More Light on Nanāya

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This article presents an edition of three Old Babylonian literary texts relating to the goddess Nanāya: A new edition of the well-known, but difficult hymn VS 10, 215, and the *editio princeps* of two fragmentary texts UET 6/2, 404 (hymn) and UET 6/3, 889 (ritual? and hymnic section).

More than seventy years after the *editio princeps* of VS 10, 215 in this journal, our article presents a new edition of this important Old Babylonian hymn to Nanāya.[2] Two more fragmentary texts relating to this goddess, UET 6/2, 404 and UET 6/3, 889, are also edited here for the first time.

The general characteristics of the goddess Nanāya have been studied by Westenholz (1997) and Stol (1998–2001). The attributes of the goddess in the three texts presented here show that Nanāya shares many traits with Ištar, with whom she was possibly identified in later periods:[3]

a) Nanāya is the daughter of An:[4] VS 10, 215: 17 f.; UET 6/2, 404: 5.

b) Nanāya is the most powerful goddess among the Igigi: VS 10, 215: 26–28.

c) Nanāya is the mistress of the world:[5] VS 10, 215: 23. Tribute and offerings are brought to her from around the world: VS 10, 215: 31 f. She decides, literally "sows" the affair of mankind: UET 6/2, 404: 7. She is mighty in the world: UET 6/3, 889 ii 14.

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[2] For the name of Nanāya (not Nanâ or Nanāy) see Stol (1995, 1152); Westenholz (1997, 58). If the name contains the *nisbe* the second *ā* is long.

[3] Cf. Stol (1998–2001, 148 § 5.2), who sees a "Synkretismus" between Nanāya and Ištar, whereas Westenholz (1997, 80) stresses that Nanāya was never "a manifestation of Ištar".

[4] Cf. Stol (1998–2001, 147 § 3).

[5] Cf. her epithet n i n k u r - k u r - r a "mistress of all countries" in the Sum. hymn Išbi-Erra C (Hallo 1966, 242–244; ETCSL 2.5.1.3) 3, see also 33.

d) Nanāya is a luminous deity.[6] She is the sun of the people: VS 10, 215: 1. She is like the moon to behold: VS 10, 215: 3. Nanāya is endowed with brilliance: VS 10, 215: 4, and people look upon her light: VS 10, 215: 24; UET 6/2, 404: 1 f. She is asked to shine: VS 10, 215: 29.

e) Nanāya is a goddess of sex and love.[7] She is full of sweetness, attractiveness and sings of love: VS 10, 215: 5–8. Love charms are put around her neck: VS 10, 215: 16.

f) Nanāya is a raging and furious goddess:[8] VS 10, 215: 26; UET 6/2, 404: 3; UET 6/3, 889 ii 11 f. She is Irnina, "goddess of victory" (Westenholz 1997, 70). She tramples the field of the people: UET 6/2, 404: 6. The stubborn king is *seized* by her: UET 6/2, 404: 8 f.

g) Nanāya is just:[9] VS 10, 215: 9.

h) Nanāya is wise:[10] VS 10, 215: 25.

i) Nanāya brings well-being and life: VS 10, 215: 11.

j) Nanāya has a special connection with the king.[11] Samsuiluna, king of Babylon, presents her offerings: VS 10, 215: 33–36. He rejoices over her: VS 10, 215: 42. He is granted life and kingship by her: VS 10, 215: 37–40, 49–52. The king is named by the goddess: VS 10, 215: 46–48, 55. Through her he is made the champion of the world: VS 10, 215: 53 f.

k) Nanāya is connected to childbirth in the difficult text UET 6/3, 889 ii 3–10. For this aspect of the goddess no other clear evidence is known (cf. however, [n]a?-na-bu "offspring" in VS 10, 215: 6, and Westenholz 1997, 64, who mentions libations connected to Nanāya which were possibly "related to rites after rising from childbirth").

1. VS 10, 215 (SEAL 2.1.10.3)

A copy of the text VAT 5798, kept in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, was published by H. Zimmern (1913 as VS 10, 215). The first, and until now the only full transliteration and translation of the text, including a

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[6] See Westenholz (1997, 64) for the "celestial associations" of Nanāya, ib. 68 for the "diurnal aspects of her cult" and ib. 70 for her "cosmic aspects", although she cannot be identified with the moon or with Venus in the early period. See also utu-gin$_7$ dalla è "emerging brilliantly like the sun" Išbi-Erra C 1 and mul-an ḫé-me-a "she is truly a heavenly star" ib. 8.

[7] Cf. Stol (1995, 1153); Westenholz (1997, 64f.); Stol (1998–2001, 147 § 3).

[8] Cf. Westenholz (1997, 65 n. 66); Stol (1998–2001, 147 § 3), according to him meant sexually.

[9] Cf. her epithets di-kud gal "great judge" in Išbi-Erra C 11 and si-sá "just" ib. 14.

[10] Cf. her epithets igi-ĝál šúm-mu "who gives prudence" Išbi-Erra C 4 and gal-zu "wise" ib. 13.

[11] Cf. Westenholz (1997, 63 f., 67).

commentary, was published by von Soden (1938). Several translations appeared later: by von Soden (1953), Seux (1976), Hecker (1989) and Foster (2005). Minor studies of the text were published by Seux (1969), von Soden (1977), Groneberg (1981) and Wasserman (1992). Many remarks on the text are dispersed in the dictionaries. The text was collated by Wasserman 1992, and for personal use photos were taken by T. Oshima and Streck in 2008 and Wasserman in 2011. The photos published here with the permission of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin were taken in 2011 by Olaf M. Teßmer.

The orthography of the text points to the larger area of Babylon as its origin: see the typical northern OB orthography *pí* l. 2, *qú* ll. 27, 28, 34 and 58 and *qí* ll. 28, 53, 56. However, the orthography is not entirely consistent: see the southern OB orthography *ṭa* ll. 3, 49 and *qù* l. 25 (for the latter see the commentary on the line). Since Samsuiluna lost control over the South after the first third of his reign (Charpin 2004, 336–339), a northern origin seems to fit better the historical situation.

Remarkable is the use of *à* in l. 33 and probably also in l. 41. This orthography connects our text with the famous Ištar hymn of Ammiditana (SEAL 2.1.5.3), where we find *ru-à-ma-am* l. 7, *ba-ni-à-a* l. 12, *iš-ta-à-ša* l. 13, *na-ar-bi-à-aš* l. 21, 23, *ba-ši-à-a* l. 40, *ba-la-à-tí-im* l. 47. *à* is also attested in *na-ši-a-à* UET 6/3, 889 ii 10 (see below). In addition, as was already observed by von Soden (1938, 30), the Nanāya hymn consists of 14 stanzas, like the Ištar hymn of Ammiditana.

Our text bears the generic designation *pa-*[*r*]*u-ú* (l. 28a, see Groneberg 1981, 180).[12] Although written after the first seven stanzas on the lower edge of the tablet (probably for lack of space), it seems to refer to the entire composition, including the reverse of the tablet. The plene spelling *pa-*[*r*]*u-ú* indicates that the word is in pl. although only one hymn is found on the tablet. Hence, either the pl. refers to different stanzas as separate *pārū*, or it is some kind of a library notation for "belonging to the hymns section". No external evidence can be furnished for this suggestion.

In both the Ištar hymn of Ammiditana and probably also in the Nanāya hymn treated here appears the rubric "its antiphone": cf. l. 60 in the Ištar hymn and $^{\hat{g}}$[$^{e\check{s}}$g] e$_4$-ĝ[ál-bi][13] in l. 57 of the Nanāya hymn (von Soden

[12] The reference is missing in both the AHw. and the CAD. On *pārum* see Groneberg (2003, 59 f.), without reference to our text, and Streck/Wasserman (2008, 346).

[13] Much less likely is that the broken l. 57 contains another generic designation like the *pa-*[*r*]*u-ú* of l. 28a. Two arguments speak against this assumption: first, there is no parallel of a *Sammeltafel* that only has one column, with one composition on each side; second, two compositions with only seven stanzas are unlikely in view of the parallel of the Ištar hymn which consists of 14 stanzas.

1938, 34 and 44; 1953, 239; followed by Wilcke 1975, 258, and Foster 2005, 91). The question is: where does the antiphone begin? For the Ištar hymn the answer is clear. Unlike all the other stanzas, the antiphone (starting in l. 57) consists of only three lines and contains a blessing to the king. Compared with the Ištar hymn, we assume that the antiphone in the Nanāya hymn is also short and also contains a blessing to the king. We therefore suggest that the antiphone in this hymn consists of ll. 53–56 (see also Foster 2005, 91 n. 3 and Shehata 2009, 318). Hecker (1989, 726), however, disputes the reading $^g[^{iš}g]e_4$-g[ál-bi] in l. 57 and suggests that the antiphone – strangely not mentioned explicitly – consists of ll. 56–58. This would mean that the last stanza (not the antiphone!) consists only of three lines (ll. 53–56) which is unlikely. Furthermore, this suggestion overlooks the indentation of l. 57, a clear mark that this line contains a rubric of some kind (similarly to the indentation of the rubric l. 28a in our text and also l. 60 in the Ištar hymn of Ammiditana).

Line 58 reads *šušqût iltim* "exaltation of the goddess". Von Soden (1938, 44) thought of a "Stichzeile". If von Soden's idea is right it would mean that we are dealing here with a series of different hymnic compositions ordered in a fixed manner. MB and later evidence[14] support this. Can one assume that the pl. designation *pārū* (l. 28a discussed above) refers to a *pārū*-series of several tablets? Series, although not "canonical", of literary texts already existed in OB: see the reference for a series of love lyrics in AOAT 267, 193 (SEAL 1.3.4) 16f. (4 *irātum iškar êš râmī šāqur* "4 'breast' songs (of) the series 'Where is my loved one, he is so dear'") and the catalogue of lamentations, edited by Shaffer (1993, 209f.; SEAL 10.1.2).

Another, probably safer, way to interpret l. 58 is that *šušqût iltim* is the heading of the hymn (Shehata 2009, 317). Headings are found in two other OB hymns to Ištar (Groneberg 2003, 59; Shehata 2009, 309 and 321)[15]: in Agušaya A (SEAL 2.1.5.1) one finds in the upper edge of the tablet *ú-ta-ar* ᴍᴜš "it turns the snake";[16] in Ištar Louvre (SEAL 2.1.5.5) one finds, again in the upper edge of the tablet, *ta-na-ti Iš₈-tár* "praise of Ištar". And so, l. 58 in the Nanāya hymn – written on the left edge of the tablet – supplies the third example of a title for an OB hymn, possibly alluding to l. 27 ([*a*]*ttī šušqūtum*) in the text itself.

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14 See Black (1983) and Limet (1996).
15 For subscripts see Groneberg (2003, 59f.).
16 See for this line now Streck (2011b, 561).

VAT 5798, 14 × 7 × 3 cm

obv.

1   *il-ta-am ša-ma-aš ni-˹ši˺-i-˹ša˺*
2   ᵈ*Na-na-a sú-up-pí-a šu-uʙ-ʙa na-az-˹za˺-˹aš˺-[sà]*
3   *ša-tu ki-ma ar-ḫi-im a-na-ṭa-li-im*
4   *i-gi-sú-ṣi-il-la-ša ša-ru-ri za-ˀ-nu*

5   [*uḫ*]-*ta-an-na-mu e-lu-uš-ša*
6   [*n*]*aˀ-na-bu ma-aš-ra-ḫu du-šu-pu ku-úz-bu*
7   [*ḫu-d*]*i ṣi-ḫa-tim ù ru-a-mi tu-uš-ta-az-na-*[*an*]
8   [*r*]*aˀ-ma-am* ᵈ*Na-na-a ta-az-mu-ur*

9   [*it-t*]*a-al-la-˹ku˺ i-du-uš-ša ki-na-tum*
10 [*šu?-u*]*l?-mu-um ba-aš-tum si-im-tu-um*
11 [*qá?-bu?*]-*ú ša* ˹*šu*˺-*ul-mi* ˹*ù*˺ [*b*]*a-la-ṭi-im*
12 [*al*]-*ka-as-sà ad-da-ar da-*˹*mi-iq*˺-*tum it-tu-um*

13 ˹x x x-*du*˺-*at šu-a-ra-am*
14 ˹x x˺ [x] ˹x˺-*du i-si-iq-ša la-am-da-at*
15 *šu-ul-lu-um li-ib-bi-i-ša a-bu-uš ú-ša-te-er-ši*
16 *ta-at-bi-*˹*ma*˺ *i-ri-ma-am id-di ki-š*[*a-d*]*i-*˹*ša*˺

17 *i-ku-ul-la-tu i-la-tim* ˹*ra*˺-*bu-um* [*A*]-*nu-um*
18 *a-li-du-uš* ˹*ú*˺-*ul-li* [*r*]*e-e-šu-uš*
19 *et-tum* ˹*mu*˺-*uš-ta-ar-ḫa-at ù ka-na-at*
20 *i-ši-im-ši na-aš-ma-ḫi* ˹*ka!?*˺-*da-ša ul-ṣa-am*

21 ˹*ṣú*˺-*ḫi-iš si-qá-ar ḫu-da-tim*
22 *i-ta-wu-ú an-ša-aš ú-ša-an-ma-ar li-ib-bu-uš*
23 *be-le-e-ti* [*š*]*a da-ad-mi ab-ra-ti-ši-in*
24 *pa-al-sà-a-ši-*[*i*]*m ki* ᵈUTU *ni-šu nu-ri-iš-ki*

25 [*l*]*e-a₄-tum em-qù-*˹*tum*˺ *te-*˹*li*˺-*tum*
26 ᵈ*Ir-ni-na ga-aṣ-ṣa-tum g*[*a*]-˹*še*˺-*er-ti I-gi-gi*
27 [*a*]*t-ti šu-uš-qú-tum a-še-ra-sú-un*
28 [*q*]*é-er-bu-uš-šu-uš*(-)*šu-qú-ru šu!-mu-ú-ki*
28a   *pa-*[*r*]*u-ú*

rev.

29   *im-ri li-ri-iš ka-ba-at-tu-uk*
30   *šu-te-eb-ri-i šu-li-li i-na ib-ra-tim*
31   *ki-du ḫa-šu-ra-am li-bi-lu-ki-im*
32   *ṣú!-⟨ḫì⟩-iš-ki li-im-lu-ʿú¹la-lu-ú-ʿam¹ nu-uḫ-ša-am*

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33   *ta-ar-ṣi-à-ta-ki mi-gi-ir-ki*
34   *šar-ri tu-ud-di ʿSa¹-am-su-i-lu-na zi-bi-ki li-qú-ud*
35   *i-pa-ʿat ki¹-ib-ra-ʿtim¹ù ʿša-di?-im?¹li-iš⟨-ta⟩-ak-ka-an*
36   *šu-ʿba-as-sú¹ ʿṣú¹-[ḫi]-ʿiš?¹ ʿma-ḫa¹-ar-ki [l]i-ʿir¹-mi*

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37   *ši-bi-ir ne-ši-ʿim¹ a-g[e₄-e ša]r-ri-im*
38   *ša-na-tim ʿša¹mi-ʿša¹-[ri-im] ʿù¹ ʿki¹-na-tim*
39   *šu-úr-šu-ud* [x x] ʿx¹ [x x x x] ʿx¹ [š]*u-ul-mi*
40   *na-nu-uk-ki na-*[*ad?-nu?-šu?-um?*] ʿad?¹-[*da?-a*]*r?*

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41   *ṣe-ri-iš* AN [...]-ʿx¹-*ra-à-ki-im*
42   ᵈ*Na-na-a* [...]-ʿri?-iš?¹*iḫ-ta-aš-šu-uš*
43   *i-na ma-aš-ʿta¹-k*[*a-tim* ...]-*mi* ʿil-tum¹
44   ʿel¹ [*i*]*m-ra-*x x [...] x *ša-ni-iš ni-gu-ta-am te-ri*!-*iš*

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45   *ib-bi-ʿir?¹-*x x [...] ʿx¹-*li-il*
46   *na-ra-*[*am-ša šar-ra-a*]*m* [*sa-l*]*i-mu-uš-ša ta-ab-bi*
47   [*Sa?-a*]*m?-s*[*u?-i*]-*lu?-na?* [... *iz-z*]*a-az-za*
48   [...] [*šu*]-*wa-tu ta-ab-bi-i-šu*

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49   [*da-r*]*i-a-am ba-la-a-ṭa-am* ᵈ*Na-na-a ar-k*[*a-am*]
50   [*ta*]-*tu-ú-ra-am tu-ṣi-ib ta-aš-ru-uk-šu-*[*um*]
51   [*a-n*]*a* ʿSa-am¹-*su-ʿi¹-lu-na na-ra-mi-i-ša*
52   ʿtu¹-*ša-at-*[*li-i*]*m-šu-u*[*m*] ʿša-am¹-*ša ki na-an-na-a-ri-im*

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53   *qí-bi-tu-uš-ša mi-i*[*g-ru-ú*]*š e-te-el*
54   [*e*]*l* ʿúr¹-*ša-ni š*[*a-qí*] *i-n*[*a*] *ki-ib-ra-tim*
55   [...] *i-ma* [... *l*]*i-ri-iš na-bi-i-*[*ša*]
56   ʿx¹-*tum iš-*ʿx¹ [x x] x x *iq-qé-er-*[*bi-*...]

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57   ĝ[ⁱšg]e₄-ĝ[ál-bi]

left edge

58   *šu-uš-qú-ú-ut il-tim*

obv.

1   To the goddess, sun of her people,
2   to Nanāya pray, proclaim(?) [her] position,
3   she who is like the moon to look on
4   (and) whose awesome appearance is endowed with brilliance.

———————————————————————

5   Upon her   bloom
6   [off]spring(?), splendour, sweetness and attractiveness.
7   She is provided with [jo]y, laughter and charm.
8   Nanāya has sung of [lov]e(?).

———————————————————————

9   At her side constantly walk justice,
10 [well-]being(?), dignity, decorum,
11 [comma]nd(?) of well-being and life.
12 Her path is a good sign forever.

———————————————————————

13 ⌜She is …⌝ in dancing.
14 […] she knows her lot.
15 Her father increased her (ability to attain) her desire.
16 She arose and he put love charms round her neck.

———————————————————————

17 Anum the great, from among all goddesses,
18 her begetter, has raised her head.
19 She, the unique one, is magnificent and honoured.
20 He decreed for her exuberance, … (and) rejoicing.

———————————————————————

21 Laughingly, a word of joy
22 he said to her, making her heart radiant:
23 "You rule over the world's inhabitants!
24 The people look upon you(!), upon your light, as (at) the sun's!"

———————————————————————

25 Capable, wise(?), experienced,
26 raging Irnina, the most powerful among the Igigi,
27 you are the most exalted one, directing them.
28 Among them precious are your names.

———————————————————————

28a   *pārū*-songs.

rev.
29   Shine! May your mind rejoice!
30   Keep up exulting in the shrines!
31   May the surrounding regions bring you cypress wood,
32   for your *pleasure*(!) may they be filled with wealth and abundance!

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33   May your chosen-(one), your favourite,
34   the king you have destined, Samsuiluna, burn your food-offering!
35   May he always put the tribute of the (inhabited) world and the steppe
     (before you).
36   May he joyfully(?) set up his residence before you!

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37   The staff of life, the cr[own of the kin]g,
38   years of justice and truth,
39   Securely founded […] of health,
40   at your command are gi[ven(?) to him(?) foreve]r(?).

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41   Towards […]
42   Nanāya […] – he (the king) used to rejoice (over her).
43   In the chamb[ers …] the goddess
44   over(?) … she asked for a joyful song again.

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45   … […] …
46   She named [her] belov[ed, the king], in her [ami]ty.
47   [Sa]ms[u]-[i]luna(?) [… is st]anding(?).
48   [… the mis]tress named him.

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49   An everlasting life, a long (life),
50   Nanāya [re]peatedly granted him largely.
51   [T]o Samsuiluna, her beloved,
52   she bestowed the sun as light.

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53   At her command her fa[vorite] is the champion.
54   [He is raised] above (all) heroes in the world
55   […] [May] he rejoice, who was named by her!
56   […] in […]

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57   [Its] [an]tiph[one].

left edge
58   Exaltation of the goddess.

2: *šu-uв-вa* is still unclear. AHw. 1119 and CAD Š/1, 3 book the hapax *šabābu* "be-singen", "to proclaim"; cf. von Soden (1938, 33) and Hecker (1989, 724) "besingt", Foster (2005, 89) "praise". We tentatively follow this suggestion. CAD N/1, 262 s. v. *nanzazu* 2a suggests a variant of *šūpâ*; see also Groneberg (1981, 180). However, neither the doubled *в* nor the spelling вa for /pa/ nor the vowel contraction favour this analysis.

3: *šātu* is a determinative pronoun, see GAG § 46c and AHw. 1199 *šāt* 2; cf. Hecker (1989, 724) "die wie der Mond anzuschauen". CAD Š/2, 184 analyses the form as deter-minative pronoun but translates it like a personal pronoun: "she … is like the moon"; simi-larly Foster (2005, 89) "for she is like the new moon".

4: AHw. 287 s. v. *gêsu* "zuteilen" suggests the reading *igêsu ṣillaša*, which was trans-lated by Seux (1976, 42) "Qui dispense sa protection" and Hecker (1989, 724) "die … ihren Schatten zuteilt". However, the text always uses *ta*-prefix for the 3. p. sg. fem. (see ll. 7, 8, 16, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52). Moreover, the verb *gêsu* is only poorly attested, and our line would be the sole OB instance. Since *zaʾnu* is stative 3. p. sg. masc., Nanāya also cannot be the subject of the second part of the line, as translated by Seux (1976, 42) "Qui … de rayonnement est parée" and by Hecker (1989, 724) "die … mit Glanz geschmückt ist". And so, although the word *igisuṣillu* is a hapax, we follow CAD I/J 43 which reads *igi-suṣillu* "who is like the new moon to look upon, whose appearance of awesome splendor is full of wondrous brilliance", and Foster (2005, 93) "her wondrous features full of bril-liance".

6: CAD N/1, 260 s. v. *nannabu*, disc. section, suggest the reading [*ḫa*]-*na-bu* instead of *nannabu* "progeny, offspring" (von Soden 1938, 37; Hecker 1989, 724). Foster (2005, 89) "abundance" follows most probably this suggestion. However, the broken sign before нa, which is visible on the copy and in the photos, does not fit a [ḫ]a.

7: The restoration *ḫūdī* (von Soden 1938, 7) seems still plausible. Groneberg (1981, 180) [*e-l*]*i* is difficult because it presupposes that the sentence ends in the next line: "[über] das Lachen und den Liebreiz hinaus verteilt sie [Wohlergehen]". – CAD Z 43 derives *tuštaznan* from *zanānu* A "to rain" and translates "She is bedewed with joy and loveliness"; a passive Št of this verb would, however, mean "she is caused to rain down". Foster (2005, 89) "She has showered down" presupposes a preterit or perfect Š, but *tuštaznan* is a present Št. Therefore, we follow von Soden (1938, 33; also AHw. 1510 and Hecker 1989, 724) and de-rive the form from *zanānu* "to provide".

8: Von Soden (1938, 37) and Hecker (1989, 724) leave the restoration of the beginning of the line open. Groneberg (1981, 180) [*šu-ul*]-*ma-am* does not fit the traces before -*ma*. Foster (2005, 89) "Nanay has sung of [lo]ve". – *tazmur* can be a 2. p. sg. "you sang" with a change of subject from *tuštaznan* l. 7. However, a 2. p. sg. preterit referring to the singer is without any parallel. We take this form, therefore, as referring to the goddess singing of herself, although this is also not free of problems.

10: The restoration [*šuʔ-u*]*lʔ*- (von Soden 1938, 32, followed by Hecker 1989, 724 and Foster 2005, 89) fits the trace of a lower *Winkelhaken* before -*mu* better than the restora-tions [*re*]-*mu-um* (Groneberg 1981, 180) or [*te-e*]*š-mu-um* (CAD B 143; CAD S 280; Seux 1976, 43).

11: Von Soden (1938, 32; also Seux 1976, 43, Hecker 1989, 724 and Foster 2005, 89) suggests [*ma-lu*]-*ú*, E. Reiner, apud Groneberg (1981, 180) suggested [*še-du*]-*ú*. If the resto-ration is correct, ll. 9–11 form a tristich.

13: Both copy and photo do not favour the reading *l*[*u!-u*]*l*b*!-b*[*u!-š*]*a-at*, offered by AHw. 524 and von Soden (1977, 280), and followed by Hecker (1989, 725) "sie ist bekleidet", and Foster (2005, 89) "she is b[edecked]". CAD A/1, 293 and Š/3, 162 read [*mu-al*]-*l*[*i-d*]*a-at* "who creates dance", which also does not fit the sign traces. The sign before -*at* is not a ša

but a DU (see, e. g., DU in the next line.), and one expects a form of *edûm*, like *šudūʾat*, but the beginning of the line is still unclear.

14: Von Soden (1938, 32) [*be-e*]*l-tu*[*m ša t*]*a-ḫi-du*, followed by Seux (1976, 43), by Hecker (1989, 725), and by Foster (2005, 89).

16: The translation of *irīmum* follows Foster (2005, 90).

17: Von Soden (1938, 32) *la-bu-um* "lion" (also Hecker 1989, 725), an unusual epithet for Anum. CAD A/1, 340 (and also Seux 1976, 43) suggest *ru-bu-um* "noble" which does not fit the signs. Foster (2005, 90) translates "great", obviously reading ⸢*ra*⸣-*bu-um*, a reading that fits well the sign and is an expected epithet of Anum.

19: For *ēttum* cf. *wēttī* in UET 6/2, 404: 4 (see below).

20: Von Soden (1938, 32; cf. also AHw. 419 and Hecker 1989, 725) reads *ka-da-ša* "Festesfreude" (hapax) and assumes a by-form of *ḫadāšum*. Both photo and copy show that the sign in question has one vertical stroke too many for a correct KA. CAD N/2, 66 s. v. *našmaḫū* (repeated in CAD U/W 87) reads *id-da-ša* (after a collation of B. Groneberg) but does not offer any translation. The photo, however, shows that the sign is definitely not *id*. Foster (2005, 90) also refrains from offering any translation.

21: Reading ⸢*ṣú*⸣-*ḫi-iš* after Wasserman (1992, 61 no. 80).

23: Groneberg (1981, 180) translates "du bist Herrin! die Menschen schauen auf dich wie auf Šamaš; (so) schauen die Menschen auf dein Licht", which is, however, difficult since one expects a nominative *abrātušin*. The correct analysis was already offered by von Soden (1938, 33; followed by CAD D 19 s. v. *dadmū* b, CAD A/1, 62 s. v. *abrātu*, as well as Seux 1976, 44, Hecker 1989, 725, and Foster 2005, 90): *bēlēti* is an active stative; the object is *abrātišin*. *ša dadmī* is an anticipatory genitive, resumed by the suffix -*šin*. *dadmī*, although normally masc., is here fem. as in BWL 126: 32 (Šamaš hymn): *dadmē kalîšina*.

24: The text erroneously has -*ši-im* instead of -*ki-im*.

25: [*l*]*e-a₄-tum* after von Soden (1938, 32) "*Fähige*", followed by Seux (1976, 44), by Hecker (1989, 725), by Groneberg (1981, 180) and by Foster (2005, 90) "O Capable". Von Soden (1977, 280) tentatively suggests "[*l*]*e-ʾa₄-aš*!? für *leʾât* 'sie ist tüchtig' mit Spirantisierung des *t*?" – AHw. 376 derives IM-GU-TUM from the lemma *imgû* of unknown meaning. See also Hecker (1989, 725) with translation "*kundige*". Note that the personal names in AHw. s. v. *imgû* are hypocoristica of fuller names of the type *imgur*-DN. In spite of the orthographical inconsistency (see *qú* ll. 27, 28, 34, 58) we derive the word from *emēqum*, despite the fact that *emuqtum* is the expected form (cf. Seux 1976, 44 "capable", and Foster 2005, 90 "wise?"). Note finally the assonance of *emqutum* (or *emqūtum*) and *šušqūtum* l. 27.

27: For *a-še-ra-sú-un* see Seux (1969), Seux (1976, 44), and Groneberg (1981, 180; correct her *su* to *sú*). The reading *e-li-šu-un* (F. Köcher apud von Soden 1977, 280, followed by Hecker 1989, 725 and Foster 2005, 90) is not correct: the photos show a very clear *a*, followed by *še*, a slightly erased but nevertheless hardly doubtful *ra* and a sign with two horizontal wedges of almost the same length, all which points to SÚ rather than to ŠU. For *ašārum* said of gods (especially *āšir Igigī*) see CAD A/2, 421 *ašāru* A 1c1′.

28: Von Soden (1977, 288; also AHw. 914b s. v. *qerbum* II C 2) [*q*]*é-er-bu-uš-šu-un*! with an unnecessary correction of the text. For the sandhi spelling see Groneberg (1981, 180). Groneberg (ib.) reads at the beginning of the line [*i*]-*qé*- … but there is not enough space for the restoration of *i*. – *šu*!-*mu-ú-ki* after von Soden (1977, 280; see also Hecker 1989, 725 and Foster 2005, 90). The photos show that the sign in question has only one vertical stroke. Compared to other ŠU signs in the text, the lower horizontal wedge is not longer than the upper one, a fact which triggered the earlier reading E (*e-mu-ú-qí* "Kräfte", von Soden 1938, 32 f.), and Seux (1976, 44), "forces". – Note the alliteration *qerbuššuš-šūqurū šumūki*.

28a: For *pa*-[*r*]*u-ú* see the discussion in the introduction of the text above. The reading *ši*[*t*]-*ru-ú* by Shehata (2009, 319 with n. 1835), is ruled out by the orthography (ŠID as a syllabogram is only attested from MB onwards), and contra Shehata (2009, 312 n. 1791) the first sign resembles more a PA (cf. PA in ll. 24 and 35) than a SI, whose upper horizontal wedge always starts clearly more to the left than the lower horizontal wedge (cf. SI ll. 10, 14 and 21).

32: Von Soden (1938, 34) reads *ku-uš-di* "bei deinem Eintreffen (wörtlich: triff ein)", and (1953, 238) "komm (nur) hin", followed by Seux (1976, 44) "viens", by Hecker (1989, 725) "Komm her", and by Foster (2005, 90) "Approach them". The reading *ma-at-ki* found in CAD L 51 s. v. *lalû* A 4d "may your country become full of abundant (vegetation and) plenty" does not fit the sign after *ma* and is grammatically difficult because *limlû* requires a subject in the masc. pl. Groneberg's (1981, 180) reading *ma-ša-ki* "dein Speicher" fits neither sign nor grammar (wrong concord, and the construct state should be *maššī- or *maššû-), and is also lexically unconvincing because *maššû* is a container rather than a storeroom. – Note the stem vowel -*ū* in *lalū* (and not -*ā*). In addition, *lalû* is usually found with attached pronominal suffixes. Groneberg (1981, 180) reads *lalû-ma*.

33: For the construct state in -*a*- cf. *tanīdātaša* Agušaya A ii 5, *ištarāta in* ib. 12, *têrēta a* ib. v 20, and see von Soden (1931, 214 f.). The word *tarṣiʾātum* is a hapax, cf. CAD T 241; Streck (2000, 119 and 125 § 1.98).

34: Von Soden (1938, 34 and 41; repeated in AHw. 407 s. v. *itûtu*) suggested a sandhi spelling *šar-ri-tu-ut-ki*! < *šar itûtki* "der *von dir erlesene* König". However, copy and photo show a clear -*di*. The reading followed here was offered in CAD Z 105 s. v. *zību* A "the king you have chosen(?)"; similarly CAD Q 52 s. v. *qâdu* 2, Seux (1976, 45) "le roi que tu as désigné(?)", Hecker (1989, 725) "der König, den du bezeichnest", Foster (2005, 90) "the king you have designated". – Copy and photo show that the sign after *zi* resembles more *bi* than *bu*, and the last sign of the line is clearly *ud*, not *du*. Therefore, the reading *zi-bu-ki li-ma-du* "die Opfer für dich mögen *zahlreich sein*" (von Soden 1938, 34 f., see also AHw. 1525 *zību* i 1 for *zi-bu*) can be ruled out. For the reading adopted here see CAD Z 105 s. v. *zību* A (still correcting an alleged *zi-bu* to *zi-bi*), CAD Q 52 s. v. *qâdu* 2, Seux (1976, 45), Hecker (1989, 725) and Foster (2005, 90), *pace* von Soden (1977, 280) who rejects *qâdu* because the word is never used of offerings.

35: The reading *i-pa-at* was introduced by AHw. 385 s. v. *iptu* and followed by Seux (1976, 45), Groneberg (1981, 180), Hecker (1989, 725) and Foster (2005, 90). – Groneberg (1981, 180) suggests *ša*?-*tu*-[*ka*?] "regelmäßiges Opfer" which does not fit well the damaged signs: the *tu* is questionable, and the broken sign after the alleged TU resembles more IM sign than KA. – Von Soden (1938, 34) reads *li*-⟨*iš*⟩-*ta-ak-ka-an*, followed by Groneberg (1981, 180) after collation. However, the photo shows that the IŠ sign is written and the TA is missing.

37–40: The restoration of these lines is suggested by comparison with the hymn Ištar Ammiditana (SEAL 2.1.5.3) ll. 45–52.

37: Von Soden (1938, 34) *a-k*[*a-pa-a*]*r-ri-im* "dem Hirten". Groneberg (1981, 180) suggested *ne-ši* [*ša*] *A-k*[*a-di-im ù Šu-m*]*e-ri-im* "life of Akkad and Sumer" with an unusual word order (noted by Groneberg herself) – since normally Sumer precedes Akkad in this combination. Note that according to both copy and photo -⸢*im*⸣ after *ne-ši* is certain.

39: One expects "the foundation [*of the throne*/ *base of kingship*]", or similar.

40: Cf. *na-nu-uk-ki* in Ištar Louvre (SEAL 2.1.5.5) ii 37. The use of this rare word in this hymn may allude to the name of the goddess.

41: Von Soden (1938, 34) suggests the restoration [*li*(-)]*it-ra-à-ki-im* "[*mögen*] *sie* dir *holen*."

42: Since the text uses *ta*-prefix for the 3. p. sg. fem. the subject of *iḫtaššuš* is probably the king and not Nanāya.

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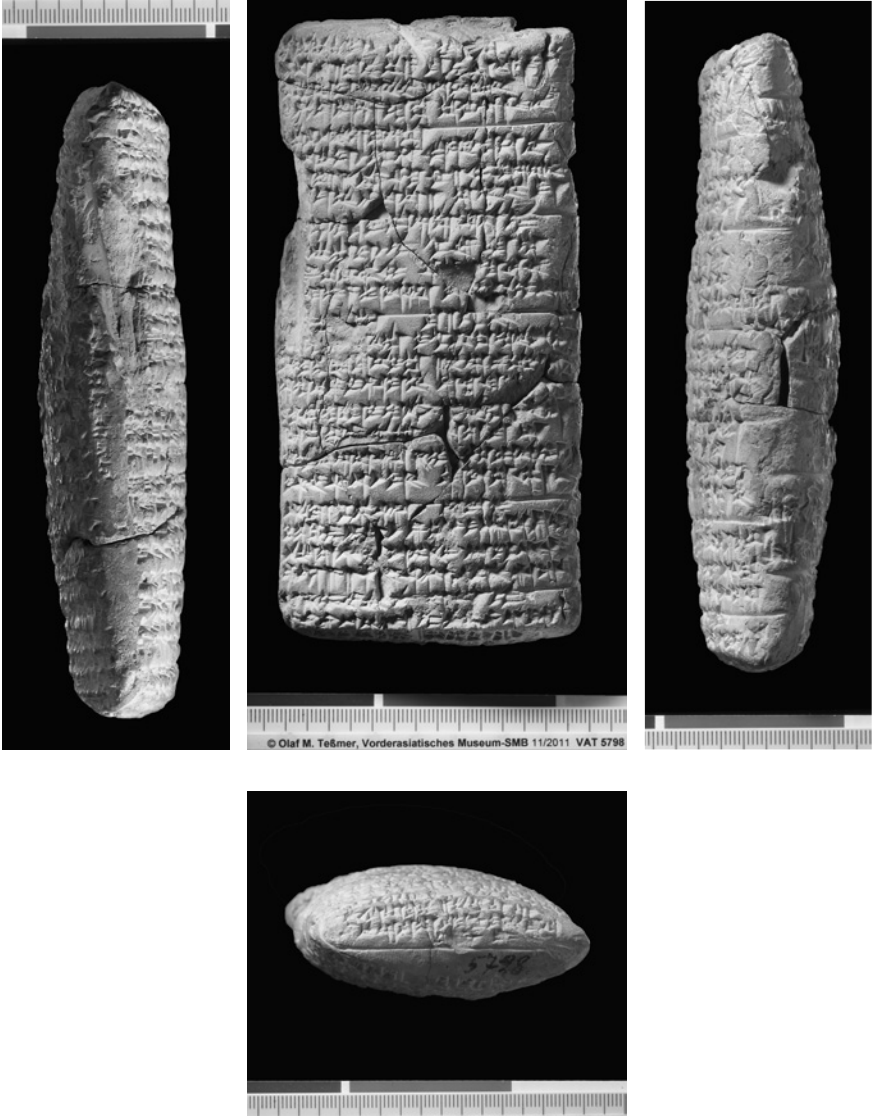
VAT 5798 obv

VAT 5798 rev

45: Von Soden (1938, 34 and 44), suggests at the end of the line *il?-li-il* "*Ellil*" with an unexpected orthography of the divine name. One expects a verb in this final position, like in the following three lines of the stanza, perhaps *elēlum* or *šuklulum*.

47: The tentative reading follows von Soden (1938, 34), but can neither be confirmed nor refuted by our photos.

48: For *šuwātu* as an epithet of Nanāya instead of the pronoun (cf. von Soden 1938, 34f. etc.) see *ša-at* in UET 6/3, 889 ii 12 below.

50: Von Soden (1938, 34f.; also 1953, 239 and AHw. 1340), followed by Seux (1976, 45), by Hecker (1989, 726), by Foster (2005, 91), and by CAD T 300, analyses the first word of the line as the noun *tatturum* "profit". This analysis hardly explains the plene spelling of the *u* (noun pattern *taPRuS*, not *taPRūS). We understand *tatūram tūšib tašrukšum* as a (double) *Koppelung*. Note the alliteration in this line.

2. UET 6/2, 404 (SEAL 2.1.10.1)

A copy of the text was published by C. Gadd/S. N. Kramer, UET 6/2, 404. The text has never been fully transliterated and translated. It was collated by Ludwig (2009, 251); according to her, the tablet has a one-column format, like VS 10, 215. For the edition we used a photo of the late A. Shaffer (courtesy of the British Museum).

7.6 × 6.1 × 3.1 cm
1   *bi-ir-bi-re-et ka-la ni-*[*ši* x x x]
2   *bi-tum li-iš-pu ù li-wi-*[*ir* x x]
3   ᵈ*Na-na-a-a ti-ba-am ša-mu-r*[*a-at?*]
4   *lu-uz-mu-ur we-ti it-ti-ku-*[*nu* x x x]
5   *ma-ar-ti A!-ni-i*[*m?*] ᵉʳᵃˢᵘʳᵉ
6   *ka-bi-iš-ti e-qé-el ni-š*[*i* x x x]
7   *za-ri-tu wa-ar-ka-at té-*[*né?-še?-tim*]
8   *ša-ru-um wa-aš-ṭù-um ki* x [x x x]
9   ᵈ*Na-na-a-a lu tu-um-*[*mu?-ḫa?-sú?*]
10   *gi-iš-pe-er-ru-*[*um* x x x (x)]
11   ᵈ*Na-na-a-a* x [x x x x x]
12   *la a-*ˈ*aḫ*ˈ[*-za?-at?* x x x x x]
13   *la ki* [x x x x x x x]
rest broken and reverse uninscribed

1   She is a shining light, all peop[le *look at her*].
2   Let her flare up in the temple and shin[e …].

3   Nanāya is very fi[erce(?)] in her attack.
4   Let me sing of my unique one, together with y[ou *let me praise*(?)],
5   the daughter of A[n],

6   (let me sing) of her who tramples the field of the peo[ple …],
7   of her who sows the affair of ma[nkind(?)].

8   As for the stubborn king, like […]
9   Nanāya has [*seized him*(?)].

10 A tra[p …]
11 Nanāya … […]

12 She is not … […]
13 Not l[ike(?) …]

1: Cf. AHw. 1548 s. v. *birbirrū*.
2: Cf. AHw 1177 s. v. *šapû* II 7e; CAD Š/1 488 s. v. *šapû* A, 1a1′.
3: Read *šamurrat*, stative of a hitherto unattested *šamurrum*?
4: For *wēttī* see *ēttum* in VS 10, 215 i 19 (above).
5: The photo shows a clear ZA instead of A (see also the collation of Ludwig 2009), but ZA gives hardly any sense. For Nanāya as the "first-born daughter" (*bukurtu*) of An, see Stol (1998–2001), 147.
6: Read *kābišti* < *kābisti* (deaffrication of /s/ before /t/, see Streck (2006, 216–218; 2011a, 19 § 40).
7: Read *zārītu* (AHw. 1516 *zārû* 3).
8: According to our interpretation, *šarrum waštum* is perhaps a casus pendens.
12: If the restoration is correct, *aḫzat* is either an active stative ("she does not hold") or a passive stative ("she is unmarried").

UET 6/2, 404

3. UET 6/3, 889 (SEAL 2.1.10.2)

A copy of the text was published by A. Shaffer as UET 6/3, 889. Ac-
cording to him (see UET 6/3 p. 24), the text is a "fragment of a multi-col-
umn tablet, obverse and reverse; the reverse has faint traces of one line
and is otherwise ruled for columns, but uninscribed; probably part of the
same tablet as UET 6/404". However, since UET 6/2, 404 is a one-col-
umn tablet Shaffer's suggestion that both fragments belong together can-
not be maintained. For the edition we used a photo of the obverse left by
A. Shaffer (courtesy British Museum).

The fragment is opaque and defies clear interpretation. If understood
correctly it is replete with rare words and forms, and hapax legomena (*ḫa-
bāsum* and *šūrītum* ii 5, *qamāmum* ii 7, *amurratum* and *šâtum* ii 12, *addum* ii
13). The goddess is mentioned explicitly in ii 3 and 13. Lines ii 5–10 ap-
parently connect her with childbirth, although such a relation of the god-
dess to childbirth is unknown elsewhere (see section k) in the introduction
of this article). In ii 11–14 Nanāya is depicted as fierce and mighty god-
dess, for which parallels do exist (see sections c) and f) in the introduction
of this article).

9.0 × 9.7 × 4.4 cm

col. i
1′ [   ] ⌜x⌝
2′ [   ] ⌜x⌝
3′ [   ] *ni*
4′ [   ] x
5′ [   ] *ni*
6′ [   ] *iD-ra*
7′ [   ] ⌜x⌝-*im*
8′ [   ] ⌜*ri*⌝
9′ [   ] ⌜x⌝
10′ [   ] ⌜x⌝

col. ii
1   [...] x *ú* x [...]
2   [... *š/t*]*a ša te?* x [...]
3   [ᵈN]*a*-[*n*]*a*-⌜*a*⌝-*a ma/ba-ri-a-ti* ⌜x⌝ [...]
4   *ù ḫi-ṭi-sí-na ka-t*[*i* ...]
5   *ḫa-ab-sa-ši-im él? šu-r*[*i?-tim?*]
6   *ù zi-ik-ru ú-pu-šu-ši-*[*im* ...]
7   *qá-am-ma-ši-im ab-bu-na-ta-a*[*m* ...]

8   *ši-na ka-az-ra-a-tum-ma lu mi-t*[*a*? …]
9   *zi-ki-ir* INIM *ul-li-tim te*-BU-x-[…]
10   *na-ši-a-à*(over erasure of A?) *ṭa-a-tim sí-ni-ša-tum ka*-[*az*?-*ra*?-*tum*?]

_____

11   *be-le-et-ni ú-ga-as-sà ka*!?-z[ɪ? …]
12   *a-mu-ur-ra-at ša-at* ᵉʳᵃˢᵘʳᵉ AD? PI *ru-um* […]
13   ᵈ*Na-na-a-a a-ad-da-ma ta-ša*-[*ka*?-*an*?]

14   ⌜*le-a*⌝-*at-ma i-na ki-ib-ra-a*[*t ar*?-*ba*?-*im*?]
15   [   ] ⌜*te*⌝ […]
16   [   ] ⌜*a-na ar*⌝-[…]
rest broken and reverse uninscribed

col. ii
1   [.].[.]
2   […] Ištar(?) […]

3   [Nan]āya(?) the daughters(?) (or: you are a diviner(?)) […]
4   and their sin … […]

5   They have bound(?) (it) for her on(?) the preg[nant(?) woman],
6   and the men have done for h[er …].

7   They have cut for her the umbilical cor[d …].
8   They, the hierodules themselves, …

9   The utterance of that old word she has … […]
10   The women, the hi[erodules(?)], carry gifts … […]

_____

11   Our lady, her fury ..[.]
12   She is awe-inspiring, she is the mistress(?) ..[.]

13   Nanāya s[ets(?)] a thunder(?) ..[.]
14   She is truly the capable one in the [four] quarters of the wor[ld].
15–16…

    4: *ka-t*[*i*] is either from *katāmum* "to hide" (*katimtam* "their hidden sin") or the personal pronoun 2. p. fem. *kâti*.
    5: Shehata (2009, 322) mentions a "bed", apparently reading *er-ši-im*. Our tentative reading assumes a hapax legomenon *ḫabāsum*, derived from the root ḪBŠ "to bind", see Köhler/Baumgartner (1967, 277). Note especially the use of the syllabogram *sa* instead of *sà*, typically for West Semitic loans in Akkadian (Streck 2006, 224). In Hebrew, the root is also used for bandaging. For the "traditional Near East", Stol (2000, 142) mentions the practice of binding a thread round the umbilical cord close to the body before cutting the umbilical cord. Stol (2000, 126) suggests that *rakāsum* in a letter from Mari might "refer to the binding off of the umbilical cord". – *él* (IL) is rare. – *šūrītum* (from *a/erûm* "to become

pregnant") is a guess; the Š-stem of the verb is rarely attested, see AHw. 72, CAD E 326 and Stol (2000, 53 n. 33; 54 n. 36). Another possibility is to read *él-šu s*[*í-ni-ša-tum*] "the women have bound (it) for her on it".

7: *qamāmu* "to cut" is hitherto attested only lexically, see MSL 14, 345: 78 (Aa). Other words for cutting the umbilical cord are *parāsum* or *batāqum*, see Stol (2000, 141–144). – Note the spelling *ab-bu-* with doubled *b*, also attested lexically (CAD A/1, 89) and in JNES 33, 332: 12f.

8: For the *kezertum*-woman as a midwife, see Stol (2000, 171).

9: Does this line refer to a recitation of an incantation at the moment of cutting the umbilical cord (Stol 2000, 143)? For the use of *awātum* referring to an incantation see YOS 11, 12: 37 (SEAL 5.1.22.1): [*mu*]-ʼ*ru*ʼ-*uṣ ši-in-ni-ia ta-ba-al a-wa-tum a-wa-at bu*-[*ul*?-*ṭim*?] "Take away [the a]che of my tooth! (This) word is a word of healing". For *ullītum* "old" referring to spoken words cf. *kīma têltim ullītim* "like in an old proverb" ARM 1, 5: 10.

10: For the use of *à* see the introduction to VS 10, 215, above.

12: Read *amurrat* < **namurrat* and cf. YOS 11, 20: 2 (SEAL 5.1.13.7): *i-la-at a-mu-ra-at*, that has a later parallel DINGIR-*at na-mur-rat* in SpTU 3, 84: 62. The dropping of the initial *n* is unexplained. – For *šât* <? *šuʾātu* (cf. CAD Š/3, 196 *šuʾētu*) as an epithet of Nanāya cf. *šu-wal à-tu* VS 10, 215: 48 above. – Shehata (2009, 322), mentioning a "king" (l. 13, sic), apparently reads *ša-ru-um*.

13: Derived from *addu* B CAD A/1, 111?

UET 6/3, 889

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