'iri</i>	The one who smites adversary	P 15, 33
<i>mušamqitu muzz[errē²]</i>	The one who smites adv[ersary]	IP 18, 6
<i>muštarrīḫ meḫē</i>	The one who swiftly sends forth the <i>mehû</i> -storms	P 2, 4
<i>mutīr salīmē ša ilāni</i>	The one who brings back the peace of	AF 1, 6
<i>rabūti</i>	the great gods	
<i>nablu</i>	Flame	P 15, 32
<i>parriku</i>	Devastating [?]	P 5, 2; 4; P 15, 44
<i>puggulu/ pungulu</i>	Burly	IP 4, 6
<i>qabal lā maḫar</i>	Battle without rival	IP 4, 7
<i>qardu</i>	Heroic	IP 8, 2
<i>qarrādu</i>	Warrior	IP 3, 1; 30; 40; [K. 2832+, i 15 ²]
<i>qarrād ilī</i>	The warrior of the gods	P 11, 18; IP 14, 9
<i>qarrād kal kibrāti</i>	The warrior of the (four) quarters	IP 14, 10
<i>rašbu</i>	Awesome	P 11, 12 (+ <i>bēlu</i>)
<i>rašubbu</i>	Fearsome	IP 4, 1; IP 8, 3 (<i>ša anunnakī</i>)
<i>rīmu[?]</i>	Wild bull	P 2, 3
<i>sāpinu māt ajjābi</i>	The one who flattens the enemy land	AF 3, 12
<i>šalbābu 1</i>	Furious	P 1, 192; 194; P 15, 45; IP 4, 1
<i>šašmu ša girra</i>	The battle of Fire (god)	P 1, 6; 8
<i>šēzuzu</i>	Fierce	P 1, 1; 3
<i>šitmāru</i>	Raging	P 5, 2; 4
<i>šitmurū</i>	Raging	IP 8, 2
<i>ūmu ezzu</i>	The furious storm	IP 14, 6 [?]
<i>ūmu lā pādū</i>	The merciless storm	P 15, 32
Genealogy		
<i>apil ešarra</i>	The son of Ešarra	P 11, 18
<i>apil lugaldukuga</i>	The son of Lugaldukuga (=Ea)	IP 4, 9
<i>apil nudimmud</i>	The son of Nudimmud (=Ea)	P 15, 18; P 18, 2'; 19, 3 [?]
<i>aplu ša ea</i>	The son of Ea	In 1, 1
<i>bukur enanki</i>	The first-born of Enanki	IP 4, 17
<i>bukur ninšiki</i>	The first-born of Ninšiku (Ea)	IP 10, 2; 4
<i>bukur nudimmud</i>	The first-born of Nudimmud (Ea)	P 15, 32; IP 1, 2; IP 2, 2
<i>ilitti [apsû/ eridu]</i>	The offspring of [Apsû/ Eridu]	IP 12, 4
<i>ilitti apsû</i>	The offspring of Apsû	IP 10, 2; 4; [IP 14, 3 [?]]
<i>ilitti eridu</i>	The offspring of Eridu	IP 2, 1; Šamaš, Marduk 1, 2
<i>mār ea</i>	The son of Ea	P 11, 1
<i>narām enki/ea</i>	The beloved of Enki/Ea	P 11, 6; IP 17, 2
<i>narām libbi ša enlil</i>	The beloved of Enlil	IP 18, 8
<i>tarbūt apsû</i>	The one who is nurtured in Apsû	IP 8, 2
Wise and capable		
<i>apkal igiṭi</i>	The sage of the Igigi-gods	P 5, 1; IP 4, 72 (but as an epithet of Asalluhi)
<i>apkal ilī</i>	The sage of the gods	[P 11, 1 [?]]; 7; P 15, 65; [IP 4, 4 [?]]; IP 16, 8; In 2, 1; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 6, 24; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 10, 19; Marduk, Erra, Išum, Sebettu 1, 1

<i>apkal kiššati</i>	The sage of all	IP 19, 1; Šamaš, Marduk 1, 2
<i>atar ha[sisa]</i>	The most wi[se]	IP 10, 1; 3
<i>eršu</i>	Wise	IP 4, 17
<i>itpēšu</i>	Skilled	P 14, 2
<i>lē'û</i>	Competent	IP 4, 4
<i>mūdû gimī[r ...</i>	The one who knows all [...	P 19, 7'
<i>mūdû kalama</i>	The one who knows everything	IP 19, 1
<i>mûde l[i]bbi ilāni] šamê</i>	The one who knows the h[ear]ts of the	IP 6, 1
<i>u eršeti</i>	gods] of the heavens and the earth	
<i>[mūd]û tašīmtu</i>	[The one who kno]ws intelligence	P 1, 21 ² ; 23 ²
<i>mušābil nēmeqi</i>	The one who delivers wisdom	IP 13, 3
<i>nādīn milku u purussê</i>	The one who gives advices and decisions	IP 18, 10
<i>ana ilāni ahhē[šu]</i>	to the gods, [his] brothers	
<i>[nād]in nēmeqi</i>	[The one who giv]es wisdom	IP 18, 1
<i>naklu muntalku ilāni</i>	Skilful adviser of the great gods	P 15, 7
<i>[rabūti]</i>		
<i>[p]āt nagbi nēmeqi</i>	[The one who ope]ns the spring of wis- dom	P 5, 35
<i>rapšā uznû</i>	Wide ears (i.e., wise)	IP 4, 4
<i>šalbābu 2</i>	Wise	IP 1, 3; IP 2, 3; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 10, 2
<i>šar tašīmti</i>	The king of intelligence	IP 19, 4
<i>tele'û</i>	Very competent	P 14, 2; IP 4, 2
<i>uznu petû</i>	Ears wide open (i.e., wise)	P 18, 6'; P 19, 6'; IP 14, 12
Saviour and healer		
<i>ālik tappûte lā lē'i</i>	The one who goes to help the incapable	IP 5, 4'
<i>āšīpu il[ī]</i>	The incantation-priest of the gods	IP 14, 2
<i>bēl āšīpūti</i>	The lord of exorcism	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 18, 18
<i>bēlu ellu</i>	The pure lord	In 1, 1
<i>bēl eengura</i>	The lord of Eengura	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 10, 3
<i>bēl šiknat napišti</i>	The lord of the living-beings	IP 17, 5
<i>bēl šipti</i>	The lord of incantation	IP 14, 7
<i>ētir napišti</i>	The one who saves life	IP 12, 2
<i>gāmil enši</i>	The one who spares the weak	IP 18, 4
<i>gāmil niši rapšāti</i>	The one who spares the widespread peo- ple	IP 1, 7; [IP 2, 7 ²]
<i>ḥātīn enši</i>	The one who protects the weak	IP 18, 8
<i>ilu ellu</i>	The pure god	IP 14, 2
<i>il pišerti izzirī²</i>	The god of liberation from <i>curses</i>	P 5, 67
<i>ilu rēmēnû</i>	The merciful god	P 20, 4'; IP 1, 10; [IP 2, 10 ²]; IP 3, 7; IP 15, 1; IP 19, 2; IP 22, rev. 8'; In 3, 2
<i>il unnimmu damqu</i>	The god of the favourable prayer	P 5, 66
<i>lēqû teslīti</i>	The recipient of supplications	P 1, 25; 27
<i>lēqû teslīti u ikribi</i>	The recipient of supplications and devo- tions	P 9, 3 ²
<i>lēqû unninni</i>	The recipient of prayer	IP 19, 2
<i>māḥīr unninni</i>	The one who accepts prayer	P 1, 25; 27
<i>mašmaš iīt / ilāni</i>	The exorcist of the gods/ the great gods	IP 4, 72 (but as an epithet of Asalluhi); IP 13, 1; 2; IP 14, 1; 4; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 11, 3
<i>rabūti</i>		
<i>muballīṭū marši</i>	Those who give life to a sick man	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 6, 5
<i>muballīṭū mīti</i>	The one who revives the dead	P 9, 1; AF 10, 10'; IP 14, 4; 11; [13]; IP 15, 3
<i>mudeššû balāṭi</i>	The one who provides health	IP 1, 6; IP 2, 6

<i>mullil šamê u eršetim</i>	The purifier of the heavens and the earth	IP 14, 5
<i>munîḫ qablu</i>	The one who staves off the battle	IP 16, 10
<i>mupahḫir nišī saphḫāti</i>	The one gathers the scattered people	Šamaš, Marduk 2, 3
<i>muqatūtu tuqu[n]te</i>	The one who brings a st[rugg]le to an end	IP 19, 4
<i>muqerrib nišī rūqāti</i>	The one who brings the distant people closer	Šamaš, Marduk 2, 4
<i>murrik ūmē kurūti</i>	The one who prolongs the short days (of life)	Šamaš, Marduk 2, 3
<i>mušallim napišti</i>	The one who protects life	IP 1, 5; IP 2, 5
<i>mušpardū lallarātum</i>	The one who enlightens the female mourners	P 5, 3'
<i>muštēnū aḫḫē ittāti</i>	Those who alter the arms of the evil signs	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 6, 3
<i>muterri najjālu qereb qubūri</i>	The one who brings back the one who slumbers (i.e., the dead) from the inside of the grave	P 5, 2'
<i>muterri qabū (ina ka-gal šimāti)</i>	The one who brings back the speech (at the great gate of destiny)	P 5, 1'
<i>muṭarrid gallī rabūti</i>	The one who drives away the great Gallū-demons	IP 14, 6
<i>[nādin³] šammē balāti</i>	[The giver] of the herbs of life	IP 14, 5
<i>nādin ūmū rūqūtu</i>	The one who gives long days (i.e., life)	P 14, 2
<i>nāsiḫ murši</i>	The one who drives away illness	IP 14, 8
<i>nāšir napsāti</i>	The one who watches over life	P 1, 26; 28; IP 14, 10; IP 18, 3
<i>nāšir napišti amēlūti</i>	The one who watches over the life of people	IP 19, 3
<i>pāṭiru kalama</i>	The one who releases all	P 5, 66
<i>[pāṭir] kasē</i>	[The one who undoes] the bonds	P 9, 2 ² ; IP 15, 3 ²
<i>qābū dumqī</i>	The one who speaks/ commands favours	AF 1, 22
<i>qā iṣu balāti</i>	The one who grants health	P 1, 29; 31
<i>rēmēnū</i>	Merciful	P 5, 31; 69; 93; P 8, 47 ¹ ; 65 ¹ ; P 9, 1; [IP 6, 7 ²]; IP 17, 5; IP 18, 11 (see also, <i>ilu rēmēnū</i>)
<i>rāḫi[š] ...</i>	The one who was[hes] ...	P 15, 15
<i>šābit qātē naski</i>	The one who holds the hand of the fallen man	P 9, 2; AF 1, 25; AF 10, 9'; IP 15, 2
<i>šēmū taqrībi</i>	The one who listens to (verbal) offerings	P 1, 29; 31
<i>šēmū teslītu</i>	The one who listens to supplication	IP 19, 2; [K. 2832+, I 4 ³]
<i>tajjāru</i>	Compassionate	P 8, 47 ¹ (+ <i>bēlī</i>)
God of justice		
<i>dajjān kibrāt</i>	The judge of the (four) quarters	P 15, 54
<i>ilu muštālu</i>	The judicious god	P 1, 26; 28; P 5, 31
<i>muntalku</i>	Judicious	IP 17, 2
<i>rubū muštālu</i>	Judicious	P 5, 67
Creator of human		
<i>bānī</i>	My creator	P 5, 28 ¹
<i>bānū tenēšet gimri</i>	The creator of the entire people	IP 4, 17
God of fertility and watercourse		
<i>bābil ḫegalli</i>	The one who brings abundance	IP 19, 5
<i>[bābil¹] iṣpikkā tuḫdi</i>	[The one who brings a]bundant produce	P 5, 11
<i>bānū šē u qē</i>	The one who forms barley and flax	IP 4, 14
<i>bēl ḫegalli</i>	The lord of abundance	IP 4, 10;

<i>bēl nagbī šadī u tāmāti</i>	The lord of the deep springs of the mountains and the seas	IP 4, 12
<i>bēl nagbī u tāmāte</i>	The lord of the deep springs and the seas	IP 19, 4
<i>bēl tuḥdī ḥegalli</i>	The lord of prosperity and abundance	IP 4, 11
<i>gugal šamē u erṣeti</i>	The canal-inspector of the heavens and the earth	P 15, 1; 24
<i>[ḥ]āt nagbi nēmeqi</i>	[The one who inspe]cts the entire wisdom	P 5, 35
<i>ḥā'it erṣeti</i>	The one who inspects the land	AF 3, 19
<i>ḥā'it ḥursāni</i>	The one who inspects the mountain regions	IP 4, 12
<i>ḥajjāt ašnan u laḥar</i>	The inspector of grain and cattle	IP 4, 14
<i>mudeššū ašnan ana ništ dešāti</i>	The one who supplies grain for the widespread people	IP 19, 5
<i>mudeššū ḥegalli</i>	The one who supplies abundance	IP 4, 10
<i>[mude]šši šerkēti</i>	The one who supplies gifts from the wide land	P 5, 8
<i>erṣetim rapaštim</i>	The one who supplies green	IP 4, 14
<i>mukammir tuḥdī</i>	The one heaps up abundance	IP 17, 8
<i>mupattū būr kuppī ina qereb ḥursāni</i>	The one who opens up spring-wells in the midst of the mountain region	P 5, 6
<i>mupattū kuppī u miṭrāti</i>	The one who opens cistern and watercourses	IP 4, 13
<i>mupattū miṭrāte</i>	The one who opens the watercourses	IP 17, 7
<i>murriš epenni</i>	The one who straightens the plough	AF 3, 20
<i>[mušābi] šārī tik mē elu qarbāti</i>	[The one makes] winds [car]ry drizzle over the field	P 5, 10
<i>muštabrū zunnī</i>	The one who makes rain last	AF 6, 24
<i>[mušābi] šimrī</i>	The one who brings about abundant wealth and profusion of produce	P 5, 12
<i>kubuttē išpikkī tattūtū</i>	The one who increases grain	IP 17, 5
<i>mušamdīl ašnan</i>	The one who <i>increases</i> goodness	IP 13, 3
<i>mušātir dumqī</i>	[The one who lets] dew fall from the udders of the heavens	P 5, 9
<i>[mušā]znin nalšī ina šerrēt šamāmī</i>	The one who rains down fertility	IP 4, 11
<i>mušaznin nuḥši</i>	The one who lets rain fall	AF 6, 18
<i>mušaznin zunni</i>	The one who keeps springs and rivers in order	IP 17, 7
<i>muštēšir nagbī nārī</i>	The one who puts the rivers in order	IP 4, 13
<i>muštēšir nārī ina qereb šadī</i>	The one who puts the rivers in order in the midst of the mountains	P 5, 5
<i>muṭaḥḥi[d šikarī]</i>	The one who lavishly [provide beer], <i>kurummu</i> -wine, the meal-offerings, and free-will offerings	P 5, 16
<i>kurunni naptan zibi šagigurri</i>	[The one who giv]es abundance and riches to the widespread people	IP 18, 5
<i>[nād]in ḥegalli u mašrē ana ništ ap[ātī]</i>	The one who gives share and the cereal-offerings to the gods of my city	IP 18, 7
<i>nādin isqi u nindabē ana ilāni šūt alija</i>	The one who gives share and the cereal-offerings to the [great] g[ods]	P 15, 55
<i>nādin isqi u nindabē ana i[ilāni rabūti]</i>	The one who watches over the food-offerings for the gods	IP 17, 6
<i>nāšir nindabē ana ilī</i>	The one who pours out the seasonal flood of abundance to the entire world	P 5, 7
<i>nāšir mīlī ḥegalli ana kal dādmē</i>	The one who presents cultivation	AF 6, 16
<i>šārik mēreštu</i>		

Marduk as flood and serpent (or serpent related epithet)

<i>abūb kakki</i>	The flood weapon	IP 4, 7
<i>gapaš abūšin</i>	Massive flood	P 1, 5; 7
<i>kābis šerri</i>	The one who treads on a serpent	IP 18, 9
<i>šibbu</i>	A Šibbu-dragon (a metaphor for a flood)	P 1, 5; 7
<i>ušumgal anunnakī</i>	The Ušumgallu-dragon of the Anun-naki-gods	IP 4, 16
<i>ušumgal kalīš parakkī</i>	The Ušumgallu-dragon of all the daises	IP 1, 8; [IP 2, 8 ²]
<i>ušumgallu ša šamē rabūti</i>	The Ušumgallu-dragon of the great heavens	In 1, 2
<i>ušumgal šamē u eršeti</i>	The Ušumgallu-dragon of the heavens and the earth	IP 13, 1; 2; IP 14, 11; [13]

Bright light/ Star/ Sun

<i>birbirrū</i>	Radiance	P 15, 13
<i>dipāru namru</i>	The bright torch (i.e. star)	P 15, 34
<i>ēbir šamē</i>	The one who crosses over the heavens	AF 3, 19
<i>eddeššū</i>	Self-renewing	P 15, 2; IP 4, 2
<i>eridu</i>	Eridu-star	AF 6, 15
<i>irat zuqaqīpu</i>	The Chest-of-Scorpion-star	AF 6, 25
<i>kajjamānu</i>	Saturn	AF 6, 19
<i>kakkabu</i>	Star	IP 4, 10
<i>kakkab kitti u mēšaru</i>	The star of the justice and righteousness	AF 6, 19
<i>kakkab šamē</i>	Mars	AF 6, 20
<i>mubukešda</i>	<i>Mubukešda</i> -star	AF 6, 14
<i>mul babbar</i>	Jupiter	AF 6, 17
<i>munammir ekleti</i>	The one who brightens the darkness	AF 6, 27
<i>muttallik qereb šamāmē</i>	The one who advances in the midst of the heavens	P 15, 14
<i>nēberu</i>	Jupiter	P 15, 41
^{mul} NE.NE.NÍG	The Nenenig-star	AF 6, 23
<i>numušda</i>	The Numušda-Star	AF 6, 24
<i>nūr amēlūti</i>	The light of the mankind	AF 1, 10
<i>nūr igigī</i>	The light of the Igigi-gods	AF 1, 22
<i>nūr kibrāti</i>	The light of the (four) quarters	AF 6, 26; IP 19, 7
<i>nūri namri</i>	The bright light	AF 3, 10
<i>sīn</i>	Moon	AF 6, 27
<i>šamaš/ šamšu</i>	Sun	AF 6, 26
<i>šamšu nebū</i>	Bright sun	P 15, 34
<i>šarūru namru</i>	Bright ray	P 15, 13
<i>šašši abbēšu</i>	The sun of his fathers	P 14, 1
<i>šihūtu</i>	Mercury	AF 6, 18
<i>šukūdu</i>	Sirius	AF 6, 21
^{mul} ŠU.PA	Šupa-star	AF 6, 22

Divine names other than Marduk (^dAMAR.UTU)

<i>amaruk</i>	Amaruk (Flood ^d)	P 1, 5; 7
<i>addu/ adad</i>	Addu/ Adad (Storm God)	P 1, 87 ²
<i>an (anum)</i>	Anu (The God of the Heavens)	P 2, 9
<i>asalluḫi</i>	Asalluḫi	P 2, 9; P 19, 2 ² ; IP 4, 72; [IP 14, 1 ²]; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 8, 4; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 10, 21; Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 18, 18 [2 ²]; [4 ²]; In 2, 3; 4
<i>asare</i>	Asare	P 14, 1; AF 6, 16
<i>binduku</i>	Binduku	IP 4, 8
<i>dimmerankia</i>	Dimmerankia	AF 6, 13

<i>enbilulu</i>	Enbilulu	P 15, 66; In 2, 5
<i>engiṣgalanna</i>	Engiṣgalanna (lit. The-Lord-of-the-Station-of-the-Heavens)	P 15, 43
<i>girra</i>	Fire(-God)	(See <i>girra ezzu</i>)
<i>šazu</i>	Šazu	P 5, 51; IP 6, 1; In 2, 6
⁴ ŠÚ	ŠÚ (=Marduk)	AF 2, 6; AF 3, 4
<i>tutu</i>	Tutu	P 15, 61; IP 11, 12'
Uncertain		
<i>muṣabbi</i> [t ×]	The one who holds [...	IP 18, 9
<i>muṣērū ka</i> [l ...	The one who sends all [...	P 5, 17

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¹ The catchline of P 1. The Šamaš Hymn, see LAMBERT, *BWL*, pp.121-138.

² A prayer to Nabū following P 14.

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³ The catchline of IP 10. No text with this incipit is known. However, an ancient list of prayers to Marduk, K. 2832+6680, lists this prayer in col. i 12.

⁴ This line is preserved only in VAT 13879 (KAL IV no.68). As VAT 13879 preserves the upper part of tablet alone, it is not certain if this is really a part of IP 11 or belongs to another prayer to a different god.

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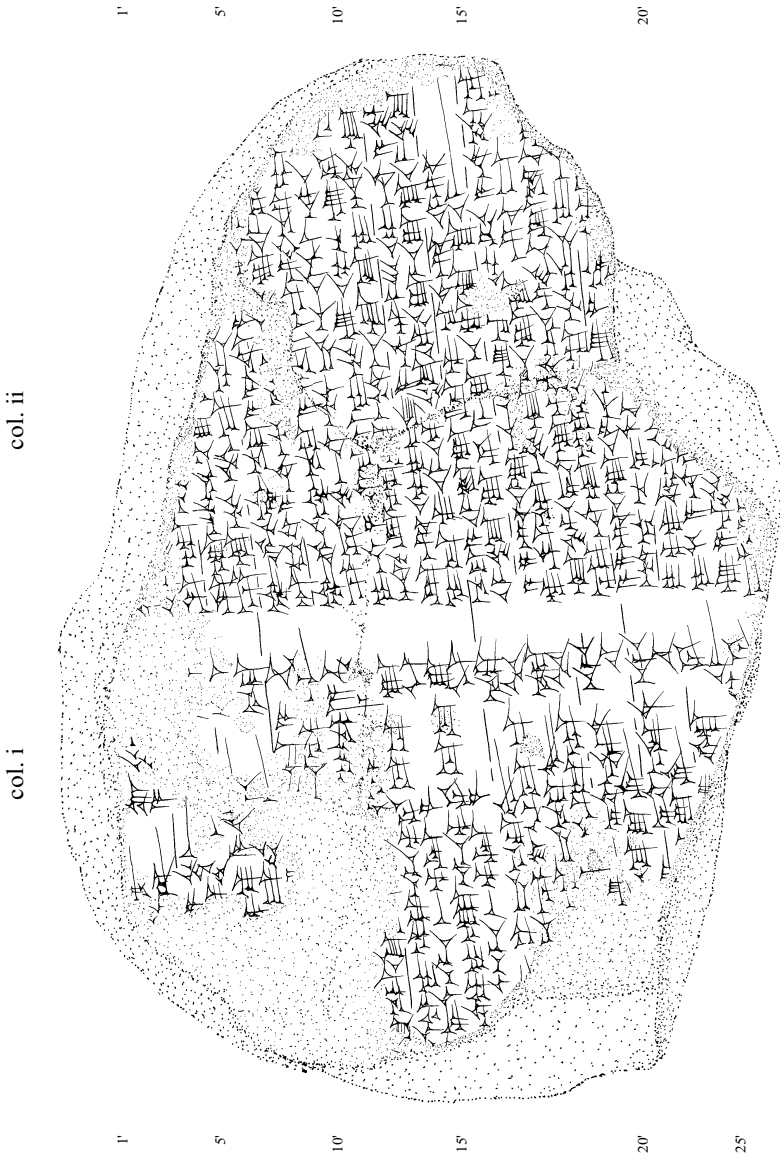
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<i>OrNS</i> 40, Tab. VIII	K. 3583	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 6: MS A
<i>OrNS</i> 40, Tab. IX	80+7-19, 123+ 83-1-18, 447	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 1: MS C
<i>OrNS</i> 40, Tab. X	K. 11992	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 1: MS D
<i>OrNS</i> 59, p. 478	BM 54654	IP 13: MS A
<i>OrNS</i> 59, p. 479	K. 6977+ 9764+ 10740	IP 13: MS B
<i>OrNS</i> 59, p. 486	K. 13740	IP 11: MS A
<i>OrNS</i> 59, p. 487	K. 20155	IP 4: MS A
<i>OrNS</i> 59, p. 487	K. 17478	IP 4: MS B
<i>OrNS</i> 68, Tab. XXVIII	K. 5937	IP 19: MS C
<i>OrNS</i> 68, Tab. XXVIII	Rm 2, 171	IP 19: MS D
<i>OrNS</i> 68, Tab. XXIX-XXX	K. 3268+6033+8176+ 1905-4-9, 117	IP 19: MS B
<i>OrNS</i> 73, Tab. XX	VAT 14293	IP 3: MS F
<i>OrNS</i> 73, Tab. XXI-XXII	VAT 13852+ 13882+ 14172	IP 3: MS E
PBS I/1, no. 14	Kh ² 1514	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 18: MS A
PBS I/2, no. 106	UM 1516	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 12
PBS I/2, no. 108	UM 1701	IP 1: MS a'
PBS I/2, no. 124	UM 1572	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 15: MS D; 16: MS C
<i>RA</i> 7, p. 24	AO 2490	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 14: MS D
<i>RA</i> 65, p. 160	AO 3113	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 17
<i>RA</i> 86, pp. 80-81	IM 85877	P 2
<i>RAcc</i> , p. 149	DT 15	AF 1-3

<i>RAcc</i> , p. 151	DT 109	AF 4-6
<i>RAcc</i> , p. 153	MNB 1848	AF 5-8
Scheil, <i>Sippar</i> , pp. 97-98	Si 7/ Ph. K. 380	IP 17: MS B
STT 50	S.U. 52/136	IP 22: MS A
STT 55	S.U. 51/113	IP 1: MS G
STT 72	S.U. 52/222+225+294+297 (+) 253	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 3: MS A
STT 124	S.U. 51/41	IP 22: MS B
STT 130	S.U. 52/226	IP 18: MS E
STT 132	S.U. 51/174	IP 7: MS A; IP 21
STT 134	S.U. 52/171	IP 18: MS E
STT 231	S.U. 51/61+ 125	In 3
STT 251	S.U. 52/65	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 3: MS B
<i>Ugaritica</i> 5, no. 162	R.S. 25.460	P 4
VS 24, no. 97	VAT 17156	P 3: MS A
VS 24, no. 100	VAT 17349	IP 9: MS B
Van der Toorn, <i>Sin and Sanction</i> , pls. 4-5	K. 254+ 3369	P 8: MS a
Van der Toorn, <i>Sin and Sanction</i> , pl. 8	DT 119+152	Appendix to P 9
Von Weiher, <i>Uruk</i> II, no 11	W 22729/6	IP 1: MS J
Von Weiher, <i>Uruk</i> II, no. 16	W 22758/1	Ea, Marduk 3: MS C; 4
Von Weiher, <i>Uruk</i> III, no. 78	W 22554/4 a	IP 1: MS I
Von Weiher, <i>Uruk</i> III, no. 79	W 22656/6	Šamaš, Marduk 2: MS B
Von Weiher, <i>Uruk</i> III, no. 80	W 23264	Ea, Šamaš, Marduk 6: MS B

Plates

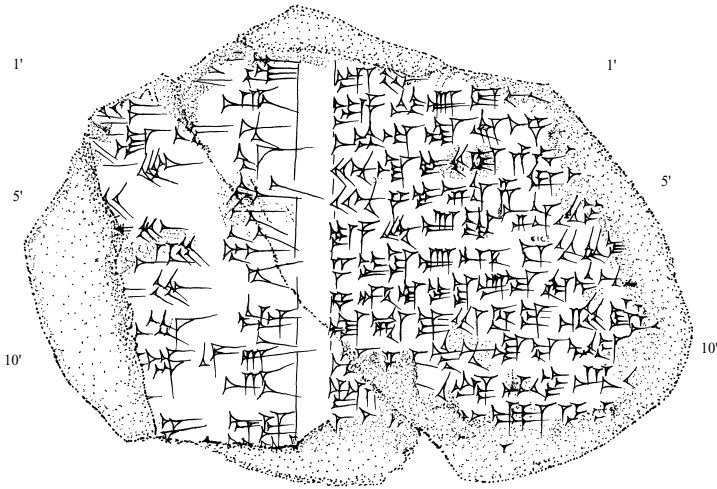
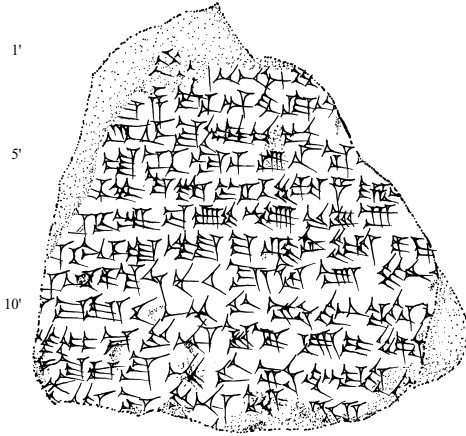


MS F: BM 76492 obv.



MS F: BM 76492 rev.

MS G: BM 66652



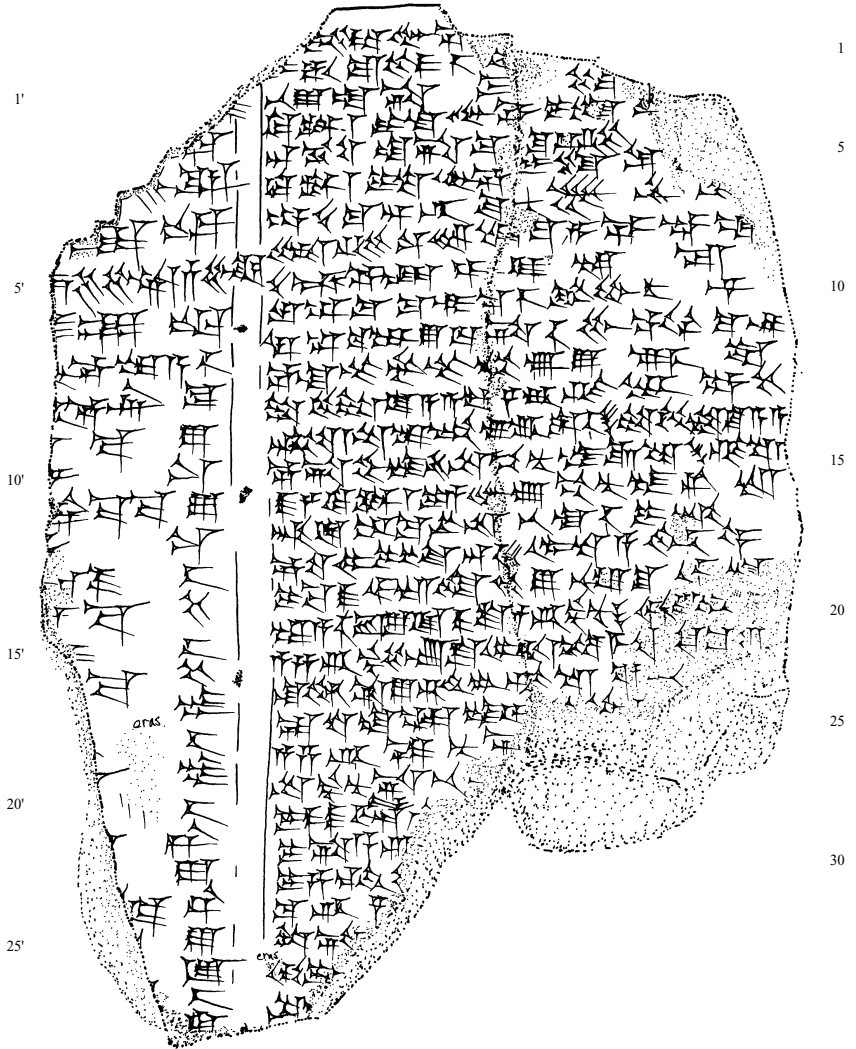
col. i

col. ii

MS J: BM 34218+34334

col. i

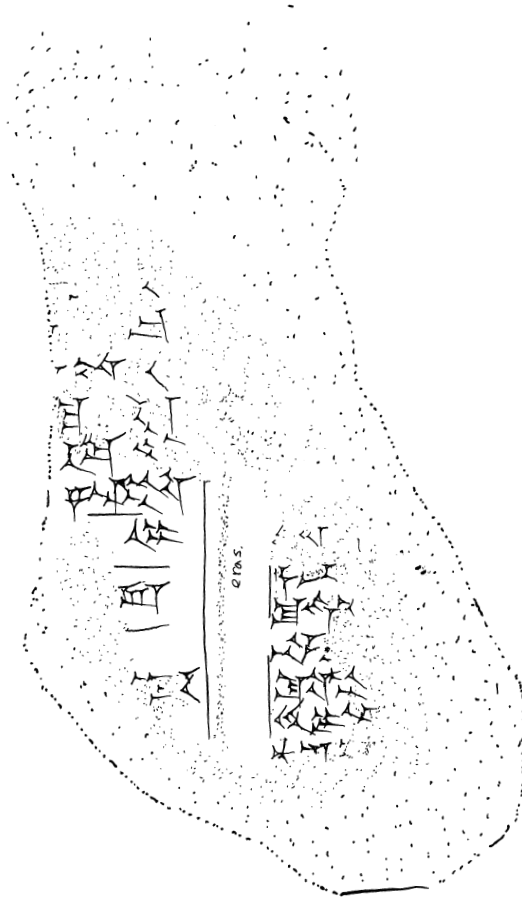
col. ii



MS H: BM 45618 obv.

col. iv

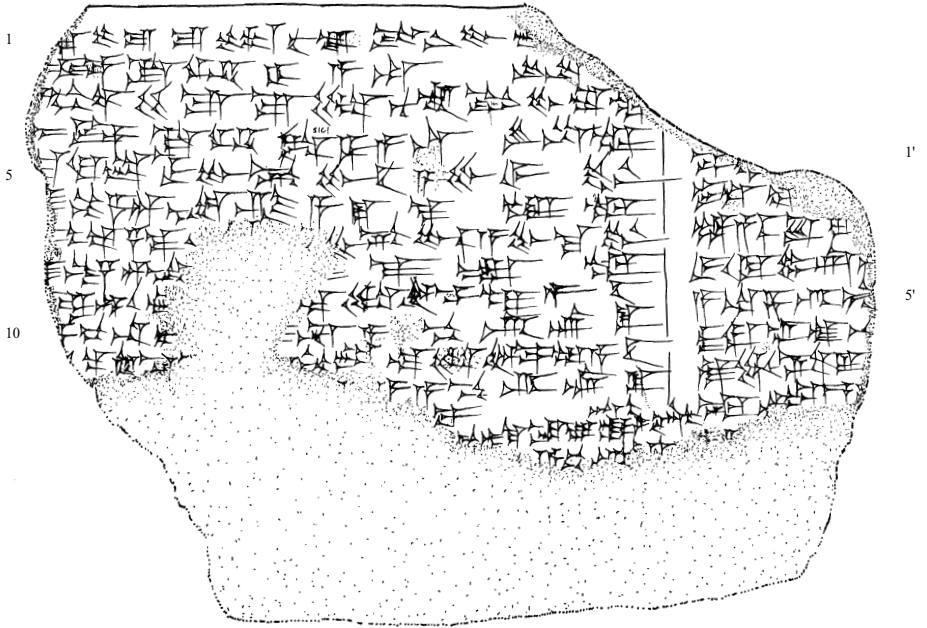
col. iii



MS H: BM 45618 rev.

col. i

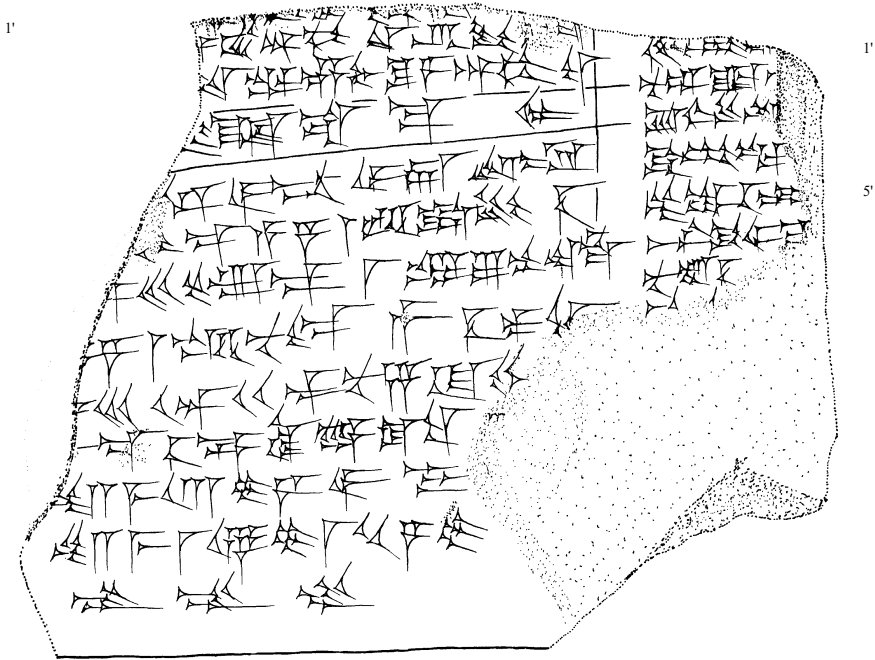
col. ii



MS I: BM 45746 obv.

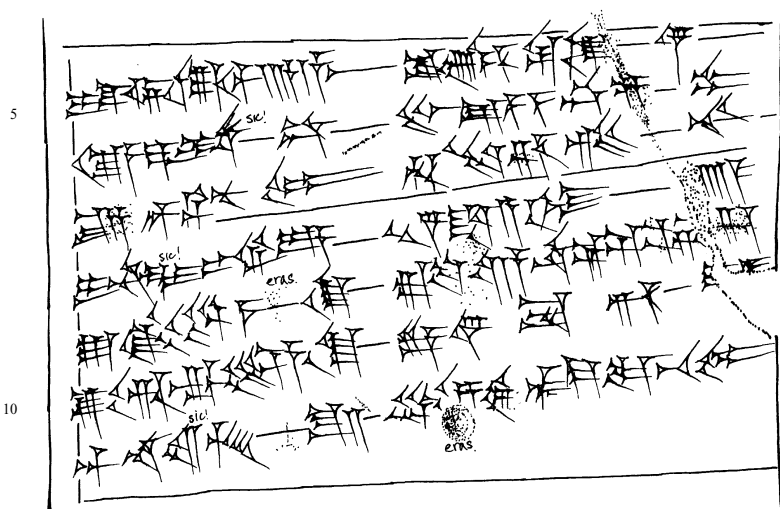
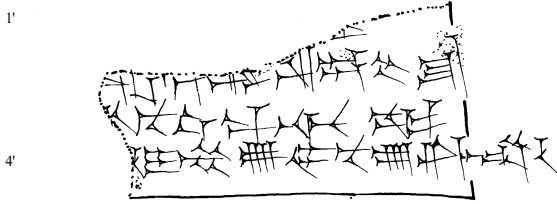
col. iv

col. iii



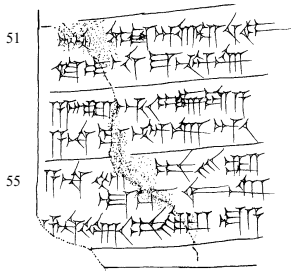
MS I: BM 45746 rev.

MS I: BM 33716 obv.

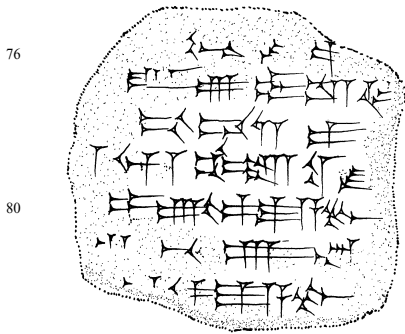


MS b: BM 64377+76099 obv.

MS A2: K. 3183

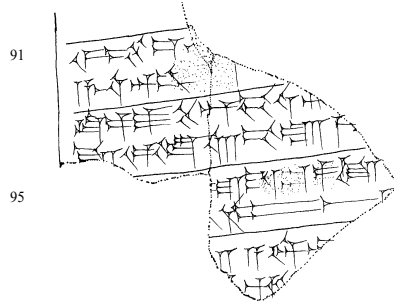


MS A2: K. 16922

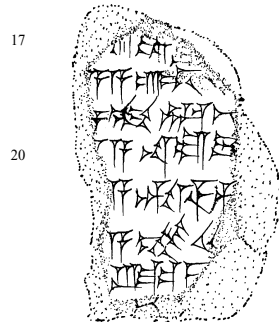


MS C2: K. 17647

MS A2: K. 8235

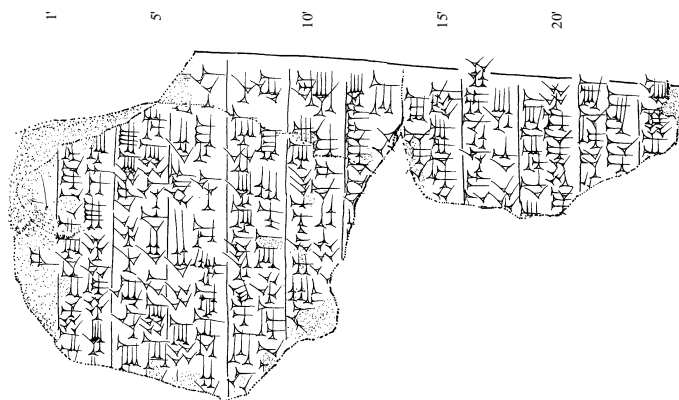


MS A2: Sm 1732



MS F: K. 17797

col. ii



col. i



MS H: BM 61649+61672+62689+62816+82967+82988+F 9 obv.

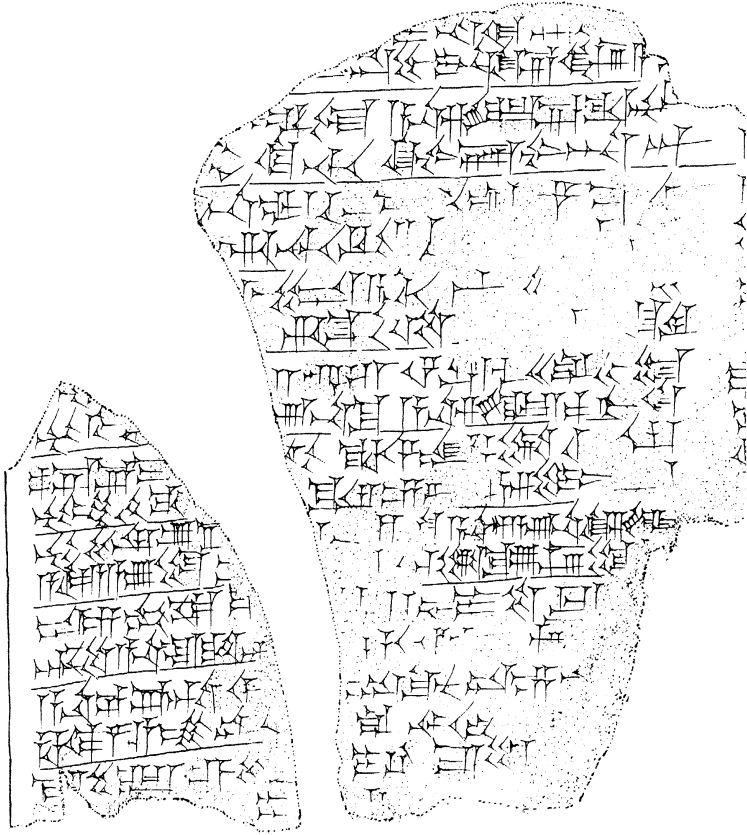
col. iii

col. iv



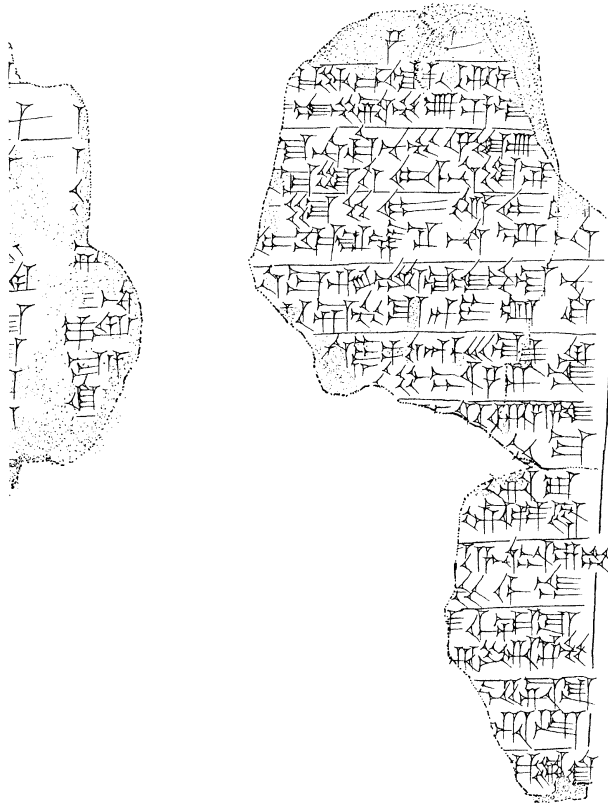
MS H: BM 61649+61672+62689+62816+82967+82988+F 9 rev.

col. i

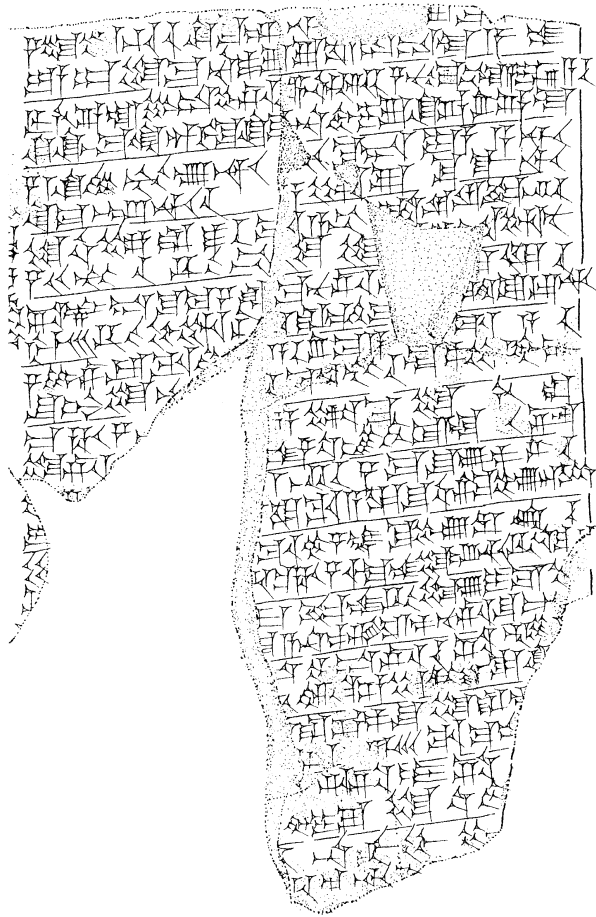


BM 61649+61672+62689+62816+82987+82988+F 2 obv.

col. ii

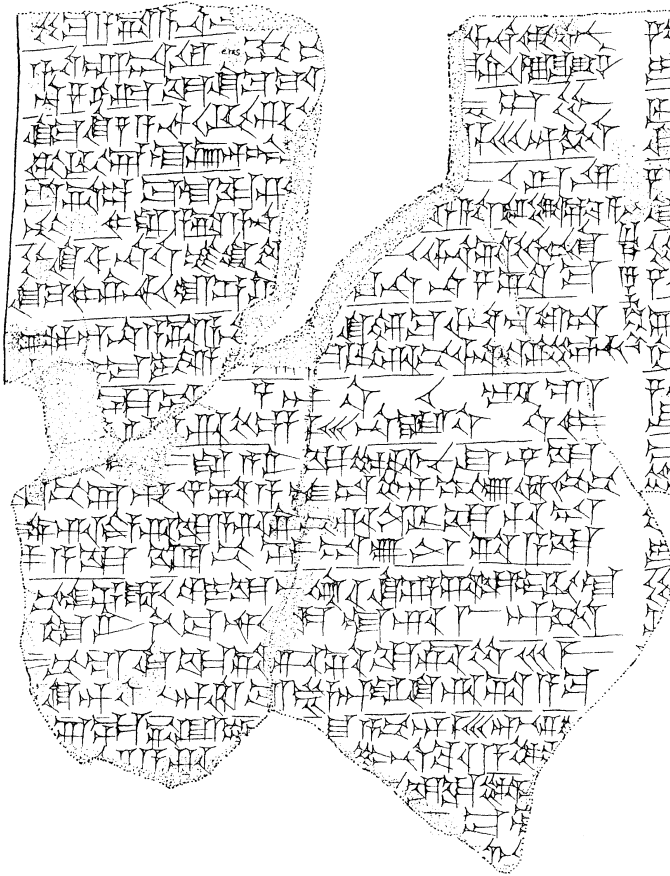


BM 61649+61672+62689+62816+82987+82988+F 2 obv.

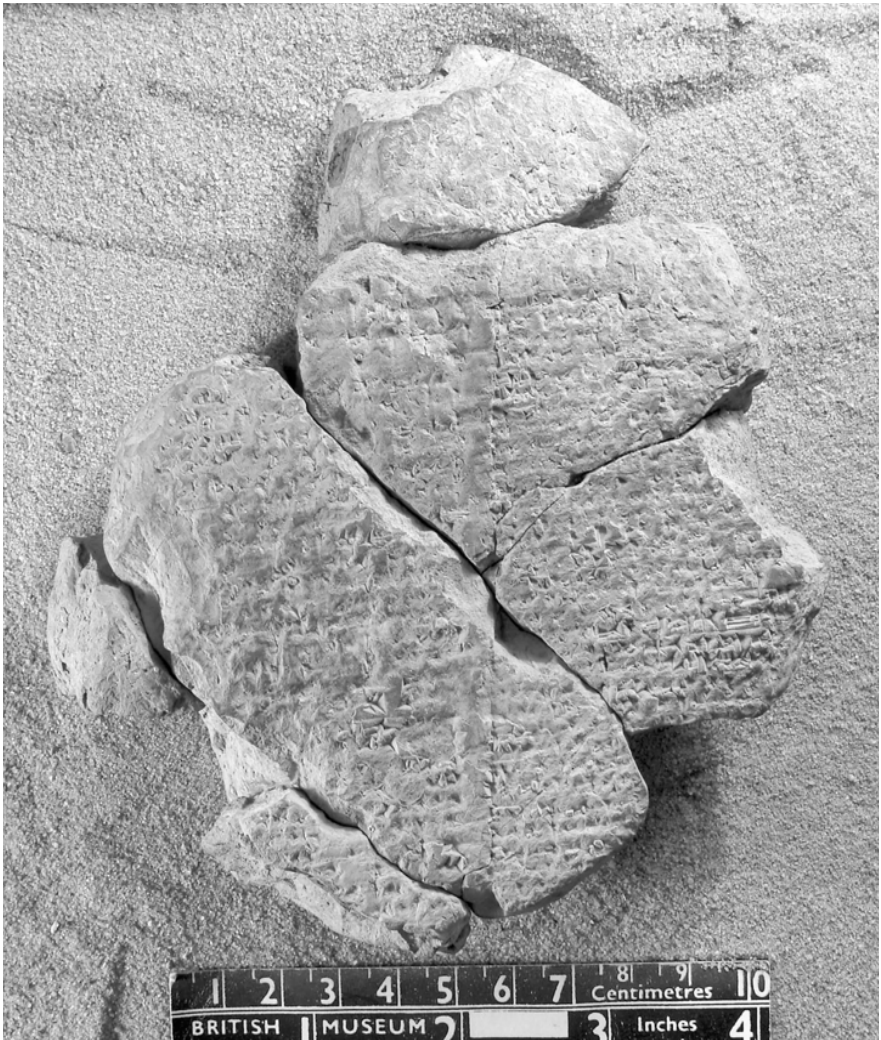


BM 61649+61672+62689+62816+82987+82988+F 2 rev.

col. iv



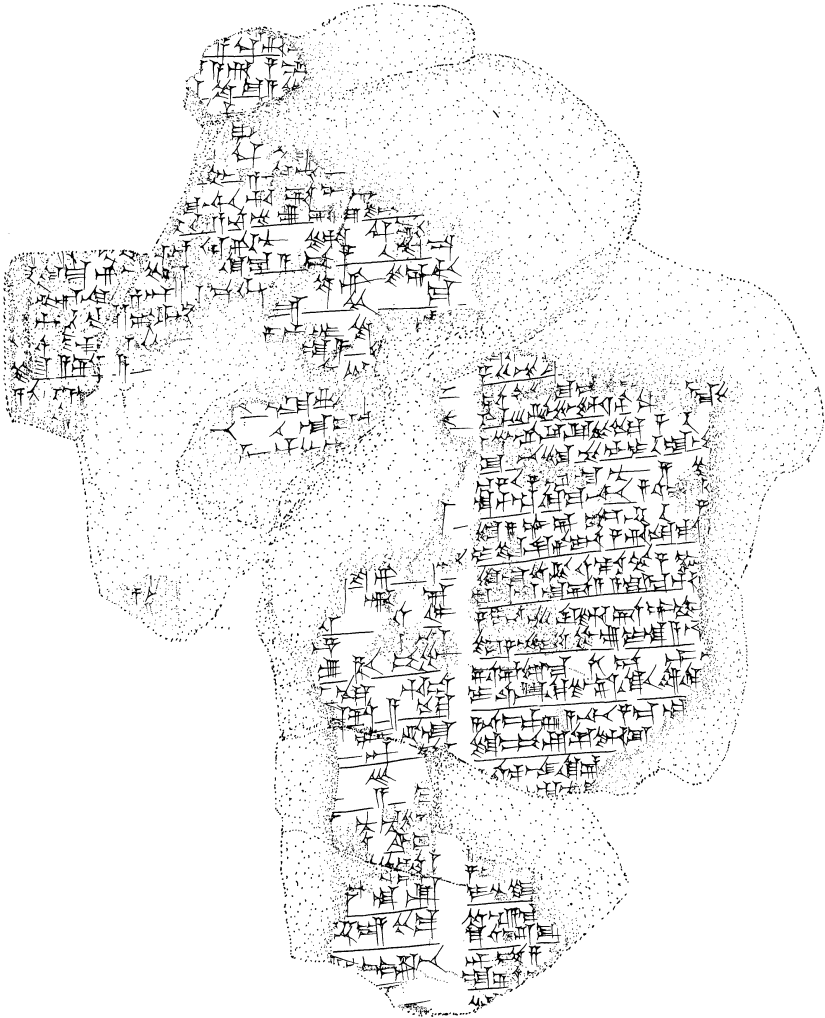
BM 61649+61672+62689+62816+82987+82988+F 2 rev.



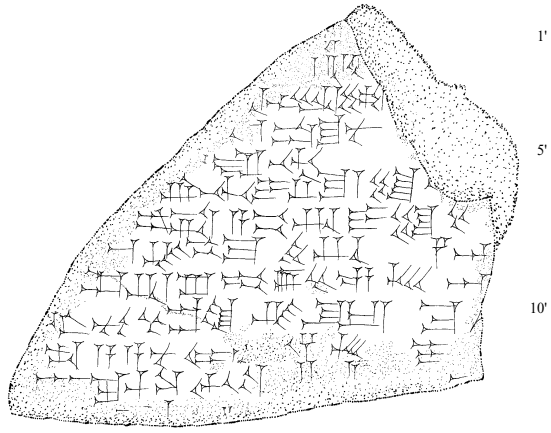
MS I: BM 61635+76511+76845+F8+64 obv.

col. iv

col. iii



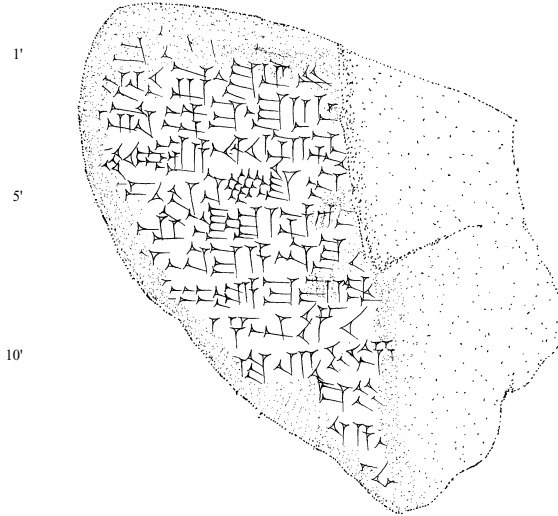
MS I: BM 61635+76511+76845+F8+64 rev.



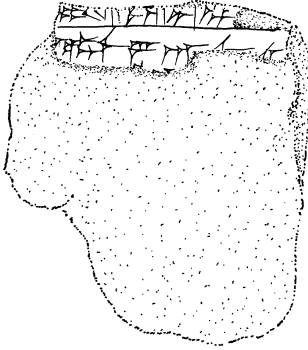
obv.

MS L: BM 66558

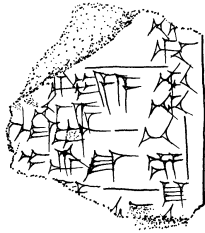
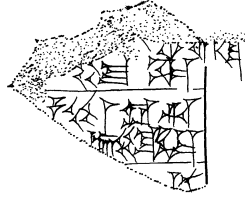
rev.



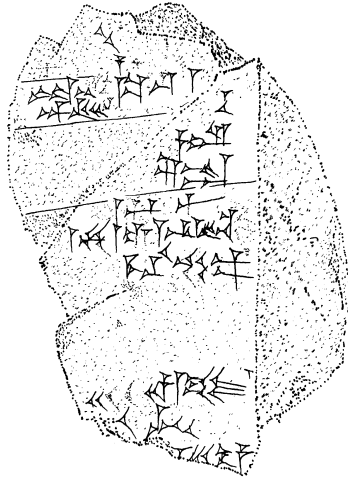
MS G: K. 18397



MS J: BM 136878

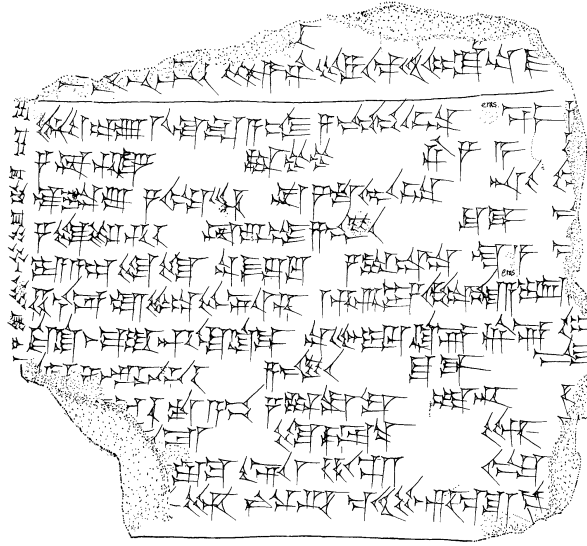


MS p: K. 20949

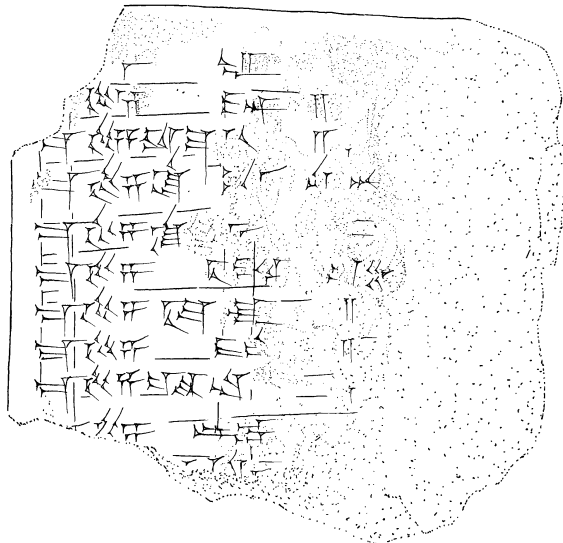


MS M: BM 62292

obv.

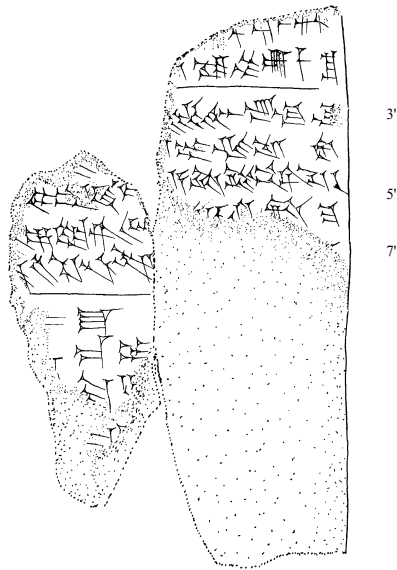


MS s: BM 87226



rev.

MS t: BM 36726

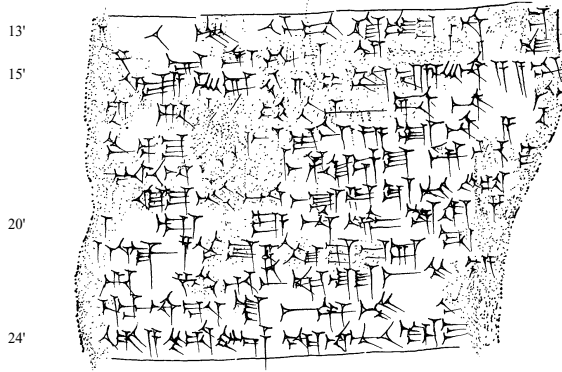
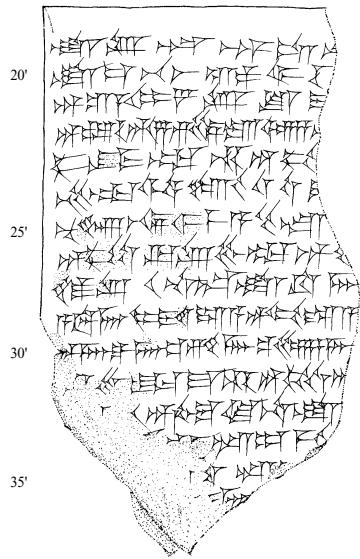
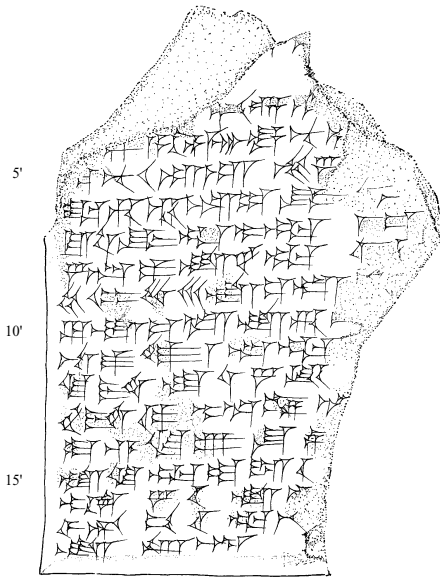


MS v: BMS 37959+38018

obv.

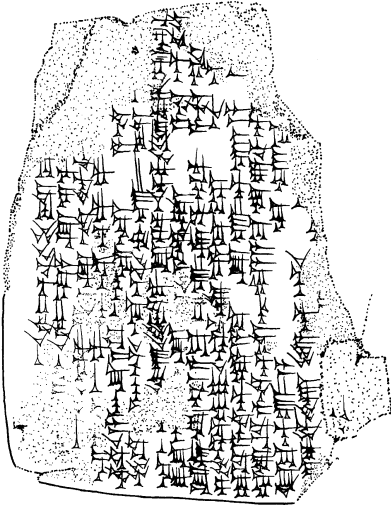
K. 3366

rev.



MS c: BM 76026

rev.



27

30

35

40

obv.



5

10

15

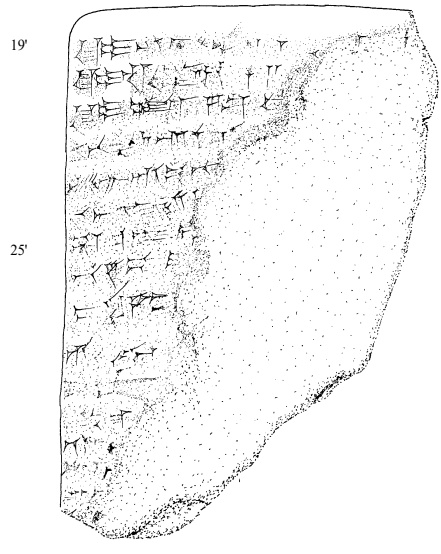
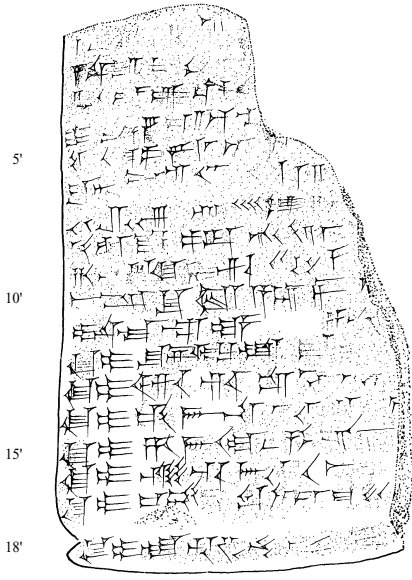
20

25

MS A: VAT 10006

obv.

rev.

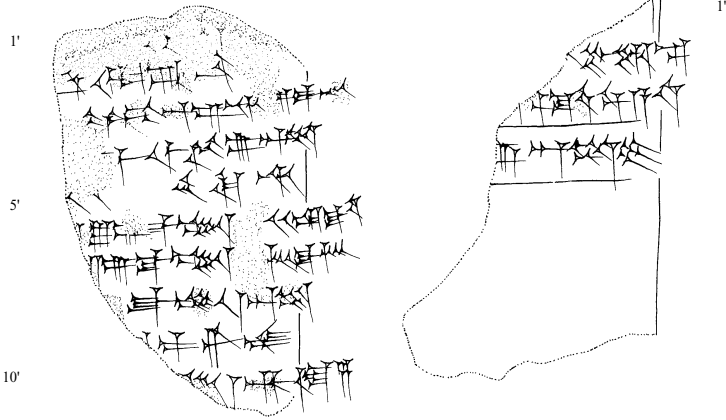


MS B: BM 123368

obv.

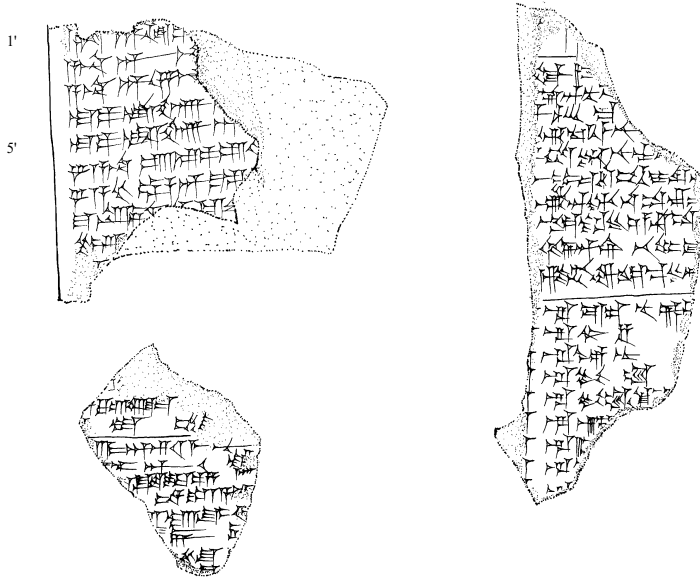
BM 16746

rev.



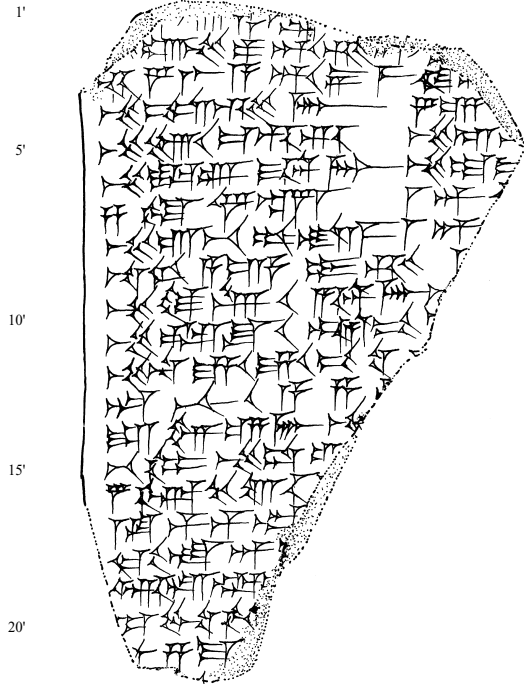
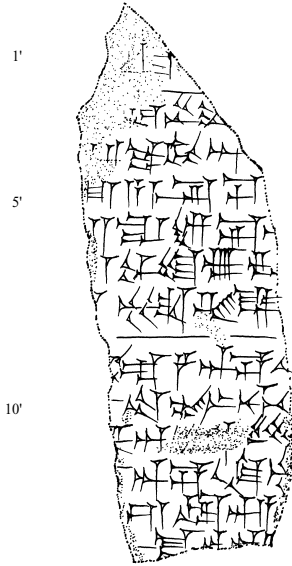
BM 123392

BM 68031 obv

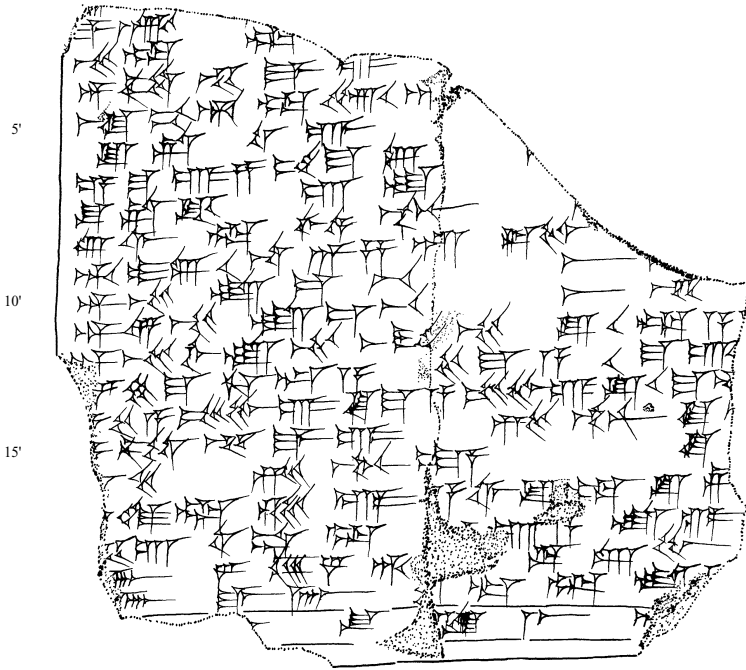


K. 13249

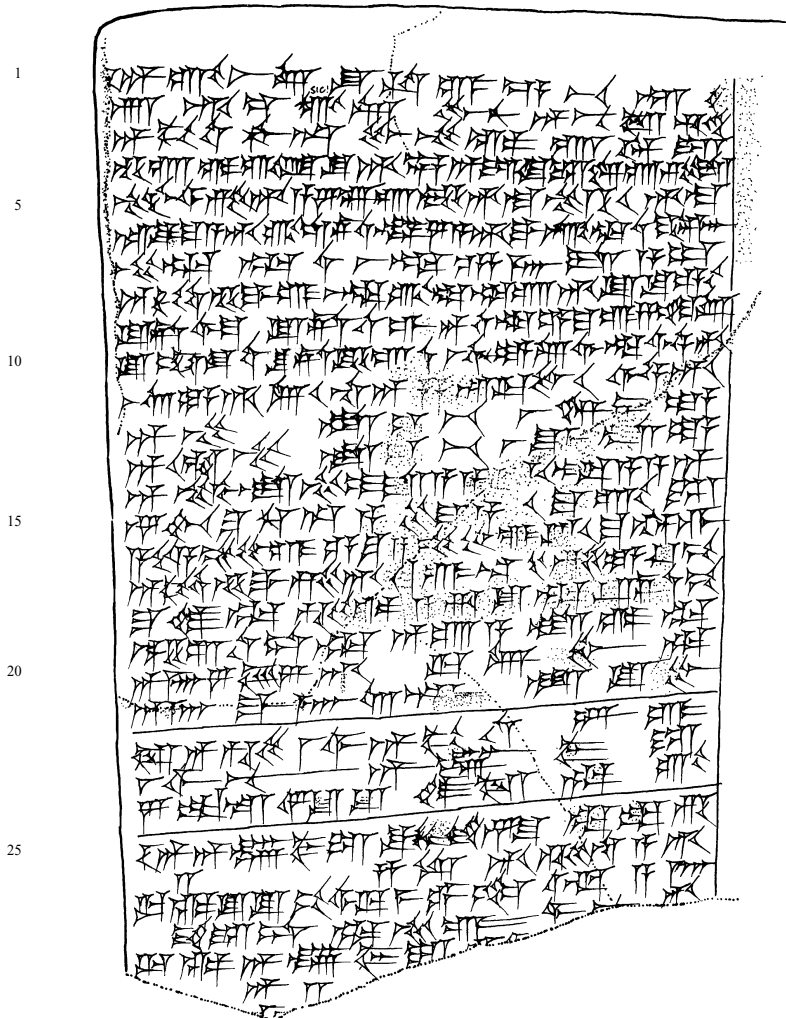
BM 71975



K. 9902

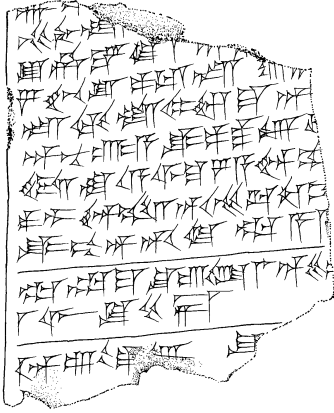


MS B: K. 2558+9152 obv.

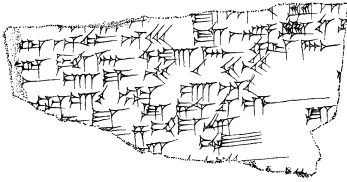
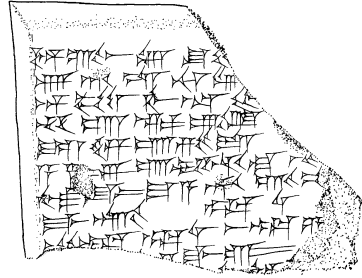


MS C: K. 2538+2554+3188+4936+5329+6161+9378+10150+16016 col. vi

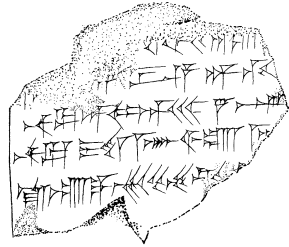
MS D: K. 6028



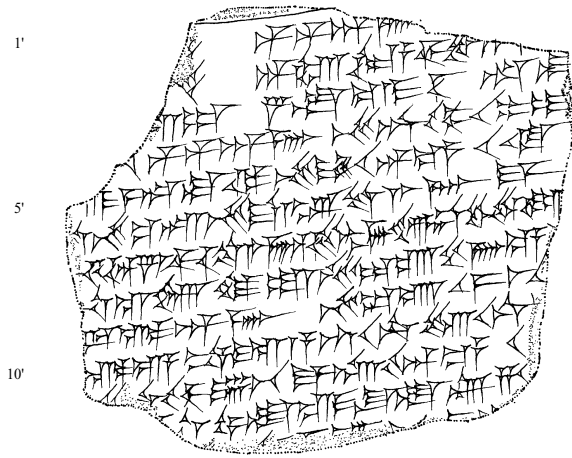
MS E: Rm 517



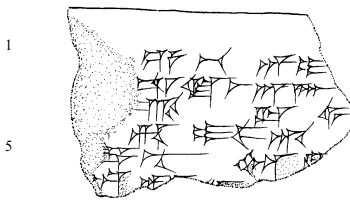
MS C: Sm 512



MS E: K. 6792



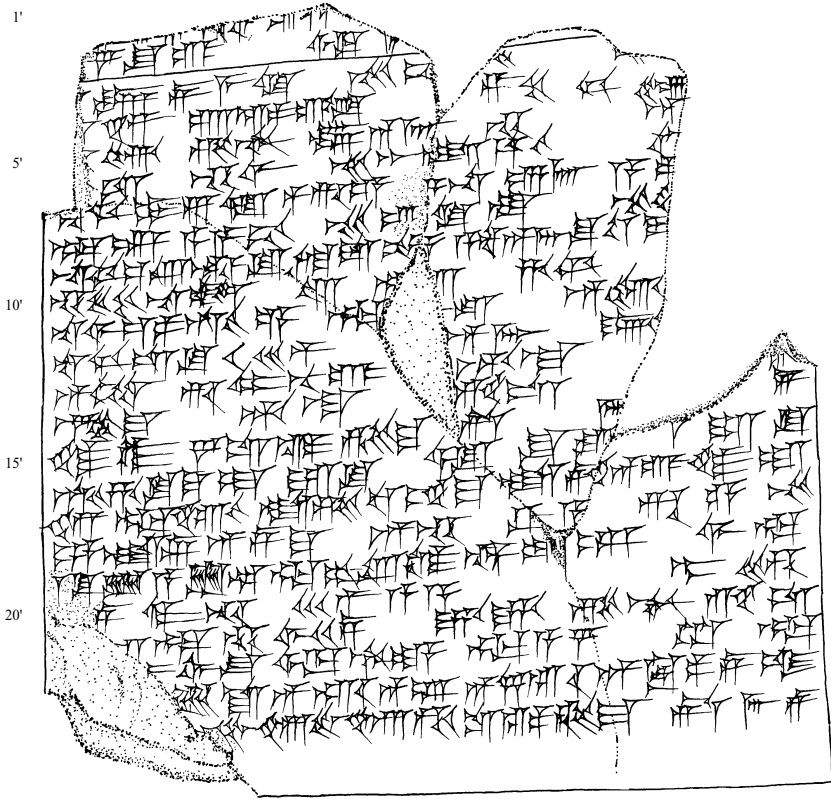
K. 8961



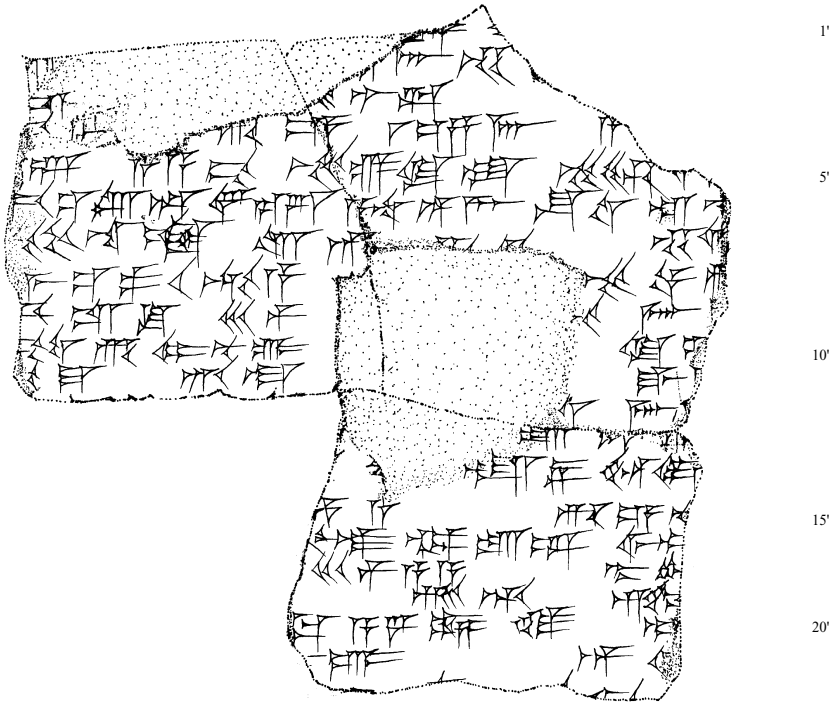
MS A: K. 5113



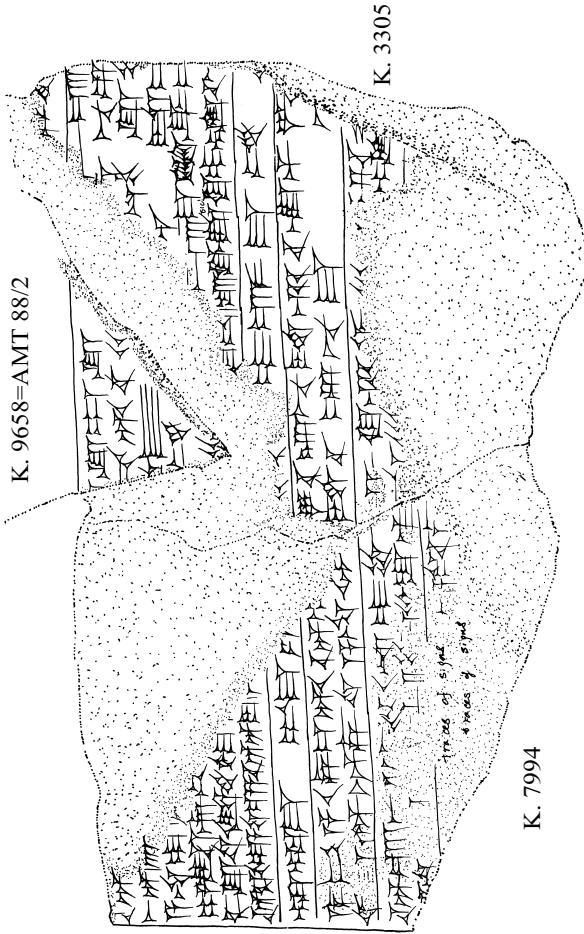
MS B: K. 19711



MS A: K. 2493+7102+9081+10352



MS C: K. 5088+6918+11307



K. 9658=AMT 88/2

K. 3305

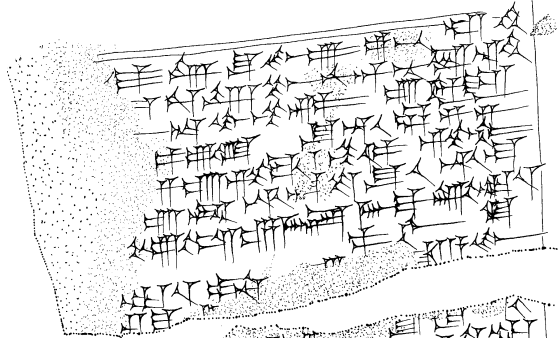
K. 7994

The end of signed
& names of signed

This fragment contains approximately 10 columns of cuneiform text. The text is organized into several distinct sections, possibly representing different parts of a document or a list of items. The characters are small and densely packed, typical of ancient Mesopotamian writing. The fragment is irregularly shaped, suggesting it was part of a larger tablet that has since been broken.

This smaller fragment also contains approximately 10 columns of cuneiform text. The text is organized into several distinct sections, similar to the larger fragment above. The characters are small and densely packed, typical of ancient Mesopotamian writing. The fragment is irregularly shaped, suggesting it was part of a larger tablet that has since been broken.

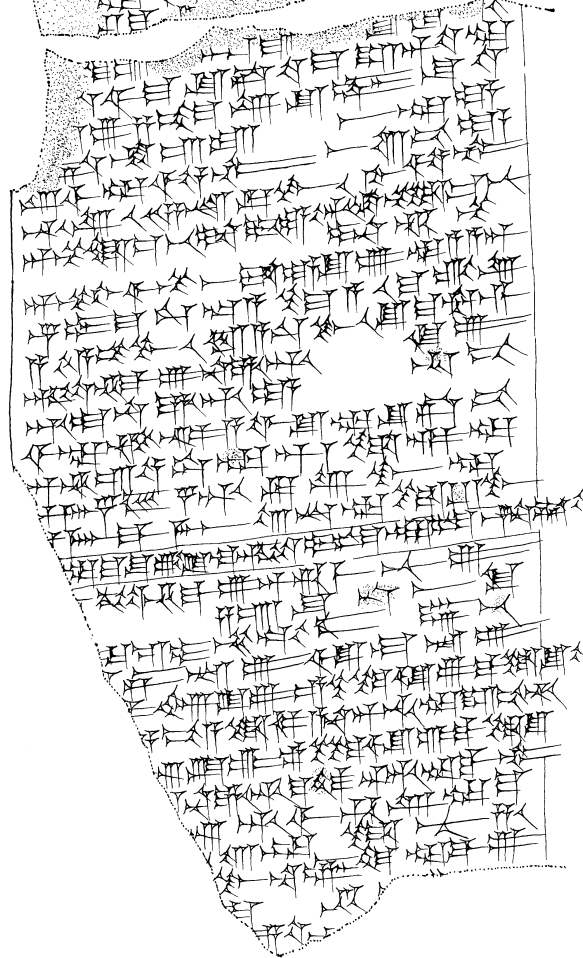
29°
35°



This fragment shows approximately 10 lines of cuneiform text. The characters are arranged in a regular grid. The background of the fragment is stippled, indicating it is a reconstruction or a specific type of fragment.

VAT 9823

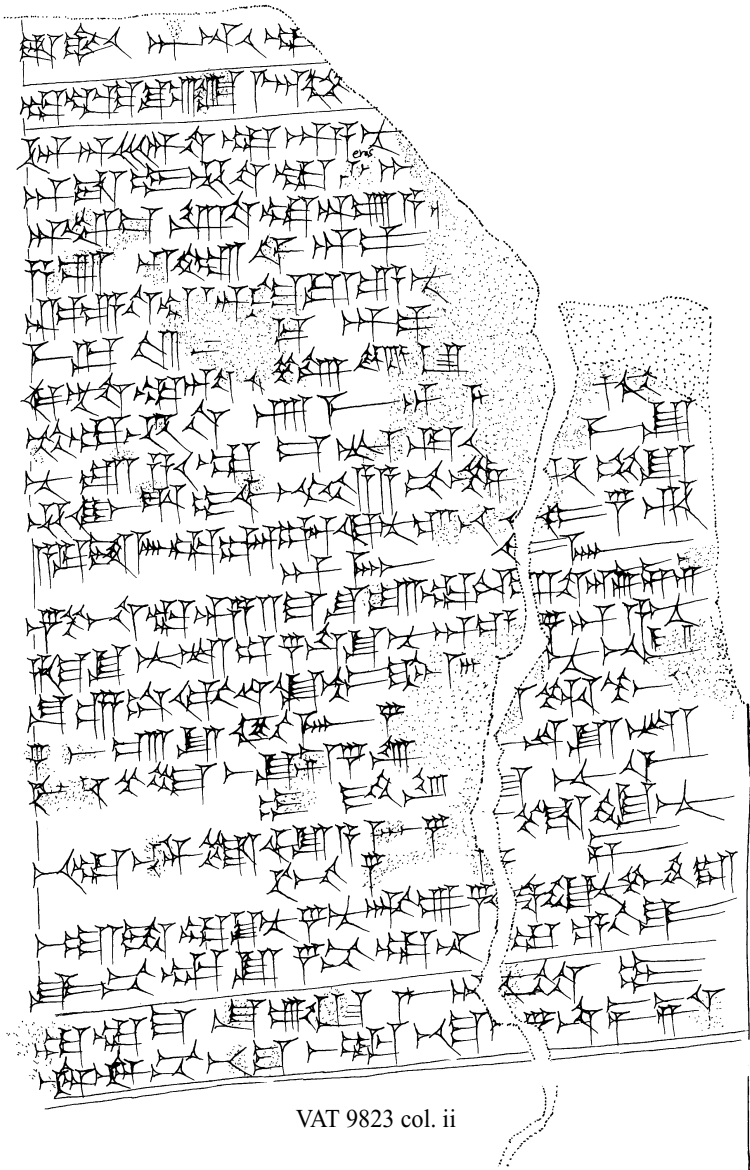
40°
45°
50°
55°
60°
65°



This larger fragment contains approximately 25 lines of cuneiform text. It is also stippled. The text is organized into columns, with some lines starting with a vertical bar, possibly indicating a new section or a specific type of text.

VAT 9727

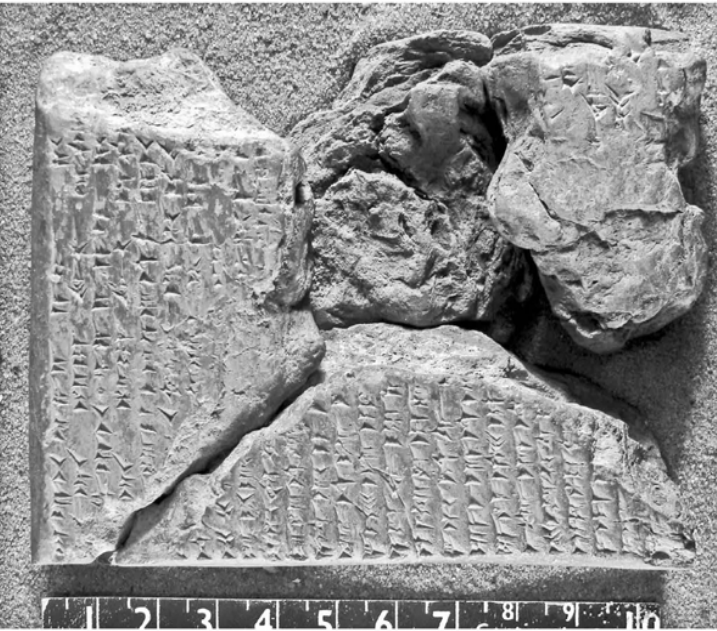
col. i



Rev



Obv



K. 3221+3250+8973+11681