



10-1-2011

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Recommended Citation

Lenzi, A., & Annus, A. (2011). A Six-Column Babylonian Tablet of Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi and the Reconstruction of Tablet IV. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 70(2), 181–205. DOI: [10.1086/661043](https://doi.org/10.1086/661043)
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A Six-Column Babylonian Tablet of *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* and the Reconstruction of Tablet IV*

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Tablet fragments from the Babylonian collection of the British Museum have been pieced together¹ to

* This article stems from the authors' collaboration on a new edition of *Ludlul*, which has appeared as *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi: The Standard Babylonian Poem of the Righteous Sufferer* (State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts 7 [Helsinki, 2010]; henceforth, SAACT 7). Given the pedagogical orientation of the SAACT series, we thought it best to publish this new tablet separately in a context that would allow us to give it the individual attention it deserves. A full partitur of *Ludlul* is available on the Corpus of Ancient Mesopotamian Scholarship web site (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/cams/ludlul/corpus>). We would like to thank the Akkadian Reading Group at the University of California–Berkeley, led by Laurie Pearce, Simo Parpola at the University of Helsinki, and Uri Gabbay at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem for their help in dealing with this difficult material. They are not, of course, responsible for any of the judgments, interpretations, and/or errors in this work. The sole responsibility lies with the authors. We thank the trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish this tablet as well as C. B. F. Walker, who has generously shared with us his time and expertise.

The abbreviations used here follow The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of The University of Chicago.

¹We do not always know who deserves credit for the various tablet joins, which must have been made in the course of the last several decades since Lambert's edition of *Ludlul* (see W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* [Oxford, 1960; reprinted, Winona Lake, 1996], 21–62 [edition], 281–302 [notes], 343–45 [addenda], and plates 1–18, 73–74 [handcopies of tablets]; hence-

reconstruct, though still incompletely, a six-column tablet of *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*. This tablet, designated BM 32208+, is the only one extant that originally contained the entire text of the ancient Babylonian wisdom poem. It is therefore an extremely valuable witness to the poem, duplicating large sections of it that are already known and adding previously unattested lines to our knowledge. This tablet also provides unprecedented evidence for reconstructing the order of the poem's final section, Tablet IV. Two fragments belonging to the reconstructed tablet were already known to Lambert in his 1960 edition of *Ludlul*.² But new joins have substantially increased the tablet's size, justifying a full presentation of its text as well as an analysis of the tablet's significance with regard to the disputed ordering of material in Tablet IV.

forth, *BWL*). We use Lambert's manuscript sigla, slightly modified, throughout this article and have extended the system to include new manuscripts. Capital letters indicate tablets from Nineveh, italicized lower-case letters (rather than Lambert's bold lower-case letters) indicate other tablets of Assyrian provenance, and Roman lower-case letters indicate tablets with a Babylonian point of origin. See SAACT 7, xli–xlx for a fuller justification and summary of all known manuscripts of *Ludlul*.

²Lambert correctly surmised at that time that these two fragments belonged to the same, large tablet of the poem (*BWL*, 25).



Figure 1—BM 32208+ obverse; © Trustees of the British Museum.

I. The Physical Reconstruction of the Tablet

The tablet is comprised of twelve fragments written in a Neo-Babylonian ductus.

Obverse:

BM 32214 (Lambert's MS j)
 BM 32378
 BM 32449
 BM 32659
 BM 32694 (Lambert's MS k)³

³BM 32694 is in fact two joined fragments, S+76-11-17,2463 and S+76-11-17,2478. See *BWL*, pl. 4 for Lambert's copy of

Four small, unnumbered fragments⁴

Reverse:

BM 32208
 BM 32371

These fragments map onto the tablet as shown in figs. 3 and 4. As this map shows, many of the poetic lines that were only partially attested on Lambert's MSS j and k are now more fully attested.

BM 32214 (MS j) and BM 32694 (MS k).

⁴These pieces were joined by Irving Finkel, according to C. B. F. Walker (personal communication).

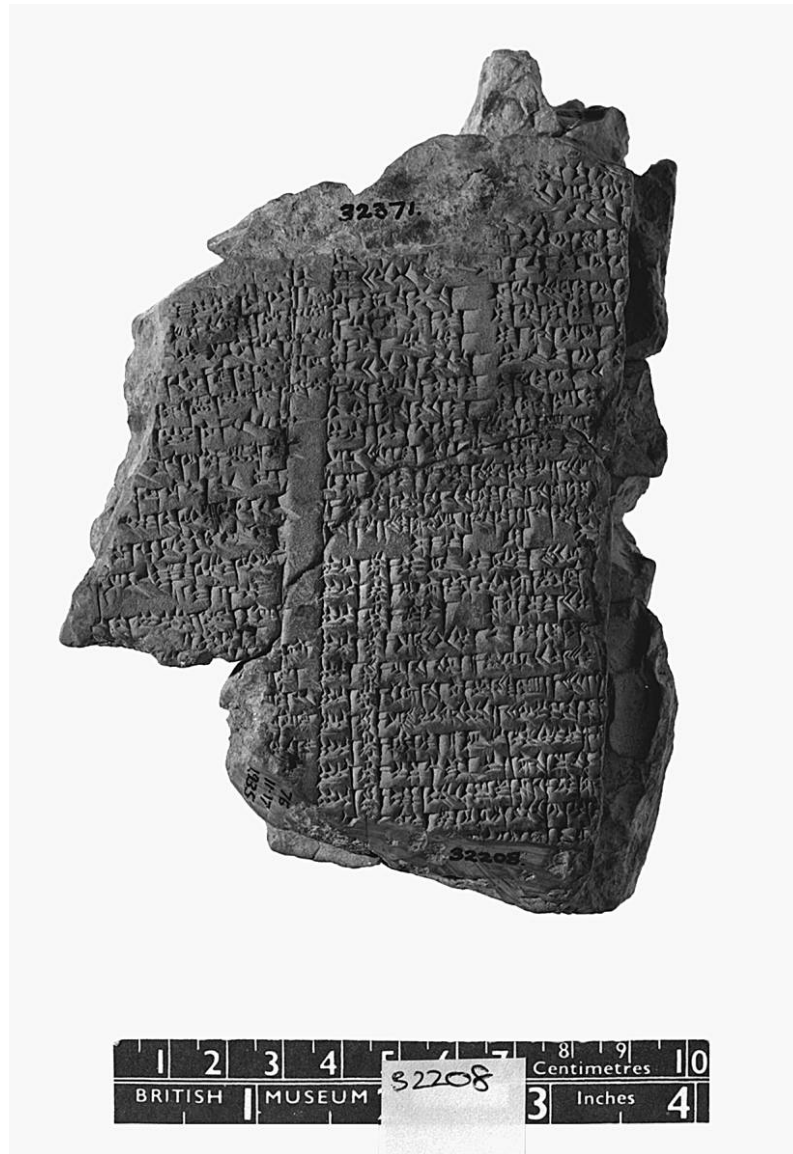


Figure 2—BM 32208+ reverse; © Trustees of the British Museum.

II. The Text Attested on the Tablet

The tablet preserves portions of text from Tablets I, II, and IV. Specifically:

I 48–54,⁵ 56–62, 117–120

II 1–39

IV 23–50, 101–119

The lines we have placed in the poem as IV 23–35 and IV 101–19 provide us with previously unattested material. The material in Tablets I and II follow Lam-

bert's line numbering in *BWL*; what we place as IV 36–50 parallel Lambert's IV 76–90.⁶

The Text on the Obverse

The text on the obverse is well known from other manuscript sources. Restorations in obv. col. i and ii are based on published witnesses and reflect our composite text in SAACT 7 (largely in agreement

⁵Line 55 was originally present but is now entirely lost.

⁶The justification for the new arrangement of material in Tablet IV will be provided below.

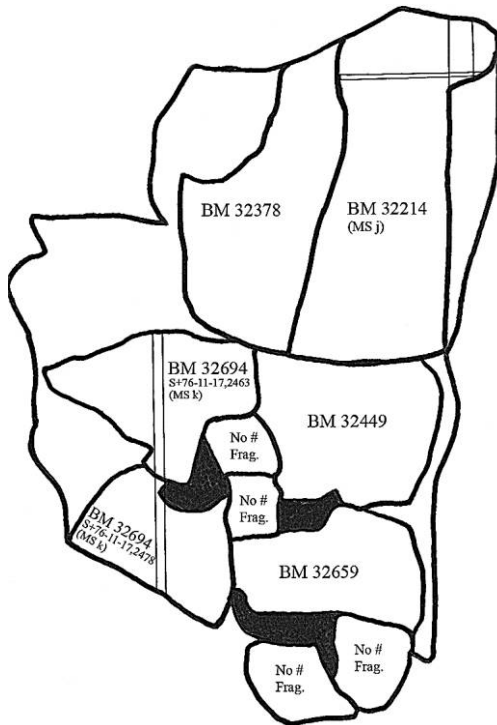


Figure 3—BM 32208+ obverse.

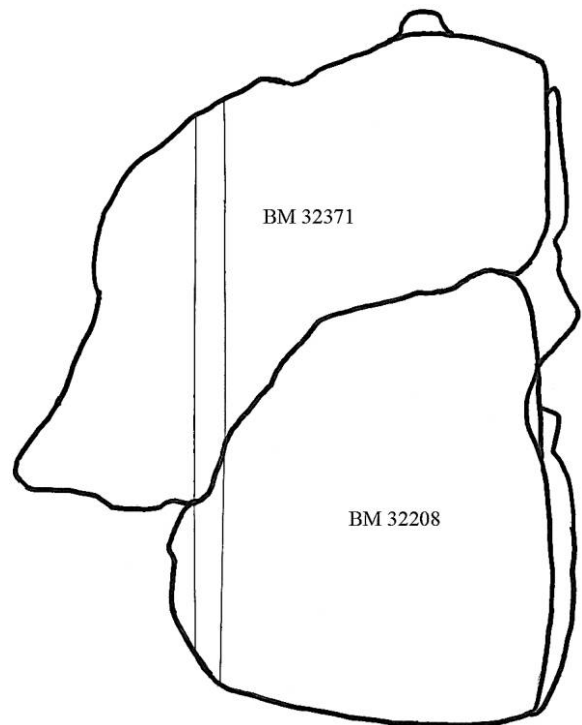


Figure 4—BM 32208+ reverse.

with *BWL*'s), unless the preserved text of BM 32208+ suggests a different restoration (e.g., in I 53 SAACT 7 has INIM.GAR-ú-a, whereas BM 32208+ implies the restoration [*e-gir-r*]u-ú-a).

Column i

- 1' I 48 [*si-im-ti ip-pa-ri-is-ma ta-ra-*]^rniš iš-
 ḫi-iṭ^r
 2' I 49 [*iš-šak-na-nim-ma i-da-at pi*]-rit-tum
 3' I 50 [*uš-te-ši ina é-ia ka-ma-a-ti*] á[r-p]u-du
 4' I 51 [*dal-ḫa te-re-tu-ú-a nu-up-pu-ḫu ud*]-
 da-kám
 5' I 52 [*it-ti LÚ.ḪAL u šá-²-i-li a-lak-ti*] ul par-
 sat
 6' I 53 [*ina pi-i su-qi le-mun e-gir-r*]u-ú-a
 7' I 54 [*at-til-ma ina šat mu-ši šu-ut-ti pár-da-*
 t]um
 8' I 55 [LUGAL UZU DINGIR.MEŠ ^dUTU šá
 UN.MEŠ-šú]
 9' I 56 [*šā-bu-uš ik-ka-šir-ma pa-ṭa-ri uš-li-*
 i]m-^rni^r
 10' I 57 [*na-an-za-zu tas-li-tu uš-ta-na-ad-*
 da-nu] UGU-ía
 11' I 58 [*paḫ-ru-ma ra-man-šu-nu ú-šah-ḫa-zu*
 n]u-ul-la-a-tú

- 12' I 59 [*šum-ma iš-ten-ma na-piš-ta-šu*]^rú¹-šat-
 bak
 13' I 60 [*i-qab-bi šá-nu-ú ú-šat-bi*] te-er-tu-šú
 14' I 61 [*šá ki-ma šal-ši qip-ta-šú a-tam-m*]ab
 15' I 62 [*er-ru-ub é-uš-šu 4-ú i-tam-m*]u³

remainder of column i broken

Column ii

- 1' I 117 [*uš-tib šap-ti-ia ki-i da-²i*]-mi áš-x⁷
 2' I 118 [*ṭab-tiš a-ta-mu-ú nap-r*]a-ku nap-pa-
 lu-ú-a¹⁸
 3' I 119 [*tu-šá-ma ina ur-ri iš-š*]i-ir SIG₅-tim
 4' I 120 [*ar-ḫu in-nam-ma-ru i-na*]m-mir
^dUTU-šⁱ
 5' double rule line
 6' II 1 [*šat-tam-ma⁹ a-na ba-laṭ*] a-dan-nu i-ti-
 iq

⁷Horowitz and Lambert suggest *da*]-²i-mi áš-[a]/[u] (see W. Horowitz and W. G. Lambert, "A New Exemplar of Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi Tablet I from Birmingham," *Iraq* 64 [2002]: 243).

⁸The A sign looks like a DIŠ.

⁹This reading of II 1 was first suggested by Wolfram von Soden, "»Weisheitstexte« in akkadischer Sprache, I. Der leidende Gerechte," in *Weisheitstexte*, fascicle 1, *Weisheitstexte, Mythen und Epen*, vol. 3, TUAT (Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1990),

- 7' II 2 [a-sab-*hur*-ma le-m]un le-mun-ma
8' II 3 [za-pur-ti ú]-x¹⁰-aš-ša-pu ú-šar-tú ul ú-šu
9' II 4 [DINGIR.MEŠ al]-si ul i-din-nu pa-nu-uš
10' II 5 'ú¹-x¹¹-[i] 'd¹iš-tar ul <ú³>-šá-qa-a re-
šá-šú
11' II 6 [L]Ú.HAL ina 'bī¹-ri ár-kat ul ip-ru-us
12' II 7 [ina mu]-uš-šá-ku LÚ.EN.ME.LI ul ú-šá-pi
di-in-šú-nu
13' II 8 [z]a-*qí-qú* a-bal-ma ul ú-pat-ta uz-nu
14' II 9 [LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ] ina KID.KID-^rte²-e¹ ki-mil-tú
ul ip-tu[r]
15' II 10 [a-a-i-tu]m ep-še-e-t[um²] šá-na-tum
ma-ti-tan
16' II 11 [a-mur]-ma ár-ka-[t]um ri-da-tú ip-pi-ri
17' II 12 [ki]-ma šá tam-*qí-tum* ana DINGIR.MEŠ la
uk-tin-nu
18' II 13 'ú¹ ina ma-ka¹²-le-e d¹iš-tar-ri la i-zak-ru
19' II 14 [ap]-pi la e-nu-ú šu-kin-nu la am-ri
20' II 15 [ina pi]-^ri-šú¹ ip-par-ku-ú su-pe-e u tés-
li-ti
21' II 16 'ib-*ti-la* UD¹-[m]u DINGIR.MEŠ i-še-eš eš-še-
e-šú
22' II 17 id-du-ú ab-šú-ú me-^re-su DINGIR.MEŠ
i-me-e-šú¹³
23' II 18 pa-la-*hu* u 'it¹-mu¹³-du la ú-ša[l-me]-du
UN.[MEŠ-šú]
24' II 19 DINGIR-šú la iz-^rku¹-ru i-ku-lu a-kal-šú¹⁴
25' II 20 i-zib d¹iš-tar-ta-šú ZÍD.MAD.GÁ la ub-lu
26' II 21 a-na 'maš¹-šú-ú be-la-šú im-šú-ú
27' II 22 niš DIN[GIR]-šú kab-tú qal-liš iz-ku-ru
ana-ku am-šá[l]
28' II 23 ab-š[u-us-ma] ra-ma-nu su-pe-e u tés-li-
[tú]
29' II 24 tés-[li-ti]-ia sí-ma-tú ni-qu-ú u sak-
ku-x¹⁵-[a]
30' II 25 [UD-mu pa-l]a-*hu* DINGIR.MEŠ tu-ub šA-
bi-ia
31' II 26 'UD-mu¹[ri-d]u-ut d¹[iš]-^rtár¹ [n]e-me-^rli¹
ta-[at-tur-ru]
32' II 27 ik-ri-bi LUGA[L ší]-^ri¹ hi-^rdu¹-[ti]
- 33' II 28 ù ni-gu-ta-šú ana SIG₅-tim šum²-[ma]
34' II 29 ú-šá-ri ana KUR-i me-e-su DINGIR.MEŠ na-
ša-[ri]
35' II 30 šú-ú d¹iš-ta-ri šu-qu-ru ni-šá-i[a] u[s²-ta-
bi-iz]
36' II 31 ta-na-da-a-tú LUGAL i-liš ú-maš-^ršil¹
37' II 32 'u¹ pu-lub-t[ú é].^rGAL¹ um-ma-nu ú-šal-
mi-du
38' II 33 [lu]-ú i-d[i ki-i it-ti DINGIR.M]EŠ i-t[a²-
a]m²-gur² a[n-na-a-ti]
39' II 34 [šá dam-gat ra-ma-nu-uš a-na DIN]GIR.
MEŠ ^rgul-lu¹-[ti]
40' II 35 [šá ina šA-bi-šú mu-us-su-kàt UG]U
DINGIR.MEŠ-šú dam-[gat]
41' II 36 [a-a-ú tē]-^re-em DINGIR.MEŠ¹ [qé]-reb¹⁶
AN-e i-l[am-mad]
42' II 37 [mi-lik šá an-za-nun]-ze-e i-b[a-a]k²-
kim² man-^rnu¹
43' II 38 [e-ka-a-ma il-m]a-du a-lak-tú DINGIR.
ME[š a-pa-a-ti]
44' II 39 [šá ina am-mat ib-l]u-tu i-mu-u[^ri ud-
de-eš]

remainder of column ii broken

Column iii shows some poorly preserved signs at the beginning of a few lines to the right of the double ruling in column ii. We expect these signs belonged to lines in Tablet II, probably a few lines in the upper eighties and/or lower nineties, but we have not been able to make a definite identification.

Discussion of Selected Variants from Obverse Columns i and ii

The text from Tablets I and II in cols. i and ii of the obverse of BM 32208+ is already well attested by other textual witnesses—in some cases, many others.¹⁷

¹⁶ The text has what looks like an E.

¹⁷ Since Lambert's edition, two important witnesses from Sippar and Nimrud have substantially increased our knowledge of *Ludlul* Tablet I. For the Nimrud fragment (which we designate MS ff in our new edition), see D. J. Wiseman, "A New Text of the Babylonian Poem of the Righteous Sufferer," *Anatolian Studies* 30 (1980): 101–107. The tablet attests I 1–46 and I 91–120. The copy of this tablet in CTN IV included another, unjoined fragment from the same tablet; this piece witnesses to I 48–68 and I 69–85. For the Sippar fragment (which we designate MS gg), see A. R. George and F. N. H. Al-Rawi, "Tablets from the Sippar Library: VII. Three Wisdom Texts," *Iraq* 60 (1998): 187–206. This tablet contains I 1–50 and I 62–120. There are ten other new but smaller witnesses for Tablet I and five new fragments of Tablet II (besides the new

110–35, here 121, n. 1a) against Lambert's original KUR-ud-ma. It has been adopted by all subsequent translators.

¹⁰ We expect TA.

¹¹ We expect SAL.

¹² The KA sign, written above the LE, must be an ancient scribal correction inserted before the tablet was dry.

¹³ The MU sign is poorly formed; it looks like an U + ŠE.

¹⁴ Text: SU.

¹⁵ We expect Ú.

Since the authors' new edition and translation of the poem (SAACT 7), incorporating over four dozen manuscripts, is now available and duly registers all known variants in its textual apparatus, we select only a few variants of interest here upon which to comment and forego a translation.¹⁸

All of the variants from obv. col. i of BM 32208+ were already noted in Lambert's edition because this part of the tablet is formed by the two joined fragments of his MS k (comprising BM 32694). New joins have not affected this section of the tablet. It is worth noting, however, that in I 56 BM 93079, our unpublished MS mm, probably reads *uš-li-^rim-ni^r* and thus agrees with BM 32208+ against MS *m*, which we read *uš-lem-mìn*.¹⁹

We note the following selected variants from obv. col. ii:

II 4. *ul i-din-nu pa-nu-uš* ('they did not pay attention'); A, *i*, and yy (= unpublished BM 65956): *ul id-di-na pa-ni-šú* ('he did not pay attention'). It is likely the line began in BM 32208+ with 'gods' in the plural (DINGIR.MEŠ) rather than the singular (DINGIR), as in the other witnesses (A, E, *i*), since there is a propensity for this text to use the plural form of this word: thus, the plural verb. See II 12, 16, and 35, where none of the other witnesses uses the plural form of the noun, and II 25, 29, 33, 34, and 38, where only one of the other manuscripts (variously) agrees with our tablet's use of the plural against the majority that has the singular. (See also the variant at II 17 below.) Of course, this presumed use of the plural "gods" creates inconsistency in the pronominal suffix at the end of the line. The form *iddinū* instead of the expected *iddinū* has an analogy in the preterite + ventive form *iddinnam* for *iddinam*, see GAG §102h. Note also the

joins to BM 32208+ discussed here). A summary of the basis for the reconstructions of both Tablet I and II along with a list of all of their witnesses may be found in SAACT 7, xi, xlv–xlviii.

¹⁸ For another recent English translation of these lines, see Benjamin Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Bethesda, 2005), 392–409.

¹⁹ See George and Al-Rawi, "Three Wisdom Texts," 199 for this understanding of MS *m*. George and Al-Rawi, however, read MS *mm* as *uš-lem-GIŠ*. Collation indicates LIM is out of the question; the sign is almost certainly LI. The next sign looks more like an IM than GIŠ, but it is near the edge and somewhat broken. Traces suggest the NI was written on the tablet's edge. For a fuller discussion see SAACT 7, xxvii, n. 52.

form in BM 32208+ rev. col. ii 9' = IV 31, *izibbanni* for *izibanni*.

II 7. *di-in-šú-nu* ('their case'); A: *di-i-ni*; G: *d[i-n]i* ('my case'); *i*, yy: *di-nim* ('the case').

II 17. *me-^re-su* DINGIR.MEŠ^r (*mēsū ilī*, 'the rites of the gods'); A: *mi-šú-nu*; *i*: *me-e-šú-^rnu*; l: *me-šú-nu* (*mēšunu*, 'their rites'). See II 29 below and the comment on II 4 above.

II 18. *it^r-mu^r-du* ('to pay careful attention to'; see also unpublished yy: *it-mu-du*); A: *it^r-²u-du* and *i*: *i[^r]-^rú-du*. BM 32208+ and MS yy show a variant of the expected Gt infinitive of *na²ādu*, attested in MSS A and *i*. See CAD N/1, 1 for the only other attestation of *itmudu* for *it^rudu*.

II 21. *maš^r-šú-ú* ('the forgetful one'); A, G: *šá im-ḥu-ú*; *i*: *ša im-ḥu-u* ('one who raves'). Note also our a3 (= unpublished BM 82957): *šá x x ḥu*.

II 24. BM 32208+ may be translated: 'My prayers were appropriate, sacrifice and [my^r] rule.' The other witnesses have: 'prayer / my prayer (was) common sense, sacrifice my rule.' A score of the line shows the following:

BM 32208+	<i>tés-[]-ía sí-ma-tú ni-qu-ú u sak-ku-x-[</i>
A	<i>tés-li-ti ta-ši-mat ni-qu-u sak-ku-ú-a</i>
B	<i>tés-li-ti ta-ši-ma^rti ni^r-qu-ú sak-ku-ú-a</i>
G	<i>tés-li-tum ta-ši-ma-tum ni-qu-ú</i> <i>sak-ku-ú-a</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>tés-li-tú ta-ši-ma-tú n[^ri-]-u [-k]u^r-ú^r-2</i>
l	<i>[^r]-ú^r sak-ku-[</i>
a3	<i>tés-li-tum^r [</i>

If the restoration of the first word is correct, *teslītīya* in BM 32208+ could be the first attestation of the plural form of *teslītu*. With this reading, the possessive plural form *teslītīya* complements the plurale tantum *sakkūya* in the second half of the line. Of course, one might also read *teslītīya* as a singular genitive. The problem with both explanations is that we expect a nominative case ending on the noun, whether taken as a singular or plural. Given this and the fact that the second word in the line, *simā/atu*, is unparalleled in the other witnesses, it is possible that the first half of the line in BM 32208+ is corrupt. The presumed conjunction (*u*) in the second half of the line may be a homonymous dittography of the *Ú* at the end of *niqú*.

II 29. *me-e-su* DINGIR.MEŠ (*mēsū ilī*, 'the rites of the gods'); A: A.MEŠ DINGIR; B: *me-e* DINGIR (*mē ilī*,

‘the rites of the god’); our MS pp (= unpublished BM 37576): A.MEŠ¹ ¹DINGIR.MEŠ¹ (*mé ilī*, ‘the rites of the gods’). We expect *mēšī* (oblique like *mé* in MS B) since the word is the object of the infinitive *našāri*.

The Text on the Reverse

Column i on the far right side of the tablet’s reverse is completely broken away, destroying all traces of Tablet III on this textual witness. Columns ii and iii preserve large sections of Tablet IV. Specifically, col. ii preserves what we identify as IV 23–50 (our IV 36–50 // IV 76–90 in *BWL*); this material occupies 29 lines on the tablet because IV 38 is written on two lines (16’–17’). The remainder of the column is broken away. Column iii preserves what we have identified as IV 101–19 (no parallel in *BWL*); these occupy 21 lines because IV 112 and IV 113 are both written on two lines (12’–13’ and 14’–15’, respectively). The remainder of this column is also broken away. No colophon is preserved, though it is very likely, given the space available at the end of col. iii, that the tablet originally had one.

It is significant to note that lines 1’–13’ in col. ii (our IV 23–35) and all of the lines in col. iii (our IV 101–19) offer completely new material unknown to all previous editions. These lines are quite difficult and often fragmentary. We have other witnesses that touch on some of these lines, including the recently identified MS *xxx* (= KAR 116) and the reverse of our unpublished MS *uu* (= BM 34650). But they also are fragmentary and offer their own obstacles to understanding.

Restorations are based on our composite text in SAACT 7, which is presented in full for Tablet IV later in this article along with a partitur of all known witnesses.

Column ii (1’–13’ not attested in *BWL*)

- 1’ IV 23 [x x é URU x *i-l*]e-qa-^ran¹-[ni]
- 2’ IV 24 [x x x x-maḥ-ri u]-še-ri-ba-an-n[i]
- 3’ IV 25 [x x iš a a x x x]-^ršú¹ ^dAMAR.UTU
- 4’ IV 26 ^rus¹ x x [di ti x] ^rú¹-kaš-šú¹ ^dzar-pa-n[i-tum]
- 5’ IV 27 *lu man-nu be-ḷ[um]* ^rú¹-maš-šī-ra-an-n[i]
- 6’ IV 28 *na-piš-tú ar-ḥiš lik-te-li-ma-an-n[i]*
- 7’ IV 29 *a-na ir-kal-la la ur₅-ra-ad-an-[ni]*
- 8’ IV 30 *e-ṭe₄-mu-tu at-ta-lak-an-n[i]*

- 9’ IV 31 *lu man-nu* ^dAMAR.UTU *i-zib-ba-an-n[i]*
- 10’ IV 32 *a-na* UZU *a-sak-ku am-ma-an-niš-šú*
- 11’ IV 33 *šal-lam-ta* NIM.MA *at-ta-lak ma-*
[*ḥar²-šú¹*]
- 12’ IV 34 *i-na me-es-se-e ma-le-e* ^rú¹-x[x x]
- 13’ IV 35 *ri-im-ki te-diš-tum* ^ù *i-tab-x[x x]*
- 14’ IV 36 *šī-ip-ra-ma šá ina tés-li-ti iš-mu-^rú¹* [x
x x]
(14’–29’ = *BWL* IV 76–90)
- 15’ IV 37 *a-na la-^rban¹ ap-pi u ut-nen-ni a-na*
É.SAG.[^{íl} x x]
- 16’ IV 38 *šá²⁰ a-rí-dú²¹ qab-ri a-tu-ru a-na* KÁ
^rd¹[UTU.È]
- 17’ *e-te-ru-ub*
- 18’ IV 39 *i-na* KÁ ḤÉ.GÁL *ḥé-gál-la in-n[ⁱ-x x x]*
- 19’ IV 40 *i-na* KÁ ^dLAMMA.RA.BI ^dLAMMA *iṭ-ṭe-[ḥa-*
an-ni]
- 20’ IV 41 *i-na* KÁ SILIM.MA *šul-lu-ma-niš a[p-lis]*
- 21’ IV 42 *i-na* KÁ NAM.TIL.LA *ba-la-tu am-[ḥi-ir]*
- 22’ IV 43 *i-na* KÁ ^dUTU.È.A x x x x *am-ma-[ni]*
- 23’ IV 44 *i-na* KÁ U₆.<DE²>.BABBAR *e-da-tu-ú-a im-*
m[e-ra]
- 24’ IV 45 *i-na* KÁ NAM.TAG.GA.DUḤ.A *e²-il-tú ip-*
[*pa-tir*]
- 25²² IV 48 *i-na* KÁ <A>.SIKIL.LA A.MEŠ *te-lil-tum as-*
[*a-li-ib*]
- 26’ IV 47 *i-na* KÁ ŠÈR.DUḤ.Û.DA *ip-paṭ-ṭar ta-*
[*ni-ḥi]*
- 27’ IV 46 *i-na* KÁ KA.TAR.RA *iš-ta-lu pi-[ia]*
- 28’ IV 49 [*i-na* KÁ] ^rSILIM.MA¹ *it-ti* ^dAMAR.UTU *an-*
na-m[ir]
- 29’ IV 50 [*i-na* KÁ ḤI.LI.SÛ šē]-ep ^dzar-pa-ni-[*tum*
an-na-šiq]

Column iii (1’–21’ not attested in *BWL*)

- 1’ IV 101 [x x x x x x x x] ^rUD²-šú¹
- 2’ IV 102 [x x x x x x-t]um *i-tu²-ru* URU-šú
- 3’ IV 103 [x x x x UN].MEŠ *šal-mat qà-qa-du* x
x x x x
- 4’ IV 104 [x x x x x zar-pa]-^rni²¹-tum *re-e-mu*
šú ^dAMAR.UTU
- 5’ IV 105 [^mna-zí-muru-ta]š u ^Eki x x x x
- 6’ IV 106 [x x x x x x]-uš *li-li-š* SIG₅-tim¹³

²⁰Text: A.

²¹Alternatively: *a-^rna¹ šá iš-tu*.

²²The position of lines 46 and 48 is exchanged in BM 32208+ as compared to the composite text. It attests the order 45, 48, 47, 46, 49, 50.

7'	IV 107	[x x x x <i>ki-m</i>]a <i>le-e</i> KUR <i>liš-pu</i> ²³
8'	IV 108	[x x x x]- <i>si-tú</i> AN- <i>e</i> <i>li-tur-šú</i> ²
9'	IV 109	[x x x] ^r x ¹ x <i>ni-iz-mat-su</i>
10'	IV 110	[x x x] UGU <i>ba-²-ú-la-ti-šú</i>
11'	IV 111	[x x x] ^r m ¹ <i>šub-ši-meš-ra-GIR-an</i>
12'	IV 112	[x x <i>šū-m</i>]e-ri u URI.KI <i>mu-ma-²-ir</i>
13'		<i>ma-a-tum</i>
14'	IV 113	[<i>ša ma-ru-u</i>] ^š - <i>tú</i> i-mu-ru <i>li-pa-ṭir</i>
15'		<i>a-ra-an-šú</i>
16'	IV 114	[x x x <i>ma-na-ab-ta-šú</i> <i>liš-tap</i>] ²⁴ - <i>šib</i>
17'	IV 115	[x x x ^d 15- <i>šú</i> <i>li-kab-bi</i>]t- <i>su</i>
18'	IV 116	[x x x x x-im <i>šul</i>]- ^r lu ¹ - <i>ma-niš</i>
19'	IV 117	[x x x x DINGIR- <i>šú</i> <i>li-ka</i>]b- <i>bit-su</i>
20'	IV 118	[x x x x <i>li-ba-a</i>] ² UD- <i>mi-^ršam</i> ²⁵
21'	IV 119	[x x x <i>ša</i> ^m <i>šub-ši-meš-ra-a</i>] ^d GI[R]

Discussion of New Material and Variants from Reverse Columns ii and iii

Column ii: Lines 1'–13' provide thirteen new lines of text to Tablet IV. Only the “obv.” of MS *xx* provides a duplicate; its thirteen lines begin and end with those of the new material. We have placed these thirteen new lines as IV 23–35, though, as our discussion indicates below, this is not absolutely certain. The translation of IV 27–33 is especially difficult, given the poor state of preservation of the lines immediately preceding them.

IV 26. *ukaššu* is taken to represent *káššu* B, ‘to help’ (see CAD K, 295), as in Tablet I 10 and 12.

IV 27–33. We translate these difficult lines as follows:

27. Who might it have been but(?) the Lord (who) released me,
28. That life might be shown to me just in time?
29. He would not let me go down to the netherworld,
30. (Though) I walked about(?) in the state of a ghost.
31. Who might it have been but(?) Marduk (who) abandoned me,
32. So that I was turned into *asakku*-flesh,
33. (And) walked about proudly(?) as a corpse be[fore him(?)].

²³ KUR LIŠ PU might be LIŠ U LIŠ PU, but we cannot see any sense in this. What is taken as KUR does not look like a proper KUR sign.

²⁴ There are a couple of traces of signs earlier in this line, perhaps the head of a TA and a ŠÚ.

²⁵ If this sign is a ŠAM, then we must assume it was written under the MI because the scribe ran out of room at the end of the line.

The crux to an understanding of IV 27–33 lies in the identical phrase at the beginning of both IV 27 and 31, which is probably to be normalized as *lū mannu*. Translating this phrase as “whoever” does not give any immediate sense. In the present translation it is assumed that the sufferer, in retrospect, asks two rhetorical questions (in IV 27–28 and IV 31–33) concerning the divine origin of his miraculous recovery, asserting that it was indeed with the whims of Marduk that his sufferings and recovery originated. The phrase *lū mannu* is accordingly translated as ‘who might it have been but. . . .’ This interpretation, in our opinion, solves more problems than it creates, although it is not without difficulties.

IV 28. The verb is Dt precativa, passive of *kullumu*, ‘to show.’

IV 30. The reading of the first word of the line as *eṭemmūtu* is an attempt to harmonize the signs on the two preserved witnesses (see MS *xx* below). The word is also attested in 79–7-8, 137:11, as noted by AHw, 264,²⁶ and was recognized later by von Soden in KAR 116, our MS *xx* (see the addenda in AHw, 1555, s.v. *eṭemmu(m)*). Although *eṭemmūtu* is translated ‘ghost-ship, state of being a ghost,’ the word may be a synonym for “netherworld” here.

The verb in IV 30, *at-ta-lak-an-n[i]*, also appears in IV 33, *at-ta-lak*. Given the parallels between IV 27–30 and IV 31–33, it seems likely that we should understand these two verbs, both in the closing line of their respective rhetorical subunits, in the same way. Although clearly a first person verb from *alāku*, there are several alternatives for understanding the stem and other elements of its form: G perfect (*attalak*), Gt preterite (*attalak*), Gt durative (*attallak*), or Gtn preterite (*attallak*). The G perfect does not fit the contexts. The sense of the Gt of *alāku*, ‘to go’ or ‘walk away’ (CAD A/1, 322–24), might work in IV 30 but does not at all in IV 33. We have opted for the Gtn, ‘to walk about, roam, wander, live, act’ (CAD A/1, 324–27 and CDA, 11), which seems to fit in both IV 30 and IV 33. The first person accusative pronominal suffix (*-anni*) on the verb in IV 30 makes little sense.

²⁶ See J. V. Kinnier-Wilson and Paul-Alain Beaulieu, “Texts and Fragments: Miscellaneous Literary Kuyunjik Texts,” *JCS* 42 (1990): 88–104 for a description (p. 88) and copy (p. 90) of this fragment. (We thank Jonathan Taylor for providing us with an image on short notice.) See also A. R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2003), 409, n. 85, who reports that this fragment is not part of the Epic of Gilgamesh, as was suspected by Kinnier-Wilson.

Given the same-*anni* ending in the surrounding lines (see IV 27–29, 31, and perhaps 32 [see below]), it may be that the scribe has mechanically or mistakenly copied it into IV 30. We have not translated it.

IV 31. The verb at the end of the line, *īzibbanni* for *īzibanni*, shows an unexpected doubling of the third radical of the root. See similarly *idinnū* for *iddinū* in II 4, noted above.

IV 32. The final verb in the line, *am-ma-an-niš-šū*, *ammanniššū*, is clearly an N-stem durative from *manū*, which with *ana* or *-iš* can mean ‘to be turned into something’ (see CAD M/1, 226, 227). We have restored a 3ms dative pronominal suffix on the verb; it resumes the *ana* clause at the head of the line. This understanding creates the unexpected doubling of the *š* in the pronominal suffix, but such doublings are not uncommon in this manuscript (see the comments on the previous and following lines). Alternatively, one could read the signs as *am-ma-an-man-[ni]*, taking the MAN as a gloss for the previous syllable. Though there are no other glosses in the manuscript, this understanding would create the semblance of the *-anni* pronominal suffix that dominates the ends of the preceding lines. Either option produces the same meaning. A close parallel to this line occurs in the “Universal Namburbi 1,” line 2’ of the section Stefan Maul labels “Gebetsende und die Zugehörigen Ritualanweisungen.” According to Maul’s MS A, rev. 3’, the text reads: [. . . *ana*] UZU *a-sak-ki la am-man-[ni]*. He translates this as “zum] Fleische des *asakku*-Dämonen darf ich nicht gerechnet werden!” (See Stefan Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung: Eine Untersuchung altorientalischen Denkens anhand der babylonisch-assyrischen Löserituale (Namburbi)*, Baghdader Forschungen 18 [Mainz, 1994], 475 and 482).

IV 33. The doubled consonant in *šal-lam-ta* (for *šalamta*) is unexpected. *Šalamtu* is usually written with an initial ŠA or ŠÁ in the singular (see CAD Š/1, 203–206). MS *xx*, see below, suggests [*šalam*]*tiš*.

NIM.MA in BM 32208+ and MAḤ in MS *xx* are problematic. It seems reasonable to believe that both NIM.MA and MAḤ modify *šallamtu* / *šalamtiš* somehow. On the one hand, one could read NIM.MA in BM 32208+ as NIM-*ba*’, *zubba*, ‘fly.’ In this case *šallamta zubba* in BM 32208+ could be rendered, ‘(like) a corpse (covered with) flies’ (taking *zubba* in a collective and adverbial sense). On the other hand, one could explain MAḤ in MS *xx* as *gapšū*, ‘swollen’ (see CDA, 90) and translate *šalamtiš gapša* in MS *xx* as ‘like a bloated corpse.’ The problem with this under-

standing is that *gapšū* is never used of corpses; in fact, the only body part it is used with in Akkadian is the heart and then only in a metaphorical sense (see CAD G, 45). Both of these alternatives are problematic; and neither can explain the rise of the variant reading in the other witness. The reading that we have adopted seems the least problematic. We take the signs NIM.MA in MS *jk* as the logographic writing for the Akkadian adverb *šaqiš*, ‘proudly, eminently’ (for NIM representing *šaqū* A, see CAD Š/2, 15). The sign MAḤ in MS *xx* can be read as a logogram for Akkadian *šīru*, ‘exalted one,’ understood as synonymous with *šaqū*. In both cases, one can translate the resulting line similarly: ‘(I walked about) like a corpse proudly.’ But this seems rather incongruent. Given the present evidence, we cannot exclude the possibility that the line is corrupt.

IV 36–41. The beginning of lines 14’–20’ of rev. col. ii, labeled above as IV 36–41, fill in small lacunae in the only other witness to these lines, Lambert’s MS *t*. Lambert’s restorations, with only two exceptions, are now confirmed by BM 32208+. One of the exceptions is a minor detail in IV 37 (Lambert’s IV 77): BM 32208+ reads *ana* instead of Lambert’s *ina*. The other is IV 36 (his IV 76). In light of BM 32208+, the top line of MS *t* (our IV 36, Lambert’s IV 76) should read: [*ši-ip*]-^r*ra*’-*ma šá ina tés-li-ti iš-mu*^{1-x} [x x x].

IV 38. Line 17’ of rev. col. ii finally provides the last word of IV 38, creating an unanticipated hendiadys: ‘I . . . entered the Gate of the Rising Sun again.’

In the remainder of rev. col. ii (lines 18’–29’), BM 32208+ bears witness to the “gates” section of Tablet IV (our IV 39–50). Previously, Lambert’s MS *t* was our only witness to IV 39–47; his MS *u* joined in at IV 48ff. BM 32208+, therefore, essentially doubles our witness to these interesting expositional lines.²⁷ Unfortunately, BM 32208+ has suffered damage in the ends of these lines just as has MS *t*. Thus, it does not increase our knowledge of the text in this section much at all. We still do not have, for example, direct textual evidence for the end of IV 39 (see just below) and IV 40, though the restoration of the latter is nearly certain.

IV 39. Concerning IV 39, *in-ni*-. . .] at the end of line 18’ of rev. col. ii calls into question Lambert’s restoration, *in-n[a-ad-na-an-ni]*, ‘it was given to

²⁷ Note also that our new MS *vv* attests some parts of lines 46–47 and 50–51.

me.²⁸ Collation of MS *t* (see note 57, below) confirms this new reading. Unfortunately, we can offer no alternative restoration if this reading is adopted.

Other minor variants in rev. col. ii, lines 18'–29' include:

IV 39–50. Each line originally began with the preposition *ina* or *ana*. MS *t* and BM 32208+ attest *ina*. The former spells this with an AŠ sign (*ina*) in all the lines that preserve the opening word (IV 43–50); BM 32208+ shows *i-na* (attested for IV 39–48). MS *u* has the preposition *ana* (*a-na*) in IV 49–50.

IV 43. The several signs after ^dUTU.È.A in IV 43 as witnessed by BM 32208+ are probably corrupt. MS *t* has *it-ti bal-tu-ti*. BM 32208+ may read <<'ba¹-al>> bal lat.²⁹

*Column iii.*³⁰ As stated above, the 21 lines in rev. col. iii of BM 32208+ present totally new material, though there are fragmentary parallels in MSS *xx* and *uu* for some of the lines. Many of the lines, though fragmentary, have offered little difficulty for understanding what they do preserve. Unfortunately, we have not been able to make good sense of lines 2', 3', and 5' (IV 102, 103, and 105) and our understanding of lines 6', 7', and 8' (IV 106, 107, and 108) is partial and tentative. It is hoped that further parallels will surface to fill the remaining gaps and aid our understanding.³¹

IV 103. The orthography of *qaqqadu*, *ka-qa-du* (= *qà-qà-du*), is unusual and its significance is unclear. On the one hand, it could be an Assyrianism,³² though we would normally expect vowel harmony in the second syllable, *ka-qu-du*, if this were the case. On the other, all the other attestations of *qaqqadu* written with an initial KA, according to the CAD, are Old Babylonian (see CAD Q, 107, 109, 111, and 113).

IV 104. We associated *re-e-mu* here in the SAACT 7 edition with *ri-ma-šú* in I 19, which George and Al-Rawi argued was probably a newly attested noun, *rīmu*, 'darling, beloved,' from the root *rāmu*.³³ Un-

derstanding *re-e-mu* straight-forwardly as *rēmu*, 'mercy,' however, seems more likely.

IV 106. The beginning of the line may have read something like [*ana ud-d*]u-uš, 'for the restoring of' (the *lilissu*-drum). Examination of the edge of the tablet makes [. . . *i-pu*]-uš unlikely. The final sign in the line is quite problematic. In SAACT 7, we tentatively suggested the final sign of the line was a KAM, with the value *qám* and understood the resulting *damqam* as an attributive adjective modifying the *lilissu*-drum (written as a logogram, LI.LI.IZ). However, there are no attestations of *damqu* modifying the *lilissu*-drum attributively, and *qám* is not a normal SB value. Therefore, it may be better to read the final sign as a poorly formed TIM and understand *li-li-is sig₅-tim*³⁴ as *lilis damiqti*, 'the *lilissu*-drum of favor.'

IV 107. For the translation of IV 107, compare Atrahasis I 354 and II i 3 (and cf. III iii 15).³⁴ Notice, however, the different syntactic position of *mātum* (KUR) here as compared to the lines in Atrahasis; *mātum* occurs after the simile rather than before it. Given this and the break at the head of line 107, *mātum* may not be the subject of the action; rather, it may be its location (accusative of place). The previous line suggests it is the *lilissu*-drum, actually, that is bellowing, for which see SB Gilgamesh IV 241.³⁵

IV 105, 111, 119. The most conspicuous item in these lines is, of course, the mention of two individuals: the Kassite king Nazimurutaš (ruled ca. 1307–1282 BCE) in IV 105—only hinted at in BM 32208+ but confirmed in MS *xx*³⁶—and the protagonist of the poem, Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan, in IV 111 and 119 (both also attested in MS *uu*), previously known only from III 44. Significantly, two other documents connect this king with a man bearing the same name as our protagonist: a Kassite-period legal document from Ur, dated to the sixteenth year of Nazimurutaš, in which Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan is given the title 'governor of the land' (^{lu}GAR KUR; see IV 112);³⁷ and a grain ration text from Nippur (PBS II/2 20 31), in which

²⁸ On Lambert's reading, one might also have entertained the restoration *in-n[a-mar-an-ni]*, 'it appeared to me.'

²⁹ We thank Laurie Pearce for this suggestion.

³⁰ We wish to thank Uri Gabbay for his help and suggestions with the opening lines of col. iii.

³¹ Further considerations have caused us to change some of the readings we adopted in SAACT 7.

³² See Jaako Hämeen-Anttila, *A Sketch of Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, State Archives of Assyria Studies 13 (Helsinki, 2000), 25.

³³ George and Al-Rawi, "Three Wisdom Texts," 198.

³⁴ See W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atrahasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Winona Lake, 1999), 66, 72, 94; and CAD Š/1, 488.

³⁵ See George, *Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 600; and CAD Š/1, 489.

³⁶ This was noted already by W. G. Lambert, "Some New Babylonian Wisdom Literature," in *Wisdom in Ancient Israel*, *Studies J. A. Emerson*, ed. J. Day, R. P. Gordon, and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge, 1995), 33.

³⁷ See O. R. Gurney, "Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan," *RA* 80 (1986): 190.

a ration is given in the fourth year of Nazimurutaš to the messenger of a certain Šubši-mašrâ-Šakkan.³⁸ Despite the evidential scarcity, these documents provide us with some reason to believe Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan served Nazimurutaš in an official governmental capacity, much as Lambert had suggested from internal evidence back in 1960.³⁹

Given the crowding and general disorder at the ends of the lines in rev. col. iii and given the normal spelling of the last element of the name as ^dGIR, GIR-*an* in IV 111 may be a metathesis.

IV 116. BM 32208+ attests *šullumāniš* in lieu of *šulmāniš* (compare MS uu); note also its use of this lexeme rather than *šulmāna* at IV 41 (compare MS *t*).

III. BM 32208+ and the Order of *Ludlul* IV

Although BM 32208+ provides another textual witness to *Ludlul* and even adds new material to its content, this tablet also has important ramifications for the reconstruction of *Ludlul* IV. In order to appreciate the contribution BM 32208+ makes to the proper arrangement of Tablet IV's contents, we will need to consider its entire textual basis. Also, as one will see, the evidence for Tablets III and IV are intertwined in a manner quite unlike Tablets I and II. We therefore must include Tablet III in our discussion of Tablet IV. Finally, since all modern interpreters and translators take their start from Lambert's edition, we preface our reconstruction of Tablets III and IV with a full summary of Lambert's position followed by a sketch of how a couple of other prominent translators of the poem have varied from it. It is important to note that we use Lambert's line numbering of Tablets III and IV throughout this first sub-section of this part of the paper for easy reference to his landmark edition.

Because we attempt to reconstruct the order of the material for Tablet IV in terms of *all* known manuscripts, we think it best to begin the discussion with the presentation of a composite text and full score of the entire tablet. The few un-attributed restorations are our own. BM 32208+ is represented in the score by the siglum *jk*.

Manuscript Key to Tablet IV

Sigla ⁴⁰	Museum No.	Copy	Lines Attested
G =	K.3291	<i>BWL</i> , pls. 15–17	14–15 (= q), 16–17 (= r), s–u, 61 (= v), w. ⁴¹ Commentary Tablet.
jk =	BM 32208+	<i>BWL</i> , pl. 4 (partial); see photos in this article.	23–50 (col. ii), 101–119 (col. iii).
<i>t</i> =	VAT 9303	<i>BWL</i> , pl. 18	36–57 (“obv.”), 64–86 (“rev.”). ⁴²
<i>u</i> =	VAT 9442	<i>BWL</i> , pl. 18	1–16, lacking line 6 (obv.), traces of a line and then 48–61 (rev.).
<i>v</i> =	VAT 10538	<i>BWL</i> , pl. 18	77–90.
<i>w</i> =	SU 1952,212 + 291 with 302	<i>BWL</i> , pl. 18	71, 73–81, with traces of the next line.
uu =	BM 34650	Unpublished ⁴³	1–22 (obv.), 107–20 (rev.).
tt =	BM 74201	Gesche 2000 ⁴⁴	51–57.
vv =	1924.1795	OECT 11 48 rev.	46–47, 50–51.
xx =	VAT ? ⁴⁵	KAR 116 ⁴⁶	Traces of a line, then 23–35, followed by traces of the next line (obv.), 97 ² –107 (rev.).

⁴⁰ See note 2 for a rationale of the typeface used for manuscript designations.

⁴¹ In Lambert's edition, lines in the commentary that were unattested in other witnesses and thus could not be securely placed in the poem at the time were labeled with lower case letters. We have continued this practice, though we have now identified a few of these with numbered lines in the poem. Lambert did not assign the last two fragmentary lines on the tablet a letter. We are labeling them *v* and *w*.

⁴² We exchange Lambert's identification of the obverse and reverse of this tablet, see page 203.

⁴³ The only known copy exists in Pinches' notebook (labeled SP.II.133).

⁴⁴ Petra D. Gesche, *Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, AOAT 275 (Münster, 2000), 614.

⁴⁵ Ebeling labeled the tablet as VAT 11245, but Nils Heeßel in Heidelberg kindly informs us that this number is incorrect. The correct number is unknown and therefore the tablet is essentially lost. Ebeling's tentative identification of the obv. and rev. should also be exchanged. His obv. will be designated here as “obv.”; his rev. is our “obv.”

⁴⁶ This piece was identified as belonging to *Ludlul* by Lambert (see “Some New Babylonian Wisdom Literature,” 33).

³⁸ See Lambert, “Some New Babylonian Wisdom Literature,” 33.

³⁹ See *BWL*, 21–22.

Score of Tablet IV

1 [be-l]i⁴⁷ [ú-pa]-áš-ši-b[a]-an-ni
 u -l]i x-x-x-x-an-ni
 uu]-áš-ši-b[a-]-rⁿⁱ

2 [be-l]i ú-ša-am-mi-da-an-ni
 u -l]i ú-ša-mid-an-ni
 uu]-am-mi-da-an-ni

3 [be-l]i ú-pa-ti-ra-an-ni
 u -l]i ú-pat^r-tir^r-an-ni⁴⁸
 uu -p]a-ti-ra-an-ni

4 [be-l]i ú-bal-liṭ-an-ni
 u -l]i ú-bal-liṭ-an-ni
 uu]- bal-li^r-iṭ^r-an-ni

5 [ina haš-t]i⁴⁹ e-kim-an-ni
 u -t]i e -kim-an-ni
 uu -k]i-ma-an-ni

6 [x x x i-s]i-pa-an-rⁿⁱ
 u unattested
 uu -s]i-pa-an-rⁿⁱ⁵⁰

7 [ina ka-ra]-še-e id^r-ka^r-an-ni
 u]-še-e id^r-kan^r-an-ni
 uu i]d^r-ka^r-an-ni

8 [x x x] ina hu-bur iš-du-da-an-ni
 u] ina hu-bur iš-du^r-da^r-an-ni
 uu -d]u-da-an-ni

9 [x x x]-ti qa-ti iṣ-bat
 u]-ti qa-ti iṣ-bat
 uu -t]i iṣ-ba^r-at^r

10 [šá] im-ha-ša-an-ni
 u] im-ha-ša-an-ni
 uu -b]a-ša-an-ni

11 [^dAMAR.UT]U ú-šá-qi re-e-ši
 u .UT]U ú-šá-qi re-ši
 uu -š]á-qa re-e-šú

12 ^rim-ha^r-aš rit-ti ma-bi-ši-ia
 u ^rim-ha^r-aš rit-ti ma-bi-[]-ia
 uu]-ši-ia

13 ^rú-šad^r-di ^{gib}TUKUL-šú ^dAMAR^r.UTU
 u ^rú-šad^r-di ^{gib}TUKUL-šú ^dAMAR^r.UTU
 uu]^rAMAR.UTU^r

14 i-na pi-i gir-ri a-[ki]-li-ia
 G⁵¹ i-na pi-i gir-ra KÚ-ia :
 u ^ri^r-[]-^ri^r gir-ri a⁵²-kil-ia
 uu]-li-ia

15 id-di nap-sa-ma ^dAMAR.UTU
 G id-di nap-sa-ma ^dAMAR.UTU
 u -s]am-ma ^d[.U]TU
 uu]^rAMAR.UTU^r

16 ^dAMAR.UTU šá mu-kaš-ši-di-ia
 G ^dAMAR.UTU šá mu-kaš-ši-di-ia :
 u š]á² mu-ka-á[š²-
 uu]-ši-di-ia

17 i-kim as^r-pa^r-šú as-suk-ka-šú ú-sab-ḫir
 G i-kim as^r-pa^r-šú as-suk-ka-šú ú-sab-ḫir
 uu -k]a-šú ú-sab-ḫi-ir⁵³

The three fragmentary lines in the commentary tablet MS G, designated as s, t, and u by Lambert in *BWL*, 56, must belong to *Ludlul* Tablet IV. However, we have been unable to correlate the traces of these lines with other material presently available (cf. note 41). The next 5 lines of the continuous text are witnessed only by MS uu.

⁴⁷ See *BWL*, 58 for the restorations of the first words of lines 1–5, 7, 10–11.

⁴⁸ According to CAD P, 299, Lambert's recent collation of the final word in this line led him to read *ú-pat-ti-ra-an-ni*. But it is unclear whether he collated his MS *u* or the unpublished MS uu. Given the traces on the tablet and the use of CVC signs in the verbs of the adjacent lines, TIR is the best reading in MS *u*.

⁴⁹ Perhaps one could restore: [*ul-tu pi-i mu-t*]i, 'from the mouth of death.' See J. Nougayrol, "Choix de textes littéraires 162: (Juste) suffrant (R.S. 25.460)," *Ugaritica* 5 (1968): 265–73, here 268:40'. But there is probably not enough room for so many signs.

⁵⁰ This line was either added by MS uu or omitted by MS *u*. Perhaps the line contained something similar to line 38' of the Ugaritic text (see the preceding note): *it-bu-ka-an-ni ù i-si-pa-an-ni*, 'He cast me aside, but picked me up (again)' (see also CAD T, 6).

⁵¹ Lines 14–15 in MS G are Lambert's old line q. Lines 16–17 are his old line r. (Notice each couplet occupies two lines on MS *u* but only one in MS G.) Lambert did not agree with this identification in 1960 (see *BWL*, 24, n. 1). But MS uu proves now that the lines fit here.

⁵² Lambert reads this as ZA. See CAD A/1, 254 for the reading used above (indicated as collated in the CAD).

⁵³ The text seems to have written NI, but it is unclear.

18 uu [x x x x x]x i-^rkim⁵⁴

19 uu [x x x x x-d]i šur-ri

20 uu [x x x x x]x ú-šak-^rlu¹

21 uu [x x x x x] ú-ma-al-^l[i]

22 uu [x x x x]x li^rx¹[x]

Possible break of unknown length.

23 [x x] É URU [x i-l]e-qa-^ran¹-[ni]
jk rev. col ii (1') -^le-qa-^ran¹-[
xx] É URU [

24 [x x x x]-mah-ri u-še-ri-ba-an-n[i]
jk (2')]-še-ri-ba-an-n[i]
xx]-mah-ri u-[

25 [x x] iš a a [x x]x-^ršú¹ ^dAMAR.UTU
jk (3')]-^ršú¹ ^dAMAR.UTU
xx] iš² a a [

26 ^ruš¹-x x di ti [x] ^rú¹-kaš-šú ^dzar-pa-n[i-tum]
jk (4') ^ruš²-x x [] ^rú¹-kaš-šú ^dzar-pa-n[i-
xx] di ti [

27 lu man-nu be-lum ^rú¹-maš-ši-ra-an-n[i]
jk (5') lu man-nu be-l[um] ^rú¹-maš-ši-ra-an-n[i]
xx] be-lum [

28 na-piš-tú ar-biš lik-te-li-ma-an-n[i]
jk (6') na-piš-tú ar-biš lik-te-li-ma-an-n[i]
xx]-piš-ti ar-biš [

29 a-na ir-kal-la la ur₅-ra-ad-an-[ni]
jk (7') a-na ir-kal-la la ur₅-ra-ad-an-
xx] ir-kal-li [

30 e-^{te}₄-mu-tu at-ta-lak-an-n[i]
jk (8') e-^{te}₄-mu-tu at-ta-lak-an-n[i]
xx]-^{te}₄-mu-ta [

31 lu man-nu ^dAMAR.UTU i-zib-ba-an-n[i]
jk (9') lu man-nu ^dAMAR.UTU i-zib-ba-an-n[i]
xx] ^dAMAR.UTU [

⁵⁴ This line may be paralleled again in Nougayrol, “(Juste) suf-
frant,” 268:43: *i-na šu gé-bi-ri-ia mar-ra i-ki-im*, ‘he snatched the
shovel from the one digging my grave.’ See note 49 above.

32 a-na UZU a-sak-ki am-ma-an-niš-^r[šú]
jk (10') a-na UZU a-sak-ku am-ma-an-niš-^r[šú]
xx U]ZU a-sak-ki [

33 šal-lam-ta NIM.MA at-ta-lak ma-[^{har}²-šú²]
jk (11') šal-lam-ta NIM.MA at-ta-lak ma-
xx]-^{tiš} MAḪ [

34 i-na me-es-se-e ma-le-e ^rú¹-x[x x]
jk (12') i-na me-es-se-e ma-le-e ^rú¹-x-[
xx]-^{se}⁵⁵ ma-le-e [

35 ri-im-ki te-diš-tum ù i-tab-x[x x]
jk (13') ri-im-ki te-diš-tum ù i-tab-x [
xx] te-diš-ti [

36 ši-ip-ra-ma šá ina tés-li-ti iš-mu-^rú¹ [x x x]
t]-^rra²-ma šá ina tés-li-ti iš-mu¹-x [
jk (14') ši-ip-ra-ma šá ina tés-li-tum iš-mu-^rú¹ [

37 a-na la-ban ap-pi u ut-nen-ni a-na É.SAG.Í[L x
x]
t]a-ban ap-pi ^rut¹-ni-ni ana É.SAG.Í[L
jk (15') a-na la-^rban¹ ap-pi u ut-nen-ni a-na É.SAG.Í

38 šá a-ri-du qab-ri a-tu-ra ana KÁ ^dU[TU.È]⁵⁶ e-te-
ru-ub
t]-ri-du qab-ri a-tu-ra ana KÁ ^dU[TU.
jk (16') šá¹ a-ri-dú qab-ri a-tu-ru a-na KÁ ^rd¹] / (17')
e-te-ru-ub

39 [ina] KÁ ḪÉ.GÁL ḫé-gál-la in-n[i-x x x]
t K]Á ḪÉ.GÁL ḫé-gál-la in-^rni⁵⁷-[
jk (18') i-na KÁ ḪÉ.GÁL ḫé-gál-la in-n[i²-

40 [ina] KÁ ^dLAMMA.RA.BI la-mas-si i^{te}-^{te}-^ḫ[a-an-ni]⁵⁸
t K]A ^dLAMMA.RA.BI la-mas-si i^{te}-^{te}-^ḫ[a-
jk (19') i-na KÁ ^dLAMMA.RA.BI ^dLAMMA i^{te}-^{te}-[

⁵⁵ Text: GIŠ.

⁵⁶ This restoration is based on the spelling of the gate in line 22'
(IV 43) of BM 32208+. Lambert restores the name of the gate to
^dUTU.U₄.È, presumably on evidence of MS *t*'s witness to IV 43 (*BWL*,
60). If accepted, this would be a unique spelling. But compare the
spellings of this gate's name with those in A. R. George, *Babylonian*
Topographical Texts, OLA 40 (Leuven: 1992), *inter alia*. As this
shows, BM 32208+ attests the common spelling, even though it
attaches a final -a to it in IV 43 (see likewise the Esagil Tablet in
George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, 114:12 [text no. 13] and
George's comment on p. 391). The extra UD (Lambert's U₄) in MS
t at IV 43 is probably a dittography.

⁵⁷ Collated from the photograph and verified by Nils Heeßel, to
whom we extend our heartfelt gratitude.

⁵⁸ See *BWL*, 60 for this restoration.

41 [ina] KÁ SILIM.MA šul-ma-na ap-pa-ſ[is]
 t K]Á SILIM.MA šul-ma-na ap-pa-ſ[is]
 jk (20') i-na KÁ SILIM.MA šul-lu-ma-niš a[p-

42 [ina] KÁ NAM.TI.LA ba-la-ṭu am-ma-ḫi-ir
 t K]Á NAM.TI.LA ba-la-ṭu am-ma-ḫi-ir
 jk (21') i-na KÁ NAM.TI.LA ba-la-ṭu am-[-

43 ^rina¹ KÁ ^dUTU.È.A it-ti bal-ṭu-ti am-ma-ni
 t ^rina¹ KÁ ^dUTU.<<UD>>.È it-ti bal-ṭu-ti am-ma-ni
 jk (22') i-na KÁ ^dUTU.È.A x x x x am-ma-[-

44 ina KÁ U₆.DE.BABBAR.RA id-da-tu-ú-a im-me-ra
 t ina KÁ U₆.DE.BABBAR.RA id-da-tu-ú-a im-me-ra
 jk (23') i-na KÁ U₆.<DE²>.BABBAR e-da-tu-ú-a im-m[e-

45 ina KÁ NAM.TAG.GA.DUḪ.A e²-il-ti ip-pa-ṭir
 t ina KÁ NAM.TAG.GA.DUḪ.A e²-il-ti ip-pa-ṭir
 jk (24') i-na KÁ NAM.TAG.GA.DUḪ.A e²-il-tú ip[-

46 ina KÁ KA.TAR.RA iš-ta-la pi-ia
 t ina KÁ KA.TAR.RA iš-ta-la pi-ia
 jk (27')⁵⁹ i-na KÁ KA.TAR.RA iš-ta-lu pi-[-
 vv]^r.RA² iš²[-] x x [⁶⁰

47 ina KÁ A.ŠE.ER.DUḪ.Û.DA up-ta-ṭa-ra ta-ni-ḫi
 t ina KÁ A.ŠE.ER.DUḪ.Û.DA up-ta-ṭa-ra ta-ni-ḫi
 jk (26') i-na KÁ A.ŠER.DUḪ.Û.DA ip-paṭ-tàr ta-[-
 vv .š]ÈR.DUḪ.ḪU.DU ip-pa-ṭàr ta-n[i-

48 ina KÁ A.SIKIL.LA me-e te-lil-te as-sa-li-ih
 t ina KÁ A.SIKIL.LA me-e te-lil-te as-sa-li-ih
 u rev.]^r.SIKIL.LA[
 jk (25') i-na KÁ <A>.SIKIL.LA A.MEŠ te-lil-tum as-s[a-

49 ina KÁ SILIM.MA it-ti ^dAMAR.UTU an-na-mir
 t ina KÁ SILIM.MA it-ti ^rd¹AMAR.UTU an-na-mir
 u a-na KÁ SILIM.MA x [^r
 jk (28')] ^rSILIM.MA¹ it-ti ^dAMAR.UTU an-na-m[ir

50 ina KÁ ḪI.LI.SÙ še-ep ^dzar-pa-ni-tum an-na-šiq⁶¹
 t ina KÁ ḪI.LI.SÙ še-ep ^dr¹zar¹-pa-ni-tum an-na-šiq
 u a-na KÁ ḪI.LI.GAR GÌR.₂ ^d[-i]q²
 jk (29')]-ep ^dzar-pa-ni-[-
 vv K]Á ^rḪI¹.LI.SÙ GÌR.₂ ^dzar-pa-ni-tu[m

51 ina su-pe-e ù te-me-qi ma-ḫar-šú-nu ú-tan-nin
 t ina su-pe-e ù te-me-qi ma-ḫar-šú-nu ú-tan-nin
 u a-na su-up-pe-e u te-m[i-]-tan-nin
 tt]-e u te-me-qi ma-ḫ[ar-
 vv] su-pe-e u te-me-qi ma-ḫar-šú-nu ^rú¹-[-

52 qut-rin-na ṭa-bu-ú-ti ma-ḫar-šú-nu ú-šá-aš-li
 t qut-rin-na ṭa-bu-ú-ti ma-ḫar-šú-nu ú-šá-aš-li
 u qut-rin-ni DÜG.GA.MEŠ ma-ḫar-š[ú-]-i
 tt] x ṭù-ba ma-ḫar-šú-nu ^rú¹-[-

53 ú-šam-ḫir ir-ba ṭa-²-ti ^rIGI¹.SÁ e-ta-an-du-te
 t ú-šam-ḫir ir-ba ṭa-²-ti ^rIGI¹.SÁ e-ta-an-du-t[e
 u ú-šam-ḫir ir-ba ṭa-²-tú ^rgi-se-e¹ [-d]u-te
 tt skips this line

54 ú-pal-liq le-e ma-re-e uṭ-ṭab-bi-ih šap-ṭi⁶²
 t ú-pal-liq le-e ma-re-e uṭ-ṭab-bi-ih šap-ṭ[u
 u]-pal-liq le-²i am-re-e [traces]-ṭi
 tt] - qú le-e ma-ri-i ú-ṭa-x[-

55 at-ta-naq-qi ku-ru-un-nu du-uš-šú-pá GEŠTIN
 t [é]l-lu
 at-ta-naq-[- -n]u du-uš-šú-pá GEŠTIN
 e[^l-
 u -t]a-na-qi ku-ru-un-na da-^rás-šú-pu¹ [GEŠT]IN^r
 tt [é]l-lu
]-qi ku-^rru¹-un-nu du-uš-šú-p[u

56 ^rd¹ALAD ^dLAMMA AN.GUB.BA.MEŠ li-bit É.SAG.ÍL
 t ^rd¹ALAD ^d[.ME]Š li-bit É.SAG.Í[L
 u] ^dLAMMA AN.GUB.BA.MEŠ li-^rbit-te É.SAG¹.GÍL
 tt] AN.GUB.BA.MEŠ <<bit>>⁶³ SI[G₄

57 [ina] tam-qi-ti ka-bat-ta-^ršú-un¹ uš-par-di
 t]-^rnu uš-par¹-[-
 u] x tam-qi-ti ka-bat-ta-^ršú-un¹ uš-par-di
 tt -t]um³ ka-bat-ta-[-

The following 4 lines are attested only in MS *u* with certainty.

⁵⁹ As noted earlier, the position of lines 46 and 48 is exchanged in BM 32208+ (jk). See note 22 above.

⁶⁰ MS vv has only traces of the bottom part of a few signs in this line.

⁶¹ As noted by Foster (*Before the Muses*, 407), CAD A/1, 9 reads the last sign as BIK, which gives: *annabik*, 'I fell face down.' See also TUAT III/1, 133, n. 60a).

⁶² The word for 'sheep' is not entirely clear. CAD Š/1, 482 spells it *šapsu* but also recognizes the variant form *šaptu* based on this passage. Reading a ŠU at the end of the line in MS *t* (see TUAT III/1, 133 n. 64 a)) seems more likely than seeing a ṬU sign. Generally, the word is poorly attested. In fact, this is the only attestation of the word used to describe an animal outside of lexical lists.

⁶³ Apparently, the scribe miscopied *libit*, beginning with the second sign (BIT) instead of the first, and then corrected matters by simply writing SIG₄.

58 u	[<i>ina ma-ka-l</i>] <i>e-e</i> ⁶⁴ <i>de-eš-šu-ti</i> ¹ <i>lib-ba-šú-un ú-šá-lí-iš</i> ¹	75	^d AMAR.UTU <i>ina qab-ri bul-lu-ṭa i-le-ṽi</i> t ^d AMAR.UTU <i>ina qab-ri bul-lu-ṭa i-le-ṽi</i> w ^d AMAR.UTU <i>ina qab-[]</i> ¹ <i>i-le-ṽi</i>
59 u	[<i>sip-pu ši</i>]- <i>gar-ri me-di-il</i> GIŠ.IG.MEŠ	76	^d zar-pa-ni-tum <i>ina ka-ra-še-e e-te-ra am-rat</i> t ^d zar-pa-ni-tum <i>ina ka-ra-še-e e-te-ra am-rat</i> w ^d zar-pa-ni-tum [] <i>am-rat</i>
60 u	[<i>as-lu</i>] <i>b</i> ⁶⁵ <i>el-la bi-ma-tú ṭuḫ-dī áš-na-an</i>	77	<i>e-ma šák-na-at</i> KI-tim rit-pa-šú AN-e t <i>e-ma šák-na-at</i> KI-tim rit-pa-šú AN-e v [] KI-tim [] w ¹ <i>e-ma</i> [] ¹ <i>šá-lí-ma-mi</i>
61	[<i>a-na</i> É]- <i>zi-da</i> ¹ <i>mé</i> ¹ -e GARZA ⁶⁶ É		
u	[]- <i>zi-da</i> ¹ <i>mé</i> ¹ -e GARZA É		
G ²⁶⁷	[] É		
Break of about 2 lines. The following 7 lines and line 72 are attested only in MS t.			
64 t	[x x x x]x ti [x x x x x x x]	78	^d UTU-šú <i>uš-tap-pa-a</i> ^d BIL.GI <i>in-nap-ḫu</i> t ^d UTU-šú <i>uš-tap-pa-a</i> ^d BIL.GI <i>in-nap-ḫu</i> v [] <i>iš-tap-pa-¹a</i> [] w [] <i>i</i>]n-nap-ḫu
65 t	[x] x <i>áš-na-an</i> ¹ <i>ru-uš-šá-a</i> ¹ [x x x x x x]	79	<i>mu-ú il-la-ku i-zi-qu šá-a-ru</i> t <i>mu-ú il-la-ku i-zi-qu šá-a-¹ru</i> ¹ v [] x x <i>i-ziq-qu šá-¹a</i> [] w [] IM.MEŠ
66 t	[u]l-tap-pit <i>ḫa-šur-ri</i> DÜG.GA UGU-šú x [x x]	80	<i>šu-ut</i> ^d a-ru-ru <i>ik-ru-šu ki-ri-is-si-in</i> t <i>šu-ut</i> ^d a-ru-ru <i>ik-ru-šu ki-ri-is-si-in</i> v -r]u <i>ik-ri-šu ki-ri-is-s</i>]in ⁷² w -r]i <i>i-is-si-in</i>
67 t	[<i>qé</i>]- <i>re-e-ti</i> ⁶⁸ DUMU KÁ.DINGIR.RA ^{ki} <i>mu-x</i> [x x x x]	81	[š]á-ki-it-tu <i>nap-šá-tu pe-ta-a pu-ri-du</i> t [š]á-ki-it-tu <i>nap-šá-tu pe-ta-a pu-ri-du</i> v [] <i>pe-ta-a pu-ri-du</i> w []u-ri-[]
68 t	É <i>qé-bé-ri-šu e-pu-šu ina qé</i> ⁶⁹ - <i>re-e-t</i> [i x x]	82	[<i>a-pa</i>]- <i>a-tum</i> ⁷³ <i>ma-la ba-šá-a</i> ^d AMAR.UTU <i>dul-la</i> t []- <i>a-tum ma-la ba-šá-a</i> ^d AMAR.UTU <i>dul-ḫa</i> v [] ^d A[MAR].UTU <i>dul-la</i>
69 t	<i>i-mu-ru-ma</i> <DUMU> KÁ.DINGIR.RA ^{ki} <i>ki-i ú-bal-la-ṭu</i> [^d AMAR.UTU] ⁷⁰	83	[<i>áš-šú</i>] <i>a-ta-pul</i> [DÜ-ší-na] ⁷⁴ <i>šu-ut pa-a ku</i> [n-na] ⁷⁵ t [] <i>a-ta-pul</i> [] <i>šu-ut pa-a ku</i> [n- v [] <i>s</i>]u-ut <i>pa-a taš-ta-pa</i>
70 t	<i>pa-a-tu</i> DÜ-ší-na <i>ú-šá-pa-a nar-bé-e</i> -[šú]	84	[x x x x] x [x x x k]al UN.MEŠ <i>li-bel-ma</i> ⁷⁶ t []al UN.MEŠ <i>li-bel</i> -[] v []EŠ <i>li-be-el-ma</i>
71	<i>man-nu-um-ma iq-bi a-mar</i> ^d UTU-ší-šú t <i>man-nu-um-ma iq-bi a-mar</i> ^d šam-ší ⁷¹ -šú w []-mar ^d šam-ší-šú		
72 t	<i>ina</i> ŠÁ-bi <i>man-ni ib-ba-ší e-te-eq</i> SILA-šú		
73	<i>šá la</i> ^d AMAR.UTU <i>man-nu mi-tu-ta-šú ú-bal-liṭ</i> t <i>šá la</i> ^d AMAR.UTU <i>man-nu mi-tu-ta-šú ú-bal-liṭ</i> w [] ¹ la ¹ ^d AMAR.UTU []		
74	<i>e-la</i> ^d E ₄ .RU ₆ ^d iš-tar-tum <i>a-a-i-tum i-qi-šá nap-šát-su</i> t <i>e-la</i> ^d E ₄ .RU ₆ ^d iš-tar-tum <i>a-a-i-tum i-qi-šá nap-šát-su</i> w ¹ la ¹ ^d zar-pa-ni-tum [] <i>na</i>]p-šát-[]		

⁶⁴ Following *BWL*, 60 here and in IV 59.

⁶⁵ Following von Soden here and in IV 61; see *TUAT* III/1, 133 n. 70 a) and 71 b).

⁶⁶ GARZA, *parsi*, ‘ordinances,’ seems to be explanatory.

⁶⁷ This is Lambert’s old line v. See note 114 below.

⁶⁸ Following *BWL*, 58.

⁶⁹ Marked with ¹ on the copy. The sign is misshaped.

⁷⁰ Following *BWL*, 58 here and in IV 70.

⁷¹ Text: PI.

⁷² Could this be a SU?

⁷³ Following *BWL*, 58.

⁷⁴ Following *TUAT* III/1, 135, n. 115 a).

⁷⁵ Following *BWL*, 60.

⁷⁶ Lines 84–86 and 88 follow *BWL*, 60.

85 [x x x x x x r]e-²i kal da-á[d-me]
 t r]e-²i kal da-á[d-
 v] kal da-á[d

86 [x x x x x x x] x E₄.LA₆.MEŠ ina n[ag]-be
 t] E₄.LA₆.MEŠ [
 v] E₄.LA₆.MEŠ ina n[ag]-be

Lines 87–90 are attested only in MS v.

87 v [x x x x x x pa]-rak⁷⁷ DINGIR.MEŠ x x [x] x

88 v [x x x x x x x] si-bi-ip AN-e ^rú¹ [KI-tim]

89 v [x x x x x x x] x ri-iš-ša x x⁷⁸ [x]

90 v [x x x x x x x] ši zu nu šú šú šú⁷⁹

Break of about 10 lines.

There are six previously unknown lines in MS jk that are very difficult and remain mostly unclear to us. Part of the text preserved on the reverse of MS xx may overlap into these lines, although there is no certain proof as the two MSS are broken at different ends. The remains of the first 4 lines from the reverse of MS xx are too fragmentary for a translation.

97 xx [x x x x] na-an-na-ra ma-li-^rx¹ [
 98 xx [x x x x] ú ta-ma-ti ^rx¹ [
 99 xx [x x x x] pad sag mal ši x [
 100 xx [x x x x] UD-me BAL-šú x [
 101 xx [x x x x] na-an-na-ra ma-li-^rx¹ [
 101 jk (1') [x x x x x x x x] ^rUD²-šú¹

It is possible, though not certain, that from line 101 the content of the reverse of MS xx and the reverse of MS jk col. iii overlap. Therefore the following lines are presented as a score.

101 xx [x x x -t]um nap-šá-tum [
 101 jk (1') [x x x x x x x x] ^rUD²-šú¹

102 xx [x x x] ^rx¹ x UD.MEŠ x [
 102 jk (2') [x x x x x x-t]um i-tu²-ru URU-šú

103 xx [x x] É.SAG.[L
 103 jk (3') [x x x UN].MEŠ šal-mat qà-qa-du x x x x x

⁷⁷ Following TUAT III/1, 135, n. 177 a).

⁷⁸ The last two visible signs could be *iš²-bat²* or *iz²-ziz²*.

⁷⁹ William Moran ("Notes on the Hymn to Marduk in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*," JAOS 103 [1983]: 255–60, here 257, n. 12) reads the three ŠÚ signs as *itenerrip(ū)šú*, 'it/they will get darker and darker for him.'

104 xx [x x x] x-li zar-[]

104 jk (4') [x x x x x zar-pa]-^rn²-tum re-e-mu šá
^dAMAR.UTU

105 xx [^mna-zí]-muru-taš [
 105 jk (5') [x x x x -ta]š^r u E^{ki} x x x x

106 xx [x x x -t]um nap-šá-t[um
 106 jk (6') [x x x x]-uš li-li-šs SIG₅-tim¹³

107 [x x x x ki-m]a le-e KUR liš-pu
 jk (7') -m]a le-e KUR liš-pu

xx [x x x x]x nap [
 uu]-^rma¹ [
 108 [x x x]-si-tú AN-e li-tur-šú
 jk (8')]-si-tú AN-e li-tur-šú²
 uu] li-[]

For the rest of Tablet IV, MSS jk and uu run in parallel without any doubt.

109 [x x x] ^rx¹ x ni-iz-mat-su
 jk (9')] ^rx¹ x ni-iz-mat-su
 uu] ni-iz-[]

110 [x x x] UGU ba-²-ú-la-ti-šú
 jk (10')] UGU ba-²-ú-la-ti-šú
 uu] ba-²-ú-la-ti-[]

111 [x x x] ^rm¹šub-ší-meš-^ra-GIR-an
 jk (11')] ^rm¹šub-ší-meš-^ra-GIR-an
 uu]-^ršú¹-meš-^ra-a-[]

112 [x x šú]-me-ri u URL.KI mu-ma-²-ir
 ma-a-tum
 jk (12') -m]e-ri u URL.KI mu-ma-²-ir / (13')
 ma-a-tum
 uu]-ma-²-ir [⁸⁰

113 [šá ma-ru-u]š-tú i-mu-ru li-pa-tir
 a-ra-an-šú
 jk (14') -u]š-tú i-mu-ru li-pa-tir / (15')
 a-ra-an-šú
 uu]-mu-ra ^rli¹-pa-tir
 a-ra-an-[]

114 [x x x ma]-na-ab-ta-šú liš-tap-ših
 jk (16')]-ših
 uu]-^rna¹-ab-ta-šú liš-tap-ših

⁸⁰ This line must have ended with KUR since there is not enough room for *ma-a-tum* or the like.

115	[x x x d]15-šú li-kab-bit-su
jk (17')	-bi]t-su
uu]15-šú li-kab-bit-su
116	[x x x x x]-im šul-ma-niš
jk (18')]r-lu ¹ -ma-niš
uu]im šul-ma-niš
117	[x x x x DINGIR]-šú li-kab-bit-su
jk (19')	-ka]b-bit-su
uu]šú li-kab-bit-su
118	[x x x x l]i-ba-a ² UD-mi-ršam ¹
jk (20')	-a] ² UD-mi-ršam ¹
uu]i-ba-a ² UD-mi-ršam ¹
119	[x x x š]á mšub-ši-meš-ra-a-dGÌR
jk (21')]Gi[R
uu	š]á ² mšub-ši-meš-ra-a-dGÌR
120	[x x x x t]a-nit-ta-ka ŋa-bat
uu	t]a-nit-ta-ka ŋa-bat

Tablet IV

1. My [lor]d [soo]thed me,
 2. My [lord] bandaged me.
 3. My [lord] removed affliction from me,
 4. My [lord] revived me.
 5. He rescued me [from the pit],
 6. [. . . he g]athered me up.
 7. He raised me up [from disas]ter,
 8. He pulled me [. . .] out of the Hubur River,
 9. [. . .] he clasped my hand.
 10. [He who] struck me,
 11. Marduk restored me.⁸¹
 12. He struck the hand of my striker,
 13. Marduk caused him to throw down his weapon.
 14. On the mouth of the lion that was e[at]ing me,
 15. Marduk put a muzzle.
 16. Marduk snatched my pursuer's sling,
 17. He turned back his sling stone.
 18. [. . .] he snatched.
 19. [. . .] flint blade(?).
 20. [. . .] which he hindered/fed.
 21. [. . .] he fill[ed up].
 22. [. . .]
- Possible break of unknown length.
23. [. . .] house of a city . . . [he was t]aking [me],
 24. [. . .] . . . he brought m[e] in.

25. [. . .] his [. . .] Marduk,
26. [. . .] whom Zarpan[itu] helped.
27. Who might it have been but(?) the Lord (who) released me,
28. That life might be shown to me just in time?
29. He would not let me go down to the netherworld,
30. (Though) I walked about(?) in the state of a ghost.
31. Who might it have been but(?) Marduk (who) abandoned me,
32. So that I turned into Asakku flesh,
33. (And) walked about proudly(??) as a corpse(?) be[fore him(?)]?
34. With the washing of (my) matted hair [. . .]
35. my ablution of renewal, and [. . .]
36. The affliction that he heard in (my) prayer [. . .]
37. For prostration and supplication to Esagi[. . .]
38. I, who went down to the grave, entered the Gate of the R[ising Sun] again.⁸²
39. In the Gate of Abundance abundance [. . .]
40. In the Gate of the . . . Divine Guardian my divine guardian approa[ched me].
41. In the Gate of Well-Being I encou[n]tered] well-being.
42. In the Gate of Life I was granted life.
43. In the Gate of the Rising Sun I was counted among the living.
44. In the Gate of Brilliant Astonishment my signs became clear.
45. In the gate of Release from Guilt my bond was released.
46. In the Gate of Praise my mouth inquired.
47. In the Gate of Release from Sighing my sighing was released.
48. In the Gate of Pure Water I was sprinkled with water of purification.
49. In the Gate of Well-Being I was seen with Marduk.
50. In the Gate Sprinkled with Luxury I kissed the feet of Zarpanitu.
51. With prayer and intense supplication I continually entreated before them,
52. I offered sweet incense before them.
53. I presented an offering, a gift, heaped up donations,
54. I sacrificed fattened bulls, slaughtered prime sheep(?),

⁸¹ Literally, 'raised up my head.'

⁸² The alternative reading yields: 'I, like(?) one who has returned from the grave, entered the Gate of the R[ising Sun].' See note 22.

55. I continually poured out sweet *k*-beer and pure wine.
56. (As for) the protective spirit (and) divine guardian, the divine attendants of the brickwork of Esagil,
57. [With] a libation I brightened their mood,
58. [With] an opulent [mea] I made their heart rejoice.
59. [The door jamb, the b]olt socket, the bar of the doors,
60. [I sprinkle]ed sesame oil, ghee, (and) the abundance of grain.
61. [To E]zida, to the rites, the ordinance of the temple,
- Break of about 2 lines.
64. [. . .]
65. [. . .] red-gold grain [. . .]
66. [I/he] sprinkled sweet cedar perfume, upon it/him [. . .]
67. [The fe]ast of the citizens of Babylon [. . .]
68. His grave that I/he(?) made, at the fea[t . . .]
69. The citizens of Babylon saw how [Marduk] revived (me),
70. The mouths of all of them extolled [his] greatness.
71. They said, “Who could have said he would see (the light of) his sun (again)?
72. Who could have imagined⁸³ he would stroll along his street (again)?
73. Without Marduk, who would have restored (him) from his deathly condition?
74. If not for Zarpanitu, which goddess would have given (him) his life?
75. Marduk is able to restore from the grave,
76. Zarpanitu is experienced at sparing from disaster.
77. Wherever the earth is established, the heavens stretched out,
78. (Wherever) the sun shines (and) the fire blazes,
79. (Wherever) water flows (and) wind blows,
80. Those whose lump of clay Aruru pinched off,
81. [Li]ving beings, (who) walk along,
82. As many [peo]ple as there are, praise Marduk!”
83. [Because] I have answered(?) [everything], that was estab[lished] by testimony,⁸⁴
84. [. . .] may he rule over [a]ll the people.
85. [. . . she]pherd of all the inhabi[ted world],
86. [. . .] the floods from the d[ee]p.
87. [. . .] sanctuary of the gods . . .
88. [. . .] the extent of the heavens and the [earth].
89. [. . .] . . .
90. [. . .] . . .
- Break of about 10 lines.
101. [. . .] his day.
102. [. . .] returned . . . his city.
103. [. . . the people], the black-headed ones, . . .
104. [. . .] Zar[pa]nitu, mercy of Marduk.
105. [Nazi]murutaš and Babylon . . .
106. [. . .] the *lilissu*-drum of favor.
107. [. . .] let it bellow [lik]e a bull in the land.
108. [. . .] heavens . . . may return it.
109. [. . .] his desire.
110. [. . .] over his subjects.
111. [. . .] Šubši-mešre-Šakkan.
112. [. . .] Su]mer and Akkad, who governs the land.
113. [The one who] experienced [troub]le, let his sin be released.
114. [who . . .], let his [fat]igue be put to rest.
115. [who . . .], let his goddess treat him with honor.
116. [. . .] in peace.
117. [. . .] let his [god] treat him with honor.
118. [. . .] let] him walk along daily.
119. [. . . o]f Šubši-mešre-Šakkan.
120. [. . .] your [p]raise is sweet!

Previous Reconstructions

Lambert suggested an understandably cautious reconstruction of Tablets III and IV in his edition.⁸⁵ He assumed Tablet III originally had 120 lines, as in Tablet II (and now known for Tablet I). The overlap of MS *p* (lines 1–30, 31–61) with the obverse of MS *q* (lines 22–54) along with the sporadic witness of the commentary text (MS *G*) provided a broad if not precise outline for his reconstruction of the tablet. Cautious not to overstep the bounds of evidence, Lambert left the length of the gap between MS *p*'s line 61 and the reverse of MS *q* undetermined.⁸⁶ Given the fact that MS *q*, which once preserved all of Tablet III, lacks only 21 lines at its beginning (determined by com-

⁸⁵ The following is derived from *BWL*, 23–26.

⁸⁶ The line numbering in his edition simply follows the lines on the reverse of MS *q*, starting with 1 and ending at 36.

⁸³ Literally, ‘in the heart of whom did it come into being.’

⁸⁴ MS *p* varies, “those with a mouth, you have remained silent.”

parison with MS *p*), Lambert estimated it probably lacked fewer than 20 lines of text at its conclusion—a few of which would have been used for a colophon or catch line. Some of these missing lines, though not all, are undoubtedly preserved among the 21 unassigned lines of the commentary text (MS G; his lines a–u),⁸⁷ but Lambert was unable to determine which with the evidence available to him.⁸⁸ He therefore left the boundary between Tablet III and his “Tablet IV(?)” (see below) fuzzy.

Although Lambert believed the existence of a Tablet IV was likely, he expressed serious doubts that we actually possess any witness to it.⁸⁹ Several scholars at the time of Lambert’s writing had supposed that tablets from Ashur and Sultantepe (his MSS *t*, *u*, *v*, and *w*) preserved Tablet IV. Lambert rejected this idea for two main reasons. First, there is no overlap of the 21 unassigned lines of the commentary text with any of the lines of the putative witnesses to Tablet IV (at the time of Lambert’s writing). Lambert reasoned that given the commentary’s ratio of lines commented on to lines in a tablet (about 1:6 or 1:7), most of the final 21 lines of the commentary must be attributed to a Tablet IV. However, none of these commentary lines, according to Lambert, can be identified with the text created by the extant, presumed witnesses to Tablet IV. (Lambert was not convinced by Landsberger’s suggestion that lines q and r in the commentary could be identified with his lines 13–14 and 15–16 in Tablet IV.)⁹⁰ So the textual link between Tablets III and IV implied by the commentary was not attested by the sources of Tablet IV from Ashur and Sultantepe. Similarly, the scope of the commentary and the presumed length of the poem spoke against identifying the Ashur and Sultantepe sources with a putative Tablet IV. Lambert reasonably assumed that the commentary tablet covered the entire poem and estimated the length of the poem at about 480 lines,

that is, four tablets of about 120 lines each. Given this, Lambert wrote:

If the ratio of one in six—the lowest attested—is assumed, the surviving portion of the Commentary must cover the first 100 lines of Tablet IV. With only a few lines missing at the end of the Commentary, and with tablet IV almost finished, where can the 100 lines of the text of the Assur and Sultantepe fragments belong? Was Tablet IV twice as long as the other tablets? Was there perhaps a Tablet V which was not used by the commentator? Only the recovery of more evidence can answer these questions, and for the present a scholarly reserve must be maintained.⁹¹

Despite his misgivings about the reconstruction of Tablet IV, he included the Ashur and Sultantepe tablets in his edition and labeled the reconstruction “Tablet IV(?)” The basis for his reconstruction of this “Tablet IV(?)” however, is unclear. For example, why did Lambert identify the bottom edges of MS *v* and MS *u* as lines 50 and 100, respectively? We will have to return to this below.

Von Soden reconstructed Tablet III a little more boldly than Lambert.⁹² Von Soden believed line 4 of the reverse of MS q, the first line that preserves significant text, should be identified as III 77.⁹³ Although it is very reasonable, of course, to believe the reverse continues the obverse, von Soden gave no explicit reason for his precise identification.⁹⁴ The text of MS q runs from his reconstructed III 77 through III 108. Von Soden assumed the first three unassigned lines

⁹¹ *BWL*, 25.

⁹² The following is distilled from von Soden’s introduction and translation in *TUAT* III/1, 110–35.

⁹³ See *TUAT* III/1, 129 and note 61–76 a) at the bottom of the page, where he states line 76 corresponds to line 3 of MS q. There seems to be some confusion, however, because in his introduction he identifies line 1 of MS q with III 75 (111).

⁹⁴ In his introduction, he writes: “Für die Textherstellung wichtig ist auch der aus Ninive stammende Wortkommentar K. 3291 (*BWL*, pl. 15–17), der für ausgewählte Verse aller vier Tafeln einzelne Wörter erklärt. Mit seiner Hilfe läßt sich die Größe der Textlücke zwischen *BWL*, S. 50 und 52, mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit bestimmen; S. 52, Z. 1, dürfte dann Tafel III 75 sein” (*TUAT* III/1, 111). We infer from this that von Soden has merely split the difference between III 61 and III 93, two lines attested in the commentary that presumably bridge the gap in question, and then added this difference (16 lines) to III 61 to arrive at the equation that MS q’s line 4 = III 77. This is too arbitrary to be acceptable.

⁸⁷ As mentioned earlier, Lambert did not assign the last two fragmentary lines on the tablet a letter. We label them v and w, thereby raising the actual number of unassigned lines of commentary text to 23.

⁸⁸ Lambert reasons that “not all the 21 lines a–u excerpted by the commentator can belong to Tablet III. Probably the majority belong to Tablet IV” (*BWL*, 25). See the next paragraph for more.

⁸⁹ *BWL*, 21 and 24–25.

⁹⁰ See *BWL*, 24 and n. 1.

of the commentary text (lines a–c) should be placed somewhere in the gap between lines 109 and 120. Lines a and b are probably contiguous (as Lambert also noted) whereas line c occurs after a break of unknown length.

With regard to Tablet IV, von Soden accepted Lambert's MSS *t*, *u*, *v*, and *w* as its witnesses. But in von Soden's reconstruction of the text, the obverse and reverse of both MSS *t* and *u* should be exchanged—another assertion unaccompanied by explicit justification. The resulting placement of the lines compares to Lambert's as follows:

von Soden's lines 46–71 = *BWL*'s 76–101
 (“obv.” of MS *t* plus “obv.” of MS *u*)
 von Soden's lines 71–85 = *BWL*'s 1–15⁹⁵ (“rev.”
 of MS *u*)
 von Soden's lines 95–120 = *BWL*'s 25–50 (“rev.”
 of MS *t* plus MS *v* and MS *w*)

In von Soden's reconstruction, IV 1–45 and 85–94 are missing. He believed these can be partially recovered from unassigned lines of the commentary but there is no means to determine their precise placement. Based on content only, he assumed d–p belong somewhere in lines 1–45 and lines s–u (and others that are now lost) somewhere in lines 85–120. Von Soden identified lines q and r as IV 83 and 84 (our IV 13–14, 15–16),⁹⁶ but this arrangement of the material must assume the scribe who wrote the commentary skipped at least 37 lines of text between line p (placed somewhere near line 45) and line q.⁹⁷ Although this reconstruction is attractive because it places the 13 unassigned lines of the commentary (d–p) into a fairly large textual gap at the beginning of Tablet IV, new textual evidence and a reinterpretation of the old evidence speak against it.

Foster follows Lambert's understanding of Tablet III in detail until the tablet's end, where, based

⁹⁵ Von Soden takes the last line of the “obverse” of MS *u* (*BWL*'s reverse) as a catch line, which connects to the first line of what he calls the “reverse” (*BWL*'s obverse) of MS *u*. He therefore identifies *BWL*'s line 101 with *BWL*'s line 1. He labels both of these as his line 71. Although our judgment is only based on the copy, this seems unlikely. Also, the clear witness for line 1 in MS *uu* speaks against it (see below).

⁹⁶ That is, he accepts the proposal Lambert rejects but places the lines later in the tablet.

⁹⁷ The largest known skip between lines commented upon in MS G is 32 lines; the second largest of 20 lines occurs just before this one.

only on content, apparently, he places lines a–k (with the obvious caveat that these lines are not necessarily contiguous).⁹⁸

In Tablet IV, Foster identifies the three blocks of extant material as an episode or fragment and arranges these alphabetically (Episode A, Fragment B, and Fragment C). In the gaps between these blocks of text, he interpolates the remaining unassigned lines from the commentary. The resulting reconstruction of Tablet IV compares to Lambert's as follows:

Episode A = *BWL*'s 1–15
 Lines l–m
 Fragment B = *BWL*'s 76–101
 Lines o–r⁹⁹
 Fragment C = *BWL*'s 25–50

*A New Attempt*¹⁰⁰

One can see from the summary of previous work that there is a general consensus about the shape of Tablet III, though not its ending, and very little consensus about the arrangement of Tablet IV. With the discovery of only one new fragment in Tablet III since Lambert's writing, which only duplicates already known lines,¹⁰¹ our knowledge of Tablet III has not substantially improved. As for Tablet IV, new material, foremost of which is our BM 32208+, sheds welcome light on the situation; still, matters are far from settled. The reconstruction we offer below, parts of which are more certain than others, treats Tablet IV first and then moves to Tablet III. Although the evidence does not allow certainty or precision, we believe it best accounts for all of the known evidence. The exact line numbering, of course, will need refinement as new evidence comes to light. Throughout the following, we now use our own line numbering of the poem.

Though we do not accept von Soden's arrangement of Tablet IV's text, we do share with him the idea that MSS *t*, *u*, *v*, and *w*, along with a few new manuscripts, bear witness to Tablet IV. This is best

⁹⁸ For the following summary, see *Before the Muses*, 402–408.

⁹⁹ Lines s–u are too fragmentary to place, apparently.

¹⁰⁰ Our reconstruction is closest in its ordering of the material to that proposed briefly by M. Vogelzang, “Reconstruction of Ludlul IV,” *RA* 73 (1979): 180, though we developed our view independently.

¹⁰¹ This is the unpublished BM 68435 (our MS *ss*), which contains what we label III 68–78.

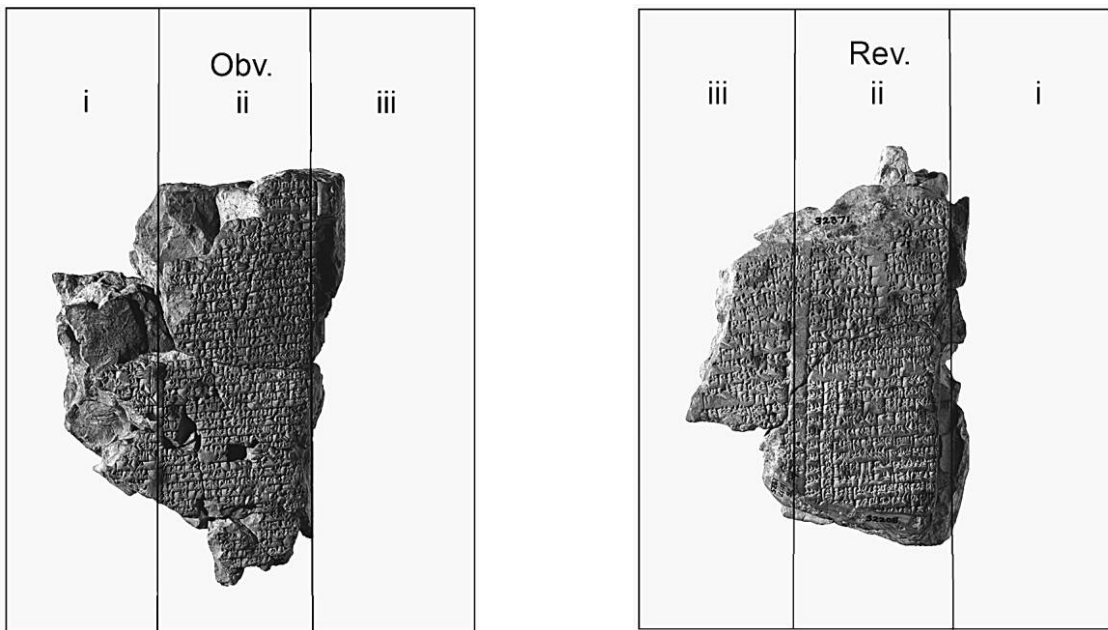


Figure 5—BM 32308+ obv./rev. as preserved in relation to its original size. © Trustees of the British Museum.

DR = double rule line	# of Lines	Originally Contained	Now Preserves
Obv. Col. i	90	I 1–90	I 48–54, 56–62
Obv. Col. ii	90	I 91–120, DR, II 1–59	I 117–20, II 1–39
Obv. Col. iii	90	II 60–120, DR, III 1–28	∅
Rev. Col. i	90	III 29–118	∅
Rev. Col. ii	80	III 119–20, DR, IV 1–76	IV 23–50
Rev. Col. iii	80	IV 77–120 + colophon	IV 101–19

proven by the fact that the protagonist, Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan, is mentioned by name in our IV 111 and 119 in both extant witnesses for these lines (MS *uu* and, of course, BM 32208+). Given the fact that BM 32208+ undoubtedly preserves other parts of *Ludlul* and MSS *t*, *u*, *v*, and *w* overlap with its text variously, it is quite safe to assume that the Ashur and Sultantepe material (MSS *t*, *u*, *v*, and *w*) likewise belong to the poem.

There can be little doubt that Lambert's lines 1–15 are placed correctly at the beginning of what we accept as Tablet IV. Lambert recognized that the reverse of MS *u* preserves a catch-line that cannot be identified with the first line of the obverse as asserted by von Soden. Von Soden's suggestion was problematic on epigraphic grounds,¹⁰² but new evidence for line 1

from MS *uu* refutes it definitively. As is the case with MS *p* in Tablet III, the last line of the reverse of MS *u*, set off by a ruling line, is the catchline to the other half of the text of Tablet IV that the scribe copied on a separate (still undiscovered) tablet. This implies that the other side of the tablet—what Lambert correctly identified as the obverse and which preserves the top edge of the tablet—is the beginning of Tablet IV. MS *uu* confirms this. Its obverse contains Lambert's opening lines of the poem and its reverse attests a two-line colophon at the bottom edge, following what we have identified as the last line of the poem.¹⁰³

MS *uu*, though only a small fragment, adds several new items to our knowledge of Tablet IV. First,

¹⁰² See, likewise, Vogelzang, "Reconstruction of *Ludlul* IV," 180.

¹⁰³ If the above deduction is correct, MS *v* cannot be part of the same tablet as obverse MS *u*, as suggested by Lambert (*BWL*, 57). See note 115 below.

MS uu inserts a previously unattested line after IV 5 (see n. 50 above). It is probable that MS *u* skipped this line in the copying process.¹⁰⁴ Second, the text of MS uu, although quite fragmentary, confirms earlier suggestions that lines q and r of the commentary text duplicate our IV 14–15 and 16–17, respectively. This has implications for the ending of Tablet III, which we will treat below. Finally, since MS uu preserves lines 1–22 of Tablet IV, it extends the opening of this tablet a few fragmentary lines beyond our previous knowledge as represented by MS *u*, which ends at IV 16.

In sum, the obverse of MSS *u* and uu clearly attest the beginning of *Ludlul* IV.

Reconstructing the rest of Tablet IV (lines 23ff.) in detail and with certainty is impossible given our present evidence. But important new evidence, in conjunction with a couple of reasonable assumptions—the most basic of which is that there are four tablets in *Ludlul*, each containing 120 lines—permits us to sketch a plausible reconstruction that varies from previously suggested arrangements of the material.

The new evidence comes from our BM 32208+, a large tablet that originally preserved the entire poem in six columns of perhaps 90 lines each, just as Lambert surmised back in 1960.¹⁰⁵ In its current state of preservation, as noted above, this tablet has text in cols. i and ii of its obverse and in cols. ii and iii of its reverse. Due to slightly larger writing on the reverse of this tablet, we will assume the final two columns of the tablet (rev. cols. ii and iii) were about 10 lines shorter than their predecessors on the tablet (thus 80 lines). This valuable new witness must have precedence in any new reconstruction of Tablet IV 23ff. We begin therefore by looking closely at this tablet as a whole in order to approximate its original layout, which we believe will help us determine the proper arrangement of the source material for Tablet IV.

The obverse of BM 32208+ preserves text from cols. i and ii and just a few signs in col. iii. The attested text on the tablet allows us to estimate a gap of about 47 lines at the top of col. i and one of about 28 lines at its bottom (i.e., of the first 90 lines of *Ludlul* I, BM 32208+ preserves I 48–62). Column ii, we estimate, is missing about 26 lines at its top and about 20

lines at its bottom (i.e., it preserves I 117–20, shows a double ruling occupying a full line, and then continues with II 1–39). Continuing with the assumption that each column had 90 lines, col. iii, although only extant in a few traces near the tablet's top edge,¹⁰⁶ would have contained II 60–120, a double ruling, and then III 1–28. The unattested col. i on the reverse, we estimate, would have contained III 29–118. This brings us to cols. ii and iii on the reverse. Due to slightly larger writing, we assume these columns originally had room for 80 lines of text. As we will argue below, col. ii would have originally attested III 119–20, a double ruling, and then IV 1–76.¹⁰⁷ Column iii would have originally borne IV 77–120, with about 33 lines of space for a colophon.¹⁰⁸

If col. ii on the *obverse* is missing about 20 lines at its bottom, then we can assume at least 20 lines missing from the top of col. ii on the reverse. Given the way the tablet has broken, however, we are probably safe to assume several more than 20. The last 2 lines of Tablet III (119–20, we assume), a double ruling, and then the first lines of Tablet IV as preserved by Lambert's MS *u* and our MS uu (IV 1–22) would have occupied this gap at the beginning of rev. col. ii. Given the exigencies of space, the first line of attested text in BM 32208+ has to follow very closely upon IV 22. Of course, we cannot be sure of the size of the gap, if any,¹⁰⁹ between our reconstructed IV 22 and the first line of preserved text in BM 32208+'s reverse col. ii. But for the present we identify the first attested line as IV 23.

BM 32208+ rev. col. ii contains 28 lines of text, written over the course of 29 lines on the tablet (one poetic line, our IV 38, is written on 2 lines of the tablet). The first 13 lines are previously unattested (duplicated by the new MS *xx* in lines 23–35); these lines are followed by the section dealing with the twelve gates

¹⁰⁶ These lie adjacent to the end of Tablet I in col. ii.

¹⁰⁷ This totals 80 lines on the tablet because IV 38 was written over the course of two lines.

¹⁰⁸ This totals 80 lines on the tablet because IV 112 and IV 113 were both written over the course of two lines on the tablet and we presume the same happened with one other line in an unpreserved part of this column.

¹⁰⁹ Given the fact that the last line of MS uu preserves a LI sign near the end of the line as does the first line of rev. col. ii of BM 32208+, it is possible that these bear witness to one and the same line of the poem's text.

¹⁰⁴ We cannot, of course, completely rule out the possibility that this "omission" is an Ashur recensional feature. But the present, rather limited evidence is not in favor of such an inference.

¹⁰⁵ *BWL*, 25.

before the tablet breaks. We tentatively assign these 28 lines of text to IV 23–50.¹¹⁰

Assuming an 80-line column, there remains 26 lines unaccounted for in rev. col. ii.¹¹¹ MSS *t*, our *tt*, and *u* extend the text into this gap. What Lambert identified as the obverse (but see below) of MS *t* parallels BM 32208+ from IV 36–50 and continues 7 more lines past BM 32208+'s break, thus restoring IV 51–57. These latter lines are duplicated in MS *tt*. MS *u* pushes the text even farther into the gap on BM 32208+. Beginning in IV 48, MS *u* parallels MS *t* and then extends beyond it 4 more lines to IV 61. This leaves 15 more lines to fill before the end of rev. col. ii of BM 32208+.¹¹²

The alignment of the text of MSS *t* and *u* with BM 32208+ suggested above and thus their placement in our reconstruction of the poem provide a couple of important points of information that we must note before continuing our treatment of BM 32208+. First, if our assumption that Tablet IV contained 120 lines is correct, the coincidence of our IV 61 and the catchline on the reverse of MS *u*, a tablet that seems to have originally contained the first half of Tablet IV (see above),¹¹³ provides circumstantial evidence for the general coherence of our reconstruction of the first half of Tablet IV.¹¹⁴ Second, the text of what Lambert called the reverse of MS *t* breaks off just a couple of lines shy of what we identify as IV 60 in our reconstruction. Given the fact that none of

the text on the other side of MS *t* parallels the text in our reconstruction of the first half of Tablet IV, Lambert's identification of the obverse and reverse of MS *t* must be exchanged (as von Soden suggested for other reasons):¹¹⁵ the old obverse of MS *t* is now our "reverse" and the old reverse is now our "obverse." Since MS *t* must have contained the entire text of Tablet IV originally,¹¹⁶ we may infer that the broken upper edge of the "rev." of MS *t* begins just after the midpoint of Tablet IV.¹¹⁷ We cannot be sure of the size of the gap between the "reverse" and "obverse" of MS *t*, so the precise line numbering of the "reverse" of MS *t* remains in question. If we assume the scribe was maintaining ten line blocks on his tablet and the last line on the "obverse" was our IV 57, then it is reasonable to suggest the line just before the first preserved ruling on the "reverse" of the tablet could be IV 67.¹¹⁸ This would identify the first attested line of text on the "reverse" of MS *t* as IV 64. (If we are correct, IV 62–63 are still lost.) We return now to consider how this helps us fill out the remaining 15 lines of rev. col. ii of BM 32208+.

The "reverse" of MS *t* plus text from MS *v* provides 27 continuous lines of *Ludlul*. We place these as IV 64 through IV 90.¹¹⁹ Allowing for our 2-line gap in IV 62–63, these lines would have filled the remainder of BM 32208+'s rev. col. ii (IV 64–76 = 13 lines) and spilled over about 14 lines onto its last column (iii), providing IV 77–90. We believe the "obverse"

¹¹⁰ Note that Erica Reiner also placed the "gates" section in IV 39–50; see her *Your Thwarts in Pieces, Your Mooring Rope Cut: Poetry from Babylonia and Assyria*, Michigan Studies in the Humanities 5 (Ann Arbor, 1985), 117, n. 12.

¹¹¹ The 2 lines from Tablet III that we assumed at the start of col. ii + a double ruling + the first 22 lines of Tablet IV as attested by MSS *u* and *uu* + 29 lines on MS *jk* = 54 tablet lines. 80 – 54 = 26 lines unaccounted for.

¹¹² 7 + 4 = 11 lines filled. 26 – 11 = 15 lines still unaccounted for.

¹¹³ Although MS *u* skipped a line after IV 5 on its obverse (as compared to MS *uu*), the scribe seems to have compensated for the lost line somewhere in his copy by perhaps writing one line of the text over two lines on the tablet. Of course, there are other possible explanations.

¹¹⁴ It is worth noting that the last sign in our IV 61, É, is also the last (and only) sign preserved in what we have called line v of the commentary text. Given the position of q and r at IV 14–17, it is reasonable to consider identifying line v with our IV 61. The intervening lines of commentary (s–u), on this hypothesis, must be placed somewhere in IV 18 to IV 60. The remainder of the lines in the commentary (line w and a single-digit number of lines now lost) would have come from the second half of Tablet IV's text.

¹¹⁵ See likewise Ebeling's copy in KAR 10 (with a question mark) and Vogelzang, "Reconstruction of *Ludlul* IV," 180. If this is correct, then it is impossible for MS *v* to be part of the same tablet as MS *u*, as was suggested by Lambert, because MS *v*, duplicating parts of the "rev." of MS *t*, would contain text only from the second half of Tablet IV. But MS *u* only contains the text of its first half, as indicated by its catch-line.

¹¹⁶ This is based on the fact that the extant text on the "obv." almost reaches IV 60. We therefore have good reason to assume the other side would contain the second half of Tablet IV.

¹¹⁷ It is possible that MS *t* contained more than 60 lines to a side, especially if it included a lengthy colophon—which is not unlikely since Tablet IV is the final tablet in the poem. Given the way the scribe has marked off decades of lines on his tablet, we must remain open to the possibility that we are missing 10–20 more lines between obverse and reverse than our current estimate suggests. We have adopted our current estimate based on perceived needs of space in BM 32208+.

¹¹⁸ We have not yet examined MS *t* in person to confirm the plausibility of this suggestion based on the tablet's shape.

¹¹⁹ MS *t* provides IV 64–86 and MS *v*, overlapping, contains IV 77–90.

of MS *t* begins at IV 36; therefore, its top lacks about 35 lines. This implies that the bottom of its “reverse” lacks about the same. If our assumption of 120 lines in Tablet IV is correct, then the placement of the “reverse” of MS *t* is confirmed (generally, if not precisely) by the fact that its last preserved line is our IV 86.¹²⁰

At this point, we skip to the attested text at the very bottom of BM 32208+’s rev. col. iii. The last vestige of preserved text here seems to be a broken GÌR sign, paralleled in the second to last line of MS *uu* (our IV 119). The next line on BM 32208+, or rather the location of what we believe would have been the last line of the poem, lies across from our IV 47 in rev. col. ii of BM 32208+. This position indicates that there is space after IV 120 (still missing) for about 33 blank lines and/or lines for a colophon before the end of the final column (of 80 lines). This comports very well with the fact that the last line in rev. col. ii, situated 2 lines below the position of the last line in rev. col. iii, lies directly over I 120 and the double ruling in col. ii on the tablet’s obverse. In other words, based on the gap at the top of obv. col. ii, we expect a gap of about 30 lines at the end of rev. cols. ii and iii.

BM 32208+’s rev. col. iii attests 19 lines of *Ludlul* written in the space of 21 lines on the tablet (IV 112 and 113 are written on 2 lines each). We designate these IV 101–19. This leaves us with a mere 10 lines of the text unaccounted for (IV 91–100). Moreover, if we add a line for IV 120, the assumed blank space at the column’s end (33 lines), the 21 lines attested in BM 32208+, and the 14 presumed lines (IV 77–90) at the top of the column, then we have a total of 69 lines accounted for of our presumed 80 lines in this final column, leaving a mere 11-line gap. This unaccounted for space (11 lines) is so close to the number of unaccounted for poetic lines (10 lines) that our reconstruction—or something similar to it—likely approximates the original shape of BM 32208+ and therefore its presentation of *Ludlul*.

¹²⁰ That is, IV 86 + 35 presumed missing lines = 121 lines total, which is a close approximation to the assumed 120 lines of Tablet IV. Vogelzang, who likewise exchanges the obverse and reverse of MS *t* and assigns about the same line numbers to its obverse as we do, believes the “rev.” of MS *t* plus MS *v* contains the end of the poem (specifically, IV 95–120). She explains the presumed gap of about 35 lines at the end of MS *t* “by assuming a colophon and/or a blank space” (“Reconstruction of *Ludlul* IV,” 180). Since we know MS *uu* contains the end of the poem now, it is more likely to place MS *t*’s “rev.” about 30 lines earlier in the poem than Vogelzang has.

We state again that this reconstruction is tentative and based on several assumptions, the most problematic of which is the assumption of four 90 and two 80-line columns. Ninety lines in a column seem reasonable based on the shape and extant text on the obverse. But why should the last two columns on the reverse have only 80 lines? Although there is evidence that the writing is slightly larger on the reverse of BM 32208+, we have no solid evidence to prove this translates into 80-line columns instead of, for example, 85 or 90. One might suggest, rather, that Tablet IV was actually 10–20 lines longer than we have reconstructed.¹²¹ We would admit that, given our fragmentary evidence, this is not impossible. Our reconstruction is an ideal one; the actual number of lines in each column will remain unknowable until the tablet is fully reconstructed.

We come now to the issue of Tablet III. MS *p* and MS *q* remain the primary sources of our knowledge for the Tablet. Like Tablets I, II, and IV, we assume there were 120 lines in Tablet III originally. Given the overlap between MS *p* (our III 1–30 [obv.], 31–62¹²² [rev.]) and the obverse of MS *q* (our III 22–55), we can establish that MS *q* is missing about 21 lines at the top of its obverse. About the same, therefore, is missing at the bottom of its reverse. Given our assumption of Tablet III’s length, it is reasonable to believe that MS *q* is missing about 5 lines at the bottom of its obverse (i.e., it is missing III 56–60) and something close to that at the top of its reverse (i.e., III 61–64). MS *p* bridges all but 2 lines (III 63–64) of this gap. MS *q* picks up III 65–66 with only traces and then attests III 67–102. We are left at the end of MS *q* with a gap of about 18 lines, which is close to what we would expect based on what is missing at the top of the obverse. If lines *q* and *r* of the commentary text are to be identified with IV 14–17, then we run into the same problem as other reconstructions: what

¹²¹ This was, in fact, our working hypothesis for some time during our work on *Ludlul*.

¹²² Lambert’s edition actually reads line 61 at the end of MS *p*’s text but his appendix (*BWL*, 345) indicates that he had not picked up on the fact that there should be an extra line after his edition’s line 30. (The scribe who wrote MS *p* had skipped a line when flipping the tablet from obverse to reverse in the copying process.) Lambert calls this additional line “30a,” which is now attested in what we call MS *ee* (BM 54821, incorporated late in the production of *BWL*, see pp. 344–45 in the addenda and pl. 74). To better incorporate it into our text, we have labeled it III 31 and adjusted the line count thereafter accordingly.

do we do with the unassigned commentary lines in MS G? There is only one thing we can do with them: we must place lines a–p, 16 lines of quoted text, here at the end of Tablet III in a space of less than 20 lines. We know of no other viable placement for these lines given the present evidence. Based on an average ratio of 1:6, we expect 3, perhaps 4 lines at most, to be chosen for comment in a space of about 20 lines. But such a statistical average can be misleading when applied to a small portion of the text. So, for example, there are two cases in Tablet I of 6 lines commented on in a space of 21 lines of text (I 69 to I 89 and I 86 to I 106) and a case in Tablet II of 8 lines commented on in a space of 20 lines of text (II 88 to II 107). If we are correct, our placement of 16 commented lines in less than 20 lines of text would be the largest and tightest cluster of commentary lines in the entire commentary text. As unlikely as it may seem, we simply see no alternative.¹²³

¹²³Lengthening the gap between obverse and reverse will not lengthen the amount of available space at the bottom of the tablet. One can contrive other possibilities, of course. For example, perhaps the scribe of MS q began writing two lines of the poem per line on the tablet (as he did with lines 69–70 and 78–79). Twenty lines of space could hold as much as 40 lines of poetic text. But this is unlikely.

As a final review and summary, we offer a concordance of our reconstruction of Tablets III and IV and Lambert’s:

Lenzi and Annus		Lambert
	III	
III 1–62	=	III 1–30, 30a, 31–61
III 67–102	=	rev. of MS q
III 103–20	=	end of Tablet III
contain lines a–p from MS G	=	contains unknown number of lines from MS G
	IV	
IV 1–5	=	IV 1–5
IV 6	=	∅
IV 7–16	=	IV 6–15
(lines q and r = IV 14–17)	=	
IV 17–35	=	∅
IV 36–61	=	IV 76–101
(line v = IV 61)	=	
IV 64–90	=	IV 24–50
IV 101–120	=	∅

IV. Conclusion

BM 32208+ provides important new evidence for the recovery of *Ludlul*. The presentation here of the tablet’s preserved text, especially of the previously unknown lines, and our analysis of the tablet’s implications for the ordering of Tablet IV is a first foray into this difficult material. It is hoped that further evidence will be forthcoming to help us refine our understanding of this fascinating poem.