

CUNEIFORM MONOGRAPHS

THE CULTS OF URUK AND BABYLON
THE TEMPLE RITUAL TEXTS AS EVIDENCE
FOR HELLENISTIC CULT PRACTICE

Marc J.H. Linssen



BRILL • STYX

THE CULTS OF URUK AND BABYLON

CUNEIFORM MONOGRAPHS 25

Managing Editor Geerd Haayer

Edited by

T. Abusch, M.J. Geller, M.P. Maidman

S.M. Maul and F.A.M. Wiggermann



BRILL • STYX

LEIDEN • BOSTON

2004

CUNEIFORM MONOGRAPHS 25

THE CULTS OF URUK AND BABYLON

The Temple Ritual Texts as Evidence for
Hellenistic Cult Practises

Marc J.H. Linssen



BRILL • STYX
LEIDEN • BOSTON
2004

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Linssen, Marc J.H.

The cults of Uruk and Babylon : the temple ritual as evidence for Hellenistic cult practices / Marc J.H. Linssen

p. cm. — (Cuneiform Monographs; ISSN 0929-0052 ; 25)

Originally presented as the author's thesis (doctoral—Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam), 2002.

Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.

ISBN 90-04-12402-0 (alk. paper)

I. Cults—Iraq—Babylon (Extinct city) 2. Cults—Iraq—Erech (Extinct city) 3. Babylon (Extinct city)—Religion. 4. Erech (Extinct city)—Religion. 5. Akkadian language—Texts. 6. Assyro-Babylonian religion. I. Title. II. Series.

BLJ620.L56 2003

299'.21—dc22

2003055865

ISSN 0929-0052

ISBN 90 04 12402 0

© Copyright 2004 by Styx/Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910 Danvers MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

parentibus
uxori
liberisque

PREFACE

The text of this book was submitted as a dissertation, written under the supervision of Prof. dr. M. Stol and Prof. dr. R.J. van der Spek, in November 2002 to the Faculty of Arts of the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.

I would like to thank Marten Stol and Bert van der Spek for showing a genuine interest in my dissertation. Their comments and corrections on the different versions of the text saved me from numerous errors. I am grateful for their continuous support and patience, including during the years after I had left the university.

The Trustees of the British Museum are thanked for permitting me to collate and publish texts from the collection. During my visits to the British Museum W.G. Lambert kindly offered me much needed advice with the reading of some of the unpublished tablets.

I am also indebted to several scholars at the University of Leiden. Th.J.H. Krispijn helped me with many of the lamentation incipits. A.C.V.M. Bongenaar made some valuable comments on the manuscript. Special tribute is due to G. van Driel for his help and advice.

A.R. George kindly allowed me to use his article on temple ritual texts from Babylon before it was published. St. M. Maul suggested to me how useful A. Poebel's *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik* still is, when struggling with the difficult Sumerian passages in Hellenistic texts.

I also wish to express my gratitude to D. Brown for correcting the English text.

Research for this study, carried out at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, was financed by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (N.W.O.) from February 1992 until February 1997.

A special word of thanks I owe to the editor, G. Haayer, for accepting this study for publication.

Edam, December 2002

M.J.H. Linssen

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|--------|
| Preface | vii |
| Contents | ix |
| Selective Bibliography and Abbreviations | xi |
| Months | xvi |
| I. Introduction | 1 |
| I.1. Hellenistic Babylonia | 1 |
| I.2. The texts | 3 |
| I.3. The cult | 12 |
| II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals | 23 |
| II.1. Introduction | 23 |
| II.2. Daily ceremonies | 25 |
| II.2.1. The cultic day | 25 |
| II.2.2. <i>dīk bīti</i> | 27 |
| II.2.3. <i>pīt bābi</i> | 36 |
| II.3. Monthly ceremonies | 40 |
| II.3.1. Unspecified monthly ceremonies | 41 |
| II.3.2. <i>eššēšu</i> | 45 |
| II.3.3. <i>lubuštu</i> | 51 |
| II.3.4. <i>bajjātu</i> | 56 |
| II.3.5. <i>nubattu</i> | 58 |
| II.3.6. <i>šalām bīti</i> | 59 |
| II.4. Annual ceremonies | 61 |
| II.4.1. Unspecified annual ceremonies | 62 |
| II.4.2. Annual clothing ceremonies | 65 |
| II.4.3. Processions | 67 |
| II.4.4. Divine marriage ceremonies | 70 |
| II.4.5. The New Year festival | 71 |
| II.4.5.1. Uruk | 72 |
| II.4.5.2. Babylon | 78 |
| II.4.6. The brazier festivals | 87 |
| II.4.7. The cultic calendars | 88 |
| II.5. The kettledrum ritual | 92 |
| II.5.1. The kettledrum | 92 |
| II.5.2. The ritual of the covering of the kettledrum | 94 |
| II.5.3. Who performed the kettledrum ritual? | 99 |
| II.6. The building ritual | 100 |
| II.6.1. The first version | 101 |
| II.6.2. The second version | 103 |
| II.6.3. Who performed the building ritual? | 107 |
| II.6.4. Building programmes in Uruk and Babylon | 107 |

Contents

| | |
|--|-----|
| II.7. The eclipse of the moon ritual | 109 |
| II.7.1. The first version | 111 |
| II.7.2. The second version | 113 |
| II.7.3. The third version | 114 |
| II.7.4. The fourth version | 115 |
| II.8. Other festivals | 117 |
| II.8.1. A temple festival in Esabad | 117 |
| II.8.2. A palm festival | 118 |
| II.8.3. A <i>ḥarû</i> -ritual | 119 |
| II.8.4. A Greek festival | 119 |
| II.8.5. Festivals for Ištar of Babylon and Ištar of Uruk | 120 |
| II.8.6. <i>TU</i> 41: a nocturnal festival in the Rēš-temple | 122 |
| II.8.7. Ruler cults | 124 |
| III. The divine meal | 129 |
| III.1. Introduction | 129 |
| III.2. Cultic meals | 130 |
| III.2.1. Terminology | 130 |
| III.2.2. <i>TU</i> 38 | 132 |
| III.3. The offering site | 138 |
| III.4. The offering preparations | 140 |
| III.4.1. <i>paššûru</i> and <i>paṭîru</i> | 140 |
| III.4.2. <i>tabnîtu</i> | 142 |
| III.4.3. <i>mubannû</i> | 142 |
| III.4.4. <i>riksu</i> | 144 |
| III.5. Fumigation | 145 |
| III.5.1. <i>sarāqu</i> and <i>šakānu</i> | 146 |
| III.5.2. Fumigation materials | 146 |
| III.6. Consecration, purification and washing | 147 |
| III.6.1. Consecration | 147 |
| III.6.2. Purification | 148 |
| III.6.3. Washing | 151 |
| III.7. Offerings and libations | 154 |
| III.7.1. The presentation of the offerings | 155 |
| III.7.2. Food and drink offerings | 158 |
| III.7.3. Burnt offering | 165 |
| IV. Conclusion | 167 |
| Appendix | 169 |
| Text concordance | 321 |
| Selective word indices | 329 |
| Plates | 337 |
| Summary | 343 |

SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used follow The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (*CAD*), and the Akkadisches Handwörterbuch (*AHw*).

- | | |
|---|---|
| A.E. | Arsacid Era |
| <i>AUWE</i> | <i>Ausgrabungen Uruk-Warka Endberichte.</i> |
| P.- A. Beaulieu | Antiquarian Theology in Seleucid Uruk, <i>ASJ</i> 14 (1992), 47–75. |
| P. - R. Berger | Das Neujahrsfest nach den Königsinschriften des ausgehenden Babylonischen Reiches, <i>CRR</i> 17 (1970), 155–159. |
| J. A. Black | The New Year Ceremonies in Ancient Babylon: ›Taking Bel by the Hand‹ and a Cultic Picnic, <i>Religion</i> 11 (1981), 39–59. |
| J.A. Black, <i>Eme-sal Cult Songs and Prayers</i> | <i>Eme-sal Cult Songs and Prayers</i> , <i>AuOr</i> 9 (1991), 23–36 (Fs. M. Civil). |
| F. Blome, <i>Opfermaterie</i> | <i>Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel</i> . Teil I, Romae, 1934. |
| A.C.V.M. Bongenaar | <i>The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar. Its administration and its prosopography</i> , Leiden, 1997. |
| D. Brown, M.J.H. Linssen | BM 134701=1965–10–14, I and the Hellenistic period eclipse ritual from Uruk, <i>RA</i> 91 (1997), 147–166. |
| G. Çağırkan, <i>Festivals</i> | <i>The Babylonian Festivals</i> , Birmingham, 1976 (unpublished diss.). |
| M.E. Cohen | <i>Balag</i> -compositions: Sumerian lamentation liturgies of the second and first millennium b.c., <i>SANE</i> 1/2, Malibu, 1974. |
| M.E. Cohen, <i>Eršemma</i> | <i>Sumerian Hymnology: The Eršemma</i> , Cincinnati, 1981 (Hebrew Union College Annual Supplements No. 2). |
| M.E. Cohen, <i>Lamentations</i> | <i>The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia</i> , 2 volumes, Potomac, Maryland, 1988. |
| M.E. Cohen, <i>Cultic Calendars</i> | <i>The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East</i> , Bethesda, 1993. |
| L.T. Doty, <i>CAHU</i> | <i>Cuneiform Archives from Hellenistic Uruk</i> , diss. Yale, 1977 (University Micro Films International, Michigan). |
| S.B. Downey | <i>Mesopotamian Religious Architecture. Alexander through the Parthians</i> , Princeton, 1988. |
| G. van Driel | <i>The cult of Aššur</i> , Assen, 1969. |
| A. Falkenstein | <i>Topographie von Uruk, I. Teil: Uruk zur Seleukidenzeit</i> . Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka, Band 3, Leipzig, 1941. |
| W. Farber, <i>TUAT II/2</i> | Rituale und Beschwörungen in akkadischer Sprache, in: <i>TUAT II/2</i> , Gütersloh, 1987, 212 ff. |

Selective Bibliography and Abbreviations

- U. Finkbeiner *Uruk-Warka. Fundstellen der Keramik der Seleukiden- und Partherzeit*, in: U. Finkbeiner (ed.), *Materialien zur Archäologie der Seleukiden- und Partherzeit im südlichen Babylonien und im Golfgebiet. Ergebnisse der Symposien 1987 und 1989 in Blaubeuren*, Tübingen, 1993, 3–16.
- B. Funck *Uruk zur Seleukidenzeit*, Berlin, 1984.
- G. Furlani, *Sacrificio* *Il sacrificio nella religione dei Semiti di Babilonia e Assiria*, Roma, 1932.
- G. Furlani, *Riti* *Riti babilonesi e assiri*, Udine, 1940.
- A.R. George, *BTT* *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, Leuven, 1992.
- A.R. George, *House Most High* *House Most High. The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia*, Winona Lake, Indiana, 1993.
- A.R. George *Studies in Cultic Topography and Ideology. Review article on: B. Pongratz-Leisten, ina šulmi īrub, BiOr 53 (1996), 363–395.*
- A.R. George, *Studies W.G. Lambert* *Four Temple Rituals from Babylon*, in: A.R. George, I.L. Finkel (eds.), *Wisdom, Gods and Literature. Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W.G. Lambert*, Winona Lake, Indiana, 2000, 259–299.
- J.D. Grainger *A Seleucid Prosopography and Gazetteer*, Leiden, New York, Köln, 1997.
- A.K. Grayson *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles (TCL 5)*, New York, 1975
- R.A. Henshaw *Female and Male. The Cultic Personnel. The Bible and the Rest of the Ancient Near East*, Pennsylvania, 1994.
- K. Kessler, *Festschrift J. Oelsner* *Hellenistische Tempelverwaltungstexte. Eine Nachlese zu CT 49*, in: J. Marzahn, H. Neumann (eds.), *Festschrift J. Oelsner*, AOAT, Bd. 252, Münster, 2000, 213–241.
- J. Krecher, *Kultlyrik* *Sumerische Kultlyrik*, Wiesbaden, 1966.
- A. Kuhrt *Berossus' Babyloniaka and Seleucid Rule in Babylonia*, in: A. Kuhrt, S. Sherwin-White (eds.), *Hellenism in the East*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987, 32–56.
- A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White *Xerxes' destruction of Babylonian temples*, in: H.W.A.M. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History II: the Greek sources*, Leiden, 1987, 69–78.
- A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White *The transition from Achaemenid to Seleucid Rule in Babylonia: Revolution or Evolution?*, in: H.W.A.M. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History VIII: Continuity and Change*, Leiden, 1994, 311–327.
- W.G. Lambert *Donations of food and drink to the gods in ancient Mesopotamia*, in: J. Quaegebeur (ed.), *OLA 55 (1993)*, 191–201.
- W.G. Lambert *Processions to the Akītu house. Review article on: B. Pongratz-Leisten, ina šulmi īrub, RA 91 (1997), 49–80.*

Selective Bibliography and Abbreviations

- B. Landsberger, *Kult. Kalender* *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer*, Leipzig, 1915.
- A. Livingstone, *Mystical* *Mystical and mythological explanatory works of Assyrian and Babylonian scholars*, Oxford, 1986.
- E. Matsushima *Quelques textes relatifs à l'elippu ša kusīti* (bateau du vêtement), in: H.I.H. Prince Takahito Mikasa (ed.), *Cult and Ritual in the Ancient Near East. Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan*, vol.VI, Wiesbaden, 1992, 7–21.
- E. Matsushima *Divine Statues in Ancient Mesopotamia: their fashioning and Clothing and their Interaction with the Society*, in: E. Matsushima (ed.), *Official cult and popular religion in the ancient near east. Papers of the First Colloquium on the Ancient Near East - The City and its Life*, held at the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Mitaka, Tokyo), March 20–22, 1992. Heidelberg, 1993.
- St. M. Maul, *Herzberuhigungsklagen* *'Herzberuhigungsklagen'. Die sumerisch-akkadischen Eršahunga-Gebete*, Wiesbaden, 1988.
- St. M. Maul *Zukunftsbewältigung*, Mainz am Rhein, 1994.
- St. M. Maul *Gottesdienst im Sonnenheiligtum zu Sippar*, in: *Munuscula Mesopotamica. Festschrift für Johannes Renger*, Münster, 1999.
- St. M. Maul *Die Frühjahrsfeierlichkeiten in Aššur*, in A.R. George, I.L. Finkel (eds.), *Wisdom, Gods and Literature. Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W.G. Lambert*, Winona Lake, Indiana, 2000.
- G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS 4* *Priest and Temple in Hellenistic Babylonia, FAOS 4*, Wiesbaden, 1981.
- G.J.P. McEwan *Arsacid Temple Records, Iraq 43* (1981), 131–143.
- J. Oelsner *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft des seleukidischen Babylonien, Klio 63* (1981), 39–44.
- J. Oelsner, *Materialien* *Materialien zur babylonischen Gesellschaft und Kultur in hellenistischer Zeit* (revised version of: J. Oelsner, *Studien zur babylonischen Kultur und Gesellschaft in hellenistischer Zeit*, diss. Jena, 1970), Budapest, 1986.
- J. Oelsner *Aus dem Leben babylonischer 'Priester' in der 2. Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. (am Beispiel der Funde aus Uruk)*, in: J. Zablocka, St. Zawadzki (eds.), *Šulmu IV. Papers Presented at the International Conference Poznan, 19–22 September, 1989*, 235–42.
- S.A. Pallis *The Babylonian Akītu Festival*, København, 1926.
- B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub* *ina šulmi īrub. Die kulttopographische und ideologische Programmatik der akītu -Prozession in Babylonien und Assyrien im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Mainz am Rhein, 1994 (Baghdader Forschungen Band 16).

Selective Bibliography and Abbreviations

- J. Quaegebeur, (ed.) Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the International Conference by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 17th to the 20th of April 1991. *OLA* 55, Leuven, 1993.
- M. Rutten *Contrats de l'époque Séleucide conservés au musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1935 (Babyloniaca 15).
- A.J. Sachs - H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia. Volume I. Diaries from 652 B.C. to 262 B.C.*, Wien, 1988. *Volume II. Diaries from 261 B.C. to 165 B.C.*, Wien 1989. *Volume III, Diaries from 164 B.C. to 61 B.C.*, Wien, 1996. *Volume V, Lunar and Planetary Texts*, Wien 2001.
- O. Schroeder Das Pantheon der Stadt Uruk in der Seleukidenzeit auf Grund von Götterlisten und theophoren Personennamen in Kontrakten dieser Zeit. *SPAW* XLI (1916), 1180–1196.
- S.E. Seleucid Era
- S. Sherwin-White Seleucid Babylonia: a case-study for the installation and development of Greek rule, in: A. Kuhrt, S. Sherwin-White (ed.), *Hellenism in the East*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987, 1–31.
- S. Sherwin-White, A. Kuhrt *From Samarkhand to Sardis. A new approach to the Seleucid empire*, London, 1993.
- R.J. van der Spek The Babylonian Temple during the Macedonian and Parthian Domination, *BiOr* 52 (1985), 541–562.
- R.J. van der Spek *Grondbezit in het Seleucidische rijk*, Amsterdam, 1986.
- R.J. van der Spek The Babylonian city, in: A. Kuhrt, S. Sherwin-White (ed.), *Hellenism in the East*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987, 57–74.
- R.J. van der Spek Nippur, Sippar and Larsa in the Hellenistic period, in: Maria de Jong-Ellis (ed.), *Nippur at the Centennial. Papers read at the 35e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Philadelphia 1988*, Philadelphia, 1992, 235–260.
- R.J. van der Spek New Evidence on Seleucid Land Policy, in: H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg e.a. (eds.), *De Agricultura. In Memoriam P.W. de Neeve (1945–1990)*, Amsterdam, 1993, 61–77.
- R.J. van der Spek The Astronomical Diaries as a Source for Achaemenid and Seleucid History, *BiOr* 50 (1993), 91–101.
- R.J. van der Spek “... en hun machthebbers worden weldoeners genoemd.” *Religieuze en economische politiek in het Seleucidische Rijk*, Amsterdam, 1994.
- R.J. van der Spek Review article on: S. Sherwin-White, A. Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, *BSOAS* 57 (1994), 367–8.
- R.J. van der Spek Landownership in Babylonian Cuneiform Documents, in: M.J. Geller, A.D.E. Lewis, H. Maehler (eds.), *Legal Documents of the Hellenistic Period*, London, 1995, 173–245.

Selective Bibliography and Abbreviations

- R.J. van der Spek Cuneiform documents on Parthian history: the Raḥimesu archive, in: J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse. Beiträge des internationalen Colloquiums, Eutin (27.–30. Juni 1996)*, Stuttgart, 1998, 205–258.
- R.J. van der Spek New Evidence from the Babylonian Astronomical Diaries Concerning Seleucid and Arsacid History, *AfO* 44/45 (1997/98), 167–175.
- SpTU* *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk*.
- K. van der Toorn The Babylonian New Year Festival: New Insights from the Cuneiform Texts and their Bearing on Old Testament Study, *Suppl. VT* 43 (1991), 331–44.
- TU* F. Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes D'Uruk à l'usage des prêtres du Temple d'Anu au temps des Séleucides*, Paris, 1922 (Musée du Louvre. Textes cunéiformes Tome VI).
- R. Wallenfels, *Seleucid Archival Texts* R. Wallenfels, *Seleucid Archival Texts in the Harvard Semitic Museum. Text editions and Catalogue raisonné of the seal impressions*. Cuneiform Monographs 12, Groningen, 1998.

MONTHS

| | | | |
|------|---------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| I | itiBÁRA | nisannu | March/April |
| II | itiGU ₄ | ajjaru | April/May |
| III | itiSIG ₄ | simānu | May/June |
| IV | itiŠU | du'ūzu | June/July |
| V | itiNE | abu | July/August |
| VI | itiKIN | ulūlu | August/September |
| VII | itiDU ₆ | tašrītu | September/Oktober |
| VIII | itiAPIN | araḥsamna | October/November |
| IX | itiGAN | kislīmu | November/December |
| X | itiAB | ṭebētu | December/January |
| XI | itiZÍZ | šabaṭu | January/Februari |
| XII | itiŠE | addaru | February/March |

I. INTRODUCTION

I.1. Hellenistic Babylonia

The continuation of Babylonian culture in the Hellenistic period¹ is well established today. Work done by scholars like L.T. Doty, G.J.P. McEwan, A. Kuhrt, S. Sherwin-White, J. Oelsner and R.J. van der Spek² has shown that not only Uruk and Babylon, but also other Babylonian cities (Nippur, Larsa, Ur, Borsippa, Cutha and Kiš/Hursagkalamma)³ flourished after the coming of the Greeks. Both archaeology and textual sources indicate that in these cities the Babylonian inhabitants stuck to their ancient traditions, which included the use of cuneiform. Whether Akkadian was still used as a *living language* in the Hellenistic period is uncertain,⁴ but on the basis of the so-called Graeco-Babyloniaca tablets and Classical sources it has been argued that cuneiform could well have been read up to the third century A.D.⁵

The cuneiform sources also contain a wealth of information on the Babylonian cults and the temples in the Hellenistic period. It is the purpose of this study to examine these cults more closely and present an inventory of all attested cultic activities. The key question will be: can we use the temple ritual texts as evidence for Hellenistic cult practices? To answer this question we cannot restrict our research to the temple ritual texts alone; because these texts are literary compositions copied from older originals, we cannot be sure that what they depict about the public cult was actually taking place in the temples during the Hellenistic period. For this reason we will not only analyse the ritual texts in detail, but also compare the evidence with information gleaned from texts which are (unlike the temple ritual texts) unquestionably Hellenistic compositions, such as building inscriptions, legal documents (including prebend texts), chronicles and the so-called astronomical diaries. Which rituals, ceremonies and offerings are attested in these texts? Which deities and temples are mentioned, and does the pantheon attested in these texts correspond with the names of gods mentioned in the temple ritual texts? This comparison will hopefully tell us whether the cults of Bēl, Anu, Ištar and the other

¹ Because one of the most important characteristics of the Babylonian culture, the cuneiform script, survives not only during the Seleucid period, but also well into the Arsacid period, we will use in this book the more general term 'Hellenistic', which begins with the conquest of Babylonia by Alexander in 331 B.C. and continues up to the end of the Arsacid period (224/226 A.D.). Cf. J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 51–57. On occasion we will also refer to texts as being 'Late Babylonian', which in this study means: written after Babylonia lost its independence (539 B.C.), i.e. during the Achaemenid or Hellenistic periods.

² See the Selective Bibliography.

³ Perhaps also Marad, Der, Tell al-'Aqar, Udannu, Telloh and Sippar, see R.J. van der Spek, in: Maria de Jong-Ellis (ed.), *Nippur at the Centennial*, 235 ff.; id., *Religieuze en economische politiek in het Seleucidische Rijk*, 11 ff.

⁴ According to M.P. Streck (*Zahl und Zeit*, Groningen, 1995, xxiv), the possibility that (together with Aramaic) the Akkadian language was still spoken in small city regions in the Hellenistic period cannot be excluded.

⁵ M.J. Geller, *ZA* 87 (1997), 43–95.

I. Introduction

deities were alive and flourishing in the Hellenistic period, or whether, perhaps under the influence of the new Macedonian rulership, a process of change and decay had set in.

Because the textual evidence relating to the cults in the Hellenistic period concerns for the most part the main sanctuaries of Uruk (Rēš and Ešgal) and Babylon (Esagila), in this study we will confine ourselves to the cults of these two cities, although it should be noted that this undoubtedly results in a slightly distorted picture of Hellenistic Babylonia as a whole.

In I.2 the text material relevant for this study is discussed. In I.3 we will make some general observations about the cult, the priests and temple personnel and the cult-terminology. In chapter II all the ceremonies, rituals and festivals attested in the Hellenistic corpus will be described. In chapter III we will analyse the offerings, libations, fumigations, and purifications which were performed during the divine meal.

Much has been written on religion and cults in Mesopotamia, but only a few studies concentrated on the Hellenistic period. Exceptions are Furlani's studies on offerings and ceremonies,⁶ and Blome's analysis of the offering materials,⁷ which to a large extent are based on texts from the Hellenistic period. Since the publication of these books in the 1930's, much new evidence has been discovered and published. This was used in a limited way much later by McEwan in his dissertation on the temple organization and the temple personnel of Hellenistic Babylonia, with one short chapter on the cult.⁸ As the author indicated himself, however this was only a 'limited outline of the main aspects of the cult during this period'.⁹

Other scholars took an interest in the cults of Hellenistic Babylonia. A short description of the gods and cult of Uruk was written by Rutten.¹⁰ Furthermore Schroeder published an article on the pantheon of Uruk.¹¹ Falkenstein wrote an important study on the topography of Uruk, which concentrates to a large extent on the cultic buildings, and contains much important information on the cult;¹² this work has now partly been updated by George¹³ and Pongratz-Leisten.¹⁴ Beaulieu's article on the origin of the Anu-pantheon in Late Babylonian Uruk is important.¹⁵ Finally, Konstanze Szelenyi-Graziotto published an article on the cult in Babylon in the Seleucid period.¹⁶ Nevertheless, an extensive analysis of the Hellenistic cults of Babylonia, based on the latest evidence, is still missing. A new discussion is necessary.

⁶ *Sacrificio; Riti.*

⁷ *Opfermaterie.*

⁸ *FAOS* 4, 159–182.

⁹ 159.

¹⁰ *Contrats de l'époque séleucide conservés au Musée du Louvre*, 36–63.

¹¹ *SPAW* 41 (1916), 1180–1196.

¹² *Topographie.*

¹³ *BTT.*

¹⁴ *ina šulmi īrub.* But see also the review articles of A.R. George, *BiOr* 53 (1996), 363–395 and W.G. Lambert, *RA* 91 (1997), 49–80.

¹⁵ *ASJ* 14 (1992), 47–75.

¹⁶ In: B. Funck, *Hellenismus. Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und politischer Ordnung in den Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters. Akten des Internationalen Hellenismus-Kolloquiums 9.-14. März 1994 in Berlin*, Tübingen 1996, 171–194.

I.2. The texts¹⁷

The temple ritual texts are especially relevant for studying the Babylonian cults, since they give us the most detailed information on public cult activities in the sanctuaries of the cities.¹⁸ These texts contain prescriptive rituals, recording what happened in the temple before the events in question, as a manual of ritual procedure.¹⁹ Fortunately for the Hellenistic period a large corpus of these often very elaborate ritual texts is available.²⁰ They deal with instructions for all sorts of cultic proceedings, such as offerings and libations for the gods, and also prescribe prayers and cult songs which have to be recited; sometimes these recitations are not only referred to by their incipits, but are cited in full. The rituals deal with various subjects of the public cult, such as the New Year festival, the night vigil, the preparation of the kettledrum, building rituals for temples, and the evil consequences of an eclipse of the moon. This group of temple ritual texts will serve as the main source material for this study. Other relevant text groups, already collected by J. Oelsner,²¹ are the explanatory and commentary texts,²² cult songs,²³ calendar texts,²⁴ but also building inscriptions, chronicles, administrative documents,²⁵

¹⁷ For the bibliographic information on the texts mentioned here see the Text Index.

¹⁸ For Akkadian ritual texts in general, see J.J.A. van Dijk, in: *Studien Falkenstein*, 233 ff.; R. Borger, *HKL* 3, 83–84, § 85; W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 212 ff.

¹⁹ Rather than descriptive rituals, which are written after the events, and describe cultic events in the temple mainly for the purpose of recording cultic expenditures, cf. B.A. Levine, W.W. Hallo, *HUCA* 38 (1967), 17–20.

²⁰ Some of which have been published only recently, while for others older editions are available, in particular Thureau-Dangin's excellent study of temple ritual texts in *RAcc*. In the Appendix, some of these texts will be discussed anew. Also a few new fragments will be published in this book, for which see the Plates I–IV. When passages from these texts are quoted in this study, we confine ourselves to translations, and refer back to the Appendix for the transliterations and discussions.

²¹ *Materialien*, 137 ff.

²² Not listed as a separate group by Oelsner, but see p. 188 where some commentary texts from Uruk are mentioned. For explanatory texts and cultic commentaries in general see A. Livingstone, *Mystical*, 2 (for the distinction between the two) and especially 115 ff., chapters 4–6. Cf. also W. von Soden, *ZA* 51 (1955), 157, and R. Borger, *HKL* 3, 65–66, § 67.

Uruk: the explanatory text *TU* 47, containing important information on the mythical background of the kettledrum ritual (*lilissu*); commentaries are *SpTU* 1, nos. 140–143; see also no. 136. Babylon: BM 54312 (unpublished). In this explanatory text days 5 to 11 of the first month Nisannu are discussed, and therefore it possibly refers to the New Year festival. Unfortunately the tablet is badly damaged and the interpretation is difficult. The small script indicates that the text is Late Babylonian, possibly Hellenistic. Because of the invocational formula [*ina* INIM 𐎶EN] u 𐎶GAŠAN-ia liš-lim (U.E.), only attested in Late Babylonian colophons (see the literature mentioned in my comments on *TU* 39 U.E., in the Appendix), the text may be from Babylon. We will return to this text in a separate study. Another explanatory text, perhaps from Borsippa but found in Babylon, is BM 34035 (Sp I 131). The text partly explains rituals in terms of myths, by making use of symbolism. A large explanatory text, IM 44150 (+ //), was published by George (*BTT*, no. 18, 145 ff.). Of the five manuscripts, two or possibly three are Late Babylonian, and, because of the very small script, perhaps Hellenistic (cf. *TIM* 9, p. xii.). Col. III, 12'ff. deals with festivals, one of which is the *akītu*-festival.

²³ I.e. hymns and lamentations. In addition to Oelsner, we can add: hymns, Uruk: *SpTU* 2 no. 27 (to Ištar), and *BiMes* 24, 51 (to Adad). See also the hymn on Šamaš in the ritual text W 18828.

Lamentations (*taqribtu* and *eršemakku*), Uruk: *SpTU* 3, nos. 61–63; *SpTU* 4, no. 125, contains part of the lamentation IMMAL GUDEDE.

²⁴ In addition to Oelsner, we can add: Uruk: *SpTU* 3, no. 104, written by the well-known scribe Iqīša, is a calendar text for the 4th month Du'ūzu; it lists body parts of animals for every day, probably to be used in ritual activities. For the latest on Iqīša see J. Oelsner, in: J. Zablocka, St. Zawadzki (eds.), *Šulmu IV*, 236–7, with literature.

²⁵ In addition to Oelsner, we can add: apart from isolated publications, especially important is *BiMes* 24. A new group of texts was published by R. Wallenfells, *Seleucid archival texts in the Harvard Semitic Museum*. Not yet published by L. T. Doty is *YOS* 20.

1. Introduction

and astronomical diaries.²⁶ Classical authors like Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Josephus or Berossus (to name just a few) are important for reconstructing the political history, but are less informative so far as the Babylonian cult practices are concerned.

When studying the cults we are faced with several problems. While some of the ceremonies and rituals are well attested, about others we know only very little, and undoubtedly many more must have existed about which we know nothing at all. Because the Neo-Assyrian period has left us with many ritual texts, on occasion we will refer to some of these texts for parallels, because we may safely assume a common background for both Assyrian and Babylonian cult practices. However, a comparison between the two is not without difficulties, and it is clear that we are far from explaining the gaps in our knowledge of one period by looking at the other. Nevertheless, although many texts contain rituals for a special occasion, it must be expected that many of the offerings, libations, fumigations, purifications and recitations referred to in these texts reflect the common practice of the ordinary temple cult.²⁷ As far as the Neo-Babylonian period is concerned, we must keep in mind that relevant Neo-Babylonian references to the cults are often not from ritual texts, but from administrative and private documents.

Another problem is that many of the texts do not give us the information that we need: the texts often only record the ceremony, without explaining how and when it was performed, and what its function was. This makes it often very difficult to distinguish cyclical ceremonies from occasional ceremonies. It also leaves us insufficient data to compare and combine Assyrian and Babylonian cultic calendars.

In this section we will first list the temple ritual texts from Uruk and Babylon. Then the date of the texts is discussed.

Uruk

We can distinguish three groups of literary texts, distinct according to provenance, and dated to the Hellenistic period²⁸:

- 1) the *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2-texts. Most of these texts were found in the Rēš-temple area Le XVI 3.²⁹
- 2) Hellenistic texts in *TU*. They were illicitly excavated and have become available via the antiquities market, but were probably found either at the same location in the

²⁶ Up to now four volumes of the astronomical diaries have appeared, cf. A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*.

²⁷ Cf. G. van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, 151–4. The most relevant texts for the Neo-Assyrian cult are briefly discussed in *ib.*, 51 ff. Important for the monthly ceremonies is also the hemerological series *inbu bēl arḫim* ‘Fruit (=epithet of the moon god Sîn), Lord of the month’; unfortunately only the description by B. Landsberger, *Kult. Kalender*, 100–45 is available, since most of the texts are not published. See also the comments on this series by G. van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, 154–59, R. Labat, in *RLA* 4 (1972–1975), 319 f., and A. Livingstone, in E. Matsushima (ed.), *Official cult and popular religion in the ancient near east*, Heidelberg, 1993, 97–113.

²⁸ The material was brought together by J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 139 ff.; see also *id.*, in: J. Zablocka, St. Zawadzki (eds.), *Šulmu* IV, 235 ff., without taking into account the new texts published in *SpTU* 4.

²⁹ But not all tablets were found here, see J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 143–44.

1.2. The texts

Rēš-temple area as the *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2-texts,³⁰ or they came from other locations within the Rēš-temple.³¹

- 3) Hellenistic texts in the *SpTU* 1–5-collection. They were almost all excavated from the living quarters Ue XVIII 1, and are part of private archives.

Other illicitly excavated tablets may also have come from one of these places, as is indicated by the fact that Uruk scribes, attested for example in the colophons of *BRM* 4-texts, also turn up in the *TU*- and *SpTU*-texts (see below).

These texts can be attributed to four Uruk families, named after their ancestors Ekur-zakir, Sîn-lēqe-unnīni, Hunzû and Aḫûtu. These families were all connected with the temple and every family specialized in one profession, e.g. the Ekur-zakir members made their living as exorcists (*āšipu*); well-known are the exorcists Anu-ikšur, Iqīša and Nidintu-Anu. The Sîn-lēqe-unnīni family specialized as lamentation priests (*kalû*); well-known is especially Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nidintu-Anu.³² Rarely, also members of other families are attested as *kalû* or *āšipu*, e.g. the exorcist Anu-bēlšunu of the Hunzû-family.

The archives which can be reconstructed on the basis of prosopographical evidence contain a wide variety of text genres, but also show the scribe's particular professional interest: the exorcist is mainly concerned with incantations and incantation rituals, medical texts, omens and lexical lists, while the lamentation priest concentrates especially on cult song and ritual texts. The libraries of these scribes also contain other literary texts, referred to by Oelsner as 'Bildungsgut',³³ i.e. texts which were copied for educational purposes, e.g. omens, historical texts, but also, for example, parts from *Enūma eliš*. We may safely assume that the archives contain not only what the scribe needed for his profession, but also everything he had collected from the start of his career on. This also included legal documents, which are not only known from the *SpTU*-corpus, but also among the *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2-texts found in Le XVI 3. This may indicate that not only the texts which are found in the living quarters Ue XVIII 1 were part of private archives, but also those which were stored in the Rēš-temple.³⁴

There appears, then, to be no real difference between the archives kept in the temple and at home. The scribes appear to have stored their tablets both in the Rēš-temple libraries (*TU*, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2) and in the libraries in their private houses (*SpTU*). E.g. texts which belong to the archives of the exorcist Iqīša, son of Ištar-šuma-ēreš, descendant of Ekur-zakir, or to those of the exorcist Nidintu-Anu, son of Anu-bēlšunu, descendant of Ekur-zakir, have turned up from both the Rēš-temple area and the living quarters Ue XVIII.³⁵ This strongly suggests that the Hellenistic temple ritual texts were

³⁰ J. van Dijk, *UVB* 18 (1962), 43, id., *AJO* 20 (1963), 217.

³¹ G.J.P. McEwan, *BiOr* 38 (1981), 639, n. 3, and J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 144, n. 598.

³² On the Sîn-lēqe-unnīni family see P.-A. Beaulieu, in *Festschrift J. Oelsner*, AOAT, Bd. 252, Münster, 2000, 1–16. For Anu-bēlšunu see L. E. Pearce–L. T. Doty, in ib., 331–341.

³³ *Šulmu* IV, 238.

³⁴ Perhaps kept in the *bīt qāti*, a storage room within the temple area owned by members of the priesthood, as suggested by G.J.P. McEwan, *BiOr* 38 (1981), 639. The archives which consist of legal documents have been examined by L.T. Doty, *CAHU*, 150 ff. Among the legal documents are many sales of prebend shares, indicating the connection between these archives and the temple. For some of these prebend texts see II.3.1. and II.4.1.

³⁵ *Šulmu* IV, 236–7.

not copied for personal interest alone, but also served a purpose in the temple cult (we will further illustrate this below). With this in mind we must now turn our attention to the temple ritual texts.

For the Hellenistic period we are fortunate to have some large fragments of a series of temple rituals from Uruk, which inform us about the public cult practices in the temples. The original series must have covered the whole year.³⁶ These temple ritual texts contain information about what went on from day to day, or describe rituals and festivals which were celebrated on special days of the year. Most of the temple ritual texts of the Hellenistic period deal with the cult of Anu in the Rēš-temple, and only one text is related to the cult of Ištar in the Ešgal-temple. Texts which belong to these series all have in common the fact that the priests who perform the ritual are addressed in the third person only, unlike rituals which are performed for a special occasion, where the leading priest is addressed in the second person (the ‘you’-figure).

Very important for our understanding of daily practice in the temple is *TU* 38, a text with ritual instructions for daily offerings in the temples of Anu, Ištar, Nanāja and the other gods in Uruk.

Furthermore we have several texts which concern the New Year festival (*akītu*). *TU* 39–40 describes the New Year festival of the seventh month Tašrītu in Uruk. *BRM* 4, 7 describes a programme for the procession of the statue of Anu during the New Year festival, from his cella to the center of the Rēš-temple, and then going outside to the *akītu*-temple. It lists incantations and prayers to be recited during the procession.

We also have texts dealing with the New Year festivals of the first month Nisannu. *KAR* 132 describes the ritual for the procession of Anu to the *akītu*-temple, concentrating on the movements of the gods and the objects which accompany them during the procession. *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 13 is a fragment describing a procession of the gods similar to *KAR* 132. *TU* 43, a fragment of a ritual for the New Year festival of the month Nisannu, contains a hand-raising prayer (*šullakku*) for Anu; this text gives us more information on day 10 and 11 of this festival.

Another important text is *TU* 42 +: the text describes a festival for Ištar, and must have belonged to a larger series of temple ritual texts dealing with the cult of Ištar of Uruk. In which month this festival was celebrated is not clear. The obverse records the same ceremonies, which for days 8 and 9 of the New Year festival of Anu are also preserved (see *TU* 39–40). The last part of the obverse and the reverse describe the procession of Ištar from the Ešgal-temple to the *akītu*-temple, and resembles the Anu-procession described in *KAR* 132.

TU 41 contains a ritual for days 16 and 17 of an unknown month, describing the good-functioning of the temple ceremony (*šalām bīti*) and the vigil (*bajjātu*) held during

³⁶ Which is indicated, for example, by *TU* 38, where a list of offerings and ceremonies is given which are ‘written down in (the tablets of) the rites for the whole year’ (rev. 38). See also *TU* 39–40, which contains the rites for the seventh month Tašrītu, after which the colophon refers to the next tablet containing the rites of the eighth month Arašsamna (*TU* 39, rev. 25 f.). Texts which describe ritual proceedings for the whole year on one single tablet are unknown as far as the Hellenistic period is concerned, but we do have *LKU*, no. 51, dated to the late Neo-Babylonian or early Achaemenid period, listing ceremonies for Bēlet-ša-Uruk, Ušur-amassu and Aška’itu for all twelve months of the year. For the date see A. Falkenstein, *LKU*, 1.

the night in the Rēš-temple. Pongratz-Leisten³⁷ has suggested that this ritual perhaps was performed during the tenth month Țebētu, because *TU* 38 records offerings to the planets which have to be performed on top of the temple tower on the sixteenth of Țebētu,³⁸ which can be connected with *TU* 41, since there offerings are brought to the planets on the sixteenth day.³⁹ Because part of the ritual is performed by a priest addressed in the second person, *TU* 41 probably does not belong to the large series of temple rituals covering the whole year.⁴⁰

The temple ritual text W 18728, published by Falkenstein,⁴¹ was probably written in the Hellenistic period and deals with clothing instructions for different persons, including several priests and the king.⁴² The Hellenistic text W 18828, also published by Falkenstein,⁴³ contains ritual instructions for work in the temple workshop (*bīt mummi*) with a hymn to Šamaš. Unfortunately only three lines of the ritual are partly preserved. The fragment *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 14 is perhaps also a ritual.

The *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2-texts and probably also *TU* 38–43 come from one or more locations within the Rēš-temple and appear to belong to the corpus of at least one exorcist (*āšipu*): *TU* 38 and *TU* 39–40 were written by the exorcist Šamaš-ētir, son of Ina-qibīt-Anu, son of Šibqat-Anu, descendant of the *āšipu*-family Ekur-zakir. The colophon of *TU* 38 states that the exorcist Kidin-Anu, descendant of Ekur-zakir, copied the text in Elam and brought it back with him to Uruk. The owner of *TU* 39–40 is also an exorcist, although not from the Ekur-zakir family: Anu-uballiṣ, son of Nidintu-Anu, son of Ina-qibīt-Anu, descendant of Hunzû. For *TU* 41–43 no colophons are preserved.

The colophon of *BRM* 4, 7 indicates that the text was written by Anu-balāssu-iqbi, son of the owner of the tablet, the exorcist Anu-aḥa-ušabši, son of Kidin-Anu, descendant of Ekur-zakir. It also informs us that the scribe ‘has written (the tablet) for his (own) instruction, his long days, his well-being and the permanence of his position and set (it) up in Uruk *and* in the Rēš-temple, the temple of his lordship’ (rev. 45–47), indicating perhaps that he made two copies, one for his private library at home and one which was kept in the temple, where it was available to the public cult. Furthermore, he wrote the text for himself, which shows that the text was part of his private archive. We have no other prosopographical information on Anu-balāssu-iqbi, but his father, Anu-aḥa-ušabši, is also attested as the owner of the chronicle text *SpTU* 1, no. 2 (dated 61 S.E.), found in the living quarters Ue XVIII,⁴⁴ which indicates that Anu-aḥa-ušabši had a private archive in his home in the Ue XVIII area, like the better known exorcists Anu-ikṣur, Iqīša, and Nidintu-Anu. *BRM* 4, 7 and the other texts which name Anu-aḥa-ušabši as the owner or scribe⁴⁵ may have come from this library as well, but it is equally possible that some

³⁷ *ina šulmi īrub*, 45.

³⁸ Rev. 32–34.

³⁹ Obv. 22–28.

⁴⁰ See II.8.6.

⁴¹ *UVB* 15 (1959), 40–44.

⁴² A ritual text of the late Neo-Babylonian or early Achaemenid period is *LKU*, no. 48, containing a ritual for the king. For the date see A. Falkenstein, *LKU*, I.

⁴³ *UVB* 15 (1959), 36–40.

⁴⁴ Although not on the location where some of the the *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2-texts were found (Ue XVIII 1), see J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 143. See also n. 13 above.

⁴⁵ See my introduction to *BRM* 4, 7, in the Appendix.

of these texts were kept in the Rēš-temple. Note that two of the Anu-aḫa-ušabši-tablets, *TU* 19 and W 18828 both probably come from the Rēš-area, although the exact location remains uncertain.

W 18728 was found together with W 18828 in the Rēš-temple. The contents of *KAR* 132 suggests that it belongs to the temple ritual series similar to *TU* 38–43, but the tablet comes from illicit digging and the colophon is lost.

A few texts which deal with the eclipse of the moon ritual perhaps also belong to this group. In *BRM* 4, 6 and BM 134701⁴⁶ the eclipse of the moon ritual is described extensively. Thompson, *CLBT*, pl. 1, contains some kind of (lunar eclipse?) ritual, and furthermore a lunar eclipse myth; col. B is partly duplicated by the Uruk text *BRM* 4, 6,⁴⁷ which makes it likely that the former was also written in Uruk.⁴⁸ This is confirmed by col. A, 27 where the Rēš-temple, and the Enamenna, the cella of Anu in the Rēš-temple, are mentioned. Although no colophons have been preserved which attribute these texts to the corpus of the *āšipu*,⁴⁹ we know that the exorcist plays an important role in the eclipse ritual.

A second group of temple rituals belongs to the corpus of the lamentation priest (*kalû*). They do not belong to the large series of temple ritual texts, but are rituals for special occasions. Several texts deal with the kettledrum (*lilissu*), most important of which is *TU* 44.⁵⁰ Partial duplicates are *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, no. 7, and perhaps also the fragment no. 9. Here we should also mention *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 6, a bilingual hand-raising prayer (*šuillakku*) for the consecration of the bull, whose hide is used to cover the kettledrum.⁵¹

The building rituals also belong to the corpus of the lamentation priest. *TU* 45 and *TU* 46 are in many ways very similar, but there are also important differences between them.⁵² Other duplicates are *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, and no. 11.

The texts belonging to this second group probably all come from the Rēš-temple area Le XVI 3. The colophons indicate that most of the texts belong to the archive of

⁴⁶ The latter was published by D. Brown and the present author in: BM 134701 = 1965–10–14, I and the Hellenistic period eclipse ritual from Uruk, *RA* 91 (1997), 147–166.

⁴⁷ *CLBT*, pl. 1, col. B, 1–14 // *BRM* 4, 6, obv. 5–11.

⁴⁸ Cf. W.G. Lambert, *JCS* 16 (1962), 74b. The fact that the tablet was written in Uruk, does not necessarily mean that J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 207–8, was wrong in assuming that the tablet was probably found in Babylon.

⁴⁹ Note however that Thompson, *CLBT*, pl. 1, col. B, 29 perhaps refers to ‘the office of the exorcist’ (*a-ši-[pu-ti(?)]*). See the Appendix.

⁵⁰ The text is partly a duplicate of the Neo-Assyrian text *KAR* 60.

⁵¹ Important for our understanding of the kettledrum ritual is the Neo-Assyrian text *KAR* 50, which is apparently a shortened version of the ritual. On the obverse we find a bilingual incantation for ‘the choice bull, the creation of the great gods’. The reverse describes the actual ritual. Part of the text is duplicated by K 6060 (*BBR* 2, no. 56) + K 10820 (see Plate II). Also relevant is the Neo-Assyrian text *IV R²*, 23, no. 1 + K 9421 (for the latter see Plate III); here several recitations, known from other kettledrum ritual texts, are presented in full.

⁵² *TU* 46 is also partially duplicated by the Late Babylonian Uruk text *SpTU* 4, no. 141. The Late Babylonian text F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12 from Babylon is partially a duplicate of these texts. As *SpTU* 4, no. 141 it contains the beginning of the recitation *Enūma Anu ibnū šamē*, only referred to by its incipit is the Uruk version *TU* 46. Another part of this recitation is attested in the unpublished Rm 101 (see Plate IV and my comments on l. 24 ff. of F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, in the Appendix).

1.2. The texts

the lamentation priest Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nidintu-Anu, descendant of the *kalû*-family Sîn-lēqe-unnīni.⁵³ The owner of the tablet *TU* 44 is the chief singer of dirges (*galamāḫu*) Anu-aḫa-ittannu, son of Riḫat-Anu; we know from a private contract that he was also a descendant of Sîn-lēqe-unnīni.⁵⁴

Babylon

Unfortunately, because most of the texts from Babylon come from illicit excavations, we are unable to establish where the texts discussed here were originally kept. Although it is quite possible that many of the Hellenistic temple ritual texts, and also administrative documents e.g. *CT* 49, constitute remnants of the (not yet found) Esagila archive, we must for now take as our starting point that for the origin of the texts both temple archives as private archives are possible.⁵⁵

Originally, as in Uruk also in Babylon a series of temple ritual texts which covered the whole year must have existed, but only fragments of this have survived.⁵⁶ Important evidence for such a series is the ritual text *DT* 15 +, published by Thureau-Dangin in *RAcc.*, 127 ff. The surviving fragments belong to two tablets which are identified as tablet 22 and 23 of the ritual series, as is specifically stated.⁵⁷ The text refers to the public cult of Marduk, here called Bēl. It describes part of the New Year festival of the first month Nisannu, and concentrates especially on the prayers which accompanied the cultic activity. Unfortunately the fragments cover only day 2 to 5, and even these are not complete. In his unpublished dissertation Çağırzan discussed a short fragment from his private collection, referring to the first day of the New Year festival,⁵⁸ and furthermore, he used the unpublished text *BM* 32654 + 38193 ('extract from a mythological text') for the restoration of l. 69–79 of the New Year ritual.⁵⁹ Finally, the unpublished text *BM* 32485 (published here, see Plate I) is a fragment belonging to *DT* 109; the reverse contains part of the last lines of the ritual of day 5. The text on the obverse is almost entirely lost.

More information on (perhaps) the first month Nisannu comes from *BM* 41577, a ritual text from the Hellenistic period, which is published by A.R. George.⁶⁰ The text deals with a visit of Marduk to the cella of Bēl and Bēltija in Esagila, probably during day 6 or 7 of the New Year festival, as George suggests.⁶¹ Another possibly Hellenistic fragment, *BM* 47902 +, deals with events taking place in the *akītu*-temple *Bīt ikribi* during the New Year festival of Nisannu.⁶²

⁵³ See the introductions of these texts, in the Appendix.

⁵⁴ See my introduction of *TU* 44, in the Appendix.

⁵⁵ Cf. J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 191–94.

⁵⁶ Cf. W.G. Lambert, in: *OECT* 11, p. 23 f.; G. Çağırzan, W.G. Lambert, *JCS* 43–45 (1991–93), 89. For more information we have to look elsewhere, for example in the calendar text *SBH* VIII, which is concerned with the rites of Nabû for the whole year.

⁵⁷ See lines 216aff. and 472 ff.

⁵⁸ *Festivals*, 1.

⁵⁹ *Festivals*, 7–9. This text will be published by W.G. Lambert.

⁶⁰ *Studies* W.G. Lambert, no. 1, 260 ff.

⁶¹ *ib.*, 263.

⁶² W.G. Lambert, *RA* 91 (1997), 52–56.

I. Introduction

For the month Simānu we are almost solely dependant on BM 32656, a temple ritual fragment probably from the Hellenistic period, which is published by A.R. George.⁶³ The rituals in this texts do not deal with the cult of Marduk or his son Nabû, but with the cult of Ištar of Babylon in the temple Eturkalamma, which must have had its own ritual series.

Until recently our most important source for the month Kislīmu was the calendar text *SBH VII // BRM 4*, 25. Important new evidence for the month Kislīmu is now available from a large Esagila-ritual text dealing specifically with this month, BM 32206 +.⁶⁴ The text, part of the ritual series of Babylon, describes city ceremonies in Babylon on days 3 and 4 of the month Kislīmu and gives us new evidence for cultic activities in this month. The procession to the *akītu*-temple outside Babylon is especially important.⁶⁵ The text also contains references to the so-called palm festival.⁶⁶

The date of the texts

In many cases the text contains a colophon with the name of the writer and/or the owner, the place where the tablet was written, and a date.⁶⁷ Sometimes, when the date is lost or missing, prosopographical information can also help us in dating the text.⁶⁸ Other texts have to be dated on palaeographical, grammatical and linguistic grounds, e.g. the signs *lu* and *ku* written without the top horizontal wedge, the use of the aleph-sign ' on the end of words, or the prefix *ta-* and *tu-* for the third p. fem. sing. verb (an example of Aramaic influence).⁶⁹ A very small script is also an important indication for a late date. Sometimes the archaeological history of a tablet i.e. the place where, and stratum in which, it was found can help us. Nevertheless, we are not always able to date a text more specifically than 'Late Babylonian' (i.e. from the Achaemenid or Hellenistic period).

⁶³ *Studies W.G. Lambert*, no. 2, 270 ff., demonstrating a close affinity with the so-called Divine Love Lyrics, see II.8.5.

⁶⁴ Originally edited by G. Çağırman, *Festivals*, 86 ff., it is now published by G. Çağırman and W.G. Lambert, *JCS* 43–45 (1991–1993), 89 ff.

⁶⁵ See II.4.3.

⁶⁶ See II.8.2. More evidence for the month Kislīmu comes from the unpublished text BM 78076, a tablet dated to Darius, which describes days 2–15 in Esabād, the Gula temple in Babylon. This text, which contains important information on the palm festival, is published by A.R. George, *Studies W.G. Lambert*, no. 3, 280 ff. The unpublished temple ritual fragment BM 54901 (see II.8.2) probably also refers to this festival.

For the month Šabātu we do not have temple rituals which can be dated to the Hellenistic period. We do have a fragment which was published by W.G. Lambert in *OECT* 11, no. 47, and more information on this month is now available from BM 32516 // 41239 (the latter was published by A.R. George, *BTT*, no. 57). This text is published by A.R. George, *Studies W.G. Lambert*, no. 4, 289 ff.

Other fragments relating to temple rituals in Babylon are *VS* 24, 108 (+) 109 // 110 (B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi irub*, nos. 10–11, 236–39) and K 3446 + (see now W.G. Lambert, *RA* 91 [1997], 56–62), possibly referring to the New Year festival in Nisannu; see also the smaller fragments *CT* 51, 94–97, 99–102, 104, and A.R. George, *BTT*, nos. 40–45.

⁶⁷ See for example the rituals *BRM* 4, 7, which is dated 61 S.E. (251/0 B.C.), W 18828, dated 62 S.E. (250/49 B.C.), *TU* 46, dated 81 S.E. (231/0 B.C.), *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 12, dated 112 S.E. (200/199 B.C.), *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 6, dated 136 S.E. (176/5 B.C.), and *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, dated 150 S.E. (162/1 B.C.). See also the explanatory text BM 34035 (Sp I 131), dated 111 A.E i.e. 175(!) S.E. i.e. 137/6 B.C. (see J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 227).

⁶⁸ See for example the introductions of the ritual texts *TU* 38, *TU* 39–40, *TU* 44, and *TU* 45 and 46, in the Appendix.

⁶⁹ See W. von Soden, *GAG*, § 193.

1.2. The texts

We know that at least in some cases the texts are copied in the Hellenistic period from older originals, as is specifically stated for example in the colophons of *TU* 38, *TU* 39–40, *BRM* 4, 7, *TU* 44, and W 18828. For this reason we must assume that many if not all of our texts describe older rituals, going back several centuries. When were these older rituals written? For Uruk it is clear that the texts appear to have been adjusted to the Late Babylonian situation: the gods mentioned in the texts belong to the Anu-pantheon of the Late Babylonian period, and not to the Ištar-pantheon of the Neo-Babylonian period.

Also the topography of Uruk as manifested in the texts is clearly Late Babylonian: in the texts, the Rēš- and Ešgal-temples, and not the Eanna-temple complex, are the dominating sanctuaries of the city. Consequently most of our texts are probably copies of older rituals written at the latest during the fifth century.⁷⁰ However, it is possible that these texts are adaptations of even older rituals going back to the Neo-Babylonian period. We do not know much about these older rituals, but one example of such a document has been preserved which gives us some inside information on the cult in Uruk before the Anu-pantheon was introduced. This text, *LKU* no. 51, was probably written during the Late Neo-Babylonian or early Achaemenid period.⁷¹ It appears to be a list of offerings, ceremonies and processions for the whole year, but also of the days, on which the lamentation priest (*kalû*) had to perform his cultic duties. The twelve months of the year are discussed, but the first two months, and part of the third are lost. The goddesses Bēlet-ša-Uruk (= Ištar), Ušur-amassu and Aška'itu in the Eanna-temple are the main protagonists. The text is in many ways similar to the temple ritual texts from Hellenistic Uruk, especially *TU* 42 +, in which Ištar also plays an important part.⁷²

The Babylon ritual DT 15 + (*RAcc.*, 127 ff.) may also be an adaptation of an older ritual going back to the Neo-Babylonian period. Thureau-Dangin assumed that the text was written during the Hellenistic period.⁷³ Zimmern concluded that 'dieses Neujahrsfestritual, wenigstens in seinem jetzigen Wortlaut, nicht etwa, wie mancher sonstige späte Text, eine sklavisches Kopie aus älterer Zeit ist, sondern vielmehr auf der Grundlage älterer Vorlagen eine freie Konzeption des Neujahrsfestrituals für die Priesterschaft des Esagil-Tempels in Babylon aus der spätesten, seleukidisch-parthischen, Periode darstellt'.⁷⁴

Finally, the important Late Babylonian Esagila-ritual concerned with the month Kislīmu, BM 32206 +, is possibly also of Hellenistic date, but refers back to older originals, as Lambert suggested.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ See also 1.3.

⁷¹ See above.

⁷² See A. Falkenstein, *LKU*, 2. For *TU* 42 +, see II.8.5.

⁷³ *RAcc.*, I.

⁷⁴ *ZA* 34 (1922), 192.

⁷⁵ *JCS* 43–45 (1991–93), 89–90.

1.3. The cult

Some general observations

According to Mesopotamian theology the gods are the creators of the world and of humans; the latter had to serve the gods in return for individual and communal prosperity and well-being. This service involved providing everything the gods needed to lead a comfortable existence, and was formalized in order to avoid any mistakes or negligence, which would have had disastrous consequences for the people and their cities. This formalized service for the gods is the cult.

In general, one could define a cult as a form, a practice in which the worshipping of a divinity takes place. In a cult communication with the divine is expressed in certain words, formulas, gestures and actions. One usually distinguishes between, first, a more individual worshipping, and secondly, a common worshipping, the official cult, which was performed by a community; the cult is then expressed in feasts and gatherings. Cultic acts such as offerings, purifications, cultic meals, prayers, incantations and processions, are often performed in or near sacred places like temples.

The Mesopotamians envisaged the cult in an anthropomorphic way: although the gods were thought to reside in heaven and the underworld, in every Mesopotamian city many gods also lived in their own temples. Furthermore, each city also had its own main god, a city patron, who resided in the major temple, where he or she was represented by an anthropomorphic statue. The statues were considered to be manifestations of the gods on earth; rather than being mere images they were regarded as extensions of the personality of the gods. The statues were identified with the gods in question and were considered to be like living beings, who, just like humans, had to eat, sleep, wake and be dressed, and were therefore in the center of ceremonies and presented with regular and special offerings. The statue ‘served as the focal point for sacrificial activities’.⁷⁶

The cultic proceedings were probably based on Babylonian court practices. Like a king living with his family and servants in the palace, in the temple the main god of the city lived with other gods who acted as his family and servants. Under the guidance of priests the inhabitants of the city were responsible for the worship and feeding of the gods throughout the year. However, the temple was not a place where everyone came together to worship the god. Only certain priests and other temple personnel, who were able to perform the often elaborate ceremonies and rituals, and on occasion, for example during the New Year festival, the king or a high official of the city, had access to the temple. There is much written evidence concerning the official temple cult, especially in the ritual texts. Of the private popular religion not much is known.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 185. For the latest on the divine statues see P.-A. Beaulieu, *JNES* 52 (1993), 241, and A. Berlejung, *Die Theologie der Bilder*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 162, Freiburg Schweiz, 1998, 20 ff. with earlier literature. See also Th. Jacobsen, in: P.D. Miller Jr., P.D. Hanson, S. Dean McBride (eds.), *Ancient Israelite Religion*, Philadelphia, 1987, 15 ff.

⁷⁷ For the latest on this subject see M. Dandamayev, in: A. Berlin (ed.), *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East. Studies and Texts in Jewish History and Culture*, Maryland, 1996, 35–45, especially 39 ff.; K. van der Toorn, *Family religion in Babylonia, Syria and Israel. Continuity and Change in the forms of Religious Life*, SHCANE VII, Leiden, New York, Köln, 1996; id., in: K.R. Veenhof (ed.), *Houses and Households in*

1.3. The cult

The temple was not only a religious centre. Although it was considered to be the house of the god (and as such all the temple property was the property of the main god of the temple) it was also an economic center, raising taxes (tithes), owning land, slaves and livestock, and taking part in trade and money-lending. In return the temple provided a large part of the income of citizens who performed certain duties in connection with the temple, either by distributing part of the temple income or by paying wages. Also leasing temple land to tenants was important. The temple was, together with the palace, to a large extent in charge of the land and the economic activities.⁷⁸

A clear definition of the cult is never presented in texts from Mesopotamia. However, the colophon of the ritual text *TU* 38 gives us an idea of how the priesthood of Hellenistic Uruk envisaged the cult to be (rev. 44–50):

‘⁴⁴Wax-table (containing) the rites for the Anu-worship, the pure *šuluhhu*-purification rites, the ritual regulations of kingship, including(?) the divine *šuluhhu*-purification rites of the Rēš-temple, the Ešgal-temple, ⁴⁵the Eanna-temple and the (other) temples of Tiranna, the ritual activities of the exorcists, the lamentation priests, the singers and the craftsmen, ⁴⁶all of them, who are subservient to the ..., not to mention all that concerns the apprentices, in accordance with the contents of the tablets, ⁴⁷which Nabopolassar, king of the Sealand, carried off (*šalālu*) from Uruk. And at that time(?) Kidin-Anu from Uruk, ⁴⁸the exorcist of Anu and Antu, descendant of Ekur-zakir, the high priest of the Rēš-temple, ⁴⁹saw ⁴⁸these tablets in the land of Elam and during the reign of Seleucus and Antiochus, the kings, ⁵⁰he copied and brought (them) to Uruk’.

Here, clearly, an attempt is being made to give a complete description of the cult in Uruk. The text first mentions the rites for the main deity Anu, followed by the purification rites. Then it refers to the duties of the king in the cult. The purification rites of all the temples of Uruk are recorded, after which those who are responsible for performing the cult in these temples are enumerated. Finally, it gives an explanation for the origin of the cult instructions.

The main temples and their gods

Where was the official cult practised?⁷⁹ In Babylon the ancient Esagila-temple complex was still the most important cultic building of the city in the Hellenistic period, constituting the centre of the Bēl-Marduk-cult.⁸⁰ The pantheon of Babylon remained

Ancient Mesopotamia, 40e RAI Leiden 1993, Leiden, Istanbul, 1996, 69–78.

⁷⁸ See R.J. van der Spek, Landownership in Babylonian Cuneiform Documents, in: M.J. Geller, A.D.E. Lewis, H. Maehler (edd.), *Legal Documents of the Hellenistic Period*, London, 1995, 173–245.

⁷⁹ For an up to date survey of the cult buildings of Hellenistic Uruk and Babylon, see J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 78–97 and 112–126, with further literature. All relevant temple names for this study are collected in A.R. George, *House Most High*, with further literature. For the location of many of the temples and temple-parts see A.R. George, *BTT*, chapters 1–3, 1 ff. (Babylon) and chapter 6, 198 ff. (Uruk), and B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, especially chapter III, but note the review article of A.R. George, *BiOr* 53 (1996), 363 ff.

⁸⁰ Scholars have argued that Esagila and other Babylonian temples were destroyed by Xerxes in 482 B.C., but this theory is without support, as has been demonstrated by A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White, in: H.W.A.M. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History II: the Greek sources*, 69–78;

unchanged in the Hellenistic period, as becomes clear not only from the ritual texts and other non-cultic sources, but also from a large group of cult songs;⁸¹ although most of these texts are probably not Hellenistic compositions but copies of older originals, we know that these texts were still used for the cult of the old gods, because not only were many of these texts copied in Hellenistic Babylon, but their colophons indicate that these copies were used 'for singing' (*ana zamāri*), which can only mean that they were used in the cult.⁸²

The Esagila-temple remained in use at least until the first century A.D. as we know from astronomical texts, the latest of which is dated to 75 A.D.⁸³ The astronomical diaries mention the assembly (*kiništu*) and administrator (*šatammu*) of Esagila in 78 B.C.⁸⁴ Other temples are attested in the archive of a temple official called Raḫimesu (94–92 B.C.)⁸⁵; Eturkalamma, the temple of Ištar of Babylon,⁸⁶ Esabad, the temple of Gula in Babylon,⁸⁷ and furthermore the temples of Zababa and Ninlil,⁸⁸ Nabû-ša-ḫarê,⁸⁹ Madānu and the *akītu*-temple.⁹⁰

In Uruk an important change came about during the Late Babylonian period. In the Neo-Babylonian period Inanna/Ištar was the most important god of the city of Uruk, living in the Eanna-complex, but in the Hellenistic period Anu was the most prominent deity, residing in the Rēš-temple, at that time the most important sanctuary of the city. Building inscriptions inform us about extensive building activities and reconstructions not only of the Rēš-temple of Anu, but also of the Ešgal-temple of Ištar during the Hellenistic period.⁹¹ Several *akītu*-temples are known from Hellenistic Uruk.⁹² The temple tower of Uruk, the largest ever constructed in Mesopotamia, was also built in the Hellenistic period.⁹³

Evidence for the new pantheon in Uruk comes not only from ritual texts but also from cult songs, which like those of Babylon, were probably still used for the cult in the Hellenistic period.⁹⁴ Furthermore in the Uruk prebend texts and in proper names (as the divine name-element) also the same gods appear: Anu together with his spouse Antu was at the head of the new pantheon, consisting of Enlil, Ea, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, Marduk,

M. Jursa, *AfO Beiheft* 25 (1995), 2 with n. 8; A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar temple at Sippar*, 4.

⁸¹ G.A. Reisner, *SBH*. See now M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*.

⁸² Cf. J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 208.

⁸³ A.J. Sachs, in: *Kramer AV*, 379–98. Cf. J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 278, n. z.

⁸⁴ A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -77, A, obv. 8', 10'; 27'–28', rev. 30, B, rev. 15'.

⁸⁵ See R.J. van der Spek, in: J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse*, 205–58 (cf. 253), with the latest collations, translations and comments on all texts belonging to this archive.

⁸⁶ See II.8.5.

⁸⁷ See II.8.1.

⁸⁸ Apart from the Raḫimesu texts *CT* 49, 156, obv. 3 and *BRM* 1, 99, 2 also in A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries* no. -254, obv. 13'.

⁸⁹ See II.8.3.

⁹⁰ See II.4.5.2.

⁹¹ See II.6.4 and II.8.5.

⁹² See II.4.5.1.

⁹³ S.B. Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 18. L. Hannestad, D. Potts, in: P. Bilde (ed.), *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom. Studies in Hellenistic Civilization I*. Aarhus, 1990, 107.

⁹⁴ J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 170.

Papsukkal, Amasagnudi, Ištar, Bēlet-šēri, Nanāja, Bēlet-ša-Rēš, and Šarraḫītu.⁹⁵ How and when did this change come about?

According to the colophon of *TU* 38 the entire cult of the Hellenistic period in Uruk must have originated in the Neo-Babylonian period. Falkenstein interpreted this colophon as propaganda from the Urukæan priesthood designed to legitimate the Late Babylonian Anu-cult.⁹⁶ We know that this process of change from Ištar- to Anu-predominance took place over a longer period of time, and was not an invention of the priests of Hellenistic Uruk. Evidence from the Late Babylonian period has confirmed this: based on onomastic evidence Beaulieu concluded that probably between 521, the first regnal year of Darius I, and 424, the first regnal year of Darius II, Anu took over from Ištar.⁹⁷ After the conquest of the Neo-Babylonian empire by Cyrus in 539 the hegemony of the national god and the god of the capital, Marduk, came to an end. Provincial centers like Uruk were now free to promote their own version of the national pantheon, and placed Anu (not only the old deity of Uruk, but also, before Marduk's rise at the end of the second millennium, the god who presided (together with Enlil) over the national pantheon) at the head of this new pantheon. This was done in part by using the Middle Babylonian god list An = Anum, which was a source of inspiration for Urukæan 'antiquarian' theologians. Furthermore it is quite possible, as Pongratz-Leisten has suggested,⁹⁸ that tolerant Persian rulers allowed local cults to go their own way, since they were more concerned with political and economical matters in Babylonia. For Anu and his consort Antu a new temple complex was built, the Rēš-temple,⁹⁹ while Ištar and Nanāja, previously residing in the Eanna-temple, moved to the Ešgal-complex. In texts from the Hellenistic period the Eanna-temple is referred to only rarely, and apparently had lost much of its cultic function in favour of the Rēš- and Ešgal-temples.¹⁰⁰ We know that both of these temples still existed and functioned normally in the early Arsacid period.¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ See P.- A. Beaulieu, *ASJ* 14 (1992), 53–60. Cf. also B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, 136–143. Older discussions of the Uruk pantheon are O. Schroeder, in *SPAW* 41 (1916), 1180–1196; M. Rutten, *Contrats de l'époque Séleucide conservés au musée du Louvre*, 36–63.

⁹⁶ *Topographie*, 8–9. See also G. van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, thesis 3: 'Het colophon van de tekst *TU* 38 wekt de indruk dat men bij deze tekst te doen heeft met een vervalsing ten bate van de heiligdommen van Uruk'. Similar view in P.A. Beaulieu, *Studies W.W. Hallo*, Bethesda, 1993, 47. For the colophon see also III.2.2.

⁹⁷ P.- A. Beaulieu, *ASJ* 14 (1992), 54–69. See also J. Oelsner, *Klio* 60 (1978), 103; id., *Klio* 63 (1981), 39–44; P.- A. Beaulieu, *OrNS* 64 (1995), 187 ff. (discussing Antu).

⁹⁸ *ina šulmi īrub*, 143.

⁹⁹ A. Falkenstein (*Topographie*, 8) already noted that a temple called Rēš is indirectly attested in texts from the Neo-Babylonian period: texts belonging to the Eanna-archive mention the goddess Bēlet-ša-Rēš. Note, however, that this goddess also appears in the annals of Sennacherib, cf. D.D. Luckenbill, *OIP* 2, p. 87, 31–33, where several deities dwelling in Uruk are mentioned, among which (in 31) is Bēlet-ša-Rēš (*šá re'-e-ši*).

¹⁰⁰ Texts from Eanna become rare after the second regnal year of Darius I (520/19 B.C.), which has led some scholars to assume that Eanna was destroyed by Darius I. However, as M. Dandamayev has shown (*AMI* 25 [1992], 169–72), documentary evidence from the Late Achaemenid period clearly undermines this hypothesis.

¹⁰¹ A quitclaim written during the reign of Mithridates II (K. Kessler, *Bagh. Mitt.* 15 [1984], 273–81, dated 108 B.C.) refers to the Rēš-temple, the Ešgal-temple and the other temples of Uruk and relates to the sale of prebend shares, which shows that temple service was still taking place. Cf. S. Sherwin-White, A. Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 155. In the astronomical diaries from Babylon Uruk is mentioned as late as 83 B.C., cf. A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -82, A, obv. 20.

The officials

Who were responsible for the rituals and ceremonies in the temples?¹⁰² In the Babylonian language there is no general word for ‘priest’. There are officials whose duties are strictly confined to (religious) tasks in the temple, and who are considered to be initiates, i.e. who belong to a group of persons possessing secret knowledge, which may not be shared with outsiders. See for example the following warning in the Uruk kettledrum ritual *TU* 44, III, 29–30:

‘²⁹This ritual procedure, which you perform, only the novice (*tarbûtu*) ³⁰may see (it); an outsider, someone who is not responsible for the rites (*la mār bēl parši*), may not see (it)’.¹⁰³

McEwan has discussed all the ‘priests’ known from the Hellenistic period.¹⁰⁴ Most often mentioned in texts from Hellenistic Babylonia is the exorcist (*āšipu*).¹⁰⁵ We know that he played a major part in the temple rituals from Uruk¹⁰⁶ and Babylon.¹⁰⁷ It is this magical expert who takes charge of most ritual activities, because in many official rituals it was important to avert evil and obtain ritual purity by means of all sorts of magical activities. Many of our texts can be attributed to the corpus of the exorcist (*āšipūtu*).¹⁰⁸

Furthermore there are special priests, who were responsible for performing the recitations, such as the singer (*nāru*), the lamentation priests (*kalû*) and the chief singer

¹⁰² In contrast to Egypt and Israel the administration of the temples in Babylonia was performed by civil servants who had no priestly duties. These civil servants were discussed by G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 25 ff. and R.J. van der Spek, *Grondbezit in het Seleucidische rijk*, 57 ff. (Babylon) and 79 ff. (Uruk) (an English summary in: A. Kuhrt, S. Sherwin-White (ed.), *Hellenism in the East*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987, 57–74). Many references to Babylonian cultic personnel are also to be found in R.A. Henshaw, *Female and Male*.

¹⁰³ Cf. G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 10. For this secret knowledge see P.- A. Beaulieu, *ZA* 82 (1992), 98 ff.

¹⁰⁴ *FAOS* 4, 7 ff. (chapter I), with text references (see however the review articles). Among the texts published after McEwan’s study, the Kislīmu ritual BM 32206 + is especially important for its additional information on priests and other temple personnel. Not attested elsewhere are the DUMU.NÍG.LA.LA, possibly to be read as *mār šalāti* (see G. Çağiran, W.G. Lambert, *JCS* 43–45 [1991–93], 90–1), and, although very uncertain, the *ḫaṭṭaru* (ib., 101).

¹⁰⁵ For the occasional reading ¹⁰MAŠ.MAŠ = *mašmaššu* instead of *ašipu* in the Late Babylonian period see my comment on *TU* 38, rev. 45, in the Appendix.

¹⁰⁶ He is mentioned together with the lamentation priest, the singer and the craftsmen (in the colophon of *TU* 38, rev. 45). He is also mentioned together with the lamentation priest and the singer in the Uruk New Year festival (*TU* 39, obv. 35; rev. 19) and he takes part in procession during this festival (*TU* 39, obv. 27, with a temple enterer, *TU* 40, rev 6, 9, with the king; *BRM* 4, 7, passim, with the high priest, the temple enterer and the brewers), and recites incantations (*BRM* 4, 7, passim). He also takes part in the festival of Ištar (*TU* 42 +, rev. 30). During the night vigil festivities he consecrates the Scepter, takes part in a procession with the torch together with the head temple enterer, the lamentation priests and the singers, and extinguishes the torch (*TU* 41, obv. 4, 33, rev. 19). He recites incantations during the eclipse of the moon ritual (*BRM* 4, 6, obv. 35 f.). Finally, he has a minor role in the kettledrum ritual and the building ritual, see II.5.3 and II.6.3.

¹⁰⁷ The exorcist consecrates the temple (*RAcc.*, 140, 340 ff.) and recites incantations (*RAcc.*, 141, 355).

¹⁰⁸ See I.2.

of dirges (*galamāḫu* / *kalamahḫu*).¹⁰⁹ The kettledrum ritual and the building ritual¹¹⁰ belong to the text corpus of the lamentation priest (*kalûtu*).¹¹¹

The leading priest in the temple is the *aḫu rabû* ‘high priest’;¹¹² he is especially well-known from ritual texts. Not mentioned by McEwan is the *ēnu*-priest.¹¹³ Referred to only rarely in texts from Hellenistic Uruk and Babylon are the *šangû*, *lumahḫu* and *šuluhḫû*.¹¹⁴ The same is true for the cultic performers *assinnu*, *kurgarrû* and *urmahlullû*.¹¹⁵ The diviner performing extispicy (*barû*) is not well attested in the Hellenistic period, which however is not a result of Greek influence, but must be explained by the fact that in the Hellenistic period divination was to a large extent replaced by astrology, as McEwan suggested.¹¹⁶ This is confirmed by the fact that most of the texts in which the diviner is mentioned are in all probability Hellenistic copies of older originals.

Finally, the texts often mention the *ērib bīti* ‘temple enterer’, i.e. a person who is allowed to enter the restricted areas of the temple.¹¹⁷ As Bongenaar convincingly argued, ‘*ērib bīti* is not a general word, class, position or honorific title, but has just one meaning: “the owner of an *ērib bītûtu* prebend”’.¹¹⁸ Anyone who held certain offices or had to perform certain duties in the temple owned an *ērib bītûtu* prebend. It is therefore no surprise to find that ‘priests’, and also those experts and craftsmen who were needed inside the temple to perform their duties, such as the goldsmith (*kutimmu*), the carpenter (*naggāru*), the jeweller (*kabšarru*), the seal-cutter (*purkullu*), and the craftsman (*gurgurru*), were called *ērib bīti*.

The fact that a person designated as cook/baker (*nuḫatimmu*), brewer (*sirāšû*), oil processor (*šāḫitu*), butcher (*tābiḫu*), or miller (*ararru*) is sometimes also called *ērib bīti*, does not contradict Bongenaar’s theory. Obviously a cook or butcher only delivered his goods and his work did not require admission into the restricted parts of the temple, but this does not mean that he did not hold other offices or perform other tasks which did make it necessary for him to enter the temple.¹¹⁹ The fact that the *ērib bīti* is sometimes

¹⁰⁹ *kalû* was usually written ¹⁰GALA, but in the astronomical diaries ¹⁰LAGAR, cf. W. Horowitz, *RA* 85 (1991), 75, n. 4 with literature. For the lamentation priest see (apart from G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 11 ff.) M.K. Schreter, *Emesal-Studien*, Innsbruck, 1990, 135, J.A. Black, *Eme-sal Cult Songs and Prayers*, and R.A. Henshaw, *Female and Male*, 88–96. McEwan collected most of the textual references, but see also the Uruk text W 18728, obv. 10’ and 12’, which mentions the consecrated (‘shaven’) lamentation priest (¹⁰GALA *gul-lu-bu*), probably belonging to the regular personnel of the temple, and the unconsecrated lamentation priest (¹⁰GALA *la gul-lu-bu*). See II.5.1

¹¹⁰ See II.5 and II.6.

¹¹¹ See I.2.

¹¹² For the reading *aḫu rabû* instead of *šešgallu* in texts from the Hellenistic period, see my comments on *TU* 38, rev. 48, in the Appendix.

¹¹³ *TU* 42 +, obv. 16 (but see my comments on this line in the Appendix); *KAR* 132, III, 15.

¹¹⁴ There is no evidence that the *gerseqqu*, usually translated ‘attendant’, or the ¹⁰ŠU.BAR.RA (cf. G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 8 and 11) had any priestly duties. Cf. J.A. Brinkman, *JCS* 35 (1983), 233.

¹¹⁵ For the *assinnu* and *kurgarrû* and their participation in the so-called Divine Love Lyrics during the Arsacid period, as suggested by Ph.M. Hibbert, *WdO* 15 (1984), 93–95, see II.8.5.

¹¹⁶ *FAOS* 4, 15.

¹¹⁷ See G. Frame, *ZA* 81 (1991), 42 and A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar temple at Sippar*, 146 f., with more references.

¹¹⁸ *Ib.*, 149.

¹¹⁹ A good example is Marduk-šuma-iddin, called an *ērib bīti* of Esabad in *CT* 49, 161, obv. 6–7 (18-VI-93 B.C.), and referred to as a baker in *AB* 245 (G.J.P. McEwan, *Iraq* 43 [1981], 136 ff.), obv. 6 (18-VI-93 B.C.); cf. R.J. van der Spek, *BiOr* 52 (1985), 547–8. These texts belong to the archive of the official Raḫimesu. Another text from this archive (*CT* 49, 156, dated 10-II-93 B.C.) refers to the *ērib bītûtu*, a prebendary office

mentioned together with other priests or craftsmen is not surprising either, because in these cases the *ērib bītis* are always mentioned as being the last in line, and should be interpreted as ‘the (other) *ērib bītis*’. This is confirmed by the ritual text *BRM* 4, 7, which describes a procession of Anu from the Rēš-temple to the *akītu*-temple. After Anu has left the cella Enamenna and has arrived at the Grand Gate, the high priest (*aḫu rabū*), the exorcists, the (other) *ērib bītis*, and the brewers recite a prayer. This is repeated during the different stages of the procession until they reach the *akītu*-temple.¹²⁰ Because Anu has left the restricted temple area, the brewers, mentioned after the *ērib bītis* because they are not allowed to enter the temple, can join in as bearers of the carrying pole (*gišṣallu*).

As we saw, the colophon of *TU* 38 presents us with a list of priests and craftsmen who perform cultic proceedings in the temples: it mentions the ritual activities of the exorcists, the lamentation priests, the singers and the craftsmen (DUMU.MEŠ *um-man-nu*).¹²¹ Together with the high priest (not mentioned in the colophon), these are the persons who are most often mentioned in the temple ritual texts, and who are responsible for performing the ceremonies and rituals. However, there is one other person, who also takes part in cultic activities on certain occasions: the king.

The king

We have many references to the king in the temple ritual texts. His tasks in the public cult (called the *sakkē šarrūtu* the ‘ritual regulations of kingship’) are referred to in the description of the Uruk cult in the colophon of *TU* 38.¹²² The additional offerings of the king (*tardū šarri*), mentioned in a list of offerings and ceremonies in *TU* 38 form part of these ritual regulations.¹²³ Furthermore the king takes part in the New Year festivals in Uruk and Babylon,¹²⁴ participates in the special festival for Ištar of Uruk,¹²⁵ recites *eršemšahungū*-prayers in the Uruk building ritual,¹²⁶ and appears in the last part of the lunar eclipse ritual in Uruk.¹²⁷

The question is whether in the Hellenistic period the Macedonian kings participated in the cult activities in the same manner as did the Babylonian and Achaemenid kings in the previous periods. The temple ritual texts do not give us any information on this, but non-cultic sources, especially chronicles, building inscriptions and the astronomical diaries suggest that this is the case, and for a good reason too. As Sherwin-White and Kuhrt stated: ‘in Babylonia (...) the Seleucid kings present a coherent picture of rulers who are no foreign enemy but constitute a legitimate and just dynasty, attuned to local gods and actively participating in cults. Here, the tradition of Babylonian kingship gave

of the temple enterer in the Day One temple i.e. the *akītu*-temple in Arsacid Babylon, which shows that the cult was still practiced in the first century B.C. The temple enterer is also mentioned in the Raḫimesu-text K. Kessler, in *Festschrift J. Oelsner*, no. 9 (94/3 B.C.).

¹²⁰ Cf. obv. 3–4, 7, 10–11, 14–15, 18–19, 22–23, 26, rev. 39–40.

¹²¹ Rev. 45.

¹²² Rev. 44.

¹²³ Obv. 38, rev. 38. See III.1 and III.7. 2.

¹²⁴ *TU* 39–40, *KAR* 132; *RAcc.*, 127 ff. See II.4.5.

¹²⁵ *TU* 42 +. See II.8.5.

¹²⁶ *TU* 45. See II.6.

¹²⁷ BM 134701. See II.7.4.

1.3. The cult

king and subject a framework to operate in. (...) The Seleucid kings seem effectively to have taken on, and could be felt to have fulfilled, some aspects of their Achaemenid and Babylonian inheritance'.¹²⁸

The involvement of the Macedonian kings with the Babylonian temples has been described by Van der Spek¹²⁹: Alexander started to restore Esagila in Babylon and his successors also undertook building renovations on the temples of Uruk and Babylon.¹³⁰ As will be illustrated in the following chapters, many references in the astronomical diaries indicate the active participation of the Macedonian king, or of high officials acting as his representatives, in the official cult in the temples, performing offerings and ceremonies or taking part in the New Year festival. The reason for this participation is religious (the king is representative of the people, honoring the gods and seeking support, advice and protection from danger from the gods for himself and his subjects), political (legitimation of his position, seeking support and goodwill from his people), and economic (using the wealth of the temples to provide an income for himself and to subsidize military campaigns).

Van der Spek describes the role of the king as the benefactor of the temples, who hopes to find moral and financial support for his political and military plans, but also as the robber of temple funds in times of crisis. On religious matters however the temples were usually left in peace. We do find in the astronomical diaries many references to special rituals which were held for one or more gods and 'for the life of' the king and his royal family. These were not necessarily imposed on the temples by the king, but may have developed spontaneously in the cities of the Seleucid empire, including Babylonia. The rituals for the king are usually referred to as ruler cults and are discussed elsewhere.¹³¹

Cult terminology

In the texts from Mesopotamia we find a wide range of general terms referring to the cult and to its different elements, e.g. 'ceremony (rite), ritual, ritual procedure/activity, festival' etc. Unfortunately most of these terms apparently have a general meaning: clear definitions are not given and the context often does not give us enough clues to distinguish one term from another.¹³² We will list these terms here and discuss their relevance for the Hellenistic period.

A general word, attested from the Old Babylonian period on, is *paršu* 'rite, cult', written syllabically but also with the Sumerograms GARZA and ME. The former originally stood for 'cult practice, rite', and ME for 'divine power, divine order', two different meanings which, according to Landsberger, assimilated into the Akkadian *paršu*.¹³³ We

¹²⁸ *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 38–9.

¹²⁹ *Religieuze en economische politiek in het Seleucidische Rijk*, 19 ff.

¹³⁰ See II.6.4.

¹³¹ See II.8.7.

¹³² The translations of these terms used in this book usually follow the dictionaries *CAD* and *AHW*.

¹³³ *A/K* 2 (1924–25), 64 ff.; see also E. Ebeling, *MAOG* V/3 (1931), 45 f. and K. Focke, *ZA* 88 (1998), 203, n. 20. For the Late Babylonian period see for example the Babylon building ritual F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 36.

have many examples from Hellenistic ritual texts. *Paršu*, used as a more general reference to the entire cult, is attested in a passage from *TU* 38, where after the enumeration of several offerings and ceremonies the text states that these are ‘written down in (the tablets of) the rites for the whole year’ (*ša ina GARZA ša kal MU.AN.NA šaṭ-ri*).¹³⁴ Here the rites of the divine marriage (*GARZA.GARZA ha-ša-du*) are also mentioned,¹³⁵ and the colophon of this text begins with the rites for the Anu-worship (*GARZA dLX-ú-tú*).¹³⁶ The term *paršu* is also used in texts describing the New Year festivals from Uruk¹³⁷ and Babylon,¹³⁸ and in a kettledrum ritual text from Uruk, referring to someone who is not responsible for the rites.¹³⁹ In this ritual we also find *paršu* used in combination with *kidudû* ‘ritual’¹⁴⁰: the bull is taken to be used for the rites and rituals (*a-na par-ši u KI.DU.DU-de-e*).¹⁴¹ We also have one reference in an eclipse of the moon(?) ritual, but the context is difficult.¹⁴² Finally *paršu* is (rarely) recorded in the astronomical diaries from Babylon.¹⁴³

nēpešu ‘ritual, ritual procedure’, often used in the plural (*nēpešû*), is especially well-known from the Neo-Assyrian period on, and is usually written syllabically. It is also mentioned in Hellenistic ritual texts.¹⁴⁴ Many times it is attested in the phrase *nē-pe-ši ša ŠU^{II} lûGALA* ‘(This is) the ritual procedure of the lamentation priest’, used to identify the ritual or a recitation, performed during a ritual, as belonging to the text corpus of the lamentation priest (*kalûtu*).¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, *nēpešu* is known from the kettledrum ritual (here with the exceptional writing *DÍM.DÍM.MA*),¹⁴⁶ the building ritual,¹⁴⁷ and the eclipse of the moon ritual.¹⁴⁸ In a Hellenistic temple ritual fragment dealing with

¹³⁴ *TU* 38, rev. 38.

¹³⁵ *TU* 38, obv. 37; rev. 37; see also *TU* 39, obv. 4 (*par-ši ša ha-ša-du*). See II.4.4.

¹³⁶ *TU* 38, rev. 44.

¹³⁷ *TU* 40, obv. 10–11: the rites of the sheep on the ninth day have to be performed as on the previous eighth day. *TU* 39, rev. 25 contains a reference to the rites of the seventh month *Tašritu*.

¹³⁸ *RAcc.*, 130, 38; 132, [185]; 136, 277 and 140, 336: the text refers to the rites of the *ērib būis* which have to be performed ‘as usual’ (*GIM ša gi-na-a*). This text also mentions (131, 72) the rites of the destroyed temples of Uruk and Nippur: ‘their rites are forgotten [since distant days ...]’, and one reference is made (144, 425) to the rites of Esagila: ‘[I have not] made Esagila tremble, I have not forgotten its rites’.

¹³⁹ *TU* 44, III, 30, cited above.

¹⁴⁰ Written syllabically and *KI.DU.DU*.

¹⁴¹ *TU* 44, I, 4; 6. See the duplicate *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 4; 6. See also the Neo-Assyrian ritual text *IV R²*, 23, no. 1, I, 20 (*a-na par-ši ki-du-de-e na-šu-ka*).

¹⁴² *CLBT*, pl. 1, col. A, 10.

¹⁴³ A (damaged) passage in A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. 155, A, rev. 8–17 mentions the performing of rites (*ana DŪ-eš par-ši*) on day 5-IV-156 S.E. (context not clear).

¹⁴⁴ But also in other sources, as for example in the astronomical diaries; see A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -256, obv. 20'; no. 229, B, obv. 6'; 11'; rev. 1[3'].

¹⁴⁵ The Uruk *mīs pi* (washing of the mouth)-ritual: *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 61. The Uruk kettledrum ritual: *TU* 44, IV, 36 (cf. Neo-Assyrian ritual text *IV R²*, 23, no. 1, IV, 26: *nē-pe-ši NAM.GALA.KAM* ‘(This is) the ritual procedure for the lamentation priesthood’). The Uruk building ritual: *TU* 45, obv. 15; rev. 2; *TU* 46, obv. 20; rev. 14; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 21; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 12, rev. 3'. See also the Neo-Babylonian ritual text *LKU*, no. 48, rev. 8 (*nē-pe-ši [ša ŠU^{II} lûGALA]*; cf. rev. 6).

¹⁴⁶ In the already mentioned warning formula *TU* 44, III, 29.

¹⁴⁷ *TU* 46 is identified as belonging to the text corpus of the lamentation priest (obv. 20). In the following supplement(?) another reference is made to repeatedly performing(?) of the ritual procedure, obv. 21: *nē-pe-ši i-te-nē-ep-pu-š[û]*; cf. the Late Babylonian parallel *SpTU* 4, no. 141, rev. 14.

¹⁴⁸ *BRM* 4, 6, obv. 17 (see also obv. 2) the lamentation priest is said to sit down and perform the ritual procedure of the lamentation priest, until the moon has cleared up the eclipse.

the month Simānu, a ritual procedure of the afternoon (*né-pe-eš-šú šá mu-uš-šú-lal-lu*),¹⁴⁹ and a ritual procedure of the morning (*né-pe-eš-šú šá še-e-ri*)¹⁵⁰ is attested. A ritual procedure of ‘Whe[n Anu created Heaven]’ (*né-pe-šú šá e-nu-m[a^dA-nu ib-nu-ú AN-e]*), performed by the exorcists and the lamentation priests of Esagila, is recorded in an astronomical diary.¹⁵¹

epištu ‘ritual act’, rarely attested and almost always in the plural (*epšetu*) in Neo-Assyrian texts, is written syllabically, but also DÙ.DÛ and NÍG.DÍM.DÍM.MA. In the Hellenistic ritual texts we have a few examples from the kettledrum ritual.¹⁵² In an astronomical diary it is mentioned together with a Greek festival called *puppē*.¹⁵³ The cognate *epuštu*, written DÛ.DÛ.BI, ‘the pertinent (lit. its) ritual’, i.e. the ritual which accompanies the recited incantation or prayer, is not attested in Hellenistic ritual texts.¹⁵⁴

Several other terms for cult, rite, service, festival etc. are known, which are, however, seldom attested or not at all in Hellenistic ritual texts. One of these terms is *sakkû* ‘ritual regulations’ (plur. tantum),¹⁵⁵ known from the Old Babylonian period, but also attested in texts from the first millennium B.C. In the Hellenistic ritual texts it is attested only once, in the colophon of *TU* 38 together with several other rites, referring to the ritual regulations of kingship.¹⁵⁶ Another rarely used word is *alaktu* (*alkatu*) ‘(ritual) activities’, attested from the Old Akkadian period on. Like *sakkû* it is only known in the Hellenistic ritual texts from the colophon of *TU* 38, referring to the ritual activities of the exorcists, the lamentation priests, the singers and the craftsmen.¹⁵⁷

Although the very common term *dullu* ‘ritual, divine service, cult’ is well-known from the Hellenistic period, for example in legal documents,¹⁵⁸ it is not attested in rituals.¹⁵⁹ Similar in meaning is *šipru* ‘work, service’; only two examples from the Hellenistic ritual corpus are attested.¹⁶⁰ *Pelludû* ‘cult’ is not known from Hellenistic ritual texts, but it is attested in a calendar text from Babylon.¹⁶¹

Other terms like *mēsû* (plur. tantum), ‘cults, cultic rites, rituals’, and *kikkiṭṭû* ‘ritual act’ are not known from Hellenistic ritual texts. *nāṭu* is only attested in Neo-Assyrian rituals.¹⁶²

¹⁴⁹ BM 32656 (A.R. George, *Studies W.G. Lambert*, no. 2, 270 ff.), col. IV, 3', see also 18', col. V, 6.

¹⁵⁰ BM 32656, col. IV, 8'.

¹⁵¹ A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. 270, B, rev. 16'. It probably belongs to the building ritual, see II.6.2. A ‘ritual procedure of the gods’ (*né-peš šá DINGIR.MEŠ*) is attested in A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. 229, B, obv. 6'; cf. also obv. 11' and rev. 13'.

¹⁵² *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 25 (broken contexts); 31. See perhaps also the parallel *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 7, l. obv. 5', written NÍG.DÍM.DÍM.MA, but restored; cf. *KAR* 60, rev. 13; see also rev. 3.

¹⁵³ A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. 168, A, obv. 14–15. See II.8.4.

¹⁵⁴ See the Neo-Assyrian kettledrum ritual *KAR* 50, rev. 1.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 11 (1914), 142, n. 5; W. von Soden, *ZA* 45 (1939), 78, n. 3.

¹⁵⁶ *TU* 38, rev. 44.

¹⁵⁷ Rev. 45–6.

¹⁵⁸ See also II.8.7.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. G. van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, 158.

¹⁶⁰ W 18828, rev. 3: *ši-pir DINGIR-ú-tu* ‘service for the gods’; see also rev. 4; the eclipse of the moon ritual BM 134701, rev. 16: *šip-ri šá^dA-nu* ‘the service for Anu’.

¹⁶¹ *SBH* VIII, III, 17.

¹⁶² See G. van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, 158 f. with references.

I. Introduction

A general term for ‘festival’ is *isinnu*, a word which goes back to the Old Babylonian period, and can refer both to a religious and a secular festival. Although a general use of *isinnu* is also known, more often it concerns a special festival identified by the name of a god, a temple or a month.¹⁶³ A special case is the festival of the New Year (*isinnu akītu*).¹⁶⁴ In the Hellenistic period *isinnu* is not attested in ritual texts. However, we have two occurrences in other texts, both referring to special festivals. First, in the ritual calendar *SBH* VIII, II, 7; here *isinnu* probably refers to the *akītu*-festival of the first month Nisannu in Babylon.¹⁶⁵ The second reference is recorded in an Arsacid administrative text from Babylon, AB 248,¹⁶⁶ which refers to day 25 of Simānu on which a temple festival of Esabad is celebrated.¹⁶⁷

Finally we should mention *nigūtu* ‘music, festival’, not known from Hellenistic ritual texts, but attested in the chronicle texts.¹⁶⁸ From the astronomical diaries we know that it was still used in the Arsacid period.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶³ Cf. *CAD*, I, 195–7, I; *AHW*, 388a, with many references.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. *CAD*, I, 196, I, d, 1'; *AHW*, 29a, 4, b and 388a, I, d; B. Landsberger, *Kult. Kalender*, 6 ff.; J. Renger, in: *CRR* 17 (1970), 75–80; G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 163.

¹⁶⁵ See II.4.5.2.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. G.J.P. McEwan, *Iraq* 43 (1981), 141 ff.

¹⁶⁷ See II.8.1.

¹⁶⁸ Chronicle 13b, A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, 284, 15. The text will be discussed in II.4.5.2 and II.8.7.

¹⁶⁹ A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -105, obv. B 16', 206 S.E. i.e. 142 A.E.; earlier examples are no. -245, B, 5': for the third month a festival (*nigūtu*) was celebrated in a building whose name is lost (perhaps the palace of Laodike?); no. -158, B, rev. 18'.

II. CEREMONIES, RITUALS AND FESTIVALS

II.1. Introduction

Important elements of the cult are the ceremony, the ritual and the religious festival. A ceremony is a religious custom or rite for the opening or continuation of contact between man and the divine. The ceremony, together with the seasons (with which it was originally closely connected), was the basis for the chronology of the cultic year: the fixed days of the months, on which the ceremonies had to be performed, resulted in a calendar which was based on the cult.

Rituals and festivals consist of a complex of ceremonies, each of which have their own function, combined together to serve a different purpose. In general this purpose consists in averting evil which may threaten an individual or the community, by following a fixed set of rules which describe how humans must serve the gods and in return enjoy a secure and pleasant life.

The Mesopotamians offered mythological explanations for the cultic activities in the ritual texts. According to the Mesopotamians a ritual is often a re-enactment of a myth, because, as Lambert noted, they considered myths not to have happened once in a remote past, but were regarded to occur at regular intervals.¹ It is often difficult for us to assess how the Mesopotamians conceived a ritual to be connected with a particular myth. Sometimes the ritual itself contains an explanation. We also have explanatory texts which 'explain' some of these connections.² As Livingstone concluded, because for the Mesopotamians there is no fundamental difference between myth and ritual, the statues and symbols which are used in the temple rituals are in fact the deities which they represent, and the rituals in which they take part are therefore myths. These myths usually deal with struggles between major deities, which are derived from mythological events described in the epics *Enūma eliš* and *Anzû*. People mentioned in the rituals correspond to victorious deities in the myths, while animals or objects correspond to defeated deities or demons.³

In texts from Mesopotamia we find no clear definition of a ceremony. We do have an interesting enumeration of several ceremonies from Uruk in *TU* 38, which describes the amount of foodstuffs and drinks which have to be brought into the temples daily.⁴

¹ See W.G. Lambert, *JSS* 13 (1968), 104 ff., especially 112. A good example of a ritual explained by a myth is the kettledrum ritual, see II.5.2. For a survey of the history and development of the myth and ritual debate i.e. what came first, the myth or the ritual, see H.S. Versnel, *Transition and reversal in myth and ritual*, Leiden, New York, Köln, 1994² (Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman religion II. Studies in Greek and Roman religion, vol. 6, II), chapter I, 15–88.

² The explanatory texts explaining temple rituals by equating them with myths are discussed by A. Livingstone, *Mystical*, 115 ff. (chapters 4–6). See also I.2.

³ *Mystical*, 115 and 169 f.

⁴ The text is discussed in III.2.2.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

Obv. 35–38 mentions loaves and date cakes which are used for several offerings and ceremonies:

‘³⁵ ... Not included are (also) the large(?) loaves and the date cakes ³⁶which are for the travel provisions of the gods, the *guqqû*-offerings, the *eššēšu*-ceremonies, the opening of the gate ceremonies, the clothing ceremonies, ³⁷the holy water (basin) ceremonies, the night vigil ceremonies, the brazier ceremonies, the rites of the divine marriage, (the offerings of) the *kāribus* ³⁸and the additional offerings of the king’.

Apart from four groups of general offering gifts,⁵ the loaves and date cakes are also intended for several ceremonies listed here: the monthly-celebrated *eššēšu*-ceremonies,⁶ the daily-celebrated opening of the gate ceremonies (*pūt bābi*),⁷ the monthly-celebrated clothing ceremonies (*lubuštu*),⁸ the holy water (basin) ceremonies (*egubbū*), performed during purifications,⁹ the monthly-celebrated night vigil ceremonies (*bajjātu*),¹⁰ the brazier ceremonies (*kinūnu*),¹¹ and the rites of the divine marriage (*ḥašādu*), performed during the New Year festival, but also on other occasions.¹²

The reverse (35–38) mentions oxen and sheep for the same list of offerings and ceremonies (but without the travel provisions of the gods), and then adds (38–39):

‘which are written down in (the tablets of) the rites (*paršu*) for the whole year, in the Rēš-temple, the Ešgal-temple, the Eanna-temple and the (other) temples of Tiranna (= Uruk) for Anu, Antu and all the (other) gods’.

The list in these two passages is apparently an attempt to present a complete description of the regularly recurring offerings and ceremonies during the cultic year in Uruk. This is confirmed by the fact that the text refers to the marriage-rites, but not to the New Year festival (*akītu*),¹³ nor to any other ritual or festival, which was celebrated only once a year or on special occasions, e.g. the kettledrum ritual or the building ritual.¹⁴ The text mentions the opening of the gate ceremonies, but not the awakening of the temple ceremonies (*dīk bīti*),¹⁵ which may be explained by the close connection between these ceremonies. Note that the night vigil ceremonies are mentioned, but not the closely connected good-functioning of the temple ceremonies (*šalām bīti*).¹⁶ Because the list on the obverse is identical with the one on the reverse (with the exception of the travel

⁵ The travel provisions of the gods (*šidītu ilāni*, see III.2), the monthly *guqqû*-offerings (see III.7.2), the offerings of the *kāribus* (see III.7.2), and the additional offerings of the king (*tardītu šarri*, see III.2.2 and III.7.2). This part of the list will be discussed in III.1.

⁶ See II.3.2.

⁷ See II.2.2.

⁸ See II.3.3.

⁹ See III.6.2.

¹⁰ See II.3.4.

¹¹ See II.4.6.

¹² See II.4.4.

¹³ See II.4.5.

¹⁴ See II.5 and 6.

¹⁵ See II.2.1.

¹⁶ See II.3.6.

II.2. Daily ceremonies

provisions of the gods, only mentioned in the former), the possibility of the slovenliness of the writer can be excluded.

Because it is difficult to ascertain any logical schedule in the nature or sequence of the ceremonies in this list,¹⁷ in this chapter another order has been chosen: first we will analyse the group which has a cyclical basis, i.e. which are performed on a daily, monthly or yearly basis,¹⁸ although, as we will see, it is often difficult to determine whether we are dealing with monthly or yearly ceremonies and rituals, or whether they occur only occasionally. Then a few special rituals are discussed: the kettledrum ritual, the building ritual and the eclipse of the moon ritual. Finally we will analyse some festivals about which we know only little: a temple festival celebrated in Esabād, the temple of Gula in Babylon, a so-called palm festival in Esagila, a *ḥarû*-ritual in Esagila, a Greek festival, two special festivals for Ištar of Babylon and Ištar of Uruk respectively, and a nocturnal festival celebrated in the Rēš-temple complex. We will also discuss the so-called Ruler cults.

II.2. Daily ceremonies

The god was represented in the temple by an anthropomorphic statue, and therefore his daily life was taken care of by humans in an anthropomorphic way: ceremonies and rituals concentrated on the daily life in the temple and the meals which were served to the gods. An important element of this daily practice was the divine meal, which will be discussed in chapter III. Furthermore two ceremonies are known which were performed every cultic day in the temples: the *dīk būti*- and the *pūt bābi*-ceremonies. They will be discussed in this section. But first we must briefly analyse the cultic day.

II.2.1. The cultic day

The Babylonian day (*ūmu*) was divided into seasonally varying watches (*maššartu*), three during the day and three during the night, and into twelve unchanging ‘double hours’ (*bēru*).¹⁹ A normal day began and ended with sunset,²⁰ between the first and last

¹⁷ According to G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 163, the fact that *kinūnu* follows *bajjātu* in the list indicates that the former took place during the night vigils. However, this could be accidental. Furthermore, it is not likely that the list in *TU* 38 follows a chronological order, since in *TU* 39, obv. 13 it is stated that the *guqqū*-offerings follow the clothing ceremonies (*lubuštu*), whereas in *TU* 38, obv. 36 and rev. 36–37 they are mentioned before the clothing ceremonies.

¹⁸ B. Landsberger, *Kult. Kalender*, 2 ff. for the first time suggested a separate discussion of ceremonies which were celebrated monthly and those which were celebrated yearly.

¹⁹ Cf. R. Borger, *JEOL* 18 (1964), 326–7; D. Pingree, E. Reiner, *AfO* 25 (1974–77), 54 f.; C.B.F. Walker, H. Hunger, *MDOG* 109 (1977), 33–4; M.A. Powell, in: *RIA* 7 (1989), 467 f.; F. N.H. Al Rawi, A.R. George, *AfO* 38–39 (1991–1992), 55, n. 13.

²⁰ Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Esquisse d'une histoire du système sexagésimal*, Paris, 1932, 43; E.C. Kingsbury, *HUCA* 34 (1963), 18; B.A. Levine, W.W. Hallo, *HUCA* 38 (1967), 47; S. Smith, *Iraq* 31 (1969), 74 ff.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

double hour of the day (*bēr ūmi*),²¹ when ‘the sun (god) stands’ (*Šamaš izzaz*) on the horizon.²² The cultic day however had a different schedule²³:

- the *dīk bīti* (awakening of the temple)-ceremony
- the *pīt bābi* (opening of the gate)-ceremony
- the serving and clearing of the two meals (*naptanu/tardennu*)²⁴ in the morning
- the serving and clearing of two meals in the evening
- the closing of the gate

It started at sunrise (*napāḫu ša šamši*),²⁵ or more precise shortly before sunrise, during the (last) double hour of the night (*bēr mūši*), before the gates of the temple were opened, with the *dīk bīti*-ceremony. The cultic day ended, after the two evening meals were served and cleared, with the closing of the gates. However, the beginning of the second cultic day of the New Year festival, held in the month Nisannu in Babylon, began two hours before dawn, i.e. the last double hour of the night and then began progressively earlier on each succeeding day, the third probably (the text is damaged) 1/3 double hours earlier, the fourth on 2/3 double hours earlier, until finally it began four hours before dawn, i.e. two double hours of the night,²⁶ either during the middle or during the last night watch (*šāt urri*).²⁷

Cultic days, which included a night vigil (*bajjātu*),²⁸ had a different schedule²⁹:

- the *dīk bīti*-ceremony
- the *pīt bābi*-ceremony
- the serving and clearing of the two meals of the morning
- the serving (and clearing)³⁰ of two meals of the evening

²¹ See *LKU*, no. 51, obv. 7, 21, 26, rev. 36; *TU* 39, rev. 23 (the time of the main and second meal), see my comments on this line in the Appendix.

²² See C. Wilcke, in: M. Mindlin, M.J. Geller, J.E. Wansbrough (eds.), *Figurative language in the Ancient Near East*, London, 1987, 91.

²³ See *TU* 39, rev. 15 ff., describing the normal proceedings of day 11 of the New Year festival of Tašritu in Uruk; at the end of the cultic day there is no mention of the closing of the gate but the text states (rev. 23–4): ‘The main and second (meal) of the (last) double hour of the day in the usual manner ditto’, referring to the end of day 10 (rev. 14).

²⁴ See also III.2.1.

²⁵ Cf. *TU* 38, rev. 31; also in the Uruk night vigil ritual *TU* 41, rev. 28 and the Uruk eclipse of the moon ritual *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 31; see also the kettledrum ritual *KAR* 50, rev. 2 (Neo-Assyrian).

²⁶ *RAcc.*, 129, 1; 132, 157; 133, 217; 136, 285. Cf. G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 171. See now also the Hellenistic Temple ritual fragment BM 41577 (A.R. George, *Studies W.G. Lambert*, no. 1, 260 ff.), col. III, 23, and perhaps col. II, 14 (also dealing with the month Nisannu).

²⁷ In Babylon for half the year the night lasts less than 12 hours. This night was still divided into 3 watches, each of less than 4 hours (= 2 *bēru*). If something occurred 2 *bēru* before sunrise then during this half of the year it could not have occurred during the last watch, but during the middle watch. At the equinoxes (when day and night were really equal to 6 *bēru* each) 2 *bēru* before sunrise is (ideally) at the beginning of the last watch of the night (*šāt urri*). For the *šāt urri*, the third and last watch of the night i.e. the morning watch, see also *TU* 48 (discussed in II.2.2), obv. 18.

²⁸ See also II.3.4 and II.8.6.

²⁹ See *TU* 39, rev. 3 ff., describing days 9 and 10 of the New Year festival of Tašritu in Uruk; the beginning of day 9, with the *dīk bīti*- and the *pīt bābi*-ceremonies and the serving of the first morning meal, is lost.

³⁰ *TU* 41, obv. 13 informs us that the meal is not cleared, the vigil continues the entire night, and the gate is not closed (that is: not yet closed at the beginning of the evening, as on a normal cultic day).

II.2. Daily ceremonies

- the night vigil
- the closing of the gate

On the following day:

- the *dīk bīti*-ceremony
- the *pīt bābi*-ceremony
- the end of the night vigil

The vigil (which was the last cultic event of the cultic day) started after the serving and clearing of the two meals of the evening, and ended not when the gate was closed at the end of the night, but on the next day, after the *dīk bīti*- and *pīt bābi*-ceremonies were performed.

In the ritual texts we also find other references to the time of day or night when a certain part of a ritual had to be performed. The New Year text from Babylon mentions cultic activities taking place after 1, 1 1/2, and 1 2/3 double hours of daytime have past (*bēr ūmu išqā*).³¹ In two cases the texts refer to the evening watch i.e. the first watch of the night (*barārītu*).³² More often, however, the texts are less specific, referring to dawn (*namāru*),³³ to the late afternoon (*ša kīš ūmi*, lit. ‘that of the cool of the day’),³⁴ to the evening (*līlātu*),³⁵ or to the night (*mūšu*).³⁶

II.2.2. *dīk bīti*

The first cultic ceremony of the day was the *dīk bīti* ‘awakening of the temple’-ceremony.³⁷ It was performed during the last night watch, just before the end of the night vigil, before dawn, and before the gates were opened. The ceremony is attested in texts from the Neo-Assyrian and the Hellenistic periods. The function of the ceremony is never explicitly described, but probably the ‘awakening’ or ‘arousing’ of the temple refers to both the residents of the temple, the gods, and the priests, who have to wake up the gods to start a new day. The *dīk bīti*-ceremony was probably performed at the beginning of every cultic day, and was not a ceremony for special occasions. Although

³¹ *RAcc.*, 132, 190 (1 1/2 double hours) for the third day; 140, 338 (1 double hour) and 141, 366 (1 2/3 double hours) for the fifth day.; see my comments on line 190 in the Appendix. For references to the morning (*šēr(tu)*) see the Kislimu ritual from Babylon, BM 32206 +, II, 55 and the building ritual *TU* 45, obv. 6; 20; rev. 8; 20; *TU* 46, obv. 7; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 8; F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.* no. 12, obv. 5.

³² *TU* 39, obv. 6; *TU* 41, obv. 14.

³³ *TU* 39, rev. 11; 16; *TU* 41, rev. 14; 27.

³⁴ *RAcc.*, 136, 280.

³⁵ *TU* 39, rev. 5. For *nubattu* ‘vigil, evening’, but also ‘evening ceremony, evening meal’ see II.3.5.

³⁶ *TU* 39, rev. 10; 15; *TU* 45, obv. 2; rev. 17; *TU* 46, obv. 2; rev. 3; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 2; F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.* no. 12, obv. 3.

³⁷ Usually connected with the verb *šakānu* ‘to perform the awakening of the temple ceremony’. Cf. *CAD*, D, 140b, 2; *AHW*, 170a, 3; S. Langdon, *AJSL* 42 (1926–26), 123–4; G. Furlani, *Riti*, 168; G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 161; 169 ff.; B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, 65, n. 139, which however requires some corrections: *TU* 48 = AO 6467 (not 6457); there are mentioned not two *dīk bīti*-ceremonies but only one on the 24th day of Šabaṭu (K 2724 +, obv. 16–19); the time indication in *TU* 48, obv. 18 does not read *ina uddazalli*, but *ina šāt urri* (EN.NUN.UD.ZAL.LA) ‘in the morning watch’; in *TU* 39 the *dīk bīti*-ceremony is attested for days 7 (not 6), 10 and 11 of Tašritu.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

it is not clear how exactly the ceremony was performed, we know that an important element of the ceremony was the reciting of lamentations (*taqribtu* and *eršemakku*) for the most important gods of the pantheon.

Important evidence for the *dīk būti*-ceremony comes from three texts, which indicate that there was a fixed liturgy involving the *taqribtu*-lamentations for certain days of each month; the purpose of reciting the lamentations was to ensure that any offence (unknowingly) committed against the gods would be neutralized.³⁸ One text is *TU* 48, a calendar text from Hellenistic Uruk. Very similar to this text are *K* 2724 +, a calendar text from the Neo-Assyrian period, found in Aššur, and *BM* 50503, a calendar text from Neo-/Late Babylonian Sippar. All texts concentrate on the lamentation priests only, leaving the activities of other priests aside.³⁹ We will start with the text from Aššur.

K 2724 +

The Neo-Assyrian text *K* 2724 + lists lamentations recited to Aššur in the city Assur in the temple of Dagan and in Ešarra (but also lamentations recited to Ninlil (Mullissu), Marduk and Ištar).⁴⁰ The lamentations were recited by the lamentation priest. The text apparently began with the month Tašrītu.⁴¹ The preserved portion of the text describes the liturgy from Šabaṭu up to the eleventh day of Nisannu. The relevant passage in *K* 2724 + reads⁴²:

Obv.

- 7' ... EGIR ^{udu}SÍSKUR
8' [DIŠ UD.22].KAM UMUN.ŠE.ER.MA.AL.'LA AN'.K.I.A ÉR DILMUN^{ki!}
NIGIN.NA
9' [ÉR].ŠÈM.MA *ana* AN.ŠÁR *ina* É.ŠÁR.RA EGIR-^{sú} AN.ŠÁR ZI-*bi*
10' [^dUTU.GIN₇ É.TA ÉR Û.LI.LI EN.ZU SÁ.MAR.MAR
11' ÉR.ŠÈM.MA *ana* AN.ŠÁR *ina* É ^dDA.GAN *di-ik* É
12' DIŠ UD.23.KAM UR.SAG.GAL ME.NI ŠE.ER.MA.AL.LA ÍL.LA ÉR
13' AN.NA ZA.E MAḤ.ME.EN ÉR.ŠÈM.MA *ana* AN.ŠÁR *ina* É ^dDA.GAN EGIR
^{udu}SÍSKUR.MEŠ
14' UD.DAM KI ÁM.MU.ÚS ÉR UMUN.BÁRA.KÙ.GA ÉR.ŠÈM.MA
15' *a-na* AN.ŠÁR *ina* É ^dDA.GAN *di-ik* É
16' DIŠ UD.24.KAM E.LUM BAR.RA ME.A ÉR NAM.MU.UN.ŠUB.BÉ.EN
17' ÉR.ŠÈM.MA *ana* AN.ŠÁR *ina* É ^dDA.GAN EGIR ^{udu}SÍSKUR
18' AM.E AMAŠ.A.NA ÉR UR.SAG ABZU.TA ÉR.ŠÈM.MA
19' *a-na* [A]N.ŠÁR *ina* É ^dDA.GAN 'di-ik' É
20' [DIŠ UD.25.KAM S]IPA 'ZI.DA EDIN.NA.RA' ÉR ALIM.MA UMUN.GÌR.[RA]
21' [ÉR].ŠÈM.MA *ana* AN.ŠÁR *ina* É ^dDA.GAN EGIR ^{udu}SÍŠ[KUR]

³⁸ Cf. M.E. Cohen, *Eršemma*, 49.

³⁹ As in the kettledrum ritual and building ritual texts, see II.5.3 and II.6.3.

⁴⁰ Probably the ceremony was also performed for the other great gods, since A 485 + (E. Ebeling, *OrNS* 21 (1952), 135–141. Cf. B. Menzel, *Tempel*, no. 28), rev. 19–24 lists the gods who followed Aššur in the temple of Dagan, but without the recitation of lamentations. See also *TU* 48 below.

⁴¹ Cf. M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 22.

⁴² The latest edition by St. M. Maul, in: A.R. George, I.L. Finkel, *Studies W.G. Lambert*, Winona Lake, Indiana, 2000, 402 ff.

II.2. Daily ceremonies

22' [A.AB.BA] ̒U.LU̒.̒A šá 4AMAR.UTU ÉR ŠÀ.BA.NI GA.AN.̒UN ÉR.ŠÈM.-
MA ana AN.ŠÁR ina É 4DA.G[AN di-ik É]⁴³

'7' ... After the sheep offering ⁸[on day 22] "Lord, respected one of Heaven and Earth", the *taqribtu* (and) "Important one, who wanders about" ⁹the *eršemakku* to Aššur in Ešarra. Then Aššur will rise. ¹⁰"Come out like the sun", the *taqribtu* (and) "O, wise En, designer", ¹¹the *eršemakku* to Aššur in the temple of Dagan (during) the awakening of the temple ceremony. ¹²On day 23 "Great hero, his ME is respected, elevated" the *taqribtu* (and) ¹³"In heaven you are exalted", the *eršemakku* to Aššur in the temple of Dagan. After the sheep offerings ¹⁴"It touches the Earth like a storm", the *taqribtu* (and) "Lord of the pure Dais", the *eršemakku* ¹⁵to Aššur in the temple of Dagan (during) the awakening of the temple ceremony. ¹⁶On day 24 "O, honored one, you have become angry", the *taqribtu* (and) "You should not desert me", ¹⁷the *eršemakku* to Aššur in the temple of Dagan. After the sheep offering ¹⁸"The bull in his fold", the *taqribtu* (and) "The hero from the Apsu", the *eršemakku* ¹⁹to Aššur in the temple of Dagan (during) the awakening of the temple ceremony. ²⁰[On] day 25 "For the faithful shepherd the Steppe", the *taqribtu* (and) "O, lofty one, migh[ty] lord" ²¹[the *erše*]makku to Aššur in the temple of Dagan. After the sheep offering ²²"[The] raging [sea]" of Marduk, the *taqribtu* (and) "May it appease his heart", the *eršemakku* to Aššur in the temple of Dagan ((during) the awakening of the temple ceremony)'.

Thus, a *dīk bīti*-ceremony is attested for days 22, 23, 24 and (25) of Šabaṭu for Aššur in the the temple of Dagan:

- on day [22] of Šabaṭu: the *taqribtu* UMUN.ŠE.ER.MA.AL.LA AN.KI.A and the *eršemakku* DILMUN NIGIN.NA are recited in Ešarra, and then, after the procession of Aššur from Ešarra to the temple of Dagan, the *taqribtu* [d]UTU.GIN É.TA and the *eršemakku* Û.LI.LI EN.ZU SÁ.MAR.MAR are recited during the awakening of the temple ceremony;
- on day 23 of Šabaṭu: the *taqribtu* UR.SAG.GAL ME.NI ŠE.ER.MA.AL.LA ÍL.LA and the *eršemakku* AN.NA ZA.E MA̒.ME.EN are recited. After the sheep offerings the *taqribtu* UD.DAM KI ÀM.MU.ÚS and the *eršemakku* UMUN.BÁRA.KÙ.GA are recited during the awakening of the temple ceremony;
- on day 24 of Šabaṭu: the *taqribtu* E.LUM BAR.RA ME.A and the *eršemakku* NAM.MU.UN.ŠUB.BÉ.EN are recited. After the sheep offering the *taqribtu* AM.E AMAŠ.A.NA and the *eršemakku* UR.SAG ABZU.TA are recited during the awakening of the temple ceremony;
- on day 25 of Šabaṭu: the *taqribtu* S]IPA ZI.DA EDIN.NA.RA and the *eršemakku* ALIM.MA UMUN.GÌR.[RA] are recited. After the sheep offering the *taqribtu* [A.AB.BA] ̒U.LU̒.̒A of Marduk and the *eršemakku* ŠÀ.BA.NI GA.AN.̒UN are recited during the awakening of the temple ceremony.

These *taqribtus* and *eršemakkus* are recited 'after the sheep offering(s)', as the text states. However, it is not clear whether the lamentations recited before these offerings,

⁴³ See the parallels in obv. 11', 15', and 19'.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

also belong to the *dīk bīti*-ceremony, or form a separate ceremony. The latter is suggested by day 22, where lamentations are recited in two different temples.

BM 50503

This text from Sippar, which was only recently published by Stefan Maul,⁴⁴ was according to the latter probably written during the late 8th and late 6th century B.C. It consists of a cultic calendar for Šamas, Aja and Bunene in Ebabbar, with lamentations and ritual instructions for four days: the first day is not indicated, but must be one of the first seven days of the month, since the second day indicated is the 8th, followed by the 15th and the 20th. The first day on which the lamentations were recited is probably day 1, as Stefan Maul convincingly argued.⁴⁵ The month during which these cultic activities are performed is the first month of the year (Nisannu), but the last lines of the text make it clear that the instructions also had to be used for the rest of the year.⁴⁶

During these four days *taqribtus* and *eršemakkus* are to be recited for Šamaš before sunrise, during the *dīk bīti*-ceremony, and before sunset (*lām līlāti*). Here we will concentrate on the lamentations recited during the *dīk bīti*-ceremony⁴⁷:

- on day 1(?!) of every month: the *taqribtu* ABZU PE.EL.LÁ.ÀM, and the *eršemakku* DILMUN NÍGIN.NA;
- on day 8 of every month: the *taqribtu* U₄.DAM KI ÀM.MU.ÚŠ, and the *eršemakku* UMUN BÁRA KÙ.GA;
- on day 15 of every month: the *taqribtu* AM.E AMAŠ.A.NA, and the *eršemakku* UR.SAG ABZU.TA;
- on day 20 of every month: the *taqribtu* U₄.DÈ U₄.DÈ, and the *eršemakku* UR.SAG UT.U₁₈.LU.

The text presents us with clear evidence that the *dīk bīti*-ceremony was performed before dawn (*ina šēri*).⁴⁸

TU 48

In a liturgical calendar text from Hellenistic Uruk,⁴⁹ TU 48, we also find a schedule of hymns to be recited with various offerings associated with the *dīk bīti*-ceremony for various days, performed by lamentation priests in the Ubšukkinaku, the central courtyard in the Rēš-complex, in front of the Anu-Antu-temple.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ In: *Munuscula Mesopotamica. Festschrift für Johannes Renger*, Münster, 1999, 285 ff.

⁴⁵ *Ib.*, 302–3.

⁴⁶ *Ib.*, 289.

⁴⁷ For a discussion of the entire text see Stefan Maul's article.

⁴⁸ Obv. 1'–3', 5'f., 10'f.

⁴⁹ The owner of the tablet, Mannu-iqāpu, son of Anu-iqīšanni of the family Sîn-lēqe-unninni is, as far as I know, not attested elsewhere. The colophon refers to him as 'apprentice lamentation priest', indicating that the text belongs to the corpus of the Lamentation priest. The text was probably found in the Rēš-temple area, along with other TU-texts, see I.2.

⁵⁰ Note that the activities of the lamentation priest in Uruk, as described in TU 48, are referred to in another Uruk text from an earlier date, LKU, no. 51 (see I.2), which not only describes offerings and ceremonies

II.2. Daily ceremonies

Several *taqribtus* are listed on the obverse. The accompanying *eršemakkus* are not mentioned, but they were probably also recited together with their *taqribtus*.⁵¹ In obv. 18 ff. the text lists lamentations recited during the *dīk bīti*-ceremony:

Obv.

- 1 UD.1.KAM šá ITI.TA.ÀM ABZU PE.É.LÁ.ÀM⁵²
- 2 a-na ^dA-nu UD.2.KAM šá ITI.TA.ÀM
- 3 ÚRU ÀM.ME.ER.RA.BI⁵³ ina še-ri ina UGU šu-uḫ-ḫu
- 4 a-na ^dINNIN UD.7.KAM ÚRU A.ŠE.ER.RA⁵⁴ rid(?) -da-ti(?)
- 5 ma-al-ti-ti sa-ra-qu a-na ^dA-nu
- 6 IM.MA.AL GÙ.DÉ.DÉ⁵⁵ a-na ^dINNIN UNUG^{ki}
- 7 A.ŠE.ER.GIN₇ È.TA a-na ^dNa-na-a
- 8 UD.1.KAM šá ^{iti}BÁRA ina UGU rak-su E.LUM GU₄.SÚN⁵⁶
- 9 a-na ^dA-nu UD.2.KAM UD.15.KAM šá ^{iti}BÁRA
- 10 A.AB.BA ḪU.LUḪ.ḪA⁵⁷ ina še-ri ma-al-ti-ti
- 11 sa-ra-qa a-na ^dA-nu UD.15.KAM šá bi-ru-u
- 12 ina muḫ-ḫi šu-uḫ-ḫu É.TÚR(?).GIN₇ NIGIN.NA.A⁵⁸ a-na ^dA-nu
- 13 UD.20.KAM ina UGU šu-uḫ-ḫu AM.ME AMAŠ.A.NA⁵⁹
- 14 AL.GÙ a-na ^dA-nu it-ti ^{iú}glu-bu-šú.MEŠ
- 15 ABZU PE.É.LÁ.ÀM a-na ^dA-nu
- 16 ÚRU A.ŠE.ER.RA ME.NA KÚŠ.Ú
- 17 a-na ^dGAŠAN šá UNUG^{ki}
- 18 UD.1.KAM šá ITI.TA.ÀM ina EN.NUN.UD.ZAL.LA
- 19 ina UGU ana(?) šub(?) -lam-mi(?) ^dUTU.GIN₇ È.TA⁶⁰

Rev.

- 1 di-ki É a-na ^dA-nu u E.LUM DI.DI.RA⁶¹
- 2 a-na DINGIR.DIDLI GE₆ GAR šá UD.7.KAM
- 3 UD.DAM KI ÀM.MU.ÚŠ[!] (copy: KU)⁶² di-ki É ana ^dA-nu

for every month of the year, but on one occasion also points out that the lamentation priests and the singers have to perform ‘like in every month’ (obv. 21, cf. St. M. Maul, in: *Munuscula Mesopotamica. Festschrift für Johannes Renger*, Münster, 1999, 291, n. 29). See also II.5.3.

⁵¹ Cf. M.E. Cohen, *Eršemma*, 50.

⁵² Also in obv. 15. See M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 47 ff.

⁵³ See M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 536 ff.

⁵⁴ See M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 65 ff.

⁵⁵ See also M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 604 ff. A Late Babylonian duplicate is *SpTU* 4, no. 125.

⁵⁶ Also in the Uruk description of the night vigil, *TU* 41, rev. 31, and the Babylon Kislīmu ritual BM 32206 +, IV, 162. See M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 272 ff.

⁵⁷ Also in rev. 9. See M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 374 ff.

⁵⁸ Also in the eclipse of the moon ritual *BRM* 4, 6, rev. [53] and the duplicate BM 134701, obv. 14. See M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 73 ff.

⁵⁹ Also in rev. 5, and in the Uruk New Year text *TU* 39, rev. 15, the Uruk eclipse text *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 48, 49, 51, 52, and the duplicate BM 134701, obv. 7, 9, 11, 13. See M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 152 ff.

⁶⁰ Also in the Uruk building ritual text *TU* 45, obv. 5, and parallels *TU* 46, obv. 6; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 7. See M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 95 ff. (cf. also 519 ff., *aḫū*).

⁶¹ Also in the Uruk New Year text *TU* 39, rev. 15. See M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 175 ff.

⁶² Also in the Uruk building ritual *TU* 46, rev. 5, the *mīs pī*-ritual text *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 9, and in the Kislīmu ritual from Babylon, BM 32206 +, IV, 158. See M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 120 ff.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

- 4 E.NE.ÈM.A.NI I.LU⁶³ UD ME LU(?) *ana* DINGIR.DIDLI
 5 MI.GAR UD.15.KAM AM.ME AMAŠ.A.NA *di-ki É*
 6 *a-na* ^dA-nu u AN E.LUM.MA⁶⁴ *ana* DINGIR.DIDLI
 7 UD.14.KAM (šá ⁱⁱⁱAPIN) AB.GIN₇ GÙ.DÉ.DÉ⁶⁵ (di-ki É) *ana* ^dGAŠAN šá UNUG^{ki}
 8 ÚRU.ĤUL.ÀM.KE₄⁶⁶ *a-na* ^dNa-na-a
 9 UD.18.KAM šá ⁱⁱⁱAPIN A.AB.BA ĤU.LUĤ.ĤA
 10 *a-na* ^dA-nu si-it-ti NU SAR

‘Obv. ¹On day 1 of each month “The defiled Apsu” ²to Anu. On day 2 of each month ³“That city which has been pillaged!” in the morning over the *šuhhu*-stand ⁴to Ištar. On day 7 “The city in sighing” ... ⁵the sprinkling of a *malītu* for Anu. ⁶“The lowing cow” to Ištar of Uruk. ⁷“Come out like a wail” to Nanāja. ⁸On day 1 of Nisannu, over the offering accoutrements “Honored one, wild ox” ⁹to Anu. On day 2 (and) 15 of Nisannu ¹⁰“The raging sea”. In the morning the sprinkling of a *malītu* ¹¹for Anu. On day 15 during the (first) double hour, ¹²over the *šuhhu*-stand “The house is encircled like a cattle pen” to Anu. ¹³On day 20 over the *šuhhu*-stand ¹⁴they will recite ¹³“The bull in his fold” ¹⁴to Anu with the clothing ceremonies, ¹⁵“The defiled Apsu” to Anu, ¹⁶“The city in sighing, when will there be peace?” ¹⁷to Bēlet-ša-Uruk. ¹⁸On day 1 of each month, in the morning watch, ¹⁹over the ... “Come out like the sun” rev.¹(during) the awakening of the temple ceremony for Anu, and “The honored one who wanders about” ²to the gods of the night will be performed. On day 7 ³“It touches the Earth like a storm” (during) the awakening of the temple ceremony to Anu. ⁴“His word is a wail!” ... to the gods (of the night?) ⁵will be performed. On day 15 “The bull in his fold” (during) the awakening of the temple ceremony ⁶for Anu, and “The honored one of heaven” to the gods (of the night?). ⁷On day 14 (of Araḥsamna) “Lowing like a cow” (during) (the awakening of the temple ceremony) to Bēlet-ša-Uruk, ⁸“She of the ruined city” to Nanāja. ⁹On day 18 of Araḥsamna “The raging sea” ¹⁰to Anu. The rest is not written’.

The text lists *taqribtu*-lamentations for the 1st/2nd, 7th, 14th/15th and 20th days of every month, as well as special yearly lamentations during the months Nisannu and Araḥsamna. The text describes two cycles.

First, in cycle A, *taqribtu*-lamentations are listed for the 1st, 2nd, 7th, 15th and 20th days of every month, and also for the 1st, 2nd and 15th of Nisannu:

cycle A (obv. 1–17):

- every month on the 1st day: ABZU PE.É.LÁ.ÀM to Anu.
- every month on the 2nd day: ÚRU ÀM.ME.ER.RA.BI to Ištar
- every month on the 7th day: ÚRU A.ŠE.ER.RA to Anu
- every month on the 7th day: IM.MA.AL GÙ.DÉ.DÉ to Ištar-Uruk
- every month on the 7th day: A.ŠE.ER.GIN₇ È.TA to Nanāja

⁶³ After the incipit UD.ME.LU directly follows, while IV R², 53, I, 43 reads E.NE.ÈM.MÀ.A.NI I.LU I.LU; probably UD.ME.LU does not belong to the incipit (perhaps Akkadian ‘the day of ME.LU’?). See M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 186 ff.

⁶⁴ Also in *TU* 39, rev. 10, in *BRM* 4, 6, rev.[51] and [53] and the duplicate BM 134701, obv. 11 and 13. See M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 208 ff. (see also ib., p. 25, n. 62).

⁶⁵ See M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 533 ff.

⁶⁶ Also in K 2724 +, obv. 29; cf. M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 650 ff.

II.2. Daily ceremonies

3 special recitations:

- on the 1st of Nisannu: E.LUM GU₄.SÚN to Anu
- on the 2nd of Nisannu: A.AB.BA ̒U.LU̒.̒A to Anu
- on the 15th of Nisannu: A.AB.BA ̒U.LU̒.̒A to Anu
- every month on the 15th day: É.TÚR(?).GIN₇ NIGIN.NA.A to Anu
- every month on the 20th day: AM.ME AMAŠ.A.NA to Anu
- every month on the 20th day: ABZU PE.É.LÁ.ÀM to Anu
- every month on the 20th day: ÚRU A.ŠE.ER.RA ME.NA KÚŠ.Û to Bēlet-ša-Uruk (= Ištar)

Furthermore, in cycle B, the lamentation priests had to perform, during the *dīk bīti*-ceremony, *taqribtu*-lamentations for the 1st, 7th, 15th and (20th) of every month, as well as special yearly recitations on the 14th and 18th of the month Araḥsamna; this was done ‘in the morning watch’ (*ina šāt urri*), as the text specifically states for day 1 (obv. 18), but most likely this also applies to days 7, 15 and (20):

cycle B (obv. 18-rev. 10):

- every month on the 1st day: ^dUTU.GIN₇ É.TA to Anu
- every month on the 1st day: E.LUM DÌ.DÌ.RA to the gods (of the night?)
- every month on the 7th day: UD.DAM KI ÀM.MU.ÚS to Anu
- every month on the 7th day: E.NE.ÈM.A.NI I.LU to the gods (of the night?)
- every month on the 15th day: AM.ME AMAŠ.A.NA to Anu
- every month on the 15th day: AN E.LUM.MA to the gods (of the night?)

3 special recitations:

- on the 14th day (of Araḥsamna): AB.GIN₇ GÙ.DÉ.DÉ to Bēlet-ša-Uruk (= Ištar)
- on the 14th day (of Araḥsamna): ÚRU.̒UL.ÀM.KE₄ to Nanāja
- on the 18th day of Araḥsamna: A.AB.BA ̒U.LU̒.̒A to Anu.
- (every month on the 20th day).⁶⁷

After day 1, 7 and 15, we go back to day 14, apparently of Araḥsamna, as in rev. 9. Rev. 7–8 refers neither to the *dīk bīti*-ceremony nor to the month Araḥsamna, but the text is not without mistakes. The text gives in chronological order the days on which the *taqribtu*-lamentations had to be recited every month, interrupted by lamentations on special days: first, in obv. 1–17, day 1, 2 and 7 of every month, followed by day 1, 2 and 15 of Nisannu; then picking up the chronological order with day 15 and 20 of every month. Secondly, in obv. 18-rev. 10 (during the *dīk bīti*-ceremony), day 1, 7 and 15 of every month, followed by day 14 and 18 of Araḥsamna; then picking up the chronological order with day 20, which however is not written since the text is

⁶⁷ G.J.P. McEwan (*FAOS* 4, 172, n. 404) already noted that, since the text says it is not complete (rev. 10), is it likely that the original tablet contained a separate entry concerning the lamentations performed during the *dīk bīti*-ceremony for the 20th of each month.

incomplete. Two lamentations on the 14th of every month after one lamentation on the 15th is not likely. First of all it would contradict the chronology of the whole text. Also, if the 14th and 15th were alternative days, one would expect Anu (the most important god of Hellenistic Uruk) to be celebrated first, and so the 14th would be dedicated to Anu, and the 15th to Ištar; compare the other alternative days in obv. 1–4, where the 1st day is dedicated to Anu, the 2nd to Ištar. Therefore the two lamentations on the 14th are probably special lamentations for Araḥsamna, together with the following lamentation on the 18th (rev. 9).

However, because in the text there is no reference to Araḥsamna, McEwan considered day 14 to refer to every month.⁶⁸ He suggested that the second day for every month in cycle A, dedicated to Ištar, is an alternative day for the 1st day, dedicated to Anu, and the 14th day in cycle B, dedicated to Ištar, referring to every month, is an alternative day for the 15th, dedicated to Anu. All the other days refer to both gods at the same time. Based on this he deduced a different cultic pattern for the Rēš-temple of Anu and Antu, and the Ešgal-temple of Ištar and Nanāja: (a) *taqribtu*-lamentations to Anu in the Rēš-temple on days 1, 7, 15 and 20, and to Ištar in the Ešgal-temple on days 2, 7, 15 and 20. (b): *taqribtu*-lamentations during the *dīk bīti*-ceremony to Anu in the Rēš-temple on days 1, 7, 15 and (20), and to Ištar in the Ešgal-temple on days 1, 7, 14 and (20).

We must conclude that, since day 14 is not an alternative day for day 15, the two cultic patterns of Anu in the Rēš-temple and Ištar (and Nanāja) in the Ešgal-temple differ from each other on only one day, the 1st/2nd.

McEwan identifies the four monthly festivals in *TU* 48, celebrated on the 1st/2nd, 7th, 15th and 20th days, with the monthly recurring clothing ceremony (*lubuštu*) and the often connected *ḫitpu*-offerings.⁶⁹ His first argument is that *TU* 48, obv. 14 refers to *lubuštu*. Unfortunately the data for the days on which *lubuštu* is celebrated in the Neo-Babylonian and Hellenistic periods do not exactly match the days of *TU* 48.⁷⁰ Furthermore, McEwan argues, we know that the *ḫitpu*-offerings in the Neo-Babylonian period were made on four regular recurring days, for which also alternative days are attested. But again, these days also do not exactly match the days mentioned in *TU* 48.⁷¹ However, we must keep in mind that, apart from *TU* 48, we have only one more dated reference to *lubuštu* from the Hellenistic period; from the Neo-Babylonian period we have more, but we cannot exclude the possibility that major changes concerning *lubuštu* may have occurred after the Neo-Babylonian period. So, although McEwan may be right, the only certain reference in *TU* 48 to *lubuštu* is the one on day 20 of every month (obv. 14). Whether the other days refer to *lubuštu* cannot (for now) be established with certainty.

Comparing the three texts, we find that *TU* 48 is in many ways very similar to K 2724 + and BM 50503:

⁶⁸ Although he also noted the ‘generally laconic nature of the text’, cf. *FAOS* 4, 172–3, with n. 405.

⁶⁹ *FAOS* 4, 173.

⁷⁰ For the data of *lubuštu* see II.3.3.

⁷¹ For the data of *ḫitpu* see II.3.3.

II.2. Daily ceremonies

1. *TU* 48, BM 50503 and K 2724 + deal with all the months, although the Assur-text only mentions the months Šabaṭu, Addaru and Nisannu. The latter text is not complete, however. Apparently the Assur- and Sippar-texts have a different cult schedule for every month, while the Uruk-text uses one month as the model for the entire year; the days referred to in BM 50503 (1[?!]–8–15–20) and *TU* 48 (1–7–15–20) are similar, but not completely identical. The *dīk bīti*-ceremony is used in both K 2724 + and *TU* 48 with the *taqribtu*-lamentations ^dUTU.GIN₇ È.TA,⁷² UD.DAM KI ÀM.MU.ÚŠ⁷³ and AM.E/ME AMAŠ.A.NA,⁷⁴ although for different days. Furthermore, *TU* 48 has the same *taqribtu* for the first day of every month as BM 50503, ABZU PE.EL.LÁ.ÀM,⁷⁵ but in the latter text not during the *dīk bīti*-ceremony (here instead ^dUTU.GIN₇ È.TA), while the *taqribtus* for days 8 and 15 in the BM-text (U₄.DAM KI ÀM.MU.ÚŠ and AM.E AMAŠ.A.NA) are performed in *TU* 48 during the *dīk bīti*-ceremony on days 7 and 15.⁷⁶ Interestingly enough we have other texts, for instance the building rituals *TU* 45 and 46,⁷⁷ which enumerate lamentations, but do not mention the specific days and month on which they had to be recited; they only state: ‘in an auspicious month, on a favourable day’ (*ina* ITI *šal-mu* *ina* UD ŠE.GA).

2. Two *taqribtu*-lamentations, which are attested in *TU* 48 (rev. 1 and 6), are also mentioned in the New Year ritual *TU* 39 from Uruk. In this text the *dīk bīti*-ceremony is attested for 3 days of the month Tašrītu, although we must assume that the *dīk bīti*-ceremony was performed every cultic day. The first seven days of the New Year festival are presented in a very abbreviated version, with only one remark on day 6 (*TU* 39, obv. 6) and a few short remarks on day 7 (obv. 7–15), including a reference to the *dīk bīti*-ceremony (obv. 7); it was performed by the lamentation priests (as in *TU* 48), but no lamentation incipits are enumerated. In the same line the cook (*nuḫatimmu*) is also mentioned; although he is not referred to as one of the performers of the ceremony, it may indicate that, similar to the *pūt bābi*-ceremony (see below), foodstuffs were used during the ceremony (*TU* 39, obv. 7–10):

‘⁷Day 7: the awakening of the temple ceremony (performed) by the lamentation priests and the singers. (As to) the cook: food and songs of jubilation, ⁸roasted meat, beef and mutton for the regular offerings, all sorts of fine beer, ⁹including drawn wine and milk, date confection, fine mixed beer and *labku*-mixed beer, ¹⁰*tirimtu*-cups(?), *dannu*- and *namḫaru*-vats (shaped like) raven(?) for Papsukkal and Guškinbanda’.

Days 8 to 11 are described extensively. Although the beginning of day 8 is preserved (*TU* 39, obv. 16 ff.) and the *pūt bābi*-ceremony is mentioned, the *dīk bīti*-ceremony is, strangely, not referred to here. The beginning of day 9 is lost. The *dīk bīti* ceremony is also mentioned for the last two days of the festival: on day 10 the *dīk bīti*-ceremony is performed by reciting the *taqribtu*-lamentations UMUN ŠE.ER.MA.AL AN.KI.A

⁷² K 2724 +, obv. 10, *TU* 48, obv. 19.

⁷³ K 2724 +, obv. 14, *TU* 48, rev. 3.

⁷⁴ K 2724 +, obv. 18, *TU* 48, rev. 5.

⁷⁵ *TU* 48, obv. 1; BM 50503, obv. 1’.

⁷⁶ BM 50503, obv. 5’ and 9’; *TU* 48, rev. 3 and 5.

⁷⁷ See II.6.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

and AN.E.LU₄.UM.MA (*TU* 39, rev. 10–11). The latter is also attested in *TU* 48 (rev. 6) for the 15th day of every month. On day 11 the *dīk bīti*-ceremony is performed by reciting AM.E AMAŠ.AN.NA and E.LUM DI.DI.RA (*TU* 39, rev. 15–16). The latter is also attested in *TU* 48 (rev. 1) for the first day of every month. For day 10 and 11 the moment when the ceremony was performed is further indicated by *ina mūši* ‘in the night’; for these days the text also records that the ceremony takes place shortly before the *pīt bābi*-ceremony. This agrees with *TU* 48, where (as we already noted above) the lamentations were recited ‘in the morning watch’ (obv. 18).

As Cohen noted, because on days 10 and 11 of the New Year festival an assembly of the gods took place, in which the fate for next year was determined, the recitation of the *taqribtus* and their *eršemakkus* in order to appease the anger of the gods was of great importance.⁷⁸

Table I: *dīk bīti*-ceremonies from Hellenistic Uruk

| day | month(s) | text |
|------|----------|-----------------------|
| 7 | VII | <i>TU</i> 39, obv. 7 |
| [9] | [VII] | <i>TU</i> 40, obv. |
| 10 | VII | <i>TU</i> 39, rev. 11 |
| 11 | VII | <i>TU</i> 39, rev. 16 |
| 1 | I/XII | <i>TU</i> 48, rev. 1 |
| 7 | I/XII | <i>TU</i> 48, rev. 3 |
| 15 | I/XII | <i>TU</i> 48, rev. 5 |
| 14 | ⟨VIII⟩ | <i>TU</i> 48, rev. 7 |
| (20) | I/XII | <i>TU</i> 48 |

II.2.3. *pīt bābi*

The *pīt bābi* ‘opening of the gate’-ceremony is known from the Old Babylonian period on.⁷⁹ Although it remains unclear how exactly the ceremony was performed, we know that the ceremony took place just before dawn in the temples, after the *dīk bīti*-ceremony and together they formed the beginning of all cultic activities inaugurating the new day. We must assume that the *pīt bābi*-ceremony (just like the *dīk bīti*-ceremony) was performed on every cultic day of the year. It was probably not a ceremony for special occasions, nor was its first aim to let the people enter the temple on the occasion of a feast, as suggested by Landsberger⁸⁰ and Weidner,⁸¹ but rather the opening of the gate(s) indicates the time in the morning when all the priests and craftsmen who had to perform their usual duties in the temple (*ērib bīti*) were allowed to enter the temple.

⁷⁸ *Eršemma*, 50.

⁷⁹ See B. Landsberger, *Kult. Kalender*, 3–4, 87, 112; G. Furlani, *Riti*, 121; E. Weidner, *GDBT*, 25, n. 97; G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 165–6. Cf. also *bābu* in *CAD*, B, 20a, b’, and *AHW*, 95a, 1; *petū* in id., 859a, 1, a and *pītu* in id., 871a, 1.

⁸⁰ *Kult. Kalender*, 3–4, 87, 112.

⁸¹ *GDBT*, 25, n. 97.

II.2. Daily ceremonies

From the pre-Hellenistic periods we have a few references to the day(s) on which the ceremony was performed: a sheep is slaughtered on the 11th before Sîn for the *pīt bābi*-ceremony in *KAJ* 199.⁸² The ceremony is celebrated on the 4th of Ulūlu in the letters *LAS* I, no. 285,⁸³ and *ABL* 496,⁸⁴ and on the 4th, 5th and 6th of Ulūlu in *LAS* I, no. 287.⁸⁵ The fourth month Du'ūzu is identified as the 'month of the opening of the gate' (*arah pīt bābi*).⁸⁶

Uruk

For the Hellenistic period *pīt bābi* is attested in several ritual texts from Uruk. The gate referred to in texts from Uruk is the *bābu ša Anu u Antu*, i.e. the gate of the Anu-Antu-temple in the Rēš-complex.⁸⁷ In *TU* 38 *pīt bābi* is one of the ceremonies enumerated in the list of ceremonies.⁸⁸ This text also informs us that loaves and date cakes and oxen and sheep are used during the ceremony.⁸⁹ In the ritual text *TU* 39–40 we have attestations of *pīt bābi*-ceremonies for the 8th, 10th and 11th days of the month Tašrītu.⁹⁰ The beginning of day 9, probably with the *pīt bābi*-ceremony, is lost. As we already saw in the previous paragraph, the first seven days are presented in an abbreviated form. Although the *dīk bīti*-ceremony is mentioned for the 7th day, the *pīt bābi*-ceremony is not referred to here. The *pīt bābi*-ceremony is also known from *TU* 41, describing special ceremonies during the vigil held during the night of the 16th and 17th of Ṭebētu(?).⁹¹ When the night was over, after all the necessary ceremonies were performed, the gate was opened and the vigil ended.⁹² In *BRM* 4, 6, the *pīt bābi*-ceremony is performed on the day after the eclipse of the moon.⁹³

The *pīt bābi*-ceremony is also known from other texts from Hellenistic Uruk. In two calendar texts (VAT 7816 and 7815⁹⁴) the *pīt bābi*-ceremony is attested for days 4, 6 and 7 of Nisannu,⁹⁵ and for days 4, 5 and 30 of Kislīmu.⁹⁶

⁸² Obv. 3.

⁸³ A, 7'.

⁸⁴ Obv. 10.

⁸⁵ Rev. 3–5. Cf. S. Parpola, *LAS* II, 187.

⁸⁶ See S. Langdon, *Menologies*, 44 sub 3 with text references.

⁸⁷ Cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 24. Also referred to as: *bābu ina pani Anu u Antu* (*TU* 39, obv. 16, *TU* 41, rev. 28); *bābu ša Anu* (*BRM* 2, 3, obv. 3–4: KÁ šá ḏLX ù KÁ né-re-bi 'the Gate of Anu and the entrance gate'; *nērebu* is the KÁ.MAḤ 'Grand Gate', the entrance gate of the Rēš-complex, cf. A. Falkenstein *Topographie*, 10); *bābu rabū* (KÁ.GAL) 'Great Gate' (*VS* 15, 48, obv. 3 and 4: É mu-ter-tu₄ šá KÁ.GAL-ù [šá ḏLX] 'the portico of the Great Gate [of Anu]', also in *VS* 15, 36, obv. 4 and W 521, I, 2, see A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 14); or simply *bābu* (*TU* 39, rev. 11).

⁸⁸ Obv. 36, rev. 36. See II.1.

⁸⁹ Obv. 35, rev. 36.

⁹⁰ *TU* 39, obv. 16; rev. 11, 16.

⁹¹ See I.2.

⁹² Rev. 28–9.

⁹³ Rev. 31.

⁹⁴ See E. Weidner, *GDBT*, 41 ff. and 45 ff.

⁹⁵ VAT 7816, obv. 11, 17 and 21.

⁹⁶ VAT 7815, obv. 8, 11 and rev. 8.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

In a legal document (a sale of *ērib bitūtu*- and *tābiḫūtu*-prebend shares) from Uruk, J. Oppert, J. Ménant, *Doc. jur.*, no. 5 (BM 93004),⁹⁷ we perhaps have a reference to the *pīt bābi*-ceremony (obv. 13), but the reading is not certain:

Obv.

- 11 ... GIŠ.ŠUB.BA-šú šá qa-a-a-i-tu₄
 12 šá 6 NINDA tak-ka-su-ú u šá⁹⁸ Ī.GIŠ 30 as-né-e u GIŠ.KUN šá UDU.NÍTA ina
 UD.13.KAM SA.SAL
 13 šá BAD KÁ(?)⁹⁹ šá a-na ^{gis}BANŠUR šá ^dLX u An-tu₄ E₁₁-ú ...

¹¹ ... her prebend (i.e. Rubuttu's, who sells the prebends) of parched barley, ¹²of the 6 *takkasū*-pastries and of the oil, 30 Dilmun dates and a thigh piece of a sheep on day 13, (together with) the back(?) portion ¹³of the *pīt bābi*-ceremony(?), which are brought up to the table of Anu and Antu (monthly) ...'

If this reading is correct, then apparently part of the income of the *ērib bitūtu*- and *tābiḫūtu*-prebend consisted of foodstuffs, which were also used as offerings during, and therefore associated with, the *pīt bābi*-ceremony. This is quite possible, since the foodstuffs which are mentioned here remind us of the date cakes and oxen and sheep, used for (amongst others) the *pīt bābi*-ceremony mentioned in *TU* 38.

Finally, the *pīt bābi*-ceremony is also attested in an astrological text from Hellenistic Uruk, which concerns the zodiacal system.¹⁰⁰ From the twelve signs of the zodiac eight signs (Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpius, Aries, Taurus, Gemini, and Cancer) are associated with the opening of the gate ceremonies of various gods. See the following schedule:

| | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|---|
| Leo (Abu) | <i>pīt bābi</i> | Enlil |
| Virgo (Ulūlu) | <i>pīt bābi</i> | Sîn, Ištar |
| Libra (Tašrītu) | <i>pīt bābi</i> | Sîn, Šamaš, Ištar, Anu, Enlil, Ea, Ningirsu |
| Scorpius (Araḫsamna) | <i>pīt bābi</i> | Allatu, Nergal |
| Sagittarius (Kislīmu) | <i>pīt bābi</i> | Pabilsag, Ninurta |
| Aries (Nisannu) | <i>pīt bābi</i> | Marduk, Ninurta |
| Taurus (Ajjaru) | <i>pīt bābi</i> | Ninurta |
| Gemini (Simānu) | <i>pīt bābi</i> | Sîn, Šamaš, Nergal |
| Cancer (Du'ūzu) | <i>pīt bābi</i> | Šamaš, Šulpae |

However, Weidner pointed out that instead of referring to the twelve months of the year, the cultic instructions may also refer to the twelve parts of the month, of 2 1/2 days each.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ See also II.3.1.

⁹⁸ Following G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 77, contra L.T. Doty, *CAHU*, 412 and B. Funck, *Uruk zur Seleukidenzeit*, 162, who read: 10 NINDA.Ī.GIŠ '10 oil-breads'.

⁹⁹ While L.T. Doty (*CAHU*, 413) and B. Funck (*Uruk zur Seleukidenzeit*, 162) both read 'BAD EDIN(?)', G.J.P. McEwan (*FAOS* 4, 77), who was the last to collate the text, suggested BAD KÁ.

¹⁰⁰ *TU* 12, obv., second row; the sign-names on ib., rev., row three. Cf. E. Weidner, *GDBT*, 24–26 ('Reihe B'). For the reconstruction of the text see ib., 20–21.

¹⁰¹ *GDBT*, 26.

II.2. Daily ceremonies

Table II: *pūt bābi*-ceremonies from Hellenistic Uruk

| day | month(s) | place | text |
|-----|----------|-------|--|
| 4 | I | Uruk | VAT 7816, obv. 11 |
| 6 | I | Uruk | VAT 7816, obv. 17 |
| 7 | I | Uruk | VAT 7816, obv. 21 |
| 8 | VII | Uruk | TU 39, obv. 16 |
| [9] | [VII] | Uruk | TU 40, obv. |
| 10 | VII | Uruk | TU 39, rev. 11 |
| 11 | VII | Uruk | TU 39, rev. 16 |
| 4 | IX | Uruk | VAT 7815, obv. 8, 14-X-120 (Antiochus) |
| 5 | IX | Uruk | VAT 7815, obv. 11, 14-X-120 (Antiochus) |
| 30 | IX | Uruk | VAT 7815, rev. 8, 14-X-120 (Antiochus) |
| 17 | X(?) | Uruk | TU 41, rev. 28 |
| – | I/XII | Uruk | TU 12, obv., second row |
| – | – | Uruk | TU 38, obv. 36, rev. 36 |
| – | – | Uruk | BRM 4, 6, rev. 31 |
| (?) | – | Uruk | J. Oppert, J. Ménant, <i>Doc. jur.</i> , no. 5, obv. 13, 151–161 (Demetrius) |

Babylon

We only have a few references to the ceremony from Babylon. In the New Year text (*Racc.*, 127 ff.), on days 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the month Nisannu, the high priest washes himself, says a prayer to Bēl, and then performs the opening of the gate ceremony (written: *gišIG.MEŠ BAD-te*) in Esagila.¹⁰² Further on in the same text, on day 5, the *pūt bābi*-ceremony is referred to immediately after the *eššēšu*-ceremony, in a only partly preserved speech of the high priest to the king.¹⁰³ Finally, the ritual text BM 32206 + mentions at the beginning of the second column for the fourth day of the month Kislīmu the *pūt bābi*-ceremony, performed probably by the high priest.¹⁰⁴ Note that 2 days attested in Babylon, day 4 of Nisannu and day 4 of Kislīmu, are also known in Uruk.

Table III: *pūt bābi*-ceremonies from Hellenistic Babylon

| day | month(s) | place | text |
|-----|----------|---------|-----------------------------------|
| 2 | I | Babylon | <i>Racc.</i> , 130, 37 |
| 3 | I | Babylon | <i>Racc.</i> , 132, 184 |
| 4 | I | Babylon | <i>Racc.</i> , 136, 276 |
| 5 | I | Babylon | <i>Racc.</i> , 140, 334; 145, 440 |
| 4 | IX | Babylon | BM 32206 +, II, 55 |

¹⁰² *Racc.*, 130, 37 (restored); 132, 184; 136, 276; 140, 334.

¹⁰³ *Racc.*, 145, 440.

¹⁰⁴ G. Çağırhan, W.G. Lambert, *JCS* 43–45 (1991–1993), 95, II, 55.

II.3. Monthly ceremonies

The twelve months of the Babylonian year lasted 29 or 30 days each and they began with the first sighting of the crescent of the new moon in the evening.¹⁰⁵ During every month special ceremonies were celebrated which were connected with certain fixed days of the month. See for example *TU* 38, which refers to a purification, the cleansing of the hands ceremony (*tēbibtu qāti*)¹⁰⁶: it was celebrated every month (*arḥussu*) on day 16 for Anu and Antu, exactly as was a special yearly celebrated ceremony on day 16 of the tenth month Țebētu (rev. 32–34, see the Appendix):

‘³²On day 16, monthly, ³⁴(the priest) will offer ³²10 first-quality sheep, fat (and) pure, whose horns and hooves are perfect, ³³for Anu and Antu of Heaven and the 7 planets, as cooked meat, on occasion of ³⁴the cleansing of the hands ceremony (*te-bi-ib-tu*₄ ŠU¹¹), in the Baramaḥ on the temple tower of Anu, just like on day 16 of Țebētu’.

Some monthly ceremonies are only identified by the name(s) of the god(s) for which the ceremony is celebrated. Other monthly ceremonies which are attested in the texts are specifically named (*eššēšu*, *lubuštu*, *bajjātu*, *nubattu*, *šalām bīti*); it is usually not specifically stated that they were performed monthly and the days are also often not mentioned in the Hellenistic period.¹⁰⁷ However, as we shall see, it is clear from texts of earlier periods and from the context in which they appear that they were monthly ceremonies. Also, we have an indication that a regular pattern of days used for cult activities was in practice in Hellenistic Babylon: an astronomical diary states that on days 1, 3, 7, 15, and 16 of the twelfth month Addaru a ritual procedure (*nēpešu*) was performed, for which *maḥḥuru*-offerings were presented (*maḥ-ḥu-ru un-daḥ-ḥi-ru*).¹⁰⁸ On the obverse of the tablet the eleventh month is discussed, and here we find a ritual procedure of the gods (*nē-peš šá DINGIR.MEŠ*), for which *maḥḥuru*-offerings are also presented; the passage continues with a reference to the chief singer of dirges, who recites(?) *eršahungû*-tablets. Whether these two ritual procedures are identical is difficult to say, because of the damaged state of the passages. Nevertheless, the days mentioned here remind us of the days attested for the monthly ceremonies discussed here; although the name of the ritual procedure is lost, one of the above-named monthly ceremonies seems a likely candidate.

We will begin this section by describing the known unspecified monthly ceremonies and then turn our attention to the monthly celebrated ceremonies which are known by a specific name: *eššēšu*, *lubuštu*, *bajjātu*, *nubattu*, *šalām bīti*.

¹⁰⁵ See P.-A. Beaulieu, *ZA* 83 (1993), 66 ff.

¹⁰⁶ See III.6.3.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 171 ff.

¹⁰⁸ A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -229, B, rev. 13'. The *maḥḥuru*-offering is discussed in III.7.2.

II.3. Monthly ceremonies

II.3.1. Unspecified monthly ceremonies

Most of the unspecified monthly ceremonies come from legal documents concerning prebend shares.¹⁰⁹ Several unnamed monthly ceremonies for Anu, Antu, Enlil, Ištar, Nanāja, Bēlet-ša-Rēš, Bēlet-māti, Bēlet-šēri, Papsukkal, and also for the statues of the kings, are attested in the Hellenistic prebend texts from Uruk. The reference to the monthly recurring character of a ceremony is presented in several different ways, which we will illustrate with a few examples.¹¹⁰

1. A ceremony can be referred to without a date or any other further specification. In *OECT* 9, 42,¹¹¹ obv. 12, before two annual ceremonies for Papsukkal and Antu,¹¹² a monthly ceremony for Enlil and Ištar is mentioned, but no reference is made to the monthly recurring character of this ceremony, and a specific day is also not indicated:

- 10 3[0(?)]-²-ú ina GIŠ.ŠUB.BA ¹⁰KU₄ É pi-riš-tu₄-ú-tú u ¹⁰KU₄[DIM]-ú-tú MU.MEŠ
11 ina UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ šá ħi-it-pi.MEŠ šá ¹⁰glu-bu-uš-tu₄-a-tú.MEŠ ina UZU b[a-á]š-lu
12 [u] ina UZU ba-al-tu šá UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ šá a-na ^{giš}BANŠUR šá ^dEN.LÍL u ^dINNIN
E₁₁-ú
13 ina GU₄^{há} MUŠEN^{há} u UDU.SILA₄ šá ina UD.17.KAM šá ^{iti}DU₆ a-na ^{giš}BANŠUR šá
^dPAP.SUKKAL
14 E₁₁-ú ina GU₄^(há) MUŠEN^(há) u UDU.SILA₄ šá ina UD.8.KAM šá ^{iti}ŠE a-na
^{giš}BANŠUR šá An-tu₄
15 E₁₁-ú

‘¹⁰one-thirtieth of these *ērib bīt pirištūtu*- and *kutimmūtu*-prebends ¹¹in the sheep of the *hitpu*-offerings of the clothing ceremonies, in the cooked ¹²and raw mutton, which are brought up to the table of Enlil and Ištar (monthly), ¹³in the beef, birds and lamb, which ¹⁴are brought up ¹³to the table of Papsukkal (once a year) on day 17 of Tašritu, ¹⁴in the beef, birds and lamb, which ¹⁵are brought up ¹⁴to the table of Antu (once a year) on the day 8 of Addaru, ...’.

2. In *OECT* 9, 45, obv. 10 // 46, obv. 9,¹¹³ before two annual ceremonies for Papsukkal and Antu, a monthly ceremony for Enlil is celebrated, this time on the monthly recurring *eššēšu*-days¹¹⁴:

- 9 ... ina UZU ba-áš-lu ù ina UZU bal-tu šá UDU.NÍTA
10 šá ina UD.ÈŠ.ÈŠ.MEŠ a-na ^{giš}BANŠUR šá ^dEN.LÍL E₁₁-ú ina UZU GU₄
11 UDU.NÍTA MUŠEN ù UDU.SILA₄ ù šá qa-²-i-tu₄ šá ina UD.17.[KAM]

¹⁰⁹ I.e. income shares in one of the crafts or offices exercised in the temple for service of a deity. Most legal documents concerning prebend shares are from Uruk, see L.T. Doty, *CAHU*, 119–138; G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 67–120; B. Funck, *Uruk zur Seleukidenzeit*, 56–277. So far no prebend documents from Babylon are known, but we do have two deeds concerning bakers’ prebends from Nippur, see R.J. van der Spek, in: Maria de Jong-Ellis (ed.), *Nippur at the Centennial*, 250–260.

¹¹⁰ For a complete list see the Table at the end of this sub-paragraph.

¹¹¹ 14 [+x]-XI-?, Seleucus.

¹¹² For the unnamed annual ceremonies see II.4.1.

¹¹³ 21-VIII-111, Antiochus (III).

¹¹⁴ The *eššēšu*-ceremony is discussed below in paragraph II.3.2.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

- 12 *ša* ⁱⁱⁱDU₆ *a-na* ^{giš}BANŠUR *ša* ^dPAP.SUKKAL E₁₁-ú *ina* UZU *ša* GU₄ UDU.NÍTA
 13 MUŠENⁱ UDU.SILA₄ *ša qa-²i-tu₄ ša* *ina* UD.8.KAM *ša* ⁱⁱⁱ[ŠE] *a-na*
 14 ^{giš}BANŠUR [*ša*] *An-tu₄ E₁₁-ú* ...

⁹ ... (his portion) in the cooked and raw mutton ¹⁰which on the *eššēšu*-days is brought up to the table of Enlil (monthly), (his portion) in the beef, ¹¹mutton, bird and lamb and (his portion) of parched barley, which (once a year) on day 17 ¹²of Tašrītu are brought up to the table of Papsukkal, (his portion) in the beef, mutton, ¹³birds, lamb (and his portion) of parched barley which (once a year) ¹⁴are brought up to the table of Antu ¹³on day 8 of [Addaru], ¹⁴ ...’.

3. Sometimes a text specifically states that the ceremony is celebrated *arḥussu* ‘monthly’. In *OECT* 9, 68,¹¹⁵ obv. 3–6, after a monthly ceremony for Enlil celebrated on the *eššēšu*-days, a monthly celebrated ceremony for Ištar is mentioned, followed by an annual ceremony for Antu:

- 3 ... *ina* UDU.[NÍTA(?)]
 4 [x x *ina*(?) UD.ĒŠ.] ĒŠ.MEŠ *a-na* ^{giš}BANŠUR *ša* ^dEN.LÍL E₁₁-ú *ina* UZU *ša* UDU.[NÍTA(?)]
 5 *ša* ITI-*us-su a-na* ^{giš}BANŠUR *ša* ^d[Iš]-tar E₁₁-ú ḪA.LA-šú *ina* UZU *ša* [...]
 6 MUŠEN^{bá} [*ša*] *ina* UD.8.KAM *ša* ⁱⁱⁱŠE *a-na* ^{giš}BANŠUR *ša* *An-tu₄ E₁₁-ú* ...

³ ... (his portion) in the mut[ton(?)] ⁴ ... on(?) the *eššēšu*-days is brought up to the table of Enlil (monthly), (his portion) in the mut[ton(?)] ⁵which is brought up to the table of Ištar monthly, his share of the [...] meat ⁶(and) birds which are brought up to the table of Antu on day 8 of Addaru, ...’.

4. A text sometimes not only states that the ceremony is celebrated monthly (*arḥussu*), but also mentions the specific day. In *BRM* 2, 36,¹¹⁶ obv. 2–5, a ceremony for Anu on day 27 of each month is recorded, together with a ceremony for the statues of the kings on day 27 of each month:

- 2 GIŠ.ŠUB.BA-šú *ša qa-a-a-tu₄ ša* É NÍG.SUM.MU-^dINNIN ^{uzu}GIŠ.KUN *ša* UDU.NÍTA ^{uzu}*kar-šú* u[^{zu}...]
 3 ... 30 *as-né-e ša* *ina* UD.27.KAM *ša* ITI-*us-su a-na* BANŠUR *ša* ^dLX E₁₁-[ú] [GIŠ.ŠUB.BA-šú (?)]
 4 *ša qa-a-a-ut-tu₄ ša* É NÍG.SUM.MU-^dINNIN *ša* *ina* UD.27.KAM *ša* ITI-*us-su a-na* ^{giš}BAN[ŠUR]
 5 *ša ša-lam* LUGAL.MEŠ E₁₁-ú ...

²his prebend of parched barley from the house of Nidintu-Ištar, thigh piece of a sheep, stomach and [...] ³ ... 30 Dilmun-dates, which on day 27, monthly, are brought up to the table of Anu, [his prebend(?)] ⁴of parched barley of the house of Nidintu-Ištar, which on day 27, monthly, ⁵is brought up ⁴to the table ⁵of the statues of the kings, ...’.

¹¹⁵ Date lost.

¹¹⁶ 12-III-131, Seleucus (IV).

II.3. Monthly ceremonies

5. Finally, the specific reference to the monthly character of the ceremony (*arḥussu*) can be left out, while the day of the month is mentioned. In J. Oppert, J. Ménant, *Doc. jur.*, no. 5 (BM 93004),¹¹⁷ several monthly ceremonies (always without *arḥussu*) for different deities and one for the statues of the kings are mentioned. After a monthly ceremony for Bēlet-māti, and another for Anu and Antu (obv. 9–13¹¹⁸), and before a monthly ceremony for Nanāja on the *eššēšu*-days, and another for the statues of the kings on the *eššēšu*-days (obv. 17–19), two monthly ceremonies are mentioned for Bēlet-šēri on day 4 and for Papsukkal and Bēlet-šēri on day 13, and furthermore a monthly ceremony for Ištar on day 3 (obv. 13–17):

- 13 ... GIŠ.ŠUB.BA-šú 1-en UZU *ba-áš-lu u bal-tu*
 14 TA UDU.NÍTA šá ina UD.4.KAM (erasure) a-na ^{giš}BANŠUR šá ^dGAŠAN.EDIN E₁₁-ú
 . GIŠ.ŠUB.BA-šú šá UZU *ba-áš-lu*
 15 u *bal-tu* TA UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ šá ina UD.13.KAM a-na ^{giš}BANŠUR šá ^dPAPSUKKAL
 u ^dGAŠAN.EDIN E₁₁-ú
 16 PAP 3 *ḥa-an-zi-šú-nu* šá UZU^{bá} MU.MEŠ GIŠ.ŠUB.BA-šú *mi-šil ina* ^{uzu}ÚR TA
 UDU.SILA₄
 17 šá ina UD.3.KAM šá a-na ^{giš}BANŠUR šá ^dINNIN E₁₁-ú ...

¹³ ... her prebend of one cut of cooked or raw meat ¹⁴from the sheep, which on day 4 is brought up to the table of Bēlet-šēri (monthly) – her prebend of one cut of cooked ¹⁵or raw meat from the sheep, which on day 13 is brought up to the table of Papsukkal and Bēlet-šēri (monthly): ¹⁶total three fifths of them, (i.e.) of these cuts of meat – her prebend of one half in a thigh from a lamb ¹⁷which on day 3 is brought up to the table of Ištar (monthly) ...’.

Table IV: unnamed monthly ceremonies in prebend texts from Hellenistic Uruk

| day(s) | god(dess) | text | date |
|-------------------|----------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| – | [Anu] | <i>BiMes</i> 24, no. 2 | 23-III-108 (Antiochus [III]) |
| <i>eššēšu</i> | Enlil | <i>OECT</i> 9, 45 // 46 | 21-VIII-111 (Antiochus [III]) |
| <i>eššēšu</i> | Enlil, Bēlet-ša-Rēš | <i>OECT</i> 9, 50 | 28-?-128 (Seleucus [IV]) |
| 27 <i>arḥussu</i> | Anu | <i>BRM</i> 2, 36 | 12-III-131 (Seleucus [IV]) |
| 27 <i>arḥussu</i> | statues of the kings | <i>BRM</i> 2, 36 | 12-III-131 (Seleucus [IV]) |
| <i>eššēšu</i> | Enlil, Ištar, Bēlet-ša-Rēš | <i>OECT</i> 9, 60 | 10-IV-153 (Demetrius [I]) |
| – | Bēlet-māti | J. Oppert, J. Ménant, <i>Doc. jur.</i> , no. 5 | (Demetrius) |
| – | Anu, Antu | <i>Doc. jur.</i> , no. 5 | (Demetrius) |
| 4 | Bēlet-šēri | <i>Doc. jur.</i> , no. 5 | (Demetrius) |
| 13 | Papsukkal, Bēlet-šēri | <i>Doc. jur.</i> , no. 5 | (Demetrius) |

¹¹⁷ Date lost, Demetrius.

¹¹⁸ For obv. 11–13, see also II.2.3.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

| day(s) | god(dess) | text | date |
|------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| 3 | Ištar | <i>Doc. jur.</i> , no. 5 | (Demetrius) |
| <i>eššēšu</i> | Nanāja | <i>Doc. jur.</i> , no. 5 | (Demetrius) |
| <i>eššēšu</i> | statues of the kings | <i>Doc. jur.</i> , no. 5 | (Demetrius) |
| – | Anu | <i>BiMes</i> 24, 5 | ?-XI-? (Seleucus) |
| 6 | Anu | <i>BiMes</i> 24, 17 | ?-V-? |
| – | Enlil, Ištar | <i>OECT</i> 9, 42 | 14 +?-XI-? (Seleucus) |
| – | Enlil | <i>OECT</i> 9, 44 | 6-VII-? (Antiochus) |
| – | Ištar | <i>OECT</i> 9, 44 | 6-VII-? (Antiochus) |
| <i>eššēšu</i> | Enlil | <i>OECT</i> 9, 68 | – |
| <i>arḥussu</i> | Ištar | <i>OECT</i> 9, 68 | – |
| <i>eššēšu</i> | Enlil(?) | <i>VS</i> 15, 37 | 7-VII-107 Arsaces (A.E. = 171 S.E.) ¹¹⁹ |
| 8 <i>arḥussu</i> | Enlil(?) | <i>VS</i> 15, 37 | 7-VII-107 Arsaces |
| 8 | – | <i>VS</i> 15, 37 | 7-VII-107 Arsaces |
| <i>eššēšu</i> | Enlil | <i>VS</i> 15, 37 | 7-VII-107 Arsaces |
| 8 <i>arḥussu</i> | Ištar | <i>VS</i> 15, 37 | 7-VII-107 Arsaces |
| 8 | Antu | <i>VS</i> 15, 37 | 7-VII-107 Arsaces |

When we examine these texts, we find that many are documents concerning *ērib bīt pirištūtu*- + *kutimmūtu*-prebend shares (i.e. concerning the office of the person authorized to enter the secret room, and the goldsmith's craft).¹²⁰ These prebends are connected because, as Doty noted,¹²¹ the goldsmith (*kutimmu*) was responsible for making, cleaning and repairing the ornaments on the garments of the statues of the gods, which were stored in the *bīt pirišti*, only accessible to the temple enterers (*ērib bīti*), and here we find the reason why many of the unnamed monthly ceremonies are attested in documents concerning *ērib bīt pirištūtu*- + *kutimmūtu*-prebend shares: the income for these prebends comes not only from unnamed monthly ceremonies, from a few annual ceremonies, and the monthly *eššēšu*-ceremonies, but also from the monthly clothing ceremonies (*lubuštu*).

In all the texts the foodstuffs which are served on the offering table, and serve as income for the prebend holders, primarily consist of meat of ox and sheep, with the exception of J. Oppert, J. Ménant, *Doc. jur.*, no. 5 (BM 93004), which also mentions lamb and duck, and furthermore records parched barley, *takkasū*-pastries, oil, and Dilmun dates. Interestingly fowl is not mentioned, although it is attested for the unnamed annual ceremonies.¹²²

Many of the texts also mention the *eššēšu*-ceremony, discussed below: we find that the unnamed monthly ceremonies do not refer to a specific day, when they are celebrated on an *eššēšu*-day. When they are not celebrated on an *eššēšu*-day, then the specific day is mentioned. Thus, in *VS* 15, 37, six ceremonies are mentioned, of which four are dated

¹¹⁹ Cf. S. Sherwin-White, A. Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 224.

¹²⁰ *OECT* 9, 42, 44, 45 // 46, 50, 60, 68 and *VS* 15, 37. J. Oppert, J. Ménant, *Doc. jur.*, no. 5 contains a sale of *ērib bītūtu* + *tābiḥūtu*-prebend shares; *BRM* 2, 36, *BiMes* 24, 5, and 17 concern not further specified prebend shares.

¹²¹ *CAHU*, 126f.; id., in: M. E. Cohen, D.C. Snell, D.B. Weisberg (eds.), *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, Bethesda, 1993, 87–89.

¹²² See II.4.1.

II.3. Monthly ceremonies

to a specific day, while the other two are celebrated on *eššēšu*-days. *BRM* 2, 36 only dates two ceremonies to specific days. J. Oppert, J. Ménant, *Doc. jur.*, no. 5 (BM 93004) dates five ceremonies to specific days, and two to the *eššēšu*-days.

II.3.2. *eššēšu*

eššēšu (written (UD) ÈŠ.ÈŠ) is a ceremony with a long history.¹²³ It is attested from the Ur III period up to the Hellenistic period.¹²⁴ ÈŠ.ÈŠ is according to Jacobsen best translated ‘all temple’ (ÈŠ = temple) or “‘general” festival’ rather than ‘monthly festival’ and in the Ur III period it was celebrated in all the temples.¹²⁵ The ceremony was held on days 1, 7 and 15 of each month, corresponding to the phases of the moon.¹²⁶ Between the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods, in texts from Ur, the number is raised to 4 by adding day 25. Because this day cannot easily be connected with a phase of the moon, from this moment on the *eššēšu*-days were apparently no longer linked to lunar phases.¹²⁷ In the Middle Babylonian period the days were changed to days 4, 8 and 17 of each month.

The Neo-Babylonian period

While in Assyria an *eššēšu*-day as a ceremony is not attested,¹²⁸ in the Neo-Babylonian period, especially in texts from Uruk, up to 11 days per month are connected with *eššēšu*, but they almost never mention the specific dates of these days. We will give two examples. The first is *GC* 1, 209,¹²⁹ a statement of honey used on *eššēšu*-days:

Obv.

- 1 8 NINDA^{bá} LÁL^{bá} šá [gu-u]q(?) -qu
- 2 šá 8 UD.ÈŠ.ÈŠ.MEŠ šá
- 3 ⁱⁱⁱGAN 'DÚG.GA-IM-É.AN.NA
- 4 6 NINDA^{bá} ina UD.ÈŠ.ÈŠ.ME
- 5 šá ^{kaš}na-a-ši
- 6 'Kal-ba-a A 'ŠU GIŠ

‘³Ṭāb-šār-Eanna ⁶has brought ¹⁸ *akalu* honey of the [gu]qqû-offerings(?) ²for 8 *eššēšu*-festivals of ³the (ninth) month Kislīmu ⁶(and) Kalba, son of Gimillu, ⁴ *akalu* for the *eššēšu*-festivals ⁵for (making) *nāšu*-beer’.

¹²³ Cf. B. Landsberger, *Kult. Kalender*, 111 ff. (see also 109 ff. and 94 ff.) with older literature; F. Blome, *Opfermaterie*, 56–58, 61, 257, 322; G. Furlani, *Riti*, 24, 51, 105, 121, 124; D. Cocquerillat, *WdO* 7 (1973–74), 110, n. 15; W.W. Hallo, *HUCA* 48 (1977), 8. See also *CAD*, E, 373b.

¹²⁴ *CAD*, E, 371–3, and *AHW*, 258.

¹²⁵ Th. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness: A history of Mesopotamian Religion*, New Haven and London, 1976, 97 and 122.

¹²⁶ Cf. N. Schneider, *Or. NS* 18 (1925), 39 f.; Th. Jacobsen, *Treasures*, 122; W. Sallaberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit*, Berlin, New York, 1993, 41, 56–58.

¹²⁷ Cf. B.A. Levine, W.W. Hallo, *HUCA* 38 (1967), 45–6; W.W. Hallo, *HUCA* 48 (1977), 7–8.

¹²⁸ Cf. G. van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, 167.

¹²⁹ 2-IX-40, Nbk.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

Another example is *GC* 1, 289,¹³⁰ a receipt for honey used on *eššēšu*-days of the month Kislīmu:

- 1 15 1/2 NINDA^{há} LĀL^{há}
- 2 *ina* UD.ÈŠ.ÈŠ.MEŠ *ša* ^{iti}GAN
- 3 *ša qu-lu-pu* ¹*Li-ši-ru*
- 4 A ^{1d}AG-SUR-ZI.ME GIŠ
- 5 3 NINDA^{há} *ina* LĀL^{há}
- 6 *ša mut-ta-qu* ¹DÜ-ia GIŠ

¹Lišīru, ⁴son of Nabû-ētir-napšāti has brought ¹15 1/2 *akalu* honey ²for the *eššēšu*-festivals of the (ninth) month Kislīmu ³for (making) *qullupu*-cakes ⁶(and) Banija has brought ⁵3 *akalu* honey ⁶for (making) *muttāqu*-cakes’.

Table V: *eššēšu*-ceremonies from Neo-Babylonian Uruk and Babylon¹³¹

| number of <i>eššēšu</i> -days | date of <i>eššēšu</i> -days | place | text | date |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|--|------------------|
| 1 | — | Uruk | <i>YOS</i> 17, 182 | 23-II-17 (Nbk) |
| 8 | IX | Uruk | <i>YOS</i> 17, 175 | 1-IX-17 (Nbk) |
| 1 | X | Uruk | <i>YOS</i> 17, 175 | 1-IX-17 (Nbk) |
| 1 | VI | Uruk | <i>YOS</i> 17, 173 | 1-VI-18 (Nbk) |
| 3 ¹³² | IX | Uruk | <i>YOS</i> 17, 174 | 19-VIII-13 (Nbk) |
| 8 | IX | Uruk | <i>BIN</i> 2, 129 | 15-VIII-19 (Nbk) |
| 4 | X | Uruk | <i>BIN</i> 2, 129 | 15-VIII-19 (Nbk) |
| 4 | XI | Uruk | <i>BIN</i> 2, 129 | 15-VIII-19 (Nbk) |
| plur. | IX | Uruk | <i>GC</i> 1, 48 | 1-IX-22 (Nbk) |
| 4 | — | Uruk | <i>GC</i> 1, 83 | 3-XI-23(?) (Nbk) |
| 7 | VII–VIII | Uruk | <i>GC</i> 1, 193 | 30-VII-34 (Nbk) |
| 7 | — | Uruk | <i>GC</i> 1, 193 | 30-VII-34 (Nbk) |
| 7 | — | Uruk | <i>GC</i> 1, 162 | 2-VI-36 (Nbk) |
| 8 | IX | Uruk | <i>GC</i> 1, 209 | 2-IX-40 (Nbk) |
| plur. | — | Uruk | <i>GC</i> 1, 209 | 2-IX-40 (Nbk) |
| 4 | — | Uruk | <i>GC</i> 1, 127 | 2-XI-40 (Nbk) |
| 4 1/2 | IX | Uruk | <i>GC</i> 1, 199 | 7-IX-40(?) (Nbk) |
| 5 | — | Uruk | <i>GC</i> 1, 199 | 7-IX-40(?) (Nbk) |
| <i>rēhit</i> | IX | Uruk | <i>GC</i> 1, 199 | 7-IX-40(?) (Nbk) |
| 4 | — | Uruk | <i>BIN</i> 1, 170 | 7-VI-3 (Nrgl) |
| 4 | — | Uruk | <i>YOS</i> 6, 39 | 5-X-3 (Nbn) |
| 1 | — | Uruk | <i>YOS</i> 6, 39 | 5-X-3 (Nbn) |
| 5 | IX | Uruk | C.S. Knopf, Hewett <i>AV</i> , ¹³³ pl. 25 A | 8-IX-4 (Nbn) |

¹³⁰ 7-IX-7, Nbn.

¹³¹ The list is not complete.

¹³² Obv. 1–3 read: 1 BĀN ŠE.GIŠ.Ì *a-na mut-ta-qu ša* 3 U[D.ÈŠ.ÈŠ]Š.ME *ša* ^{iti}GAN ...

¹³³ C.S. Knopf, in: *Seventieth Anniversary Volume Honoring Edgar Lee Hewett*, Albuquerque, N.M., 1939.

II.3. Monthly ceremonies

| number of <i>eššēšu</i> -days | date of <i>eššēšu</i> -days | place | text | date |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|--|---------------|
| plur. | IX | Uruk | <i>GC</i> 1, 289 | 7-IX-7 (Nbn) |
| 1 | — | Uruk | <i>YOS</i> 6, 170 | 23-X-11 (Nbn) |
| 7 | — | Uruk | <i>YOS</i> 7, 52 | 24-IV-6 (Cyr) |
| 2 | — | Uruk | <i>YOS</i> 7, 52 | 24-IV-6 (Cyr) |
| 11 | — | Uruk | <i>SWU</i> , 2 | — |
| 4 | — | Uruk | <i>SWU</i> , 2 | — |
| 10 | — | Uruk | <i>SWU</i> , 27 | — |
| 7 | — | Uruk | <i>SWU</i> , 32 ¹³⁴ | — |
| 7 | — | Uruk | <i>SWU</i> , 45 ¹³⁵ | — |
| 2 | — | Uruk | <i>SWU</i> , 62 ¹³⁶ | — |
| 11 | — | Uruk | <i>SWU</i> , 118 | — |
| x] + 6(?) | — | Uruk | <i>SWU</i> , 118 | — |
| 6(?) | — | Uruk | <i>SWU</i> , 125 | — |
| 4 | — | Uruk | <i>AUWE</i> 5, 80 | — |
| 1 | — | Uruk | <i>AUWE</i> 5, 80 | — |
| — | day 20 | Uruk | <i>TCL</i> 9, 134 | — |
| — | — | Uruk | <i>YOS</i> 3, 51 | — |
| 11 | [X(?)] | Uruk ¹³⁷ | <i>TCL</i> 13, 233 | — |
| 9 | — | Uruk | <i>TCL</i> 13, 233 | — |
| 3(?) ¹³⁸ | — | Babylon | <i>Mesopotamia</i> 10–11 (1975 –76), 33 | ?-II-1 (Dar) |
| — | — | Babylon | J. MacGin- nis, <i>AFO</i> 38 –39 (1991- 92), 89 ¹³⁹ | — |
| 5 | III | Babylon ¹⁴⁰ | <i>VS</i> 6, 268 | — |

The texts usually record the foodstuffs (often also with the endproducts of these foodstuffs) used for the *eššēšu*-ceremonies: honey,¹⁴¹ oil,¹⁴² Dilmun dates,¹⁴³ Dilmun

¹³⁴ = *AnOr.* 9, 23.

¹³⁵ = *AnOr.* 9, 22.

¹³⁶ = *AnOr.* 9, 21 and 29.

¹³⁷ Uruk as the place of origin not certain.

¹³⁸ 'a-na(?)' 3 *ĒŠ.ĒŠ.ME šá na-a-šú* 'for 3 *eššēšu*-days for (making) *nāšu*-beer', rather than Owen's reading [UD.]3 *ĒŠ.ĒŠ.ME NINDA na-a-šú* 'bread given out for the *eššēšu*-festivals of the 3rd day'? Incidentally, the damaged beginning of obv. 1 probably reads: [...] 'gisPÉŠ'.UD.A (= *uribtu*(?) 'dried figs'), rather than Owen's reading [GIŠ.ĤAŠĤUR].UD.A (*sippirûl/hašĥûru ablu*(?) 'dried apples').

¹³⁹ = F.E. Peiser, *BV*, 107.

¹⁴⁰ Place of origin not Sippar (cf. A. Ungnad, *VS* 6, p. XII, III, no. 1, where a survey of texts belonging to the Sippar collection is given) but Babylon, cf. I. 1: *šlš-ĥa-r[a ...]*.

¹⁴¹ *GC* 1, 199 (for making *nāšu*-beer); 127; 209 (*nāšu*-beer); 162 (*nāšu*-beer); 193 (*muttāqu*-cake/*nāšu*-beer); 83 (*nāšu*-beer); 289 (*qullupu*-cake); C.S. Knopf, *Hewett AV*, pl. 25 A (*nāšu*-beer/*qullupu*-cake).

¹⁴² *GC* 1, 48.

¹⁴³ *YOS* 7, 52; *YOS* 6, 170 (*mirsu*-confection); *YOS* 17, 173 (*nāšu*-beer); *SWU*, 2 (*muttāqu*-cake).

dates and raisins,¹⁴⁴ Dilmun dates, dried figs and raisins,¹⁴⁵ dried figs and raisins,¹⁴⁶ emmer,¹⁴⁷ sesame,¹⁴⁸ barley,¹⁴⁹ and meat.¹⁵⁰

In four texts from the Neo-Babylonian period we find that the *eššēšu*-ceremony is connected with other ceremonies and offerings. In J. MacGinnis, *AfO* 38–39 (1991–92), 89 it is connected with the *bajjātu*-¹⁵¹ and *šalām bīti*-ceremonies,¹⁵² and with the *ginû*-, *guqqû*-, *niqê šarri*-, and *niqê kārībi*-offerings,¹⁵³ in *BIN* 2, 129 with the *lubuštu*-, *nabrû*- and *bajjātu*-ceremonies,¹⁵⁴ in *VS* 6, 268 also with the *šalām bīti*- and *bajjātu*-ceremonies, and in *GC* 1, 199 with the *kinūnu*-ceremony.¹⁵⁵ The connection between the *eššēšu*- and the *šalām bīti*-ceremony is clear from a Neo-Assyrian letter (*LAS* I, 280, rev. 16–18), where the regular offerings (*ginû*) are presented, and incense is poured onto a censer on the *eššēšu*-day (and?) at the *šalām bīti*-ceremony.

Although we must assume that the *eššēšu*-ceremony was performed during every month of the year,¹⁵⁶ only the months IV and VII/XI are attested in Uruk, and month III in Babylon, which, however, is not surprising considering the small number of texts that we have. The number of *eššēšu*-days, however, from one to eleven, is astonishing, because in the earlier periods we know of only three or four. Were these ceremonies celebrated for more than one god? Or is the month mentioned in the given text only the first month for the *eššēšu* in question? This does not seem very likely. There is another possibility: if, for example, we concentrate on the receipts of honey,¹⁵⁷ we see that these texts have as their central topic not the *eššēšu*-ceremonies. The ceremonies are mentioned only as secondary information, necessary to describe the amount of the relevant foodstuff, needed for a certain month. So perhaps we should re-translate the relevant section as: ‘PN has brought x honey (to the amount) of x *eššēšu*-offerings (usually brought in) month x’.

Because the actual days are almost never recorded (only the letter *TCL* 9, 134 refers to day 20), it remains unclear whether the same days from earlier periods were used or not. One must assume that these days were well-known, and mentioning them was not considered necessary. In any case, it becomes clear that, especially in Neo-Babylonian Uruk, *eššēšu* was still a very frequently and regularly performed monthly ceremony.

¹⁴⁴ *YOS* 6, 39 (*qullupu*-cake); *AUWE* 5, 80 ([*qullupu*-cake]).

¹⁴⁵ *YOS* 6, 39 (*nāšu*-beer); *AUWE* 5, 80 ([*nāšu*-beer]); *BIN* 1, 170 (*nāšu*-beer).

¹⁴⁶ *Mesopotamia* 10–11 (1975–76), 33 (*nāšu*-beer?).

¹⁴⁷ *YOS* 17, 182.

¹⁴⁸ *YOS* 17, 175 (*muttāqu*-cake); 174 (*muttāqu*-cake); *BIN* 2, 129; *TCL* 13, 233 (*qullupu*-cake/*muttāqu*-cake).

¹⁴⁹ *SWU*, 2; 27; 32(?) (*nāšu*-beer); 45 (*nāšu*-beer); 62; 118 (*kuluttu*(?)); 125(?).

¹⁵⁰ *VS* 6, 268; J. MacGinnis, *AfO* 38–39 (1991–92), 89 (oxen and sheep); *TCL* 9, 134 (birds). See also *CT* 22, 46 (ox), and BM 74620 (Bertin 2112) (sheep), both from Sippar.

¹⁵¹ See II.3.4.

¹⁵² See II.3.6.

¹⁵³ See III.7.2.

¹⁵⁴ For *lubuštu* see II.3.3. The *nabrû*-ceremony is not attested in texts from the Hellenistic period. Cf. M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 394–5.

¹⁵⁵ See III.5.

¹⁵⁶ The Sippar letter BM 74620 states that the ceremony was *ša kal šatti* ‘for the whole year’, which, however, does not mean that the ceremony was celebrated every month; compare the data on the clothing ceremonies (*lubuštu*) in Sippar (see II.3.3), which were performed during 6 months of the year.

¹⁵⁷ *GC* 1, 83; 127; 162; 193; 199; 209; 289.

II.3. Monthly ceremonies

The Hellenistic period

For the Hellenistic period the *eššēšu*-ceremony is well attested, especially in texts from Uruk.¹⁵⁸ However, the texts do not provide us with complete information because, as in the Neo-Babylonian period, they never record the specific dates for the *eššēšu*-days, again probably because they were well-known. This is confirmed by our list of unnamed monthly ceremonies from Hellenistic Uruk, discussed above, which are not specifically dated when they are celebrated on an *eššēšu*-day. If the days from earlier periods were also used in the Hellenistic period, then we must, for example assume that the *šalām bīti*- and *bajjātu*-ceremonies, performed during the night of the sixteenth in Uruk, and described in *TU* 41,¹⁵⁹ were followed by an *eššēšu*-ceremony on day 17, since this was an *eššēšu*-day in earlier periods.

In prebend texts from Hellenistic Uruk the *eššēšu*-ceremony is attested many times, often mentioned as a pair with the *guqqû*-offerings, using the phrase:

šá ITI-us-su kal MU.AN.NA gu-uq-qa-né-e UD.ÈŠ.ÈŠ.MEŠ
'monthly for the whole year, the *guqqû*- and *eššēšu*-offerings'.¹⁶⁰

The commodities used for these ceremonies served substantially to provide an income for the prebend holders. However, the composition of these commodities is almost never described. Fortunately we have four prebend sales, which present us with some information. In chronological order, the first text is *OECT* 9, 50, obv. 8–9¹⁶¹:

8 ... mi-šil ina 12-’u-ú ina UZU ba-šal u bal-tu šá UDUNÍTA.MEŠ
9 šá ina UD ÈŠ.ÈŠ.MEŠ gab-bi a-na ^{gis}BANŠUR šá ^dEN.LÍL u ^dGĀŠAN-šá-Ē.SAG
E₁₁.MEŠ

⁸'One half in one twelfth in the cooked or raw meat from the sheep ⁹which is brought up to the table of Enlil and Bēlet-ša-Rēš on all the *eššēšu*-days'.

The second is J. Oppert, J. Mēnant, *Doc. jur.*, no. 5 (BM 93004), obv. 17–19¹⁶²:

¹⁵⁸ Cf. G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 162.

¹⁵⁹ This text is discussed in II.8.6.

¹⁶⁰ *BRM* 2, 4, 3 (*še-šá-an-na*); 8, 6; 11, 6 (*še-šá-an-na*); 13, 4; 15, 4; 16, 5; 19, 6; 22, 4; 29, 6; 40, 8; 46, 8; 47, 9; 55, 6.

K. Kessler, *BaM* 15 (1984), 273–81, W 18586, 6.

OECT 9, 8, 4; 14, 4; 15, 5; 19, 7; 20, 5; 21, 4; 23, 4; 25, 6; 28, 4; 30, 6; 31, 6; 32, 5; 34, 4 = 35, 4; 36, 7; 37, 6; 45, 10 // 46, 9; 50, 9; 51, 13; 59, 8; 60, 9; 61, 9; 67, 7; 68, 9.

J. Oelsner, *WZJ* 19 (1970), 905–12, no. 748, 4.

J. Oppert, J. Mēnant, *Doc. jur.*, nos. 1, 3 (= F.E. Peiser, *KB* 4, 314, 6); 5, 18; BM 30118, 5 (= *KB* 4, 314, 6).

G.Kh. Sarkisjan, *VDI*, 1955, 4, 6; 7, 6; 8, 6.

G.Kh. Sarkisjan, *FuB* 16 (1975), 2, 9; 9, 3; 23, 9.

L. Speleers, *Recueil*, 294, 5; 297, 7.

TCL 13, 236, 5; 237, 6; 238, 5; 242, 8; 243, 6; 244, 5; 245, 5; 247, 4 (*eš(?)*-*še-e-šá-^rna/ni(?)*).

VS 15, 4, 4; 10, 6; 16, 5, 7; 18, 6; 26, 4; 28, 9; 32, 6; 33, 8; 37, 5, 24.

BiMes 24, 1, 4; 10, 6; 12, 5.

¹⁶¹ 28-?-125 S.E., Seleucus (IV).

¹⁶² Date lost, Demetrius.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

- 17 ... GIŠ.ŠUB.BA-šú 7-ú *ina re-bu-ú ina* UZ.TUR^{mu[šen]}
 18 šá *ina* UD ÈŠ.ÈŠ.MEŠ *gab-bi šá a-na* ^{giš}BANŠUR šá ^dNa-na-a E₁₁-ú *u* GIŠ.ŠUB.BA-šú
 [...]
 19 *ina mi-šil* UDU.NÍTA šá *ina* UD ÈŠ.ÈŠ.MEŠ *gab-bi šá a-na* ^{giš}BANŠUR šá *ša-lam*
 LUGAL.MEŠ E₁₁-[ú ...]

‘¹⁷ ... her prebend of one seventh in one fourth of the duck[s], ¹⁸which on all *eššēšu*-days are brought up to the table of Nanāja (monthly) and her prebend [...] ¹⁹in one half of a sheep which on all *eššēšu*-days is brought u[p] the table of the statues of the kings (monthly)’.

The third text is *VS* 15, 16, obv. 1–8¹⁶³:

- 1 ^{ld}LX-TIN-su-E A šá ¹GIN-a [...]
 2 *ina hu-ud lib-bi-šú* GIŠ.ŠUB.BA 2 *ga[b-bi(?) ...]*
 3 *ina* 1-en(?) TA ^{uzu}GIŠ.KUN(?) ^{uzu}BA-x[...]
 4 PAP 4 UZU^{bá} *ba-šal u ba[l-tu ...]*
 5 *ina* 1-en(?) UD ÈŠ.ÈŠ *a-na* 1-en TA x[...]
 6 TA UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ šá *in-(né-)ep-pu-uš*.MEŠ [...]
 7 šá *ša-lam* LUGAL.MEŠ šá *ina* UD ÈŠ.ÈŠ.MEŠ E₁₁(?) [...]
 8 4-ta UZU^{bá} šá *ša-lam* LUGAL.MEŠ šá *ina* [UD ÈŠ.ÈŠ.MEŠ ...]

‘¹Anu-balāssu-iqbi, son of Kīnā [...] ²of his own free will (has sold) a prebend, 2 [...]
³... meat of the thigh, meat of [...] ⁴in total 4 cuts of meat, cooked or ra[w ...] ⁵on 1 *eššēšu*-day for one(?) [...] [...] ⁶of the sheep, which are offered [...] ⁷for the statues of the kings, which on the *eššēšu*-days are br[ought up(?),] ⁸one-fourth of the meat (of the sheep offered) for the statues of the kings, which on the [*eššēšu*-day ...]’.

And finally *VS* 15, 37, rev. 21–24¹⁶⁴:

- 21 18-‘u-ú GIŠ.ŠUB.BA-šú ^{lú}KU₄-É *pi-ri-iš-tu₄-ú-tú u* ^{lú}KÚ.DIM-ú-tú
 22 18-‘u-ú *ina* UDU.[NÍTA].MEŠ šá *hi-ta-tap* GEŠTIN ^{šim}LI ^{túg}hu-ša-na-tu₄
 23 ^{túg}šu-pat-ta ŠIM.MEŠ *u* GIŠ.MEŠ 18-‘u-ú *ina* UZU *ba-šal u bal-tu*
 24 šá *a-na* BANŠUR šá ^dEN.(LÍL) *ina* UD ÈŠ.ÈŠ.MEŠ E₁₁ ...

‘²¹One eighteenth of the prebend of the *ērib bīl pirištūtu* and the *kutimmūtu*: ²²one eighteenth in the sheep of the *hitpu*-offerings, wine, juniper, *hušannu*-garments, ²³strips of carded wool, perfumes and woods, one eighteenth in the cooked or raw meat, ²⁴which is brought up to the table of Enlil on the *eššēšu*-days. ...’.

Based on these texts, the offerings presented on the *eššēšu*-days consisted of meat of ducks and of sheep, and are otherwise described as cooked or raw. We have, however, another source of information for the foodstuffs which were offered during the *eššēšu*-ceremony: the list of offerings and ceremonies recorded in the ritual text *TU* 38.¹⁶⁵ It records loaves and date cakes, which are supplied for a number of offerings and

¹⁶³ ?-II-100 [+ x] S.E. .

¹⁶⁴ 7-VII-107, Arsaces (A.E. = 171 S.E.). See also obv. 2–5.

¹⁶⁵ See II.1.

II.3. Monthly ceremonies

ceremonies, among which is the *eššēšu*-ceremony;¹⁶⁶ on the reverse¹⁶⁷ almost the same list of offerings and ceremonies is recorded, but here oxen and sheep are served.

Finally, from the prebend texts we know that the *eššēšu*-ceremonies were not connected with one particular god but were apparently celebrated for many if not all important deities of Uruk. See for instance *OECT* 9, 61, obv. 5–10¹⁶⁸:

- 5 ... GIŠ.ŠUB.BA MU.MEŠ šá I[GI]
 6 [dLX] *An-tu*₄ dEN.LÍL dIDIM dXXX dUTU dIM dAMAR.UTU dPAP.SUK[KAL]
 7 [dINNIN] dGAŠAN.EDIN dNa-na-a dGAŠAN-šá-SAG dŠar-ra-a-*hi-tu*₄ u DINGIR.MEŠ
 8 [É-šú-n]u(?) GIŠ.ŠUB.BA MU.MEŠ šá ITI-us-su u MU.AN.NA-us-su gu- uq-qa-né-e
 9 [UD È]Š.ĒŠ.MEŠ u mim-ma gab-bi šá a-na GIŠ.ŠUB.BA.[MEŠ] MU.MEŠ
 10 [l¹⁰BAPPI]R-ú-tú ik-kaš-ši-du

⁴⁵ ... (amount) of these (brewer's) prebends, which are befo[re] ⁶[Anu], Antu, Enlil, Ea, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, Marduk, Papsuk[kal], ʾIštar, Bēlet-šēri, Nanāja, Bēlet-ša-Rēš, Šarraḫītu and (all) the gods ⁸of [thei]r [temples], these prebends, monthly and yearly, the *guqqû*-⁹(and) *eššēšu*-offerings and whatever ¹⁰pertains ⁹to these prebends of ¹⁰the brewer's, ...'

From Babylon we have only one reference to the ceremony in the ritual text which describes the New Year festival of the first month Nisannu. The relevant passage, only partly preserved, concerns day 5. In a speech from the high priest to the king the *eššēšu*-ceremony is mentioned just before the *pīt bābi*-ceremony¹⁶⁹ (*RAcc.*, 144–45, 434–40, see the Appendix):

⁴³⁴Do not fear [...] ⁴³⁵What Bēl has ordered [...] ⁴³⁶Bēl [will listen(?)] to your prayer [...] ⁴³⁷He will magnify your lordship [...] ⁴³⁸He will extol your kingship. ⁴³⁹At the *eššēšu*-day, do [...] ⁴⁴⁰At the opening of the gate ceremony, cleanse (with) [your] hands [...]'

II.3.3. *lubuštu*

The ritual clothing ceremonies of the divine statues (*lubuštu*)¹⁷⁰ are attested from the Old Akkadian period on.¹⁷¹ The ceremony is not mentioned in Assyrian rituals,¹⁷² but it is attested in the letter *LAS* I, 285,¹⁷³ where *lubuštu* is celebrated on day 3–VI for Bēl. *Lubuštu* is also recorded in administrative and ritual texts from the Neo-Babylonian period.

¹⁶⁶ Obv. 35 ff.

¹⁶⁷ 36 ff.

¹⁶⁸ 16–?–153 S.E., Demetrius (I).

¹⁶⁹ It is also interesting that in this text the *pīt bābi*-ceremony is mentioned, as in the above cited Uruk document J. Oppert, J. Ménant, *Doc. jur.*, no. 5 (see obv. 13).

¹⁷⁰ Cf. B. Landsberger, *Kult. Kalender*, 117 f.; G. Furlani, *Riti*, 161; E. Matsushima, in: H.I.H. Prince Takahito Mikasa (ed.), *Cult and Ritual in the Ancient Near East*, 7; id., in: E. Matsushima (ed.), *Official Cult and Popular Religion in the Ancient Near East*, 209–219; id., *ASJ* 16 (1994), 177–200.

For *lubuštu* referring to the 'clothing, wardrobe', and not the 'clothing ceremony', see the dictionaries. Three examples of the former from the Hellenistic period are *CT* 44, 84, AB 248 (= G.J.P. McEwan, *Iraq* 43 (1981), 143), obv. 14, and A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -261, C, rev. 11'.

¹⁷¹ *CAD*, L, 235, 4, and *AHW*, 561a, 2, d.

¹⁷² Cf. G. van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, 167.

¹⁷³ A, 6'. Dated to 670 B.C. by S. Parpola, *LAS* II, 282.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

The Neo-Babylonian period

In his dissertation, Bongenaar discussed the clothing ceremonies of Šamaš in Sippar.¹⁷⁴ BM 91002, a royal inscription of Nabû-apla-iddina (ninth century)¹⁷⁵ contains such regulations for days 7-I, 10-II, 3-VI, 7-VII, 15-VIII and 15-XII of the year; thus six ceremonies a year are listed. Bongenaar has demonstrated that these data are very similar to the data found in Neo-Babylonian administrative clothing texts from Sippar.¹⁷⁶ We will compare these numbers with relevant texts from Neo-Babylonian Uruk and Babylon.¹⁷⁷ One example, *BIN* 2, 129¹⁷⁷ reads:

- 1 15 BÂN 4 ŠILA ŠE.GIŠ.Ì
- 2 šá 8 iš-še-šá-a-ni EN lu-bu-uš-tú
- 3 šá ⁱⁱⁱGAN 4 šá ⁱⁱⁱAB
- 4 EN nab-re-e
- 5 4 šá ⁱⁱⁱZÍZ EN ba-a-a-[tu₄] Lo.E.
- 6 'DÙG.GA-IM-É.'AN.NA'
- 7 A' ⁱMU-^dAG¹⁷⁸ GIŠ

‘⁶Ṭāb-šār-Eanna ⁷son of Iddin-Nabû has brought ¹⁵*sūtu* 4 *qa* sesame ²for the 8 *eššēšu*-ceremonies including the clothing ceremony ³of the (ninth) month Kislīmu, 4 of the (tenth) month Ṭebētu ⁴including the *nabrû*-festival, ⁵⁴ of the (eleventh) month Šabaṭu including the *bajjātu*-ceremony’.

Table VI: clothing ceremonies (*lubuštu*) from Neo-Babylonian Uruk and Babylon¹⁷⁹

| number of <i>lubuštu</i> -ceremonies | date of <i>lubuštu</i> -ceremonies | place | text | date |
|---|---------------------------------------|-------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| – | VII | Uruk | <i>BIN</i> 1, 152 | 16-V-10 (Nbp) |
| – | V | Uruk | <i>BIN</i> 1, 152 | 16-V-10 (Nbp) |
| – | 1, 16-VI | Uruk | <i>BIN</i> 1, 152 | 16-V-10 (Nbp) |
| – | – | Uruk | <i>BIN</i> 1, 152 | 16-V-10 (Nbp) |
| – | – | Uruk | <i>YOS</i> 17, 79 | 27-VIII-17 (Nbk) |
| – | IX | Uruk | <i>BIN</i> 2, 129 | 15-VIII-19 (Nbk) |
| – | – | Uruk | <i>GC</i> 1, 60 | 15-V-20 (Nbk) |
| 5 | IV–VII | Uruk | <i>GC</i> 1, 242 | 12-VI-22 (Nbk) ¹⁸⁰ |
| – | – | Uruk | <i>LKU</i> , no. 47 | – |

¹⁷⁴ A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar temple at Sippar*, 305–7.

¹⁷⁵ See L. W. King, *BBst.* no. 36 and pl. 101. Cf. E. Matsushima, in: E. Matsushima (ed.), *Official Cult and Popular Religion in the Ancient Near East*, 211–13, 216–17.

¹⁷⁶ A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar temple at Sippar*, 306, presented a table with the relevant administrative clothing texts.

¹⁷⁷ 15-VIII-19, Nbk.

¹⁷⁸ Copy reads: GIŠ MU ^dAG. As E. Matsushima, *ASJ* 16 (1994), 197, already noted, this Ṭāb-šār-Eanna, son of Iddin-Nabû is already known from *YOS* 17, 175, 182, and 188.

¹⁷⁹ The list is not complete.

¹⁸⁰ 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR 5 BÂN ^{sim}LI šá 5 lu-bu-uš-še-e-ti TA ⁱⁱⁱŠU a-di ⁱⁱⁱDU, ⁱDÙ-^dINNIN A ^{lu}AZLAG it-ta-ši.

II.3. Monthly ceremonies

| number of <i>lubuštu</i> -ceremonies | date of <i>lubuštu</i> -ceremonies | place | text | date |
|---|---------------------------------------|---------|---------------------------------|------|
| — | 1-V | Uruk | <i>LKU</i> , no. 51 | — |
| — | 1-VI | Uruk | <i>LKU</i> , no. 51 | — |
| — | 1-VII | Uruk | <i>LKU</i> , no. 51 | — |
| — | 8-II | Uruk | <i>NCBT</i> 1132 ¹⁸¹ | — |
| (?) | 17-IV | Uruk | <i>NCBT</i> 1132 | — |
| — | 24-VIII | Uruk | <i>NCBT</i> 1132 | — |
| — | 28-X | Uruk | <i>NCBT</i> 1132 | — |
| — | 26-IX | Uruk | <i>NCBT</i> 1132 | — |
| — | 16 | Uruk | <i>NCBT</i> 1132 | — |
| — | 3-VI | Babylon | <i>ABL</i> 496 | — |

The texts, all but one (*ABL* 496) from Uruk, are administrative documents with the exception of *LKU*, nos. 47 and 51, which are ritual texts and *ABL* 496, which is a Neo-Babylonian letter from Babylon, recording a *lubuštu* for Bēl on day 3-VI. Other gods which are attested for the *lubuštu* are Nergal for days 8-II; 17-IV; 28-X, Gula for day 24-VIII, and Aška'itu and Nergal for day 26-IX.¹⁸² Furthermore a *lubuštu* for Šamaš and Aška'itu is recorded.¹⁸³ For the clothing ceremonies, oil,¹⁸⁴ sesame,¹⁸⁵ wool,¹⁸⁶ sheep,¹⁸⁷ and finally payments,¹⁸⁸ silver for *burāšu*-incense,¹⁸⁹ and *lubāru*-clothing are attested.¹⁹⁰

The evidence is scarce. From Uruk, especially informative is *NCBT* 1132, which mentions 8-II, 17-IV, 24-VIII, 26-IX, 28-X, and day 16 of an unknown month. It does not mention *lubuštu* in month I and VI, as in Sippar, but it does mention month IV (also in *GC* 1, 242), IX (also in *BIN* 2, 129) and X, which are not found in the Sippar calendar in BM 91002 (referred to above). Furthermore, the ritual text *LKU*, no. 51 records the first day of month V, VI, and VII, and day 1, together with day 16 of month VI, is also attested in *BIN* 1, 152. The days attested for the clothing ceremony in Uruk are very different from the Sippar days, but they do not allow us to establish a clear monthly schedule of days on which the ceremony was celebrated. Although *lubuštu* is, as we will see below, connected with the *hitpu*-offerings in prebend texts from Hellenistic Uruk, which are performed on days 6/7, 13/14, 20/21 and 27/28 of each month, the attested data for Neo-Babylonian Uruk do not match this *hitpu*-sequence. It is clear, however, that, while the ceremony was celebrated in Sippar during six months of the year, in Neo-Babylonian Uruk eight months are attested; whether *lubuštu* was celebrated during every month remains unclear for now.

¹⁸¹ Published by P.- A. Beaulieu, *ZA* 83 (1993), 81–86.

¹⁸² All in *NCBT* 1132.

¹⁸³ *BIN* 1, 152.

¹⁸⁴ *NCBT* 1132.

¹⁸⁵ *BIN* 2, 129.

¹⁸⁶ *YOS* 3, 49.

¹⁸⁷ *YOS* 17, 79.

¹⁸⁸ *BIN* 1, 152.

¹⁸⁹ *GC* 1, 242.

¹⁹⁰ *GC* 1, 60.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

As we saw, the only reference from Babylon, *ABL* 496, mentions day 3-VI, which is also attested in the letter *LAS* I, 285, and furthermore it is also one of the *lubuštu*-days in Sippar. Obviously this is not enough to draw any conclusions as regards the data of *lubuštu* in Babylon, but it may be an indication that the *lubuštu*-schedule in Babylon was more similar to that in Sippar than to that in Uruk.

The Hellenistic period

While from Hellenistic Babylon no references to *lubuštu* are known, the ceremony is well attested in texts from Hellenistic Uruk.¹⁹¹ The following gods are connected with the clothing ceremony: Antu;¹⁹² Anu, Enlil, Nanāja and Bēlet-ša-Rēš;¹⁹³ Anu, Antu and the great gods (*ilānu rabūtu*);¹⁹⁴ and Anu.¹⁹⁵ Apparently the ceremony was connected with all, or at least with the more important gods of the pantheon of Uruk, and was not confined to one god.

lubuštu is one of the ceremonies recorded in a list of offerings and ceremonies in the ritual text *TU* 38 (obv. 36, rev. 37), informing us that apparently loaves and cakes, and oxen and sheep were used during the ceremony.

Another reference to the clothing ceremonies is recorded in *TU* 48, a cultic calendar from Uruk,¹⁹⁶ which mentions day 20 of every month; this day is not attested in the Neo-Babylonian period.

lubuštu is also frequently mentioned in prebend texts from Hellenistic Uruk, but the dates of the days are never recorded. *OECT* 9, 40,¹⁹⁷ obv. 3 speaks of the clothing ceremonies for every year:

- 2 ... *mi-šil ina* ^{uzu}ZAG.LU UDU.NÍTA *šá ħi-it-pi*.MEŠ [...] (?)
3 [*šá lu*]-*bu-šá-a-tú gab-bi šá An-tu*₄ *šá MU-us-su gab-bi* ...

² ... one half of the shoulder in the sheep of the *ħitpu*-offerings [...] (?) ³[of all the clo]thing ceremonies of Antu for every year, all (of it) ...'.

All the relevant texts are *ērib bīt pirištūtu*- + *kutimmūtu*-prebend texts.¹⁹⁸ We already noted¹⁹⁹ that the reason for this is that the clothing ceremony is one of the income

¹⁹¹ Cf. G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 163–4.

¹⁹² *OECT* 9, 40.

¹⁹³ *OECT* 9, 50.

¹⁹⁴ *OECT* 9, 60.

¹⁹⁵ *TU* 48, obv. 14.

¹⁹⁶ Discussed in II.2.2.

¹⁹⁷ Date lost.

¹⁹⁸ *OECT* 9, 42, 45 // 46, 50, and 60. Other *ērib bīt pirištūtu* + *kutimmūtu* prebends do not mention *lubuštu*, but they are very damaged (*OECT* 9, 33; 44 (but with *ħitpu*); 51; 57; 68; *VS* 15, 37 (but with *ħitpu*)). Not damaged is *OECT* 9, 54 // 55, but this text is actually a quitclaim. *OECT* 9, 50, obv. 5–7, mentions the garments *kitū*, *šuppātu* and *ħušanātu*, besides *ħitapatū ša ana lubuštu*; which is a clear indication that the former were not mentioned in place of the latter in texts where *lubuštu* is missing. *OECT* 9, 40 may be a *kutimmūtu*-prebend (*šá* K1 ^{lu}KÜ.DIM.MEŠ, cf. G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 89) and also mentions the *ħitpu*-offerings of the *lubuštu*-ceremonies (obv. 2–3: *ħi-it-pi*.MEŠ [...] [*šá* ^{(u)g}*lu*]-*bu-šá-a-tú gab-bi šá An-tu*₄ ...).

¹⁹⁹ See II.3.1.

II.3. Monthly ceremonies

sources for these prebends; the goldsmith (*kutimmu*) was responsible for the ornaments and garments of the statues of the gods, stored in the *bīt pirišti*.

In these texts, *lubuštu* is mentioned in connection with the *hitpu*-offerings, using the phrase ‘the *hitpu*-offerings of (*ša*) the clothing ceremonies’; *ša* apparently has to be interpreted as ‘belonging to’, i.e. ‘offerings presented during the clothing ceremonies’. The reference to the ox in the New Year ritual text *TU* 39, obv. 12²⁰⁰ may refer, as McEwan has pointed out,²⁰¹ to the *hitpu*-offerings, because here these offerings are also mentioned in connection with *lubuštu*. However, in the prebend texts the *hitpu*-offerings always consist of sheep. In *OECT* 9, 60,²⁰² obv. 7 it is specifically stated that the *hitpu*-offerings are performed on the *lubuštu*-days:

- 6 ... 60-²ú ina GIŠ.ŠUB.BA ¹⁰KU₄ É AD.HAL-ú-tú
7 u ¹⁰KÙ.DIM-ú-tú šá ina UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ šá *hi-it-pi*.MEŠ šá ina u₄-mu lu-¹bu¹-šá-at.MEŠ
8 šá a-na ⁴LX An-tu₄ u DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ in-ip-pu-uš.MEŠ ¹E₁₁(?)¹-ú ...

⁶ ... one-sixtieth of the *ērib bīt pirištūtu*-⁷and *kutimmūtu*-prebends, in the sheep of the *hitpu*-offerings, which on the day(s) of the clothing ceremonies⁸ are offered to Anu, Antu and the great gods, are brought up(?) (to the table monthly) ...’.

Fossey has studied several texts belonging to a small archive of the Eanna-temple in Uruk, mostly dating from the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses (539–522), in which offerings of sheep and goats in the temple for each day of one particular month are described.²⁰³ Among these *hitpu*-offerings are often mentioned. As Beaulieu has shown,²⁰⁴ they involved the offering of a kid at average intervals of seven days, four times a month, usually on days 6/7, 13/14, 20/21 and 27/28 of each month. However, other days for these *hitpu*-offerings are also attested and apparently the inconsistency of the system was caused by the fact that the *hitpu*-offerings were tied to the four lunar phases. These phases varied from 6.75 to 7.75 days and this could explain the variety in the intervals between the ceremonies. Thus the *hitpu*-offerings, and also other cultic events like the clothing ceremony, could take place a day earlier or later than the average seven days interval date, and since *hitpu* and *lubuštu* appear to be connected in the Hellenistic prebend texts, they might have taken place on the same day.

Although the only certain monthly date for *lubuštu* from Hellenistic Uruk is 20-I/XII (*TU* 48), it does fit the schedule of the *hitpu*-days, and therefore it is not unlikely that the clothing ceremony in Hellenistic Uruk was performed on days 6/7, 13/14, 20/21 and 27/28 of each month. Similar to the *eššēšu*-ceremony, the fact that the days are not mentioned in the texts probably means that these were well-known and that it was not necessary to mention them.

²⁰⁰ See II.4.2.

²⁰¹ G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 164.

²⁰² 10-IV-153, Demetrius (I).

²⁰³ Ch. Fossey, *Etats mensuels d'animaux répartis pour sacrifices: époque néo-babylonienne*, *RES* 1936 (I) I–IX; W.W. Hallo, *HUCA* 48 (1977), 8–9; P.- A. Beaulieu, *ZA* 83 (1993), 80–81; in n. 32 he refers to a new study on this subject, which is being prepared by E. Robbins.

²⁰⁴ *ZA* 83 (1993), 80–81.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

Table VII: clothing ceremonies (*lubuštu*) from Hellenistic Uruk

| day/month | god(s) | text | date |
|-----------|------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| – | – | <i>TU</i> 38 | – |
| 20-I/XII | Anu | <i>TU</i> 48 | – |
| – | Antu | <i>OECT</i> 9, 40 | – |
| – | – | <i>OECT</i> 9, 42 | 14 + ?- XI-? |
| – | – | <i>OECT</i> 9, 45 //46 | 21-VI-111 (Antiochus and Antiochus) |
| – | Anu, Enlil, Nanāja Bēlet-ša-Rēš | <i>OECT</i> 9, 50 | 28-?-128, (Seleucus) |
| – | Anu, Antu, <i>ilānu rabūtu</i> | <i>OECT</i> 9, 60 | 10-IV-153, (Demetrius) |

II.3.4. *bajjātu*

bajjātu is a nocturnal ceremony, a vigil held during the night in the temple.²⁰⁵ The ceremony is not mentioned in the Assyrian rituals,²⁰⁶ but it is attested from the Neo-Babylonian period onwards, mainly in administrative documents from Uruk and Babylon.²⁰⁷

Table VIII: *bajjātu*-ceremonies from Neo-Babylonian Uruk and Babylon²⁰⁸

| day/month | place | text | date |
|-----------|---------|--|------------------------|
| – | Uruk | <i>BIN</i> 1, 152 | 10(?)-V(?)-16(?) (Nbp) |
| XI | Uruk | <i>BIN</i> 2, 129 | 15-VIII-19 (Nbk) |
| 17-IX | Uruk | <i>UCP</i> 9, 88, no. 23 | 17-IX-39 (Nbk) |
| VI | Uruk | <i>BIN</i> 1, 170 | 7-VI-33 (Nrgl) |
| – | Uruk | <i>YOS</i> 6, 39 | 5-X-3 (Nbn) |
| – | Uruk | <i>GC</i> 2, 371 | 23-XIIb-12 |
| – | Uruk | <i>AUWE</i> 5, 80 | – |
| – | Uruk | <i>SWU</i> , 27 | – |
| – | Uruk | <i>SWU</i> , 35 | – |
| – | Uruk | <i>SWU</i> , 37 | – |
| – | Uruk | <i>SWU</i> , 62 | – |
| – | Babylon | J. MacGinnis, <i>AfO</i> 38- 39 (1991–92), 89 | 2-?-26 (Dar) |
| III | Babylon | <i>VS</i> 6, 268 | – |

The *bajjātu*-ceremony is connected with the other monthly ceremonies, such as *lubuš-*

²⁰⁵ *CAD*, B, 34; *AHW*, 97a. Cf. G. Furlani, *Riti*, 141, 143.

²⁰⁶ Cf. G. van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, 168.

²⁰⁷ A rare example from Neo-Babylonian Sippar is *RT* 17, 31 (1-II-8, Kand), where sheep are for the offerings of, amongst others, the night vigil(s) (*ba-a-ta*).

²⁰⁸ The list is not complete. See also E.W. Moore, *Michigan Coll.*, 52, obv. 14, but the place where the tablet was written is not clear.

II.3. Monthly ceremonies

tu,²⁰⁹ *eššēšu*,²¹⁰ *šalām bīti*,²¹¹ and *nabrû*²¹² (not attested in texts from the Hellenistic period), and with the offerings *niqê šarri*, *niqê kārībi*, *ginû*, and *guqqû*,²¹³ which clearly demonstrates the monthly character of the ceremony. The foodstuffs which were presented for the ceremony consisted of bread and butter,²¹⁴ Dilmun dates,²¹⁵ Dilmun dates(?) and raisins,²¹⁶ sesame,²¹⁷ barley,²¹⁸ and meat.²¹⁹

The Hellenistic period

In texts from the Hellenistic period we have a few examples of *bajjātu*.²²⁰ The ceremony is attested in an administrative document, *CT* 49, 150, from Babylon. The text contains a list of temple expenditures; the relevant passage²²¹ mentions 4 shekels for the *bajjātu*-ceremony of day 16 of month IX, and day 3 of month XI.²²²

We only have a few examples from Uruk, and only in ritual texts, but they are important because they provide us with insight into the way the ceremony was performed. Firstly *bajjātu* is recorded in *TU* 38, in the above mentioned list recording several offerings and ceremonies;²²³ from this passage it becomes clear that loaves and cakes and oxen and sheep were apparently used during the ceremony. Secondly, in *TU* 39 we have a description of the vigil held during the night of days 9 and 10 of the seventh month Tašrītu, during the second New Year festival in Uruk: the relevant passage²²⁴ describes that in the evening of day 9 the second meal of the morning is cleared, and the first main meal of the evening is served. After a censer is filled, offerings presented, and a recitation is performed by the singers, this meal is cleared and the second meal of the evening is served. The singers perform the same recitation again, the second meal is not yet cleared, the vigil goes on the entire night, and the gate is closed:

‘9 ... (the meal) will not be cleared. The vigil will continue the entire night (*ba-a-a-at i-ba-at*). The gate will be closed’.

Then the description of day 10 begins: after two lamentations and the awakening of the temple ceremony (*dik bīti*) are performed, the gate is opened and the vigil ends:

‘11 At dawn the gate will be opened and the vigil will be ended (*ba-a-a-at DUḫ-ma*)’.

²⁰⁹ *BIN* 1, 152; *BIN* 2, 129.

²¹⁰ *BIN* 2, 129; J. MacGinnis, *AfO* 38–39 (1991–92), 89; *VS* 6, 268.

²¹¹ J. MacGinnis, *AfO* 38–39 (1991–92), 89; *VS* 6, 268.

²¹² *BIN* 2, 129.

²¹³ J. MacGinnis, *AfO* 38–39 (1991–92), 89; *GC* 2, 371. These offerings are discussed in III.7.2.

²¹⁴ *UCP* 9, 88, no. 23.

²¹⁵ *BIN* 1, 170; *YOS* 6, 39.

²¹⁶ *AUWE* 5, 80.

²¹⁷ *BIN* 2, 129.

²¹⁸ *SWU* 27; 35; 37; 62.

²¹⁹ *GC* 2, 371 (sheep); J. MacGinnis, *AfO* 38–39 (1991–92), 89 (oxen and sheep); *VS* 6, 268.

²²⁰ Cf. G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 161; 171.

²²¹ Rev. 44.

²²² See R.J. van der Spek, in: J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse*, 222 ff., who collated the text.

²²³ Obv. 37, rev. 37. See II.1.

²²⁴ Rev. 5 ff.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

The text continues with the description of the rest of day 10. After the serving of the two meals of the morning and the evening the gate is closed and the day ends.

An extensive description of a night vigil is recorded in *TU* 41. The text describes a special nocturnal festival held in the Rēš-temple of Anu during the vigil of days 16 and 17 of an unknown month, perhaps the tenth month Țebētu.²²⁵ The ceremonies celebrated during this night, including a procession with a torch, an extra meal, and a *šalām bīti*-ceremony, are probably ceremonies for a special occasion and were not performed during every vigil. These ceremonies will be discussed below,²²⁶ but the standard proceedings of the vigil are the same as in *TU* 39: the evening meal is served but not cleared away, the vigil continues the entire night (*ba-a-a-at i-ba-at*),²²⁷ and the gate is not closed. There is no mention of closing the gate at the end of the night,²²⁸ but in the morning of day 17, 40 minutes after sunrise the gate is opened again and the vigil ends (*ba-a-a-at DUḫ-ár*).²²⁹

Thus the only data that we have of *bajjātu* in the Hellenistic period are, from Uruk, for days 9-VII (*TU* 39) and 16-X(?) (*TU* 41), and from Babylon for days 16-IX and 3-XI (CT 49, 150). Because we only have one day from the Neo-Babylonian period, day 17-IX from Uruk (*UCP* 9, 88, no. 23), there is obviously not enough information to reconstruct the monthly schedule of *bajjātu*-days, although days 9 and 16 may indicate a schedule of seven days intervals, similar to the above discussed *hitpu*-offerings.²³⁰

II.3.5. *nubattu*

nubattu ‘vigil, evening’, but also ‘evening ceremony, evening meal’ is well known from the Neo-Assyrian period, especially in ritual texts and in the hemerological series *inbu bēl arḫim* (‘Fruit (= epithet of the moon god Sîn), lord of the month’).²³¹ As van Driel noted,²³² in the ritual texts *nubattu* was mostly used together with *šērtu* ‘morning’, and should be translated ‘evening meal’ and ‘morning meal’. In the *inbu*-series *nubattu* seems to refer to a ceremony which had to be performed on the evening before the day on which the *eššēšu*-ceremony was celebrated; attested days are 3, 7 and 16, dedicated to Marduk, followed by the *eššēšu*-ceremony on the days 4, 8 and 17 of the month, dedicated to Nabû.

The Hellenistic period

While from the Neo-Babylonian period examples of *nubattu* with the meaning ‘evening ceremonies’ are not known, in the Hellenistic rituals only one example is (perhaps) attested, in *TU* 40, obv. 10–11. The section, from which this passage is taken, describes

²²⁵ See I.2.

²²⁶ The text is discussed more extensively in II.8.6.

²²⁷ Obv. 13.

²²⁸ See my comment on rev. 26 in the Appendix.

²²⁹ Rev. 28–9.

²³⁰ See II.3.3.

²³¹ *CAD*, N/11, 307–8; *AHw*, 799–800; see also *CAD*, E, 373b; S. Langdon, *Menologies*, 153–4, n. 1. For the series *inbu bēl arḫim* see the literature referred to in I.2, n. 11. For *nubattu* see B. Landsberger, *Kult. Kalender*, 108–9.

²³² *Cult of Aššur*, 156–7.

day 9 of the seventh month, Tašrītu, during the second New Year festival in Uruk (see the Appendix):

‘¹⁰The sheep, which since the evening (ceremonies?) (*nu-bat-tu₄*) [was tied(?) to] the gate of the [Grant(?)] Courtyard, ¹¹its rites as for the eighth day ditto’.

Whether *nubattu* has to be translated here ‘evening ceremony/ies’, or simple ‘evening’, ‘vigil’, is difficult to determine. It is, however, clear that no connection can be made with the data of the Neo-Assyrian texts, unless day 9 is an alternative day for day 8. Because we have no other examples from the Hellenistic period, it is not even certain whether *TU* 40, obv. 10–11 refers to a monthly ceremony, on this occasion performed during the New Year festival, or a special celebration, taking place only during the New Year festival.

II.3.6. *šalām bīti*

The ceremony called *šalām bīti*²³³ is best translated: ‘the good-functioning (or completion) of the temple’ ceremony.²³⁴ I do not know of arguments which support the translation ‘greeting of the temple’ or ‘early morning ceremonies’,²³⁵ and my translation is based on the basic meaning of the verb *šalāmu* ‘to stay well, to be in good condition, intact’. Furthermore, in a ritual from Hellenistic Uruk, *TU* 39, rev. 5 and 8–9, an Akkadian lamentation incipit is recorded, which may support this interpretation, although the translation is difficult:

É *i-šal-lim* SILIM^{im}.MA.ÁB(?)

‘the temple will stay intact, keep it safe!’(?).

The interpretation of the incipit is based on the idea, that the temple will not be destroyed, or that it will be restored, and must be kept safe and sound. This lamentation incipit appears to refer to the *šalām bīti*-ceremony, hence my translation: ‘the good-functioning of the temple’.²³⁶

The Neo-Babylonian period

While we have only a few references to the ceremony in texts from the Neo-Assyrian period,²³⁷ many data are available from texts of the Neo-Babylonian period. In his dissertation, Bongenaar has discussed the *šalām bīti*-ceremony for Šamaš and other

²³³ Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 16 (1919), 132, n. 10; G. Furlani, *Riti*, 147; A.B. Moldenke, 2, no. 48, 135, n. 5; F. Joannès, *Textes économiques*, 212.

²³⁴ Cf. *AHW*, *šalāmu*, 1144a, 6, ‘erhalten bleiben’, b, ‘in Function bleiben’; and id., *epēšu*, 225b, h: ‘(Hausvollendung)’. See also *GC* 1, 27, n. 1; G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 166 does not translate, but states that the ceremony ‘seemingly was concerned with insuring the continued well-being of the temple’.

²³⁵ *CAD*, Š/1, 202b. A.R. George, *BTT*, 222, n. 3, probably follows *CAD* since he states that the ceremony ‘is apparently an exuberant greeting of the city’s temples in anticipation of the feast-day ahead’.

²³⁶ See also my comments on this incipit in the Appendix.

²³⁷ Cf. G. van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, 168. See also the letter S. Parpola, *LAS* I, 280 (*ABL* 437), rev. 17.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

gods in Neo-Babylonian Sippar.²³⁸ It appears to be so that in Sippar thirteen *šalām bīti*-ceremonies for the whole year were celebrated on: 2-I, 6-I, 10-I, 12-II, 14-II, 19/20?-II, 12-III, 20-III, 8-VII, 18?-VIII, 27-VIII, 20-XII and 25-XII. However, it is not certain whether the ceremonies for Šamaš and the other gods took place on the same day. We will compare these days in Sippar with the data from Neo-Babylonian Uruk and Babylon.

Table IX: *šalām bīti*-ceremonies from Neo-Babylonian Uruk and Babylon²³⁹

| day/month | place | text | date |
|-------------------------|---------|--|----------------------------|
| – | Uruk | F. Thureau-Dangin, <i>RA</i> 16 (1919), 125 | 20-I-2 (Marduk-zākir-šumi) |
| – | Uruk | <i>GC</i> 1, 12 | 14-V-9 (Nbk) |
| – | Uruk | <i>GC</i> 1, 198 | 12-XI-39 (Nbk) |
| 8 ²⁴⁰ | Uruk | <i>GC</i> 1, 203 | 7-I-41 (Nbk) |
| – | Uruk | <i>AUWE</i> 5, 145 ²⁴¹ | 8-IX-1 (Amel-Marduk) |
| – | Uruk | HE 145 ²⁴² | 1-XII-6 (Nbn) |
| – | Uruk | <i>YOS</i> 6, 62 | 6-XII-6 (Nbn) |
| – | Uruk | <i>GC</i> 1, 379 | 15-I-10 (Nbn) |
| 8-IX | Uruk | <i>YOS</i> 6, 192 | 7-IX-15 (Nbn) |
| 8-VII | Uruk | <i>YOS</i> 6, 189 | 8-VII-17 (Nbn) |
| – | Uruk | <i>YOS</i> 7, 185 | 15-XI-6 (Camb) |
| – | Uruk | <i>OECT</i> 1, 20 ²⁴³ | – |
| – | Uruk | <i>BIN</i> 1, 19 | – |
| – | Babylon | <i>VS</i> 5, 74 // 75 | 24-I-11 (Dar) |
| – | Babylon | J. MacGinnis, <i>AfO</i> 38- 39 (1991–92), 89 | 2-x-26 (Dar) |
| 8-VII | Babylon | <i>VS</i> 6, 268 | – |
| 5(?) ²⁴⁴ -IX | Babylon | <i>VS</i> 6, 268 | – |

In texts from Neo-Babylonian Uruk and Babylon the ceremony is mentioned together with the *bajjātu*- and *eššēšu*-ceremonies,²⁴⁵ and with the *ginû*-, *guqqû*-, *niqê šarri*-, and *niqê kāribi*-offerings.²⁴⁶ We already referred to the letter *LASI*, 280 where the connection between the *eššēšu*- and the *šalām bīti*-ceremony is attested.²⁴⁷ The connection with

²³⁸ A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar temple at Sippar*, 120–122. Add: Graziani, *Bardiya*, 25 (10-VI-1), where the ceremony is attested for the first month Nisannu, *BRM* 1, 100, with months XII and I, and *VS* 6, 169 (Dar). We also have two examples from Dilbat: *VS* 5, 161 (28-I-11, Dar), and *VS* 5, 76 (28-VI-13, Dar). Where A.B. Moldenke thought, 2, 48 (22-VII-4, Nbn) was written is not clear.

²³⁹ The list is not complete.

²⁴⁰ *CAD*, Š/1, 203a cites the relevant lines obv. 6–7 (*a-na šá-lam É šá UD.8.KAM*) and mistakenly adds: ‘(of Nisannu)’, perhaps because the text was written in the first month Nisannu?

²⁴¹ Obv. 6-rev. 7: ‘1 *ma-aq-qu-ú* GUŠKIN(?) *šu*’(-*ul*?)*-lum É*’.

²⁴² = F. Joannès, *RA* 75 (1981), 144.

²⁴³ = G.J.P. McEwan, *Iraq* 45 (1983), 190, 85.

²⁴⁴ Mistake for 8?

²⁴⁵ *VS* 6, 268; J. MacGinnis, *AfO* 38–39 (1991–92), 89.

²⁴⁶ J. MacGinnis, *AfO* 38–39 (1991–92), 89.

²⁴⁷ Rev. 16–18. See II.3.2.

II.4. Annual ceremonies

these monthly-occurring cultic activities clearly shows that *šalām bīti* is also a monthly ceremony. For the *šalām bīti*-ceremonies, flour,²⁴⁸ meat,²⁴⁹ vessels,²⁵⁰ and payments²⁵¹ are attested.

Because we only have a few data for the ceremony, it is not possible to say much about the schedule of the *šalām bīti*-days in Neo-Babylonian Uruk and Babylon. It is interesting however, that of the five data that we have, four concern day 8, and that only months VII and IX are attested. *GC* 1, 203 from Uruk records day 8, but does not mention the month; *YOS* 6, 192 and 189 mention days 8-IX and 8-VII. *VS* 6, 268 from Babylon mentions two *šalām bīti*-ceremonies (*ina 2 ša-lam É*), one on day 8-VII and one on 5-VII, but the latter may well be a mistake for day 8.

It is clear that the Sippar-schedule does not completely agree with our data: *YOS* 6, 192 (Uruk) and *VS* 6, 268 (Babylon) mention month IX, which is not attested in the Sippar-texts, but the other days (8-VII in *YOS* 6, 189 and *VS* 6, 268) do agree with them.

The Hellenistic period

The *šalām bīti*-ceremony is attested only once in texts from the Hellenistic period;²⁵² in *TU* 41, rev. 16, the *šangû*-priests and the temple enterers (*ērib bīti*) perform the ceremony in the Rēš-temple of Anu in Uruk during the vigil preceding day 17 of (perhaps) the tenth month Ṭebētu²⁵³ (see the Appendix):

‘¹⁴ ... The *šangû*-priests of the temples of Tiranna (and) secondly the temple enterers (*ērib bīti*) of all the temples ¹⁵will kindle a fire from the torch and they will carry (it) to their temple. Then ¹⁶they will perform the the good-functioning of the temple ceremony (*šá-lam É*). They will kindle a brushwood pile at the gates of their temple’.

Day 17-X is not attested in texts from Neo-Babylonian Uruk and Babylon.

II.4. Annual ceremonies

The Babylonian year consisted of twelve months. However, because a lunar year of twelve months consists of 354 days, the lunar year is eleven days shorter than the solar year with 365.25 days. For this reason after c. 600 B.C. a series of second Ulūlus and second Addarus had to be added, that is seven months in every cycle of nineteen years.²⁵⁴ Based on the agricultural cycle, the year started around the time of the spring

²⁴⁸ *GC* 1, 12; 198; 203; A.B. Moldenke, 2, 48; *BIN* 1, 19.

²⁴⁹ *OECT* 1, 20, J. MacGinnis, *AfO* 38–39 (1991–92), 89; *VS* 6, 268.

²⁵⁰ F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 16 (1919), 125; *AUWE* 5, 145; HE 145 (F. Joannès, *RA* 75 [1981], 144); *YOS* 6, 62; 192; 189; *YOS* 7, 185.

²⁵¹ *GC* 1, 379.

²⁵² Cf. G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 166.

²⁵³ See I.2.

²⁵⁴ Cf. O. Neugebauer, *JNES* 1 (1942), 400 f.; R.A. Parker, W.H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 662 B.C.–A.D. 75*, Providence, 1956, 2 f.; R. Borger, *JEOL* 18 (1964), 326–7; S. Smith, *Iraq* 31 (1969), 74 ff.; C.B.F. Walker, H. Hunger, *MDOG* 109 (1977), 33; A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, vol. I, 13 ff.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

equinox.²⁵⁵ While the first month of the civil year is Nisannu, beginning around the middle of March,²⁵⁶ and ending around the middle of April, the religious year began in the seventh month Tašrītu (September/October);²⁵⁷ as we will see, for this reason two New Year festivals were celebrated, one in Nisannu and one in Tašrītu.²⁵⁸ The year ended with the month Addaru, around February/March.

During the Babylonian cultic year ceremonies were celebrated, which occurred only on a fixed (number of) day(s) of a particular month. The most important and well-known annual ceremonies were celebrated during the New Year festival. However, there were more, of which we often know only very little.

In this section the unspecified ceremonies, recorded in legal documents from Hellenistic Uruk concerned with prebend shares, will be discussed first, followed by the clothing ceremonies, the processions, and the divine marriage ceremonies. Then we will turn our attention to the New Year festivals of Uruk and Babylon, as known from texts from the Hellenistic period. Also, the brazier festivals will be discussed. Finally, all the collected data are brought together in two cultic calendars, one for Uruk, and one for Babylon.

II.4.1. *Unspecified annual ceremonies*²⁵⁹

Uruk

While the monthly ceremonies are usually not dated, the annual ceremonies often were given an exact date by referring to the day and month on which they were performed; often the text specifically adds: *šattussu* ‘every year, yearly’. In Hellenistic legal documents concerning prebend shares from Uruk a ceremony is recorded for Papsukkal on day 17 of Tašrītu,²⁶⁰ a ceremony for Antu on day 8 of Addaru, and a ceremony for Bēlet-šēri on day 10 of Addaru.

²⁵⁵ The *rēš šatti* (SAG MU.AN.NA) ‘beginning of the year’ was either the period between approximately 15-XII and 15-I (cf. E.F. Weidner, *Handbuch*, 82 f.), or, more likely, the ‘New Year’s day’ (cf. S. Parpola, *LAS* II, 15 and 54).

²⁵⁶ In the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods day 1-I fell approximately 14 days after the equinox (with variations of course), cf. H. Hunger, *WZKM* 67 (1975), 27.

²⁵⁷ *rēš šatti* could also refer to the seventh month, cf. E.F. Weidner, *Handbuch*, 83 and S. Parpola, *LAS* II, 187. In ancient Israel a New Year in the first month Nisan and in the seventh month Tišri were also known, cf. A.J. Wensinck, *Acta Or.* 1 (1923), 168. A. Cavigneaux and F. Al-Rawi, *Iraq* 55 (1993), 96 f. noted an interesting parallel between Babylonia and Israel: in Babylonia the writing of the tablets of fates for the whole coming year on day 7-VII is paralleled in Israel by the sealing of the destinies at the same time of the year, on Yom Kippur. A Syrian text identifies Nisan as the ‘beginning of the months’ and Tišri as the ‘beginning of the year’, cf. S.P. Brock, *JSS* 30 (1985), 186. Also the Romans originally had two moments when the year began: the Idus of March and the Saturnalia in December, cf. H.S. Versnel, *Triumphus. An inquiry into the origin, development and meaning of the Roman triumph*, Leiden, 1970, 228. Note that the Akkadian name for the seventh month, Tašrītu, means ‘beginning’, cf. W.G. Lambert, *NABU* 1989, no. 90.

²⁵⁸ See II.4.5.

²⁵⁹ For the unspecified monthly celebrated ceremonies see II.3.1.

²⁶⁰ Cf. P.-A. Beaulieu, *ASJ* 14 (1992), 60 f.

II.4. Annual ceremonies

Table X: unspecified annual ceremonies from prebend texts of Hellenistic Uruk²⁶¹

| date | god | text/date |
|--------|------------|---|
| 17-VII | Papsukkal | <i>OECT</i> 9, 40; 42 (14 + x-XI-x, Sel); 44 (6-VII-x, Ant and Ant); 45 // 46 (21-VI-111, Ant [III] and Ant); 60 (10-IV-153, Dem [I]) |
| 8-XII | Antu | <i>OECT</i> 9, 40; 42 (14 + x-XI-x, Sel); 44 (6-VII-x, Ant and Ant); 45 // 46 (21-VI-111, Ant [III] and Ant); 60 (10-IV-153, Dem [I]); 68 |
| 10-XII | Bēlet-šēri | <i>OECT</i> 9, 44 (6-VII-x, Ant and Ant); 60 (10-IV-153, Dem [I]) |

The foodstuffs which are presented here consist of ox, fowl and lamb,²⁶² ox, sheep, fowl, lamb and parched barley,²⁶³ or only fowl.²⁶⁴ Interestingly fowl is presented on these annual ceremonies, while it is not attested for the unspecified monthly ceremonies.²⁶⁵

Several more ceremonies are known, the nature of which is often not clear. Because the data are all from calendar texts, we must assume that all ceremonies collected here were celebrated yearly. Only a few are known from Uruk: five ceremonies on day 10 [+ x], 22, 26, 27 and 29 of the eleventh month Šabaṭu are attested in the calendar text K 3753,²⁶⁶ but because of the damaged state of the passage the context is difficult.

Babylon

Most of the ceremonies come from Babylon, and all are attested in the calendar texts *SBH* VII // *BRM* 4, 25 and *SBH* VIII. However the relevant passages are often damaged, and the context of the attested ceremonies is in many cases difficult. Of the many references to ceremonies, often together with offerings, we will list here those which can form part of the cultic calendar.²⁶⁷ We will enumerate the ceremonies in a chronological order.

A ceremony with Nabû in the (temple) garden on day 6 of the second month Ajjaru²⁶⁸ is known, followed by a ceremony of Nabû on day 7 of Ajjaru in the garden of Anu, situated in Emeurur, which is probably the temple of Nanāja at Babylon.²⁶⁹

²⁶¹ Perhaps two more unspecified (annual?) ceremonies are recorded in *OECT* 9, 40, but the relevant passage is damaged; first a ceremony for Antu in the first month Nisannu (obv. 3–4): 3. *ina* ^uBAR [...] 4. [...] ^{sim}LI *ù* 1-*en* GEŠTIN¹ *šu-up-pe-ti šā* ^{gis}tal-lu *šā* An-tu₄ ‘³in Nisannu [...] ⁴from the juniper and one(?) (amount of?) wine, carded wool(?) for the carrying pole of Antu’. Secondly a ceremony for Antu in the seventh month Tašrītu (obv. 5–6): 5. [...] *ina* ^uDU₆ ... (the copy reads 70, which must be a mistake) 1/2 SĪLA ^{sim}LI *ù* 1-*en* GEŠTIN¹ *šu-up-pe-ti šā* ^{gis}tal-lu 6. [*šā* A]n-tu₄ ... ‘⁵[...] in Tašrītu ... and a half *qū*(?) juniper and one (amount of?) wine, carded wool(?) for the carrying pole ⁶[of A]ntu ...’.

²⁶² *OECT* 9, 40; 42.

²⁶³ *OECT* 9, 45 // 46; 60.

²⁶⁴ *OECT* 9, 68.

²⁶⁵ See II.3.1.

²⁶⁶ III, 3; 5; 6; 9.

²⁶⁷ See II.4.7.

²⁶⁸ *SBH* VIII, II, 22: UD.6.KAM *ana qé-reb* ^{gis}KIRI₆ *uš-te-ša-am-ma ú-kal-lam x* [...] ‘On day 6 he is brought out to the garden and discloses [...]’.

²⁶⁹ *SBH* VIII, II, 23–4: UD.7.KAM *ana É.ME.UR.UR uš-te-šir ana É.AN.NA el-[li] ana* ^{gis}KIRI₆ *uš-ša-a ana* ^{gis}KIRI₆ *ḏA-nù i-ru-um-ma uš-šā-b[u(?)]* [...] ‘On day 7 he marches on to Emeurur, to pure Eanna, he goes out to the garden, enters the garden of Anu and [they(?)] sit’. For Emeurur see A.R. George, *House Most High*, 126, no. 794.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

Bēlet-ilī celebrated a ceremony on day 15 of the third month Simānu,²⁷⁰ and a ceremony of Nabû and an unknown god was held on day 22 of Simānu.²⁷¹

On day 18 of the eighth month Araḥsamna a ceremony with offerings for Šamaš and others in various temples, including a procession and a ceremony with a brazier (*kinūnu*) is recorded,²⁷² and on day 25-VIII, a ceremony with offerings for Zababa of Kiš and furthermore for the city Isin and the temple Esabad, including a ceremony with the *abgalgunnu*-drum and the kettledrum (*lilissu*).²⁷³

We also know of several ceremonies of the ninth month Kislīmu, which all include offerings for a certain deity: for Marduk, Zarpanītu and others on day 4-IX;²⁷⁴ which is confirmed by a reference to a ceremony before Marduk on the same day elsewhere;²⁷⁵ for Enlils (dEN.LÍL.MEŠ) and Adads (dIM.MEŠ), and others on day 6/7-IX;²⁷⁶ for Lugalbanda on day 8-IX;²⁷⁷ for Lugalasal (Bēl-šarbatī), including a ceremony with braziers on day 9-IX;²⁷⁸ for Ea and others, including a ceremony with the *halḥallatu*-drum on day 10-IX;²⁷⁹ for Ištar of Babylon on day 12-IX;²⁸⁰ for Anunītu and Šarrat-Sippar of Babylon on day 13-IX;²⁸¹ for Ašratu on day 14-IX;²⁸² for Anaššat(?)²⁸³ and Bēlet-Agade on day 15-IX;²⁸⁴ for Nabû and others, including a ceremony with braziers, on day 16/17-IX;²⁸⁵ which is confirmed by another reference to a ceremony for Nabû on day 17 elsewhere;²⁸⁶ for Uraš, including a ceremony with a brazier on day 22-IX;²⁸⁷ for Lugalmar(a)da and others on day 25-IX;²⁸⁸ and for Nergal on day 28/9-IX.²⁸⁹

Finally, for day 10 of the tenth month Ṭebētu a ceremony with offerings for Palil, including a ceremony with braziers, is attested.²⁹⁰

²⁷⁰ *SBH* VIII, III, 6 ff.: 6.TA UD.15.KAM E[N ...] 7. šá dBe-let-DINGIR.MEŠ x [...] ‘From day 15 t[ill ...] of Bēlet-ilī ... [...].’

²⁷¹ *SBH* VIII, III, 2 ff.: UD.22.[KAM ...] dAG u d[...] ‘On day 22 [...] Nabû and [...]’.

²⁷² *BRM* 4, 25, obv. 4–10. See II.4.6.

²⁷³ *SBH* VII, obv. 1–7 // *BRM* 4, 25, obv. 11–17.

²⁷⁴ *SBH* VII, obv. 8 f. // *BRM* 4, 25, obv. 18 f.

²⁷⁵ *SBH* VIII, V, 9 ff. G. Çağırhan, *Festivals*, 169–70, concluded that col. V is concerned with the tenth month Ṭebētu. However, although this may be true for the last part of the column (35 ff.; the directly preceding lines are damaged), the preceding part must deal with month Kislīmu (the 28th day of this month is mentioned in line 28).

²⁷⁶ *SBH* VII, obv. 10 f. // *BRM* 4, 25, obv. 20 ff.

²⁷⁷ *SBH* VII, obv. 12 // *BRM* 4, 25, obv. 25.

²⁷⁸ *SBH* VII, obv. 13 // *BRM* 4, 25, obv. 26 ff.

²⁷⁹ *SBH* VII, obv. 14 ff. // *BRM* 4, 25, rev. 30 ff.

²⁸⁰ *SBH* VII, obv. 17 // *BRM* 4, 25, rev. 36.

²⁸¹ *SBH* VII, obv. 18 // *BRM* 4, 25, rev. 37.

²⁸² *BRM* 4, 25, rev. 38.

²⁸³ Cf. E. Unger, *Babylon*, 137; K. Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta*, 262.

²⁸⁴ *SBH* VII, obv. 19 // *BRM* 4, 25, rev. 39 f.

²⁸⁵ *SBH* VII, obv. 20 f. // *BRM* 4, 25, rev. 41 f.

²⁸⁶ *SBH* VIII, V, 21 ff.

²⁸⁷ *SBH* VII, obv. 22 // *BRM* 4, 25, rev. 46.

²⁸⁸ *SBH* VII, obv. 23 f. // *BRM* 4, 25, rev. 47 f.

²⁸⁹ *SBH* VII, obv. 25 // *BRM* 4, 25, rev. 49.

²⁹⁰ *BRM* 4, 25, rev. 50 ff.

From Babylon an (annual?) ceremony or festival, elsewhere unknown, in the temple of Nergal on day 15 of an unknown month is attested in the administrative text *CT* 49, 187, obv. 4': UD.15.KAM *ak-ka-di-ia šá* É dU.GUR ‘On day 15 a cock of the temple of Nergal’. Cf. W. von Soden, *OrNS* 46 (1977), 184, no. 173.

II.4. Annual ceremonies

Table XI: unspecified annual ceremonies from Hellenistic Uruk and Babylon

| date | god(s) | place | text |
|-------------|---------------------------|------------------------|--|
| 10 [+ x]-XI | — | Uruk | K 3753 |
| 22-XI | — | Uruk | K 3753 |
| 26-XI | — | Uruk | K 3753 |
| 27-XI | — | Uruk | K 3753 |
| 29-XI | — | Uruk | K 3753 |
| 6-II | Nabû | Babylon | <i>SBH</i> VIII |
| 7-II | Nabû | Babylon | <i>SBH</i> VIII |
| 15-III | Bēlet-ilī | Babylon | <i>SBH</i> VIII |
| 22-III | — | Babylon | <i>SBH</i> VIII |
| 18-VIII | Šamaš | Babylon ²⁹¹ | <i>BRM</i> 4, 25 |
| 25-VIII | Zababa, Isin | Babylon ²⁹¹ | <i>SBH</i> VII // <i>BRM</i> 4, 25 |
| 4-IX | Marduk, Zarpanītu | Babylon ²⁹¹ | <i>SBH</i> VII // <i>BRM</i> 4, 25; <i>SBH</i> VIII |
| 6/7-IX | Enlils, Adads | Babylon ²⁹¹ | <i>SBH</i> VII // <i>BRM</i> 4, 25 |
| 8-IX | Lugalbanda | Babylon ²⁹¹ | <i>SBH</i> VII // <i>BRM</i> 4, 25 |
| 9-IX | Lugalasal | Babylon ²⁹¹ | <i>SBH</i> VII // <i>BRM</i> 4, 25 |
| 10-IX | Ea | Babylon ²⁹¹ | <i>SBH</i> VII // <i>BRM</i> 4, 25 |
| 12-IX | Ištar | Babylon ²⁹¹ | <i>SBH</i> VII // <i>BRM</i> 4, 25 |
| 13-IX | Anunītu, Šarrat-Sippar | Babylon ²⁹¹ | <i>SBH</i> VII // <i>BRM</i> 4, 25 |
| 14-IX | Ašratu | Babylon ²⁹¹ | <i>BRM</i> 4, 25 |
| 15-IX | Anaššat(?) | Babylon ²⁹¹ | <i>SBH</i> VII // <i>BRM</i> 4, 25 |
| 16/17-IX | Nabû | Babylon ²⁹¹ | <i>SBH</i> VII // <i>BRM</i> 4, 25; <i>SBH</i> VIII |
| 22-IX | Uraš | Babylon ²⁹¹ | <i>SBH</i> VII // <i>BRM</i> 4, 25 |
| 25-IX | Lugalmar(a)da | Babylon ²⁹¹ | <i>SBH</i> VII // <i>BRM</i> 4, 25 |
| 28/29-IX | Nergal | Babylon ²⁹¹ | <i>SBH</i> VII // <i>BRM</i> 4, 25 |
| 10-X | Palil | Babylon ²⁹¹ | <i>BRM</i> 4, 25 |

II.4.2. Annual clothing ceremonies

While the data from the Neo-Babylonian and Hellenistic periods usually refer to the regularly celebrated monthly clothing ceremonies,²⁹² there is some evidence from Hellenistic Uruk and Babylon that *lubuštu* was also celebrated yearly on special occasions, as for example during the New Year festival,²⁹³ although due to lack of information the ‘annual’ character of the ceremony is not always certain.

Uruk

We know of several clothing ceremonies from Uruk, which may have been celebrated only occasionally.

²⁹¹ And neighbouring towns/cities, see A.R. George, *BTT*, 222, n. 4.

²⁹² For the monthly celebrated *lubuštu*-ceremony see II.3.3.

²⁹³ Cf. G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 164.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

The ritual text *TU* 39, describing the New Year festival of the seventh month Tašrītu, refers to several gods being robed (*nalbušu*) on days 1 and 6 (obv. 1 and 6), and then records in a summarised version the clothing ceremonies (*lubuštu*) of Anu, Antu and Ištar on the seventh day of the festival; the passage also mentions clothing ceremonies which are performed before the *guqqû*-offerings (obv. 11–13):

¹¹As to the cella: the clothing ceremonies (¹²*lu-bu-ša-at*) of Anu and Antu and the clothing ceremonies of Ištar. ¹²The setting in place of the ox. (Inside the room) between the curtains: songs by the singer and the lamentation priest. ¹³(The presentation of) *guqqû*-offerings which follow the clothing ceremonies (¹⁴*lu-bu-uš-tu₄*) and (the presentation of) the *siltu*-food (offerings). The consecration of the temple’.

A clothing ceremony of Anu and Adad on day 3 of the sixth month Ulūlu is recorded in the calendar text K 3753.²⁹⁴ Furthermore *CLBT*, pl. 1 contains, in obscure context, a reference to a clothing ceremony.²⁹⁵ W 18728²⁹⁶ does not contain clothing ceremonies but gives instructions for the clothing of various cultic functionaries, including several priests,²⁹⁷ and the king.²⁹⁸ The text probably deals with clothing instructions for a special festival, because of a reference to ‘the second day’ (*ina 2-i u₄-m[u ...]*),²⁹⁹ so apparently refers to a festival lasting several days.³⁰⁰ No data are mentioned.

Babylon

From Babylon four clothing ceremonies are attested in the calendar text *SBH* VIII: a clothing ceremony of Marduk presumably on day 8 of the first month Nisannu, during the New Year festival,³⁰¹ a clothing ceremony of Nabû for the divine marriage ceremony on the second day of the second month Ajjaru,³⁰² a clothing ceremony perhaps of Marduk on day 3 of the ninth month Kislīmu,³⁰³ and a clothing ceremony of an unknown god on day 16 of Kislīmu.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁴ E. Weidner, *GDBT*, pl. 11, 1, 7: UD.3.KAM ⁴A-nu u ⁴IM *te-di-iq in-na-an-di-qu-*’ *nu-um-mu-ru zi-mu-šū-nu* ‘On the third day (of Ulūlu) Anu and Adad are clothed with fine attire, their appearance is shining’.

²⁹⁵ I, 19: [... *l*]u₄(?) *a-na te-di-iq la-biṣ* ‘[...] he is robed with fine attire’.

²⁹⁶ A Falkenstein, *UVB* 15 (1959), 40–44, and pl. 29, 34.

²⁹⁷ Obv. 5 ff.

²⁹⁸ Rev. 8 ff.

²⁹⁹ Obv. 4’.

³⁰⁰ Cf. A. Falkenstein, *UVB* 15 (1959), 40. Perhaps we should connect these clothing instructions with the New Year festival, see rev. 8’: *lu-bu-uš-tu₄* LUGAL *ša ina ṣa-bat ŠU¹¹ DINGIR.MEŠ il-lab-biṣ* ‘clothing of the king, which he will wear when he takes the gods by the hands’; the phrase *qātē ṣabātu* is well-known, especially in texts describing the New Year festival. For this phrase see my comments on *TU* 39, obv. 27 in the Appendix. On the other hand, the passage describing the clothing instructions for the lamentation priest with references to *lubāru*-clothing and the kettledrum (obv. 10’ff.) reminds us of the third version of the lunar eclipse ritual, dealing with the duties of the lamentation priest during this ritual, where the *lubāru*-clothing and the kettledrum are also mentioned. See II.7.3.

³⁰¹ II, 3: [... *l*]e-di-iq be-lu-ti-šū in-na-an-di-iq i-na-áš(-ši) me-lam-mu ‘he is clothed with fine attire of his Lordship, he bears the *melammu*-splendor’. See also II.4.5.2.

³⁰² II, 15: ⁴AG *ša ḥa-da-áš-šu-tu in-na-an-di-iq te-di-iq* ⁴A-nu-tu ‘Nabû in (his) status as bridegroom is clothed with fine attire of Anuship’. For the divine marriage ceremony see II.4.4.

³⁰³ V, 8: UD.3.KAM [*l*]e-di-iq be-lu-tu [*in-na-an-di-iq(?)*] ‘On the third day (of Kislīmu) [he (= Marduk?) is clothed] with fine attire of Lordship [...]’.

³⁰⁴ V, 19 f.: UD.16.KAM *te-di-iq be-lu-tu in-[na-an-di-iq ...]* ‘On the sixteenth day (of Kislīmu) he [is

II.4. Annual ceremonies

In the Esagila-ritual performed during the ninth month Kislīmu, BM 32206 +, several clothing ceremonies are recorded: a clothing ceremony of/by the *dumuniglala*-priest³⁰⁵ on day 3 of Kislīmu;³⁰⁶ a clothing ceremony of Bēltija and Tašmētu on day 3 of Kislīmu;³⁰⁷ a reference to a clothing ceremony of Bēl on day 7 of Tašrītu(?) is mentioned (i.e. during New Year festival³⁰⁸), together with a clothing ceremony of Ištar of Babylon on day 3 of Kislīmu.³⁰⁹

Table XII: annual clothing ceremonies from Hellenistic Uruk and Babylon

| date | god(s) | place | text |
|----------|------------------|---------|-------------|
| 3-VI | Anu, Adad | Uruk | K 3753 |
| 7-VII | Anu, Antu, Ištar | Uruk | TU 39 |
| – | – | Uruk | CLBT, pl. 1 |
| 8-I | Marduk | Babylon | SBH VIII |
| 2-II | Nabû | Babylon | SBH VIII |
| 7-VII(?) | Bēl | Babylon | BM 32206 + |
| 3-IX | – | Babylon | SBH VIII |
| 3-IX | – | Babylon | BM 32206 + |
| 3-IX | Bēltija, Tašmētu | Babylon | BM 32206 + |
| 3-IX | Ištar of Babylon | Babylon | BM 32206 + |
| 16-IX | – | Babylon | SBH VIII |

II.4.3. Processions

The processions in Assyria and Babylonia of the first millennium have been discussed by B. Pongratz-Leisten.³¹⁰ Here we will list those which are recorded in texts from Hellenistic Uruk and Babylon.

Uruk

From Uruk the procession of Anu for the first New Year festival of the month Nisannu is described in *KAR* 132, but on which day(s) this occurred is not certain – probably day 8. The procession of Anu, performed during the second New Year festival of the month Tašrītu, is attested in *BRM* 4, 7 and *TU* 39–40, and took place on day 8 and day 9.³¹¹ Furthermore we have a procession during a festival for Ištar, *TU* 42 +, but no reference is made to the day(s) on which it occurred.³¹² Also a procession of Anu took

clothed] with fine attire of the Lordship [...].

³⁰⁵ For the *dumuniglala*, an unknown priest, see G. Çağırhan, W.G. Lambert, *JCS* 43–45 (1991–1993), 90b.

³⁰⁶ I, 6–13.

³⁰⁷ I, 43.

³⁰⁸ See II.4.5.2.

³⁰⁹ II, 53–54.

³¹⁰ *ina šulmi īrub*.

³¹¹ Both processions will be discussed more extensively in II.4.5.1.

³¹² This text will be discussed in II.8.5.

place during a nocturnal feast in the Rēš-temple, *TU* 41, on day 16 and 17, probably of the month ʿĒbētu.³¹³

More processions from Hellenistic Uruk are known. A procession of Mīšaru, from Eḫenunna, the temple of Adad, on day 5 of Araḫsamna is attested in the ritual text *TU* 39;³¹⁴ this procession is also attested for the same day in the calendar text K 3753.³¹⁵ In the latter a procession of Nusku and Ningal into the streets of Uruk, and a procession of Nusku through the squares (*rebītu*) of Uruk, during day 3(?) of the month Ulūlu is also recorded.³¹⁶ Lastly a procession of a god(?) from the presence of Anu to Šamaš, on day 18 of Araḫsamna is mentioned.³¹⁷

*Babylon*³¹⁸

The New Year procession to the *akītu*-temple during the month Nisannu in Babylon on day 8 is well-known from pre-Hellenistic texts, but from Hellenistic Babylon we only have two references, one in an astronomical diary,³¹⁹ and one in a calendar text.³²⁰

Other processions are also known. Three more processions are attested in the calendar text *SBH* VIII from Babylon: a marriage procession of Nabû and Ninkali (= Nanāja?) from Ezida to Euršaba (the cella of Nanāja in Esagila),³²¹ on day 2 of Ajjaru,³²² a procession of Nabû to Emeurur, on day 7 of Ajjaru,³²³ and a procession of Nanāja from Euršaba to the ‘garden of the Mountain’, on day 17 of Ajjaru.³²⁴ A procession of the *assinnu*-priest to the House of Lament (*bīt sipittē*) for day 15 of Simānu, and a procession of the *kurgarrû*-priest to a cultic place called the Equḷû is attested for day 16

³¹³ This text will be discussed in II.8.6.

³¹⁴ Rev. 26.

³¹⁵ II, 2 ff. (damaged context).

³¹⁶ I, 10 and 13.

³¹⁷ II, 12 ff. (damaged context).

An indirect reference to a procession in Uruk can be found in AO 11080 (J.-M. Durand, *Textes babyloniens*, pl. 35 = F. Joannès, *Textes économiques*, no. 52) (dated 109 S.E.), apparently a list of persons connected to the statue of Anu and his chariot (*narkabtu*)(?).

³¹⁸ A Greek procession (πομπή), attested in an astronomical diary from Babylon (A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -168, A, obv. 14–15), is discussed in II.8.4.

³¹⁹ A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -204. See also II.4.5.2 and II.8.7.

³²⁰ *SBH* VIII, II, 4: [...]x uš-te-šir ana qé-reb É.ŠÍŠKUR.RA ‘He marches on to (the *akītu*-temple) *bīt ikribi*’. See II.4.5.2.

³²¹ Or the temple of Ištar as Nanāja in Borsippa, cf. A.R. George, *House Most High*, 157, nos. 1195 and 1196.

³²² *SBH* VIII, II, 15–21: 15.⁴AG šá ḫa-da-áš-šu-tú in-na-an-di-iq te-di-iq ⁴A-nu-tú 16.TA qé-reb É.ZI.DA ina šat mu-ši uš-ta-pa-a na-an-na-ri-iš 17.ki-ma ⁴XXX ina ni-ip-ḫi-šu ú-nam-mar ek-leš 18.ina qé-reb É.UR₅.ŠĀ.BA uš-te-šir i-šad-di-ḫu nam-riš 19.i-ru-um-ma ana ma-ḫar ⁴NIN KA LI šit-ku-nu ana ḫa-da-a-[áš-šu-nu] 20.ina qé-reb É.UR₅.ŠĀ.BA GIM u₄-mu i-šak-kan na-mir-[tu] 21.ina ma-a-al-tu₄ mu-ši ṭa-a-bi it-ta-na-a-a-lu šit-ta [tābta] ‘15.Nabû in (his) status as bridegroom is clothed with fine attire of Anuship. 16.He shines forth from Ezida at night like the (moon) light. 17.He brightens the darkness with his shining like the moon. 18.He marches in Euršaba, he proceeds brightly, 19.he enters in front of NIN KA LI to perform the wedding festival. 20.He makes the light like day in Euršaba. 21.In the bed of a pleasant night they lay down again and again in [sweet] sleep’.

³²³ Already cited in II.4.1.

³²⁴ *SBH* VIII, II, 27–28: 27.UD.17.KAM TA qé-reb É.UR₅.ŠĀ.BA ⁴Na-na-a i-ḫ[i-iš ...] 28.[ana] ⁴KIRI₆ ḫur-sa-an-na uš-[te]-šir x x [...] ‘27.On day 17 Nanāja rus[hes?] from Euršaba [...], 28.she marches on to the “mountain” garden’.

of Simānu, followed by a procession to the Uraš-gate.³²⁵ A procession of ‘the sons of Bēl’ to Enamhe, the temple of Adad in Babylon, is recorded for day 18 of Araḥsamna in a calendar text.³²⁶

More processions from Babylon during the month Kislīmu are attested in BM 32206 +.³²⁷ The text first records several events concerning Bēl and several other cult-participants, including a slave, a bull, and Ea’s vizier Usmû, on day 3 of Kislīmu in Esagila,³²⁸ leading up to the journey of the latter three on day 4 of Kislīmu from the entrance of the cella (*bāb papāḥi*)³²⁹ to the *akītu*-temple,³³⁰ after which the return to Esagila on the same day is described.³³¹ Furthermore, the text records three days, day 8 of Tašrītu, day 4 of Kislīmu, and a third lost day, on which a procession of Ninurta and the statue of Bēl (or Enlil?) departs from their cellas and sits at a gate, the name of which is lost.³³² The text describes another procession(?) ‘from the opposite bank’ (*ultu aḥulā*) on day 16 of an unknown month, but the context is not clear.³³³

Finally, in an administrative document from the Arsacid period, *BRM* 1, 99,³³⁴ silver is paid for several groups of persons involved in a procession on day 1 of an unknown month: for the *kurgarrû*-actors, *assinnu*-singer and songstresses, for the brewers(?), for two unknown groups of people, for the millers and for the Borsippaeans. The procession possibly took place during the so-called ‘Love Lyrics Ritual’ of Ištār of Babylon in her temple Eturkalamma.³³⁵

Table XIII: processions from Hellenistic Uruk and Babylon

| date | god(s) | place | text |
|------------|---------------|---------|--|
| (8-I) | Anu | Uruk | <i>KAR</i> 132 |
| 3-VI | Nusku, Ningal | Uruk | K 3753 |
| 3-VI | Nusku | Uruk | K 3753 |
| 8–9-VII | Anu | Uruk | <i>BRM</i> 4, 7; <i>TU</i> 39–40 |
| 5-VIII | Mīšaru | Uruk | <i>TU</i> 39 |
| 5-VIII | Mīšaru | Uruk | K 3753 |
| 18-VIII | – | Uruk | K 3753 |
| 16–17-(X?) | Anu | Uruk | <i>TU</i> 41 |
| – | Ištār | Uruk | <i>TU</i> 42 + |
| 8-I | Bēl | Babylon | <i>Diaries</i> , no. -204; <i>SBH</i> VIII |

³²⁵ BM 32656 (A.R. George, *Studies W.G. Lambert*, no. 2, 270 ff.), IV, 13’ ff. See II.8.5.

³²⁶ *BRM* 4, 25, obv. 6.

³²⁷ See also II.5.1. and II.8.2.

³²⁸ BM 32206 +, I, 4–45, II, 48–54.

³²⁹ II, 57.

³³⁰ III, 92.

³³¹ III, 93 ff.

³³² IV, 164–66.

³³³ IV, 167–8. B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, 48–9 has extensively described this procession to and from the *akītu*-temple.

³³⁴ Rev. 37–44 (date: 14-XII²-218 S.E. = 15-IV-93 B.C.). See G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 143–46. For the latest discussion of the text see R.J. van der Spek, in: J. Wieshöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse*, 229 ff.

³³⁵ The reference to the *kurgarrû*-actors, *assinnu*-singer and songstresses constitutes indirect evidence for the Love Lyrics Ritual being performed in the Arsacid period; see II.8.5.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

| date | god(s) | place | text |
|---------|-----------------------|---------|------------------------------------|
| 2-II | Nabû | Babylon | <i>SBH</i> VIII |
| 7-II | Nabû | Babylon | <i>SBH</i> VIII |
| 17-II | Nanāja | Babylon | <i>SBH</i> VIII |
| 15-III | – | Babylon | BM 32656 |
| 16-III | – | Babylon | BM 32656 |
| 8-VII | Ninurta, Bēl (Enlil?) | Babylon | BM 32206 + |
| 18-VIII | Sons of Bēl | Babylon | <i>SBH</i> VII // <i>BRM</i> 4, 25 |
| 4-IX | slave, bull, and Usmû | Babylon | BM 32206 + |
| – | Ninurta, Bēl (Enlil?) | Babylon | BM 32206 + |
| 4-IX | Ninurta, Bēl (Enlil?) | Babylon | BM 32206 + |
| 1-? | Ištar of Babylon | Babylon | <i>BRM</i> 1, 99 |

II.4.4. Divine marriage ceremonies

The Mesopotamian divine marriage (ἱερός γάμος, Akk. *ḥašādu*) was originally an hierogamy during which the king functions as a substitute for the god Tammuz (Dumuzi) and a priestess for the goddess Ištar (Inanna).³³⁶ The ceremony is known from the Ur III period on, and it appears to be connected with the New Year festival.³³⁷ In later texts the king has apparently lost his predominant position. In these texts the statues of a god and goddess were ‘married’; they were brought together in a special bed-chamber for the divine marriage and for determining the destinies for the next year.

The divine marriage is known from both Hellenistic Uruk and Babylon.³³⁸ The rites (*paršu*) of the divine marriage in connection with the New Year festival are attested in the Uruk text *TU* 39; the relevant passage is mentioned in a section dealing with the first day of the New Year festival of the month Tašrītu³³⁹:

‘4The rites of the divine marriage (*par-ši šā ḥa-šā-du*) 5will be performed 4in the Eḫilikuga-chapel, the bed-chamber of Eḫilianna, 5the temple of Nanāja’.

The bed-chamber (É.NIR) mentioned here is also attested in another Uruk ritual, *TU* 41, but a marriage does not take place there.³⁴⁰

The rites of the divine marriage (GARZA.GARZA *ḥa-šā-du*) are also attested in *TU* 38, in a list of offerings and ceremonies from Hellenistic Uruk.³⁴¹ Furthermore a wedding ceremony (*ḥadaššūtu*) on day 3 of Ulūlu is recorded in the calendar text K

³³⁶ There is much debate about the origin and purpose of the divine marriage. Cf. J. Renger, in: *RIA* 4 (1972–75), 251 ff. with earlier literature. See also W.H.P.H. Römer, in: *Festschrift J.P.M. van der Ploeg* (AOAT Bd. 211), Kevelaer, 1982, 411 ff., especially 416 ff.; E. Matsushima, *ASJ* 10 (1988), 95 ff. For the archaeological evidence see J.S. Cooper, in: *RIA* 4 (1972–75), 259 ff.

³³⁷ Despite the evidence from Hellenistic Uruk and Babylon presented below, according to Lambert there is no evidence for a divine marriage in the course of the New Year festival (*JSS* 13 [1968], 106 f.).

³³⁸ Cf. E. Matsushima, *ASJ* 10 (1988), 98 and 110 ff.

³³⁹ *TU* 39, obv. 4–5.

³⁴⁰ *TU* 41, obv. 6–7. For the bed-chamber see also my comment on *TU* 39, obv. 4 in the Appendix. For *TU* 41 see II.8.6.

³⁴¹ Obv. 37; rev. 37.

II.4. Annual ceremonies

3753.³⁴² It is probably the wedding ceremony of Ištar, because I, 9 specifically states that the whole month of Ulūlu deals with Ištar.

Another Hellenistic reference to the divine marriage ceremony during the New Year festival, this time from Babylon, is recorded in *SBH* VIII; the relevant passage informs us that on day 11 of the New Year festival a wedding festival (*ḥadaššūtu*), probably between Marduk and Zarpanītu, is celebrated.³⁴³ This text also refers to Nabû as bridegroom in a wedding ceremony with Ninkali (?= Nanāja?) in her temple Euršaba during day 2 of the month Ajjaru.³⁴⁴

Table XIV: marriage ceremonies from Hellenistic Uruk and Babylon

| date | god(s) | place | Text |
|-------|----------------------|---------|-----------------|
| 3-VI | Ištar | Uruk | K 3753 |
| 1-VII | — | Uruk | <i>TU</i> 39 |
| — | — | Uruk | <i>TU</i> 38 |
| 11-I | Marduk, Zarpanītu(?) | Babylon | <i>SBH</i> VIII |
| 2-II | Nabû | Babylon | <i>SBH</i> VIII |

II.4.5. The New Year festival

The New Year festival (*akītu*) is one of the oldest annual festivals. The earliest reference dates from the Fara period, probably referring to an *akītu*-building or ceremony in Nippur.³⁴⁵ In the first millennium the New Year festival was celebrated twice a year, in the spring and in the autumn. The first forms more or less the beginning of the civil year, while the second opens the cultic year.³⁴⁶

The main purpose of the festival was for the ruler to be reaffirmed in his office by the gods, and for his people to be assured of another peaceful and prosperous year. During the festival this divine approval and assurance was celebrated by the whole community. The history of the New Year festival has been described extensively, most recently by Cohen and Pongratz-Leisten.³⁴⁷

In this paragraph an attempt is not made to present a complete new discussion of the festival, but rather an inventory of all the available sources from Hellenistic Uruk and Babylon is offered, in order to reconstruct the cultic calendar of the festival.

³⁴² I, 19: x.A.BI [...] *iš-ša[k-k]an ḥa-da-šu-tù* '[...] the wedding ceremony will be performed'.

³⁴³ II, 7–8. Or Nabû?, cf. E. Matsushima, *ASJ* 10 (1988), 98. See also II.4.5.2.

³⁴⁴ II, 15–21. This passage is cited in II.4.3, n. 69. See also the Neo-Assyrian letters *ABL* 65 (a divine marriage for the third day of Ajjaru) and *ABL* 113 (for the fourth day of Ajjaru).

³⁴⁵ M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 401.

³⁴⁶ Cf. K. van der Toorn, *Suppl. VT* 43 (1991), 332. The Babylonian New Year festival is based on the Sumerian *akītu*-festival (A.KI.TI), which probably originated in Ur; it was also held twice a year at the beginning of the spring-equinox (new moon festival) and autumn-equinox (new year festival) and celebrated the time of harvest and sowing. Cf. W.H.Ph. Römer, in: *Festschrift J.P.M. van der Ploeg*, 422; M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 401–6.

³⁴⁷ M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 400–453; B. Pongratz-Leisten, in: *šulmi īrub* (discussing the *akītu*-processions in the first millennium). Especially relevant are also: G. Furlani, *Sacrificio*, 246 ff. and id., *Riti*, 119 ff., 159 ff. and 185 ff.; A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 42 ff. (*akītu*-temple); P.-R. Berger, in: *CRR* 17 (1970), 155 ff. (Neo-Babylonian chronicles).

II.4.5.1. Uruk

From Hellenistic Uruk there is clear evidence for two New Year festivals, in the first month Nisannu and the seventh month Tašrītu. We know some of the proceedings of these festivals, especially from *BRM* 4, 7, *TU* 39–40, *KAR* 132 and *TU* 43. The temple ritual texts describing the second New Year festival of the month Tašrītu concentrate on the ritual activities in the Rēš-temple of Anu and Antu, and perhaps also in the Ešgal-temple of Ištar, because, as we already saw, we have a reference to a divine marriage ceremony taking place in the Eḫilikuga, the bed-chamber of the Eḫilianna, the temple of Nanāja.³⁴⁸ In the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods the temple of Nanāja was part of the Eanna complex, but as Falkenstein already noted,³⁴⁹ although during the Late Babylonian period Ištar and Nanāja moved from the old complex, Eanna, to the new, Ešgal, it is not certain whether the temple-name Eḫilianna passed to the new cella of Nanāja in the Ešgal,³⁵⁰ or whether it remained to indicate Nanāja's sanctuary in Eanna.

During the festival a procession to and from the *akītu*-temple took place. The ritual texts describing the first New Year festival in the month Nisannu concentrate on the ritual activities taking place before and during the procession to the *akītu*-temple, and the events in the *akītu*-temple. Several *akītu*-temples are attested from Hellenistic Uruk.³⁵¹ *akītu*-temples of Anu and Ištar are mentioned in texts from Uruk concerning the *itinnūtu* (office of building master)-prebend,³⁵² and the *nārūtu* (singers) -prebend.³⁵³ The *akītu*-temples of Anu and Uruk are also often mentioned in the ritual texts, among which are a 'higher situated *akītu*-temple of Anu', and an '*akītu*-temple (named) *Bīt ikribi*'.³⁵⁴ Falkenstein presumed that the Hellenistic buildings were at the same position as the Neo- and Late Babylonian sanctuaries.³⁵⁵ An *akītu*-complex was excavated during the twelfth excava-

³⁴⁸ *TU* 39, obv. 4–5. See II.4.4.

³⁴⁹ *Topographie*, 36, 41.

³⁵⁰ And not to the Rēš-temple (M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 329, n. 2 and 428, n. 2).

³⁵¹ Cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 43–4. Several *akītu*-temples are also known from Neo- and Late Babylonian Uruk (cf. ib., 42–3): an *akītu*-temple of Bēlet-ša-Uruk (*YOS* 7, 89, Cyr), an *akītu*-temple of Ušur-amassu (*BIN* 2, 31 // *YOS* 9, 74, and BM 113205, cf. J.A. Brinkman, *WdO* 5 [1969–70], 39 ff., both Nabunašir; perhaps also: *BIN* 1, 170, Ner), and an *akītu* (-temple) of the open country (*šēru*) (*AnOr* 9, 2: 64, Asb.; 3: 44, Kand., cf. G. Frame, *RA* 76 [1982], 159). In texts from the Neo-Babylonian and later periods a special datepalm orchard ('garden') is often mentioned, called *hallatu*. D. Cocqerillat demonstrated that this is the garden which surrounded the *akītu*-temple (*WdO* 7 [1973], 96 ff.; see also id., in: *RIA* 4 [1972], 60 f.). This garden existed in several cities among which are Uruk and Babylon. In Uruk the garden is situated near the '*akītu* (-temple) of the open country', and offerings are presented in the temple of the 'Lady of the open country' (Bēlet-šēri) and other goddesses of Uruk (*WdO* 7 [1973], 106, 108, and 113 ff.; see also G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 102 f.). The garden of Babylon is called 'of Bēl' (*WdO* 7 [1973], 131 f.; R. Zadok, *RGTC* 8 [1985], 147 f.).

³⁵² *BRM* 1, 98, // HSM 913.1.6 (cf. J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 161), É á-ki-tu₄.MEŠ; *BRM* 2, 22 // *BiMes* 24, 1: É á-ki-tu₄ šá 𒀭NIN. For the *itinnūtu*-prebend see also III.4.3.

³⁵³ *VS* 15, 19, [É] á-ki-tu₄.MEŠ.

³⁵⁴ The *akītu*-temple of Anu: *TU* 39, obv. 3 (É á-ki-i-tu₄ e-lit šá 𒀭LX); *BRM* 4, 7, 24 (É á-ki-tu₄ É ik-rib). See also *TU* 39, obv. 14; *KAR* 132, IV, 6, 7, 10; *BRM* 4, 7, rev. 28, 41. For the *akītu*-temple of Ištar see: *TU* 42 +, rev. 23', 24' (*KISAL* É á-ki-tu₄).

³⁵⁵ *Topographie*, 42.

tion season.³⁵⁶ The large site with several temples confirms the assumption of Falkenstein ‘daß die verschiedenen Festhäuser nur Teile eines großen Akītu-Komplexes sind’.³⁵⁷

The second New Year festival (Tašrītu)

Of the two New Year festivals celebrated in Uruk, the festival of the seventh month Tašrītu is best known. The festival lasted eleven days. *BRM* 4, 7 probably concerns the New Year festival of Tašrītu. The colophon contains a catch-line, indicating that the text is part of a series of Uruk temple ritual texts.³⁵⁸ The text describes a program of the procession of Anu’s statue during the New Year festival in Uruk, from his cella to the center of the Rēš-temple, and then going outside to the *akītu*-temple. Anu leaves the cella Enamenna (É.NAM.EN.NA ‘House of Dominion’) and arrives at the Grand Gate, and then the exorcists recite an incantation and the high priest, the exorcists, the other temple enterers (*ērib bīti*), and the brewers, harnessed to the carrying pole, say a prayer. This is repeated during the seven stages of the procession until they have reached the *akītu*-temple.³⁵⁹

Falkenstein and Pongratz-Leisten have reconstructed this procession.³⁶⁰ The statue of Anu and the high priest departed from the Anu-cella (É.NAM.EN.NA É *papāha*) in the Rēš-temple, through the Grand Gate (KÁ.MAḪ), i.e. the NE gate of the Rēš-temple; then Anu was greeted by the high priest, the exorcists, the temple enterers and the brewers; the procession moved SE along the Street of the Gods (*sūqa ilāni*) until they reached the Pure Quay, wharf of the Boat of Anu, procession of the gods (KAR KÙ.GA *arammu ša* ^{giš}MÁ.AN.NA *mālak ilāni*); then NE along the Ištar(?)-canal, to the upper wharf of the Pure Quay (*arammu elū ša* KAR KÙ.GA), still in the city area; then they disembarked, the procession moved through the district of the Adad-gate, the district of the Ištar-gate, and the district of the Šamaš-gate, leaving the city through the Royal Gate (*abul šarri*), in the city wall, reaching finally (after crossing a branch of the Euphrates) the *akītu*-temple *Bīt ikribi*. During all these stages several incantations had to be recited.³⁶¹

On what day did this procession take place? To solve this problem we need to examine another text which deals with the New Year festival of Tašrītu, *TU* 39–40.³⁶² In this

³⁵⁶ Cf. H.J. Lenzen, *UVB* 12/13 (1956), 35–42; J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 87–8, with literature.

³⁵⁷ *Topographie*, 44.

³⁵⁸ For the colophon see also I.2.

³⁵⁹ As we already noted (I.3), the brewers, mentioned after the *ērib bītis* because they are not allowed to enter the temple, can join in as bearers of the carrying pole, because Anu has left the restricted temple area. In obv. 11, 15, 19, and 23 the text does not mention the brewers but refers to them indirectly by saying: ‘the bearers of the carrying pole’. For this carrying pole see my comments on *TU* 39, obv. 19, in the Appendix.

³⁶⁰ A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 45 ff.; B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, 42 f.

³⁶¹ Similar to Anu in Uruk also Marduk in Babylon has to pass through seven stages during the procession to the *akītu*-temple, see B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, 40 f. Evidence for this procession comes from other texts, one of which is the Ashurbanipal tablet K 9876 + (latest discussion by B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, 228–32, no. 8). Similar to *BRM* 4, 7 this text from Babylon also contains instructions for the recitations which have to be recited during the seven stages of the procession of Marduk (Bēl) to the *akītu*-temple. Especially on the obverse the songs of the Ištar-priests appear to be important.

³⁶² And not for the month Nisannu (A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, 278 and S. Sherwin-White, *JHS* 103 [1983], 159, n. 40), see *TU* 39, obv. 1.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

text almost all of the eleven days of the festival of Tašritu are preserved. Crucial is the interpretation of *TU* 39, obv. 1–15, describing days 1, 6 and 7. Cohen argued that the procession to the *akītu*-temple took place on the first day, after which during the first seven days of the festival Anu resided in the *akītu*-temple.³⁶³ The two chariots of Anu transported all sorts of ritual goods to the *akītu*-temple during those seven days.³⁶⁴ Anu probably remained at the *akītu*-temple during this period, since neither Anu nor any other gods are mentioned going to the *akītu*-temple. Then, Cohen argues, at the end of day 7 the great procession from the *akītu*-temple to the Rēš-temple inside the city walls took place.³⁶⁵

However, another interpretation of *TU* 39, obv. 1–15 is possible, which agrees more with the events described on days 8–11. After Enlil, Ea and the other gods are robed (for the procession on day 8), a silver chariot of Anu and a golden chariot of Anu (but not Anu himself) go to the *akītu*-temple every day until day 8, apparently to bring all sorts of ritual goods for the ceremony. After a divine marriage ceremony on day 1, four more gods are robed on day 6 (for the procession on day 8).

On day 7 more preparations follow: after the awakening of the temple ceremony (*dīk bīti*), food and drinks are prepared,³⁶⁶ and then, after the other gods are all robed for the procession, it is Anu's, Antu's and Ištar's turn.³⁶⁷ The room between the curtains (*birūt šiddī*) in front of the Anu-cella (Enamenna), the first station which Anu will pass on day 8 on his way to the *akītu*-temple,³⁶⁸ is made ready, followed by offerings and the consecration of the temple.³⁶⁹ Then probably a reference is made to preparations on the route of the procession, referred to in the text as 'the street processional way, the procession-ships and the *akītu*-temple'.³⁷⁰ Finally, as on every cultic day, on day 7 the morning and evening meals are also served and cleared away.

For the scribe of *TU* 39–40 the first seven days are of less importance than what follows on the next days, which are described extensively. Probably there is no need to describe them in detail, because they are the same as the first seven days of the Nisannu version; indeed it is specifically stated that the ceremonies of day 7 of Tašritu are the same as those of day 7 of Nisannu.³⁷¹ The very abbreviated form in which the events are described also points in this direction. Anu is not mentioned, apart from a short reference to the cella, where clothing ceremonies of Anu, Antu, and Ištar are performed;³⁷² as we would expect, at this time Anu is apparently still in his cella in the Rēš-temple.

Only on day 8 does Anu appear in the foreground as the leading figure of the procession.³⁷³ All the gods come down from their seats and gather in the Grand Courtyard in the Rēš-temple facing Anu. Here the procession of Anu to the *akītu*-temple begins, but we are not able to follow the route taken, because the end of day 8 and the beginning

³⁶³ *Cultic Calendars*, 428; see also 329–30 and 405.

³⁶⁴ Obv. 2–3.

³⁶⁵ Obv. 14.

³⁶⁶ Obv. 7–10.

³⁶⁷ Obv. 11.

³⁶⁸ Described in obv. 29.

³⁶⁹ Obv. 12–13.

³⁷⁰ Obv. 14.

³⁷¹ Obv. 15.

³⁷² Obv. 11.

³⁷³ Obv. 16 ff.

of day 9 are lost. Still on day 8 the gods and the cultic objects take their seats in the Grand Courtyard, in front of Anu. The king and the people are sprinkled with water, a meal is served and libations performed, after which Anu enters the room between the curtains, accompanied by Papsukkal, the exorcists and a temple enterer (*ērib bīti*), who carries the Scepter of Kingship.³⁷⁴ A priest performs several offerings and libations and the king and people are sprinkled again. Then the text breaks off. The description of the procession to the *akītu*-temple must have followed here, and then the journey back to the Rēš-temple, either on day 8, or at the latest on day 9, since *TU* 40 already mentions several stations which had to be passed on the way back.³⁷⁵

On day 9,³⁷⁶ after a hand-raising prayer is recited,³⁷⁷ the king performs a libation and then Anu enters the Grand Gate (KÁ.MAḤ) and sits on the Dais of Destinies (*parak šīmāti*).³⁷⁸ The same rites as on day 8 are performed, after which Anu enters the room between the curtains³⁷⁹ and all the gods gather around him. The same offerings and libations as those of day 8 are performed. Then Anu leaves the room between the curtains and sits upon the Dais of Kingship (*parak šarrūti*)³⁸⁰ in his cella, surrounded by the other gods, after which the king performs a libation, and enters Ubšukkinaku. The following passage is damaged.

The reverse of *TU* 39 describes the final events of day 9, and the events on day 10 and 11. A liver is placed on the Dais of Anu. The diviner and the *šangu*-priest of Adad take the liver. The main and second meal are served. A lamentation is recited. Since this is a special occasion the gate is not closed, as was common on normal cultic days. In the evening the last meal is cleared and the main and second meal of the evening are served, after which the same lamentation is recited again. The vigil continues the whole night and the gate is closed at the end of the night, before the beginning of day 10.

On the 10th day³⁸¹ at night, in Ubšukkinaku the awakening of the temple ceremony is performed by means of the lamentations ANA ELUME ‘The honored one of Heaven’³⁸² and UMUN ŠERMAL ANKIA ‘Lord, respected one of Heaven and Earth’.³⁸³ At dawn the gate is opened and the vigil ended. During the day the two main and second meals are served and in the evening the gate is closed.

On the 11th day³⁸⁴ the awakening of the temple ceremony is also celebrated by means of the lamentations AME AMAŠANA ‘The bull in his fold’³⁸⁵ and ELUM DIDARA ‘The honored one who wanders about’,³⁸⁶ at night in Ubšukkinaku. At dawn the gate is opened and several gods gather around Anu in the Grand Courtyard. They sit upon their

³⁷⁴ Obv. 29.

³⁷⁵ B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, 42.

³⁷⁶ *TU* 40, obv. 1 ff.

³⁷⁷ Obv. 4–5: EN NIRGALLA, the complete incipit is mentioned in *TU* 43, rev. 19, where it had to be recited on the eleventh day of Nisannu during the New Year festival in Uruk.

³⁷⁸ Obv. 9.

³⁷⁹ Obv. 15.

³⁸⁰ *TU* 40, rev. 7.

³⁸¹ *TU* 39, rev. 10 ff.

³⁸² Rev. 10. Also in the Uruk eclipse of the moon ritual and, for the *dīk bīti*-ceremony, in the Uruk cultic calendar text *TU* 48, see II.2.2.

³⁸³ Rev. 10. Also in the Uruk building ritual text and an the Uruk *mīs pī*-ritual text.

³⁸⁴ Rev. 15 ff.

³⁸⁵ Rev. 15. Also in the eclipse of the moon ritual and, for the *dīk bīti*-ceremony, in *TU* 48, see II.2.2.

³⁸⁶ Rev. 15. Also mentioned for the *dīk bīti*-ceremony in *TU* 48, see II.2.2.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

seats and wait for Lugalbanda and Ninsun. The main meal of the morning is served. As soon as Lugalbanda and Ninsun have arrived the main meal is cleared and a priest performs a libation with a golden libation bowl for Lugalbanda and Ninsun and all the other gods. Then the main and second meal of the last double hour of the day take place in the usual manner.

The text ends with a colophon, with the catch-line: ‘The (eighth) month Araḥsamna, day 5: Mīšaru will rise from Eḡenunna, the temple of Adad and (will come here)’,³⁸⁷ which shows that *TU* 39–40 is part of a series of temple ritual texts covering the whole year.

What is striking is that, although the king clearly participates in the ritual activities,³⁸⁸ he is only one of the participants, especially in the procession leading Anu back from the *akītu*-temple on day 9.³⁸⁹ This appears to be different in the Nisannu version.

The first New Year festival (Nisannu)

KAR 132 deals with the New Year festival of the first month Nisannu, and contains an elaborate description of the ceremonies which took place shortly before the procession to the *akītu*-temple, and also describes the beginning of the ceremonies at the *akītu*-temple.

In the beginning of the text Anu has already left his cella and taken up position in the Grand Courtyard.³⁹⁰ A number of gods enter the Grand Courtyard. Then Enlil and Ea enter this courtyard,³⁹¹ while several of the other gods take up position at the left side of the gate of the cella (of Antu?). Next, the king follows these gods to the cella of Antu, joined by several goddesses. In the presence of the exorcists, the lamentation priests, the singers, the linen curtain and the golden libation bowl, Antu is escorted from the cella to the Grand Courtyard.³⁹² After this the king, together with the exorcists, the lamentation priests, the singers, the linen curtain and the golden libation bowl, and with Nanāja and several other goddesses, goes to the temple Urugal and leads Ištar to the Grand Courtyard.³⁹³

Col. II and III up to l. 17 describe the putting in position of the other gods, cultic objects and priests. In col. III, 21 Anu is led from the Dais of Destinies in Ubšukkinaku by Papsukkal, Nusku, Usmū and the king, followed by the other gods. Probably, therefore, in the broken passage (after the end of col. II) the procession of Anu from the Grand Courtyard to the Dais of Destinies is described, which could take place only after the arrival of Antu and Ištar in the Grand Courtyard.

Next, the whole assembly proceeds and, with Anu up front, enters the *akītu*-temple and takes its seats.³⁹⁴ Anu takes up position on the Great Dais in the courtyard of the

³⁸⁷ *TU* 39, rev. 26.

³⁸⁸ Together with other persons he is sprinkled by a priest (*TU* 39, obv. 23; 34; *TU* 40, obv. 20; rev. 4), and on occasion he performs a libation (*TU* 40, obv. 8; 13; rev. 5; 8; 12; 17).

³⁸⁹ *TU* 40, obv. [13], rev. 6, 9, and 13.

³⁹⁰ I, obv. 7.

³⁹¹ And not the Anu-cella, as A. Falkenstein presumed (*Topographie*, 23), because, as we saw, Anu is already in the Grand Courtyard.

³⁹² I, 1–22.

³⁹³ I, 23–30.

³⁹⁴ IV, 1 ff.

akītu-temple, followed by the other gods. Papsukkal and the king then lead Anu from the Great Dais to his cella. Again, the other gods follow. The carrying poles of Anu and the other gods are brought in, a hand-raising prayer is recited by the lamentation priest,³⁹⁵ and more gods enter the cella. After this the text breaks off.

The text concentrates on the *akītu*-procession, and does not describe the days before and after this procession. It is more than probable, however, that *KAR* 132 is only one of a series of tablets describing all the days of the festival in Nisannu; because the beginning and end of the text are damaged, any reference to these tablets has been lost.

The text gives more details on the beginning of the procession, by carefully recording all the deities and cult objects involved in the festival. While the cultic events in the *akītu*-temple are not mentioned in the *Tašrītu* version, here a detailed description of what took place at the *akītu*-temple is presented. Furthermore, apart from Anu and Antu, Ištar plays an important role, and more other gods are also mentioned here than in the *Tašrītu* version. Finally, as we saw, the king has a leading part in the procession; he plays a more prominent role in the Nisannu version of the festival, than in the *Tašrītu* version, which is not surprising since the New Year festival of Nisannu coincides with the beginning of the civil year, the month Nisannu being the coronation month of the king.

More evidence for the New Year festival of Nisannu comes from *TU* 43. The main part of the text contains a *šuilakku*- (hand-raising) prayer, which has to be recited on the tenth day of the New Year festival to Anu (obv. 1–20, rev. 1–16). See rev. 17:

‘¹⁷Hand-raising prayer of Anu, which [they will recite] in the (first) month Nisannu, day 10, to A[nu]’.

It also records a *šuilakku*-prayer to be recited on the eleventh day:

‘¹⁸The (first) month Nisannu, day 11, when Anu [sits] on the Dais of Anu, on the Dais [of Kingship(?)], ¹⁹[the la]mentation priest will stand and ²⁰[will recite] the hand-raising prayer ¹⁹‘Strong Anu, revered by [himself(?)], ²⁰who [alo]ne is Lord ¹⁹[in Heaven and on Earth’], ²⁰to the accompaniment of a lyr[e]’.³⁹⁶

The text does not inform us where the *šuilakku*-prayer on day 10 is recited, but for the prayer on day 11 we are back in the cella of Anu (Enamenna), in the Rēš-complex, because the text mentions the Dais of Anu (*parak Ani*),³⁹⁷ and (probably) the Dais of kingship.

The number of days on which the events described in *KAR* 132 took place is not preserved. If the New Year festival of the first month paralleled that of the seventh

³⁹⁵ IV, 23: ANGALE ‘O, Great Anu’.

³⁹⁶ This hand-raising prayer was also recited on the ninth day of *Tašrītu* during the Uruk New Year festival (*TU* 40, obv. 4–5).

³⁹⁷ Also known as BĀRA.NAM.LUGAL.LA ‘Dais of the royal Lordship’, cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 18 ff.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

month then all the events described would have taken place on day 8 and 9, as in the Tašrītu version. An indication that the Nisannu version is at least partly similar to the Tašrītu-version is found in *TU* 39, where at the end of the passage describing day 7, it is noted that the ceremonies, described only briefly, are the same as on day 7 of Nisannu.³⁹⁸ Furthermore, the description of day 11 of Nisannu in *TU* 43 outlines activities in the Rēš-temple, and no reference is made to the *akītu*-temple, nor to the procession, which may indicate that the procession did not return to the Rēš-temple on day 11 of Nisannu (as is the case in the Nisannu version in Babylon, see below), but on day 9, as in the Tašrītu version of Uruk.

However, as Cohen noted, because the Nisannu festival celebrates the beginning of the civil year, while the Tašrītu festival opens the cultic year, this may have (partly) altered the nature of the festival.³⁹⁹ An indication that this may be the case may be found in a building inscription from Hellenistic Uruk, *YOS* 1, 52 (68 S.E.), which refers to day 8 of Nisannu, although there is no mention of the New Year festival: the building of the Rēš-temple is completed, Anu and Antu enter the temple to dwell for ever in the Anu-cella Enamenna, and the regular offerings are performed.⁴⁰⁰ The entering of Anu in his cella on day 8 of Nisannu, presumably during the New Year festival,⁴⁰¹ does not fit the Tašrītu version, where Anu leaves his cella on day 8 and returns on day 9 from the *akītu*-temple.⁴⁰²

However, although differences may have existed between the Nisannu and the Tašrītu versions, in general probably a very similar schedule was used.

II.4.5.2. Babylon

Two New Year festivals were also celebrated in Babylon, one during the first month Nisannu, and one during the seventh month Tašrītu.

³⁹⁸ Obv. 15.

³⁹⁹ M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 433–4.

⁴⁰⁰ Lines 16–18.

⁴⁰¹ Apparently the celebration of the restored Rēš-temple coincides with the New Year festival, since it is hardly conceivable that on this occasion the New Year festival did not take place (from chronicle texts we know that only at a time of a serious crisis was the festival not celebrated; see for example the Nabonidus chronicle, cf. A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 7, II, 5 f.; 10 f.; 19 f.; see also III, 8). However, does the entering of Anu on day 8-I in the Rēš-temple, attested in the building inscription, perhaps indicate that, because of the special festivities, the New Year festival celebrated in year 68 S.E. did not follow the usual order of cultic events?

⁴⁰² The inauguration of temples in the month Nisannu is only indicated by the Hellenistic Uruk building inscriptions *YOS* 1, 52 and J. Jordan, *Uruk-Warka*. WDOG 51, Leipzig, 1928, pl. 108, c, with 41 (2-I-110 [+?] S.E.). In the series *iqqur īpuš* (defining certain months as favorable or unfavorable for particular activities) the month Nisannu is favorable for, amongst other things, building a temple, renovating a sanctuary, and for organizing an *akītu*, cf. R. Labat, *Calendrier*, 92, § 32, 1 (cf. 228, 12), but this is also favorable in some other months. The later months III and V were more appropriate for the building of temples, cf. R.S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia*, New Haven and London, 1968, 17 ff. Note that Sennacherib inaugurated a temple in Huzurīna (Sultantepe) on day 8 of the seventh month Tašrītu, cf. J.N. Postgate, *Royal Grants*, 78, no. 40, obv. 9'. Although in Israel the temple of Salomo was also inaugurated in the seventh month Ethanim (1 Kings, 8, 2; cf. 2 Chron., 5, 3), the festival for the inauguration of the temple in Jerusalem (Chanukkah) is celebrated on day 25 of the ninth month Kislev.

The second New Year festival (Tašrītu)

For the second New Year festival of the seventh month Tašrītu no evidence has been preserved from the Hellenistic period,⁴⁰³ with the exception perhaps of a short reference to a clothing ceremony of Bēl on day 7 of Tašrītu(?), and a reference to the arranging of the *alû*-drum (for the procession to the *akītu*-temple?) on day 8 of Tašrītu in BM 32206 +.⁴⁰⁴ This may be explained partly by the fact that ritual texts from Hellenistic Babylon are rare, and furthermore because the second festival opened the cultic year, not the civil year, and therefore no references to this festival would have been made in non-cultic sources such as chronicles and astronomical diaries, unless something unusual had happened. In the astronomical diaries no clear references are made to the New Year festival or the *akītu*-temple for the month Tašrītu. Note however that diary no. -132 describes political and religious upheavals during the 7th month Tašrītu: in the midst of political turmoil and war(threat) it is stated that “the god Bēl has entered Babylon” (B, rev. 27). Men and women place offerings on a dais and celebrate opposite it. On the 11th Nanāja appears: “Nanāja has entered Ezida in Borsippa” (B, rev. 31, similar during the 6th month Ulūlu, cf. B, obv. 29). In Borsippa(?) more celebrations and cultic events seem to follow, Nanāja is mentioned in connection with a headband(?) and a chariot; the assembly (*kinīštu*) appears. Apparently the people of Babylon and Borsippa are advised to resist plundering and (importantly) not to hand over the gods as booty to the enemy in order to save the city (Left edge, 2). Because the historical passages are very damaged and far from understandable, we do not know if they bear any relation to the New Year festival. However, although the tablet still needs to be studied in depth, it is already very clear from diary no. -132 that Babylonian religion and cult were very much alive as late as 133 B.C.⁴⁰⁵ It is remarkable that a “sailor whose mind was deranged” invited the population to participate in the festivals and that they, “men and women” enthusiastically did so, and “enjoyed themselves”.

The first New Year festival (Nisannu)

There is more evidence for the New Year festival of the first month Nisannu, both from cultic and non-cultic sources, from Hellenistic Babylon. We do not have much evidence for day 1 of Nisannu, the first day of the festival. There is a small (Late Babylonian?) fragment discussed by Çağırzan.⁴⁰⁶ Although damaged, some of the events are clear: on the first of Nisannu at dawn an arranger of the offering table (*mubannū*)⁴⁰⁷ enters the courtyard of Bēl with a key (*namzaqu*); a house (or temple) and water are mentioned.

⁴⁰³ Pre-Hellenistic evidence for the New Year festival in Babylon during the month Tašrītu is also rare. Important is *ABL* 956 (*LAS* 190). Cf. S. Parpola, *LAS* II, 186–87; M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 328–9, and 451. However, according to F. Reynolds (*BiOr* 53 [1996], 92) the evidence for this festival has been overestimated.

⁴⁰⁴ II, 53, and 57–8. But note that also in Uruk clothing ceremonies for Anu, Antu and Ištar are performed on day 7 of Tašrītu (*TU* 39, obv. 11, see also 13).

⁴⁰⁵ See also note 457 below.

⁴⁰⁶ *Festivals*, I (from his private collection, only in transliteration and translation, no copy).

⁴⁰⁷ See III.4.3.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

Then the arranger goes to the Grand Gate with the key, opens the gate of the well and throws the key(?) into the water of the well(?). The function of the ceremony is not clear.

There is also, in a list of temple expenditures, a reference to meat for regular offerings on day 1 of Nisannu.⁴⁰⁸

Several ritual texts, which contain parts of tablets 22 and 23 of the ritual series concerning the New Year festival of the month Nisannu (DT 15 +) were published by F. Thureau-Dangin.⁴⁰⁹ It is our most important source for the public cult of Marduk (here called Bēl) in Hellenistic Babylon. The text concentrates especially on the prayers which accompanied the cultic actions. The ritual instructions for the first day of Nisannu are lost. For the second to the fifth day we have several large fragments. The text contains a short reference to the sixth day, incorporated in the description of the third day, but the seventh to the eleventh days are lost.

The first cultic events are for all four days the same. The description of each day begins with a reference to the exact double hour of the night,⁴¹⁰ on which a high priest rises and washes himself with river water.⁴¹¹ Then he approaches Bēl and his spouse Bēltija (i.e. Zarpanītu) and removes the curtain in front of them.⁴¹² After these introductory lines one or more (for each day different) prayers are always recited, followed by the opening of the gate ceremony (*pūt bābi*).⁴¹³ On each day, so the text records, the temple enterers (*ērib bīti*) also enter the cella and ‘perform their rites as usual’ (ME-šú-nu GIM šá gi-na-a DÜ.MEŠ), as do the lamentation priests and singers.⁴¹⁴

After these standard procedures the different cultic events of each day are presented. For day 2 after a prayer to Bēl⁴¹⁵ and the *pūt bābi*-ceremony only a small part of a ceremony is preserved.⁴¹⁶

For day 3 we know a little more. The prayer to Bēl is almost completely lost.⁴¹⁷ After the third hour of the morning the high priest calls in three craftsmen, a metalworker, a carpenter and a goldsmith, and gives them materials to make two figurines. They have to work on these figurines from day 3 to day 6. The payments for these craftsmen is also mentioned.⁴¹⁸ In the next section the shape of these figurines is described.⁴¹⁹ They are kept in the temple of Madānu and in Eḫursagtila, the temple of Ninurta in Babylon until day 6, and are used in a ceremony involving Nabû on day 6, which leads to their destruction, but the exact turn of events is not clear because the passage is partly damaged.⁴²⁰

⁴⁰⁸ AB 244, rev. 30, U.E. 31 (G.J.P. McEwan, *Iraq* 43 [1981], 132–34). For the most recent discussion of this text see R.J. van der Spek, in: J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse*, 234 f.

⁴⁰⁹ *RAcc.*, 127–154.

⁴¹⁰ See II.2.1.

⁴¹¹ In line 286 specified as coming from the Tigris and the Euphrates.

⁴¹² Lines 1–3, 157–8 (the removing of the curtain is [erroneously] not mentioned for day 3), 217–19, 285–87.

⁴¹³ Lines 37, 184, 276, 334.

⁴¹⁴ Cf. 38–40 (for day 2: in front of Bēl and Bēltija), 185–6, 276–8, 335–7. Also attested in the Hellenistic temple ritual fragment BM 41577 (A.R. George, *Studies W.G. Lambert*, no. 1, 260 ff.; see below), II, 12–13’.

⁴¹⁵ Lines 5 ff. In this prayer the power of Bēl over the other gods and the people is described and his mercy for Babylon, Esagila and its inhabitants. This text must remain a secret according to the subscript.

⁴¹⁶ Lines 41 ff.

⁴¹⁷ Lines 160 ff.

⁴¹⁸ Lines 190 ff. The payments consists of meat ‘from before Bēl’ (*ištu pāni Bēl*), which means from offerings.

⁴¹⁹ Lines 201 ff.

⁴²⁰ M. Stol made the following suggestion to me: both figurines lift up their right hand against (*ana*) Nabû,

On day 4 a hand-raising prayer (*šullakku*) for Bēl,⁴²¹ and also a prayer for Bēltija are recited by the high priest.⁴²² The actual festival begins when the high priest pronounces praise three times with the words ‘ikû-star (Pegasus), Esagila, image of Heaven and Earth’.⁴²³ Then, after the second meal in the late afternoon, *Enūma eliš* is recited or enacted by the high priest⁴²⁴ to Bēl, and apparently this took the rest of the day, because no other cultic events are recorded.⁴²⁵ The text does not describe the procession of the king on the fourth day from his palace to the temple of Nabû, near the palace, where the scepter was offered to him and the fate of the king was decreed, except in the prayers recited during this day.⁴²⁶ Also no mention is made of the king’s journey to Borsippa, to bring the statue of Nabû back to Babylon the next day.⁴²⁷

On day 5 prayers for Bēl and for Bēltija are recited.⁴²⁸ Then the king enters Babylon with Nabû, but before he goes into Esagila the text describes extensively how Esagila, including the cella of Bēl and the cella of Nabû (Ezida), are prepared for this visit by the high priest.⁴²⁹ During these preparations the high priest goes out to the open country, leaving an exorcist and a slaughterer to purify the temple with the carcass of a sheep.⁴³⁰

one holding a snake, the other a scorpion. Apparently they represent enemies of Nabû, the son of Marduk. Leftovers of the offering table of Madānu are served to them, which suggests that they are in a prison with bad food. Then they are apparently burned. Here perhaps a myth concerning Nabû is expressed, in which he defeats two opponents. Indeed Nabû is known as a savior, and as the one who reaps glory for his father Marduk (cf. F. Pomponio, *Nabû*, Roma, 1978, 122 and W.G. Lambert, in: *Matouš Festschrift* II, 95 sub B 12). It is also possible that the figurines symbolize the exorcist and the slaughterer, who purify the temple on day 5 (cf. J.A. Black, *Religion* 11 [1981], 55).

⁴²¹ Lines 222 ff. A hand-raising prayer is a personal prayer, here illustrated by the fact that the priest refers to himself in the prayer (l. 245). Also, in this prayer the power of Marduk and his mercy for the city and its people is described.

⁴²² Lines 251 ff. Note that some of the epithets of Zarpanītu are parallel to those of Marduk in the preceding prayer (lines 223–251; 240–254; 245–262). First Zarpanītu is described as the most brilliant of the stars (252), probably referring to the planet Venus (see 325). Then the prayer describes Zarpanītu as protector of the poor, the captive, the fallen, the king, the citizens of Babylon, but also for the servant, that is the high priest who performs the prayer and who addresses himself in the third person (note that in his prayer to Marduk he did not dare to pray for himself).

⁴²³ Line 274. Cf. K. van der Toorn, *Suppl. VT* 43 (1991), 332, with n. 7.

⁴²⁴ See my comments on line 282 in the Appendix.

⁴²⁵ From BM 32206 +, II, 62–64, we know that the *Enūma eliš* was also recited on day 4 of the ninth month Kislīmu in Babylon, which may indicate that it was recited on the fourth of every month. If this is true then obviously there is no special connection of the Epic of Creation with the New Year festival as W.G. Lambert suggested (*JSS* 13 [1968], 107); we would then have to re-examine the function of *Enūma eliš* in this festival, which could alter our present ideas of the festival all together.

⁴²⁶ Lines 244 ff.

⁴²⁷ Cf. K. van der Toorn, *Suppl. VT* 43 (1991), 332–3, with n. 8–10.

⁴²⁸ Lines 288 ff. and 317 ff. In these prayers Marduk’s power and Zarpanītu’s protective role (see 326) again are important. Marduk is called ‘Dimmerankia, who decrees the destinies’ (301) and Zarpanītu is identified with ‘Damkianna, lady of Heaven and Earth’ (324), wife of Enki-Ea and mother of Marduk in *Enūma eliš*. Then the names of planets and stars are mentioned, with whom the two deities have to be identified. Note that Marduk is connected with the male heavenly bodies and Zarpanītu with the female heavenly bodies. At the end of the prayer to Marduk sun and moon are mentioned (314–5), perhaps to be identified with Marduk, similar to Venus who must be identified with Zarpanītu (see above). Note that the Sumerian ideograms used are explained by their Akkadian epitheta, cf. M. Stol, *NABU* 1989, no. 60.

⁴²⁹ Lines 338 ff.

⁴³⁰ Also incantations (*šiptu*) of the type ‘The house is conjured’ are recited by the exorcist. We have evidence from the astronomical diaries that during the month Nisannu and Ajjaru in Babylon incantations are recited, see A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -226, A, obv. 4’ and 23’ (85 S.E.), in the latter case in connection with the kettledrum, see II.5.2.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

Afterwards the carcass is thrown into the river and they leave for the open country themselves, not to return as long as Nabû is in Babylon, that is, as long as the New Year festival lasts, until day 12. Clearly their presence would disturb the ceremony since they might endanger the purification process.⁴³¹

After the temple is consecrated, during the morning the high priest and the craftsmen bring out the golden canopy from the treasury of Marduk and cover Ezida, the cella of Nabû in Esagila, and utter a cry of distress (*ikillu*).⁴³²

After the craftsmen have left an offering table is set up in front of Bêl, after which a prayer is recited.⁴³³ The offering table is brought to Nabû (presumably in Borsippa), after which he travels to Esagila by ship, probably accompanied by the king, although the (damaged) text does not say this.⁴³⁴

Then the king enters the scene. His hands are washed and he is led into Esagila, where he has to take part in a special ceremony.⁴³⁵ The high priest takes away scepter, loop, mace, and the Crown of Kingship and places them upon a seat in front of Bêl in his cella. Then he goes out and strikes the king's cheek, leads him into the cella in front of Bêl, pulls him by his ears and makes him kneel down on the ground. The slap on the cheek is an accusation, and the king replies by saying that he has not neglected the gods, the city of Babylon, the temple Esagila, nor his subjects.⁴³⁶

After a break in the text, during which the king leaves the cella again, the high priest assures the king that Bêl will magnify his lordship, extol his kingship, and destroy his enemies. The king rediscovers his dignity and the high priest brings out scepter, loop, mace and crown from the cella and returns them to the king, after which he strikes the king's cheek again: if tears flow, Bêl is satisfied, if not, Bêl is angry and he will bring about the king's downfall.⁴³⁷

⁴³¹ McEwan has interpreted this passage as referring to separate *akîtu*-festivals outside Babylon: *akîtu ina šêri* (FAOS 4, 179 and 180, n. 419), since day 6–11, attested in Uruk (TU 39–40), are not attested in Babylon. But see SBH VIII, II, 1–11 (discussed below), which probably describes events on day 8 and 11 of Nisannu in the *akîtu*-temple. Furthermore, the Babylon text does not actually mention an *akîtu*-ceremony 'in the open country'. As we already saw we have some Neo-Babylonian references to *a-ki-tu₄*(!) *šâ EDEN* (AnOr 9, 2, 64; see also 3, 44) but here clearly the *akîtu* (-temple) of the open country is intended, and not *akîtu*-festivals outside Babylon. Also, there is no need for such an interpretation: as long as Nabû is in Babylon, the exorcist and the slaughterer, who have performed the purification with the carcass of a sheep and apparently are unclean, are not allowed to be in Babylon, so that their 'unclean' presence may not bring into danger the divine rites. For the same reason the high priest may not observe this purification, because if he does, he is not pure (lines 364–5). Compare this with KAR 60, describing the Neo-Assyrian Assur-version of the kettledrum ritual (obv. 15–18, rev. 1–4), where the lamentation priest had to uncover his head and bow down (a typical position of penitence), necessary because the priest was responsible for a crime: the killing of the bull, a sacred animal, which makes him unclean. Also he has to decline three times the responsibility for killing the animal. Furthermore, apparently the lamentation priests were allowed to eat the meat, but not the chief singer of dirges (*galamāhu*), because he was considered responsible for killing the bull. See II.5.2.

⁴³² Lines 366 ff.

⁴³³ Lines 384 ff. Here Marduk is addressed as the god of the *akîtu*-festival, and perhaps a reference is made to the procession to the *akîtu*-temple named *Bîl ikribi* (400–1), which has to follow on day 8 (not described in this text).

⁴³⁴ Lines 403 ff.

⁴³⁵ Lines 413 ff.

⁴³⁶ Cf. K. van der Toorn, *Suppl. VT* 43 (1991), 333.

⁴³⁷ Lines 434 ff.

II.4. Annual ceremonies

After a ceremony with a reed bundle and the divine bull, the function of which is not clear,⁴³⁸ the text ends.⁴³⁹

More information on the events from day 8 on comes from other sources.⁴⁴⁰ Before discussing the Hellenistic textual evidence, first briefly the events on days 8–11: on day 8⁴⁴¹ the procession of the king, ‘taking Bēl by the hand’, together with Nabû and all the other gods, who had gathered in Esagila, moved from Esagila to the *akītu*-temple situated ‘in the open country’ (*ina šēri*). We are not well informed about the events taking place in the *akītu*-temple. The procession returned on day 11, probably by the same route, back to Esagila, passing through several stations, among which the Dais of Destinies (*parak šīmāti*), where Bēl determined the destinies for the next year.⁴⁴² This was one of the highlights of the festival.

New textual evidence from the Hellenistic period has come available. We now have a Hellenistic fragment of a temple ritual, BM 41577, which may deal with the month Nisannu, and presents us with new evidence for the New Year festival in Babylon.⁴⁴³ The main proceedings described in this fragment consist of a visit of the high priest to the cella of Bēl, where he recites a Sumerian blessing to Bēl. Then he enters the cella of Bēltija, to recite another Sumerian blessing. He returns to Bēl and recites a blessing, this time in Akkadian, after which he enters the cella of Bēltija again for another blessing also in Akkadian. The fragment probably deals with day 6 or 7 of Nisannu, as George suggested,⁴⁴⁴ and the cultic activities must have preceded the procession to the *akītu*-temple on day 8.

⁴³⁸ Lines 453 ff. In line 458 a reference is made to the slaughtering(?) of a white bull, after which a blessing to the divine bull follows. Lines 463–71 are now partly available in BM 32485 (published in this study, see Plate I), but do not help to explain the ceremony because of the damaged state of the fragment. The bull and the king are mentioned several times and perhaps a thigh-piece of the bull is consumed.

According to Thureau-Dangin (*RAcc.*, 146, n. 1) this slaughtering(?) of the white bull symbolizes the beginning of the New Year, quoting Virgil (Georg. I, 217): ‘with his gilded horns the white bull opens the year’. At the time when the ritual took place in the spring the sun would still be in the zodiacal sign of the Bull. Note that the ceremony took place after sunset, and if the bull indeed has astral meaning, we might have to think in terms of the rising of constellations before sunrise or after sunset, cf. W. Hartner, *JNES* 24 (1965), 1 ff., especially 5 ff.

⁴³⁹ For the lines 472 ff. see my comments in the Appendix.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. K. van der Toorn, *Suppl. VT* 43 (1991), 333 f. and M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 438 ff. with the relevant textual evidence. The procession is extensively described by B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, 40 f. See also the Neo-Babylonian fragments *VS* 24, 108 (+) 109 // 110 (*ina šulmi īrub*, 236–39, nos. 10–11), which deal with Marduk’s stay in the *akītu*-temple.

⁴⁴¹ See K. van der Toorn, *Suppl. VT* 43 (1991), 336, with n. 28, contra P.-R. Berger, in: *CRR4* 17 (1970), 156, who suggested that the procession left on day 9 of Nisannu.

⁴⁴² The place where the destinies are determined, the Dais of Destinies, is sometimes called the DU₆.KÙ the ‘Pure Mound’, originally the cosmic seat of the king of the gods of Heaven and Earth (Lugaldimmerankia) in the divine assembly, see for example *BRM* 4, 7, rev. 37 (see my comments on this line in the Appendix). In Babylon it is the seat of Marduk/Bēl as Lugaldimmerankia in Ubšukkinaku of Esagila (cf. A.R. George, *House Most High*, no. 180). In our text the passage with the Dais of Destinies is missing, but on day 5 Marduk is called DIM.ME.ER.AN.KI.A *mu-šim* NAM.MEŠ ‘(Lugal)dimmerankia, who decrees the destinies’ (*RAcc.*, 137, 301). Note that the second New Year month Tašrītu in the Nippur calendar is called DU₆.KÙ(.GA), the beginning of the religious year when the destinies were determined in the DU₆.KÙ (cf. B. Landsberger, *Kult. Kalender*, 34; A. Tsukimoto, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege*, Kevelaer, 1985, 204). Also in Uruk the seventh month Tašrītu is called DU₆.KÙ, see the New Year text *TU* 39, obv. 1 and rev. 25.

⁴⁴³ A.R. George, *Studies W.G. Lambert*, no. 1, 260 ff.

⁴⁴⁴ *ib.*, 263.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

Day 8 day of the New Year festival of Nisannu is not discussed in the Babylon text *RAcc.*, 127 ff., but we do have other references to this day in texts from Hellenistic Babylon. First there is the chronicle 13b.⁴⁴⁵ The text describes food offerings for Bēl and Bēltija in Esagila on day 8 of Nisannu in year 88(?) S.E. These offerings are made by the administrator (*šatammu*) of Esagila, according to the command of the king. There are many problems with this text, which will be dealt with elsewhere.⁴⁴⁶ Important here is that, although the king himself is not present during these offerings, Bēl and Bēltija are still in Esagila on day 8 of Nisannu, which must mean that these activities took place just before the procession began.

Strong evidence for this procession on day 8 of Nisannu comes from an astronomical diary, a fragment from the reign of Antiochus III (107 S.E.)⁴⁴⁷:

- 14 ... [ITI].BI UD.8.KAM ¹An LUGAL u ¹lū x¹
15 [TA] É.GAL È-ni a-na KÁ SIKIL.[LA šá É].SAG.GÍL ḫa-ru-ú šá MU ¹x¹
16 [a-n]a² É.SAG.GÍL ina IGI.MEŠ-šú-nu DŪ-uš N[IDBA²] ¹a-na¹ [Id]AMAR.UTU KAR²
¹x¹
17 [...] ¹x¹ šá li-pi-šú-nu GAR-nu-¹ ana É.UD.1.KAM KU₄ [x x]
18 [...]XV TIN.TIR^{ki} u bul-tu šá ¹An LUGAL 'DŪ' [...]
19 [...] ¹x x x x¹ a-na É [x] [...]

¹⁴ ... That [month,] on the 8th, king Antiochus and the [...] ¹⁵went out [from] the palace. In front of the Holy Gat[e of E]sagila he performed the *ḫarû*-ritual of ... ¹⁶[fo]r(?) Esagila in their presence. Ce[real offerings(?)] [for] Marduk ... ¹⁷[...] of their descendants(?) were placed, entered the Day-one (= *akītu*)-temple [...] ¹⁸[...] performed offerings for] Ištar of Babylon and the life of king Antiochus.[...].¹⁹[...] ... to ... [...].

The passage clearly describes the king taking part in a procession from Esagila to the *akītu*-temple during the New Year festival.⁴⁴⁸ Another diary passage referring to the 8th day of Nisannu⁴⁴⁹ suggests that after the second meal of the morning (*tardennu ša šēri*)⁴⁵⁰ Ištar of Babylon was taken by the hands and brought from the temple of Gula, probably to Esagila, where she was to join in with the other participants of the procession to the *akītu*-temple.

For day 8 and 11 of the festival we can turn to a calendar text, *SBH* VIII. The beginning of the second column (and a large part of the first column?) deals with the New Year festival during the month Nisannu: a clothing ceremony (of Marduk) is mentioned probably for day 8, since the text continues with a procession to the *akītu*-temple *Bīt ikribi*.⁴⁵¹ On day 11 a festival (*isinnu*)⁴⁵² is celebrated in the *akītu*-temple,

⁴⁴⁵ BM 35421, published by A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, 283 f. and pl. XI (collated).

⁴⁴⁶ See II.8.7.

⁴⁴⁷ A.J.Sachs–H.Hunger, *Diaries*, no.-204, C, rev. 14–19. Cf. also S. Sherwin-White, A. Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 130–1. See also II.8.7.

⁴⁴⁸ There is more (although very scanty) evidence in the astronomical diaries of religious festivities during the month Nisannu: incantations (*šiptu*) and offerings (*niqû*) are recorded in A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -226, A, obv. 4' and no. -170, A, obv. 1'.

⁴⁴⁹ A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -140, A, obv. 21–22.

⁴⁵⁰ See also III.2.1.

⁴⁵¹ II, 3–4. See also II.4.3.

⁴⁵² Different names for the festival (*isinnu*) of *akītu* are known, especially in royal inscriptions. Sanherib

for which presents and gifts are brought in, and which includes a wedding festival (*ḥadaššūtu*), perhaps between Marduk and Zarpanītu.⁴⁵³

The recently published Late Babylonian, possibly Hellenistic fragment BM 47902 +, originally consisting of four columns, deals with events taking place in the *akītu*-temple *Bīt ikribi* during the Nisannu New Year festival in Babylon.⁴⁵⁴ Obverse I describes Bēl and the other gods taking up position in the *akītu*-temple. Part of column IV is duplicated by K 9876 +, which describes recitations which had to be performed during the festival, similar to the Uruk text *BRM* 4, 7.⁴⁵⁵ BM 47902 + also mentions the twelfth day ‘when Bēl rises’ (*tebū*, obv. I, 20), which probably refers to events taking place in Esagila after Bēl had returned from the *akītu*-temple.⁴⁵⁶

More indirect evidence for the eleventh day comes from non-cultic sources. An astronomical diary may suggest that king Antiochus II Theos (together with his three sons) was in Esagila on day 11 of Nisannu (66 S.E.), perhaps returning from the *akītu* temple on the last day of the festival.⁴⁵⁷ Also, in the already mentioned list of temple

speaks of a ‘festival of the banquet (*i-sin-ni qé-re-ti*) of Aššur’, *OIP* 2, 143, 8–9, see also 136, 25 (cf. B. Menzel, *Tempel* I, 55 with II, 53*, n. 659, cf. also I, 23 with II, 21*, n. 239). Assurbanipal mentions a ‘festival of joy’ (*isinnu ḥidāti*), R.C. Thompson, *Esarh.*, pl. 18, VI, 11 (*i-[sin-ni]i ḪUL.MEŠ*). Neriglissar speaks of a ‘festival of *akītu*’ (*i-na i-si-in-ni a-ki-ti*), *VAB* 4, 210, Ner. I, I, 35 (the reconstruction follows H.G. Güterbock, *ZA* 40 [1931], 289–90). And Nabonidus mentions a ‘festival of the *akītu*-temple’ (*i-sin-nu É a-ki-ti*), *VAB* 4, 284, Nbn 8, IX, 42. For more examples see *CAD*, A/I, 267 ff. sub *akītu*. For a festival called *isin(nu) bīti* see II.8.1.

⁴⁵³ II, 6–8.

⁴⁵⁴ W.G. Lambert, *RA* 91 (1997), 52–56 (earlier edition by B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, 233–35, no. 9). In this article other Late Babylonian fragments dealing with the procession to the *akītu*-temple are also discussed by Lambert, but these are less relevant for our discussion here which aims at reconstructing the chronology of the New Year festival days in Hellenistic Babylon. Note however the small Late Babylonian fragment, BM 77028 (ib., 71–74): it was probably written in Borsippa, but, as Lambert suggests, the fragment presents a recitation belonging to a ritual which probably deals with the boat trip of Marduk and the king of Babylon, well-known to be part of the procession to the *akītu*-temple during the New Year festival in Babylon. No indication of the day on which this occurred is given. In the badly preserved colophon the tablet is referred to as ‘tablet 25 of the series EN ...’ (rev. 4), which may suggest that it was part of the large series of tablets describing the New Year festival in Babylon, as known especially from *RAcc*.

⁴⁵⁵ See II.4.5.1.

⁴⁵⁶ Rather than indicating the departure of Bēl from the *akītu*-temple on day 12, as Lambert suggests, *RA* 91 (1997), 53.

⁴⁵⁷ A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -245, A, obv. 12’–13’. Cf. R.J. van der Spek, in: H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg e.a. (eds.), *De Agricultura*, 72, who assumes that the king probably did not visit Babylon, but that offerings were made on behalf of the king and his sons. Another diary (no. -161, A₁, A₂, obv. 27’–29’) describes events on days 10 and 11 of Nisannu: the damaged passage refers to sheep and the *dudē* gate of Esagila, but no reference to the New year festival is made. Another diary, no. -77, A, ‘Obv. 12’, relates to the assembly (*kiništu*) and administrator (*šatammu*) of Esagila and mentions a festival (*isinnu*) during the first month Nisannu, but because of the broken context it is not clear whether this refers to the New Year festival.

We must be careful with these kind of references, even when they mention the *akītu*-temple, because this temple was not only used during the New Year festival of Nisannu, as is clear for example from BM 32206 +, where a procession of Usmū, a slave and a bull to the *akītu*-temple is recorded on day 4 of Kislīmu. See II.4.3. Also the astronomical diaries often record events taking place in the *akītu*-temple in months other than Nisannu, but usually the relevant passages are badly damaged and the context remains unclear. The month of the second New Year festival, Tašrītu, is not attested in connection with this festival, nor with the *akītu*-temple. For references to the *akītu*-temple (written É UD.I.KAM ‘Day one temple’ and used as alternative name, cf. R.J. van der Spek, in: J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse*, 225) and the astronomical diaries: no. -204, C, rev. 17 (mentioned above); no. -187, A, rev. 10’; no. -171, B, rev. 4’; no. -170, A, obv. 13’; no. -158, C, 6’–8’; no. -132, D, rev. 12’; no. -129, A₂, obv. 20; no. -126, A, rev. 4; no. -124, rev. 16’; no. -88, B, obv. 12’; and no. -79, obv. 6, dated 233 S.E. (79/8 B.C.), which is the last reference to the *akītu*-temple in the diaries. The *akītu*-temple is attested in administrative documents as late as 219 S.E.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

expenditures, which refers to day 1 of Nisannu (see above), sheep for the regular offerings in the *akītu*-temple on day 11 of Nisannu are also mentioned,⁴⁵⁸ which presumably means that Bēl has returned from the *akītu*-temple and is back in Esagila.

Some concluding remarks

When we compare the data from Uruk and Babylon, we must conclude that for Hellenistic Uruk only the data for the Tašrītu version are reasonably certain. Here preparations for the procession took seven days, after which the procession left on day 8 and returned to the Rēš-temple on day 9. The festivities lasted another two days. Furthermore we have indications which suggest that in Uruk the Nisannu version of the festival was probably similar to the Tašrītu version, but no certain data have been preserved for the days on which the procession took place.

In Hellenistic Babylon the Nisannu version follows the schedule used in the Neo-Babylonian period: the procession left on day 8, and did not return to Esagila earlier than on day 11 of Nisannu. The Tašrītu festival in Babylon remains unclear. The fact that the days, on which certain cultic activities of the New Year festival are held, are not the same in the various cities, as seems to be the case in Hellenistic Uruk and Babylon, has already been established by others.⁴⁵⁹

Table XV: the New Year festival in Hellenistic Uruk and Babylon

| date | god | place | text |
|--------------|-----|---------|---|
| 7-I | Anu | Uruk | <i>TU</i> 39–40 |
| (8-I) | Anu | Uruk | <i>KAR</i> 132 |
| 10-I | Anu | Uruk | <i>TU</i> 43 |
| 11-I | Anu | Uruk | <i>TU</i> 43 |
| 1–11-VII | Anu | Uruk | <i>TU</i> 39–40 |
| (8-VII) | Anu | Uruk | <i>BRM</i> 4, 7 |
| 1-I | Bēl | Babylon | Çağırkan, <i>Festivals</i> , 1; AB 244 |
| 2–5-I | Bēl | Babylon | <i>RAcc.</i> , 127 ff. |
| 6-I | Bēl | Babylon | <i>RAcc.</i> , 127 ff. |
| (6/7/8(?)-I) | Bēl | Babylon | BM 41577 |
| 8-I | Bēl | Babylon | <i>Diaries</i> , no.-204; <i>SBH</i> VIII; Grayson, <i>Chronicles</i> , no. 13b |
| 11-I | Bēl | Babylon | <i>SBH</i> VIII; <i>Diaries</i> , no. -245; AB 244 |
| 7-VII(?) | Bēl | Babylon | BM 32206 + |
| 8-VII | Bēl | Babylon | BM 32206 + |

(93/2 B.C.), cf. AB 244, obv. 14 (G.J.P. McEwan, *Iraq* 43 [1981], 132–34). The *akītu*-temple is perhaps also mentioned in chronicle 10, rev. 22 (A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, 118).

⁴⁵⁸ AB 244, obv. 13–16.

⁴⁵⁹ See W.G. Lambert, *JSS* 13 (1968), 107, where he noticed that the day, on which the great battle between Marduk and Tiamat during the New Year festival in Nisannu could occur, varies in the texts from day 8, 10 or 11.

II.4. Annual ceremonies

II.4.6. The brazier festivals

The *kinūnu* ‘brazier, hearth’ (KI.NE, rarely KI.NE.NE) is a cult object used in ceremonies and rituals throughout the year, but also special brazier festivals are known. Brazier festivals are attested in documents from the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods.⁴⁶⁰ Ceremonies with the *kinūnu* are less well-known from the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods.⁴⁶¹ For the Hellenistic period⁴⁶² we have a reference to the ceremonies with the brazier in the Uruk ritual text *TU* 38,⁴⁶³ which lists several ceremonies and offerings under the classification *paršu*. This text also informs us that loaves and cakes and furthermore oxen and sheep were apparently used during the ceremony with the *kinūnu*. The ceremonies with the *kinūnu* probably took place during night vigils, as in earlier periods.⁴⁶⁴

Cohen has suggested⁴⁶⁵ that there is evidence for a brazier festival in the Eanna-temple in Late Neo-Babylonian Uruk in the ninth month Kislīmu,⁴⁶⁶ and also for a brazier festival in the Esagila-temple in Hellenistic Babylon in the ninth month Kislīmu, but note that references to the *kinūnu* begin as early as the eighth month Araḫšamna, and continued into the tenth month Ṭebētu (also known as Kinūnu the ‘brazier month’).⁴⁶⁷ Note also that the months referred to are all winter-months.

Another brazier called *garakku* is not often mentioned in Hellenistic temple ritual texts. However, it plays an important role in the eclipse of the moon ritual from Uruk, described in *BRM* 4, 6.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁰ M.E. Cohen, *Cultic calendars*, 392 ff.

⁴⁶¹ *CAD*, K, 395a and *AHW*, 481–2. Cf. G. van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, 168 and A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar temple at Sippar*, 21, n. 47.

⁴⁶² See G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 163.

⁴⁶³ *Obv.* 37 and *rev.* 37.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. *RMA* no. 151, *rev.* 7–10 (= H. Hunger, *SA A* VIII (1992), p. 211, no. 371, *rev.* 10), which mentions a *kinūnu*-ceremony taking place during the night of the nineteenth of Kislīmu. I already argued against McEwan’s idea (*FAOS* 4, 163), that this is confirmed by the list in *TU* 38, see II.1.

⁴⁶⁵ *Cultic calendars*, 393–4.

⁴⁶⁶ *LKU*, no. 51, *rev.* 13–18.

⁴⁶⁷ *BRM* 4, 25 // *SBH* VII, *obv.* 5 ff. (for day 18 of the eighth month Araḫšamna), *obv.* 26 ff. (for days 9, 10, 17 and 22 of the ninth month Kislīmu), *obv.* 50 ff. (for the tenth day of the tenth month Ṭebētu). There is more supporting evidence for brazier ceremonies on the fourth day of the ninth month Kislīmu, in the Esagila ritual text BM 32206 +, IV, 149, 152, 154, 155, 156, all on day four of Kislīmu (cf. Lambert’s remark on p. 90a top).

Another occurrence of *kinūnu* was suggested by G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 87–88, and B. Funck, *Uruk zur Seleukidenzeit*, 217–17: *BRM* 2, 22, 7 // Weisberg, *BiMes* 24, no. 1, 7, a private contract from Hellenistic Uruk, reads in *obv.* 7 (see also *rev.* 21):

... 𐎶𐎵.𐎶.𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶.𐎶.𐎶.𐎶.𐎶.𐎶.𐎶.𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶.𐎶.𐎶 𐎶𐎶-𐎶𐎶

While Clay, *BRM* 2, p. 24 apparently already identified the correct logogram (he reads: ¹melultu¹ 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 ‘the festivities(?) of Ashtoreth, all of it’), L.T. Doty (*CAHU*, 133 with n. 266) suggested 𐎶𐎶.𐎶.𐎶.𐎶.𐎶.𐎶.𐎶.𐎶 = EŠEMEN = *keppû* ‘jump rope’. This was however not followed by McEwan, who read 𐎶𐎶.𐎶.𐎶.𐎶.𐎶.𐎶.𐎶.𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 ‘the braziers of all the goddesses’, and Funck, who preferred: *is-qi-e* BIL.BIL.𐎶.𐎶.𐎶, ‘den Anteil an den Feueropfern’. *keppû* ‘skipping-rope’ has to be preferred, because *kinūnu* is usually written KI.NE or rarely KI.NE.NE, but never KI.E.NE.NE; furthermore, *keppû* has, unlike *kinūnu* and *mēlultu*, the determinative GIŠ and is often attested with 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 ‘the goddess’ (see the dictionaries for references); see also R. Borger, *ABZ*, 237a, who also gives EŠEMEN = KI.E.NE.DI, and EŠEMEN = KI.E.NE.DI.AN.MUŠ or KI.E.NE.DI.𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. So, probably we should read in *BRM* 2, 22, *obv.* 7: ‘(his) share in the skipping-ropes of all the goddesses’.

⁴⁶⁸ *Obv.* 14–18, 29–30, *rev.* 37–38. It is well-known in texts from earlier periods, see for instance, T.G. Pinches, *Berens Coll.*, no. 110, *obv.* 2 and *passim* in this text; *LKU* no. 51, *obv.* 8 (*napišu ina muḫḫi garakka*), 10, 19, 20. Cf. also A. Falkenstein, *LKU*, 18, n. 2.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

Table XVI: brazier festivals in Uruk and Babylon

| date | god | place | text |
|----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1, 2, 6, 7, 14,15-IX | gods of Eanna | Uruk | <i>LKU</i> , no. 51 |
| 18-VIII | Šamaš | Babylon ⁴⁶⁹ | <i>BRM</i> 4, 25// <i>SBH</i> VII |
| 18-VIII | Šamaš | Babylon ⁴⁶⁹ | <i>BRM</i> 4, 25// <i>SBH</i> VII |
| 4-IX | – | Babylon | BM 32206 + |
| 9-IX | Lugalasal | Babylon ⁴⁶⁹ | <i>BRM</i> 4, 25// <i>SBH</i> VII |
| 10-IX | Madānu, Gula | Babylon ⁴⁶⁹ | <i>BRM</i> 4, 25// <i>SBH</i> VII |
| 17-IX | Nabû of Borsippa | Babylon ⁴⁶⁹ | <i>BRM</i> 4, 25// <i>SBH</i> VII |
| 22-IX | Uraš | Babylon ⁴⁶⁹ | <i>BRM</i> 4, 25// <i>SBH</i> VII |
| 10-X | Palil of Upî (Opis) | Babylon ⁴⁶⁹ | <i>BRM</i> 4, 25// <i>SBH</i> VII |

II.4.7. *The cultic calendars*

An attempt is made here to bring together all collected data which refer to annual cultic activities, in order to reconstruct cultic calendars for Uruk and Babylon in the Hellenistic period.⁴⁷⁰ Although for the second, third, fourth, fifth and ninth months in Uruk, and for the fourth, fifth, sixth, eleventh and twelfth months in Babylon no data are available, we have enough to reconstruct two calendars. Data for the two intercalary months, intercalary Ulûlu and intercalary Addaru are not attested.

The cultic calendar of Uruk

Nisannu (I)

| date | cult activity | text |
|-------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 7-I | New Year festival of Anu | <i>TU</i> 39–40 |
| (8-I) | procession of Anu | <i>KAR</i> 132 |
| (8-I) | New Year festival of Anu | <i>KAR</i> 132 |
| 10-I | New Year festival of Anu | <i>TU</i> 43 |
| 11-I | New Year festival of Anu | <i>TU</i> 43 |

Ajjaru (II) (no data)

Simānu (III) (no data)

Du'ūzu (IV) (no data)

Abu (V) (no data)

Attested only once in the Hellenistic temple ritual texts (*KAR* 132, III, 17) is the *huluppaqu* (^{duš}NÍG.TAB.-TUR.RA) a small brazier of clay or metal (*CAD*, H, 232; cf. *AHW*, 354–5).

⁴⁶⁹ And neighbouring towns/cities, see A.R. George, *BTT*, 222, n. 4.

⁴⁷⁰ A first attempt was made by G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 169–182.

II.4. Annual ceremonies

Ulūlu (VI)

| date | cult activity | text |
|------|-----------------------------------|--------|
| 3-VI | clothing ceremonies for Anu, Adad | K 3753 |
| 3-VI | procession of Nusku, Ningal | K 3753 |
| 3-VI | procession of Nusku | K 3753 |
| 3-VI | marriage ceremony of Ištar | K 3753 |

Tašītu (VII)

| date | cult activity | text |
|----------|--|---|
| 1-11-VII | New Year festival of Anu | <i>TU</i> 39-40 |
| 1-VII | marriage ceremony | <i>TU</i> 39 |
| 7-VII | clothing ceremonies for Anu, Antu, Ištar | <i>TU</i> 39 |
| (8-VII) | New Year festival of Anu | <i>BRM</i> 4, 7 |
| 8-9-VII | procession of Anu | <i>BRM</i> 4, 7; <i>TU</i> 39-40 |
| 17-VII | ceremony for Papsukkal | <i>OECT</i> 9, 40; 42; 44; 45 // 46; 60 |

Araḥsamna (VIII)

| date | cult activity | text |
|---------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 5-VIII | procession of Mīšaru | <i>TU</i> 39, K 3753 |
| 18-VIII | procession | K 3753 |

Kislīmu (IX) (no data)

Ṭebētu (X)

| date | cult activity | text |
|------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 16-17-(X?) | procession of Anu | <i>TU</i> 41 |

Šabaṭu (XI)

| date | cult activity | text |
|-------------|---------------|--------|
| 10 [+ x]-XI | ceremony | K 3753 |
| 22-XI | ceremony | K 3753 |
| 26-XI | ceremony | K 3753 |
| 27-XI | ceremony | K 3753 |
| 29-XI | ceremony | K 3753 |

Addaru (XII)

| date | cult activity | text |
|--------|-------------------------|---|
| 8-XII | ceremony for Antu | <i>OECT</i> 9, 40; 42; 44; 45 // 46; 60; 68 |
| 10-XII | ceremony for Bēlet-šēri | <i>OECT</i> 9, 44; 60 |

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

The cultic calendar of Babylon

Nisannu (I)

| date | cult activity | text |
|--------------|--|---|
| 1-I | New Year festival of Bēl | Çağiran, <i>Festivals</i> , 1; AB 244 |
| 2-5-I | New Year festival of Bēl | <i>RAcc.</i> , 127 ff. |
| 6-I | New Year festival of Bēl | <i>RAcc.</i> , 127 ff. |
| (6/7/8(?)-I) | New Year festival of Bēl | BM 41577 |
| 8-I | New Year festival of Bēl | <i>Diaries</i> , no. -204; <i>SBH</i> VIII; Grayson, <i>Chronicles</i> , no. 13b |
| 8-I | clothing ceremony for Marduk | <i>SBH</i> VIII |
| 8-I | procession of Bēl | <i>Diaries</i> , no. -204; <i>SBH</i> VIII |
| 11-I | New Year festival of Bēl | <i>SBH</i> VIII; <i>Diaries</i> , no. -245; AB 244 |
| 11-I | marriage ceremony of Marduk, Zarpanītu(?) | <i>SBH</i> VIII |

Ajjaru (II)

| date | cult activity | text |
|-------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| 2-II | clothing ceremony for Nabû | <i>SBH</i> VIII |
| 2-II | procession of Nabû | <i>SBH</i> VIII |
| 2-II | marriage ceremony of Nabû | <i>SBH</i> VIII |
| 6-II | ceremony for Nabû | <i>SBH</i> VIII |
| 7-II | ceremony for Nabû | <i>SBH</i> VIII |
| 7-II | procession of Nabû | <i>SBH</i> VIII |
| 17-II | procession of Nanāja | <i>SBH</i> VIII |

Simānu (III)

| date | cult activity | text |
|--------|------------------------|-----------------|
| 15-III | ceremony for Bēlet-ilī | <i>SBH</i> VIII |
| 15-III | procession | BM 32656 |
| 16-III | procession | BM 32656 |
| 22-III | ceremony | <i>SBH</i> VIII |

Du'ūzu (IV) (no data)

Abu (V) (no data)

Ulūlu (VI) (no data)

Tašrītu (VII)

| date | cult activity | text |
|----------|-------------------------------------|------------|
| 7-VII(?) | New Year festival of Bēl | BM 32206 + |
| 7-VII(?) | clothing ceremony for Bēl | BM 32206 + |
| 8-VII | New Year festival of Bēl | BM 32206 + |
| 8-VII | procession of Ninurta, Bēl (Enlil?) | BM 32206 + |

II.4. Annual ceremonies

Arašsamna (VIII)

| date | cult activity | text |
|---------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 18-VIII | ceremony for Šamaš | <i>BRM 4, 25</i> |
| 18-VIII | procession of the 'Sons of Bēl' | <i>SBH VII // BRM 4, 25</i> |
| 18-VIII | brazier festivals of Šamaš | <i>BRM 4, 25//SBH VII</i> |
| 25-VIII | ceremony for Zababa, Isin | <i>SBH VII // BRM 4, 25</i> |

Kislīmu (IX)

| date | cult activity | text |
|----------|--|---------------------------------------|
| 3-IX | clothing ceremony | <i>SBH VIII</i> |
| 3-IX | clothing ceremony | <i>BM 32206 +</i> |
| 3-IX | clothing ceremonies for Bēltīja, Tašmētu | <i>BM 32206 +</i> |
| 3-IX | clothing ceremony for Ištar of Babylon | <i>BM 32206 +</i> |
| 4-IX | ceremony for Marduk, Zarpanītu | <i>SBH VII // BRM 4, 25; SBH VIII</i> |
| 4-IX | procession of slave, bull, and Usmû | <i>BM 32206 +</i> |
| 4-IX | procession of Ninurta, Bēl (Enlil?) | <i>BM 32206 +</i> |
| 4-IX | brazier festival | <i>BM 32206 +</i> |
| 6/7-IX | ceremony for Enlils, Adads | <i>SBH VII // BRM 4, 25</i> |
| 8-IX | ceremony for Lugalbanda | <i>SBH VII // BRM 4, 25</i> |
| 9-IX | ceremony for Lugalasal | <i>SBH VII // BRM 4, 25</i> |
| 9-IX | brazier festival of Lugalasal | <i>BRM 4, 25//SBH VII</i> |
| 10-IX | ceremony for Ea | <i>SBH VII // BRM 4, 25</i> |
| 10-IX | brazier festival of Madānu, Gula | <i>BRM 4, 25//SBH VII</i> |
| 12-IX | ceremony for Ištar | <i>SBH VII // BRM 4, 25</i> |
| 13-IX | ceremony for Anunītu, Šarrat-Sippar | <i>SBH VII // BRM 4, 25</i> |
| 14-IX | ceremony for Ašratu | <i>BRM 4, 25</i> |
| 15-IX | ceremony for Anaššat(?) | <i>SBH VII // BRM 4, 25</i> |
| 16-IX | clothing ceremony | <i>SBH VIII</i> |
| 16/17-IX | ceremony for Nabû | <i>SBH VII // BRM 4, 25; SBH VIII</i> |
| 17-IX | brazier festival of Nabû of Borsippa | <i>BRM 4, 25//SBH VII</i> |
| 22-IX | ceremony for Uraš | <i>SBH VII // BRM 4, 25</i> |
| 22-IX | brazier festival of Uraš | <i>BRM 4, 25//SBH VII</i> |
| 25-IX | ceremony for Lugalmar(a)da | <i>SBH VII // BRM 4, 25</i> |
| 28/29-IX | ceremony for Nergal | <i>SBH VII // BRM 4, 25</i> |

Ṭebētu (X)

| date | cult activity | text |
|------|---|---------------------------|
| 10-X | ceremony for Palil | <i>BRM 4, 25</i> |
| 10-X | brazier festival of Palil of Upî (Opis) | <i>BRM 4, 25//SBH VII</i> |

Šabaṭu (XI) (no data)

Addaru (XII) (no data)

II.5. The kettledrum ritual

One of the instruments used during ceremonies and rituals was the kettledrum (Akk. *lilissu*).⁴⁷¹ The kettledrum, usually made of bronze, is attested from the Old Akkadian period on.⁴⁷² We must distinguish between, on the one hand, the kettledrum as a cultic object and used as a musical instrument as one of the means of averting divine anger, and on the other hand the ritual for the covering of the kettledrum: here the drum is also a cult object, but now it is the main protagonist of a ritual during which a bull is slaughtered and its hide is used to cover (*arāmu*) the drum. First we will discuss the different occurrences of the kettledrum, and then we will describe the ritual.

II.5.1. The kettledrum

In many ceremonies the kettledrum plays an important part. It is often connected with the verb *šakānu* ‘to place’, which however, depending on the context, can also mean ‘to play’. In several ritual texts from the Neo-Assyrian period we find occasional references to days on which the kettledrums were played (*lilisāti*).⁴⁷³ In a Neo- or Late Babylonian cultic calendar text from Sippar, BM 50503, the kettledrum is used to accompany the lamentation priest reciting *taqribtus* and *eršemakkus* on the days [1?]-8-15-20 of every month in Ebabbar, the temple of Šamaš.⁴⁷⁴ From the late Neo-Babylonian or early Achaemenid period we have one text from Uruk, *LKU*, no. 51, listing ceremonies for Bēlet-ša-Uruk, Ušur-amassu and Aška’itu for all twelve months of the year. The kettledrum is used during these ceremonies on at least eight separate days: on one or more unknown days of month IV, on day 17-IV, on the days 1 and 2-VII, on day 2-XII, on day 3-XII, on day [4]-XII, and on day 5-XII.⁴⁷⁵

The kettledrum is also attested in ritual texts from Hellenistic Uruk, but none of the days mentioned in *LKU*, no. 51 is attested. During an Ištar festival described in *TU* 42 + a kettledrum is placed on a *šuhhu*-stand in the cella of Ištar in her *akītu*-temple outside of Uruk,⁴⁷⁶ which can be connected with *LKU*, no. 51,⁴⁷⁷ which informs us that on an unknown day during the first half of the fourth month Du’ūzu⁴⁷⁸ Nanāja sits next to Bēlet-ša-Uruk (Ištar), the kettledrum is placed, and then lifted up again to take

⁴⁷¹ Wr. L.I.LI.ĪZ, LILIZ and syllabically. Besides the kettledrum we also find other instruments used in the cult: the *alū*-drum, the *balaggu*-harp, the *uppu*-drum, the *manzū*-drum, the *halhallatu*-drum, the *tigū*-drum, the *abgalgununnū*-drum, the *mālilu*-flute and the *tibbutu/timbūtu*-harp. However, not all are attested in texts from the Hellenistic period. For the drum types played by the lamentation priests see D. Brown and the present author in *RA* 91 (1997), 162 (note 1’).

⁴⁷² Cf. *AHW*, 552 f.; *CAD*, L, 186 f. Many references to the kettledrum also in G. Furlani, *Sacrificio*, 222 f., and id., *Riti*, 67 ff. See also F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 16 (1919), 121 f.; D.O. Edzard, M. Krebernik, in: *RIA* 7 (1987–90), 22b.

⁴⁷³ VAT 13596, BM 121206 and K 5413a; for a discussion of the *lilisāti*-data in these texts see G. van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, 140 ff., and 148 f.

⁴⁷⁴ The text, published by Stefan Maul in: *Munuscula Mesopotamica. Festschrift für Johannes Renger*, Münster, 1999, 285 ff., was discussed in II.2.2.

⁴⁷⁵ Cf. obv. 23, 24, 25; 28; rev. 6, 8; 27; 31; 32; 35.

⁴⁷⁶ Rev. 32’. The text is discussed in II.8.5.

⁴⁷⁷ Obv. 22–25.

⁴⁷⁸ This seems likely since the first attested day of Du’ūzu is day 17 (obv. 27).

part in a procession, after which the kettledrum is placed on a *šuḥḫu*-stand, perhaps in Bēlet-ša-Uruk's cella in Eanna.

The kettledrum is also used during the Uruk eclipse of the moon ritual, more specifically in the third version of the ritual, dealing with the duties of the lamentation priest.⁴⁷⁹ As we will discuss elsewhere, in this ritual the kettledrum is used as a musical instrument, serving the purpose of averting the evil consequences of the lunar eclipse, and furthermore it plays an important part as a cult object in the ritual.⁴⁸⁰

In another Uruk ritual text, W 18728,⁴⁸¹ describing clothing instructions for cult personnel and the king, the consecrated lamentation priest (*kalû gullubu*), probably belonging to the regular personnel of the temple, is dressed with linen *lubāru*-clothing; as long as he wears this clothing he is not allowed to sit near the kettledrum. After a passage which deals with the unconsecrated lamentation priest (*kalû la gullubu*), the chief singer of dirges (*galamāḫū*) is mentioned who also must take off the *lubāru*-clothing before he can sit near the kettledrum. At first sight this passage seems clear: as long as he wears this clothing the kettledrum cannot be used to accompany him when he recites lamentations. This, however, appears to be contradicted in the eclipse ritual text mentioned above: during the eclipse, i.e. when there is a threat of imminent danger, the people of the land and the lamentation priests have to cover their heads with (torn) *lubāru*-clothing,⁴⁸² which by itself is not unexpected: the clothing is worn as a gesture of mourning. However, while in W 18728 the lamentation priest must not come near the drum as long as he wears the *lubāru*-clothing, in the eclipse text there is no reference to the lamentation priests taking off this clothing when they begin reciting the lamentations, presumably accompanied by kettledrum music. What the exact significance of the passage in W 18728 is remains unclear, but it is clear that the lamentation priest cannot approach the kettledrum wearing *lubāru*-clothing, indicating some kind of negative or unclean association with this clothing, while the kettledrum is generally assumed to be positive.⁴⁸³

The kettledrum is also mentioned in a ritual text from Hellenistic Babylon: BM 32206 +⁴⁸⁴ describes ceremonies performed during days 3 and 4 of the month Kislīmu. First several events concerning Bēl and several other cult-participants on day 3 of Kislīmu in Esagila take place, leading up to the journey of a slave, riding on a bull, and Usmû to the *akītu*-temple on day 4, and their return on the same day to Esagila.⁴⁸⁵ Taking part in the events in Esagila is the kettledrum of Bēl, and the kettledrum of Bēltīja.⁴⁸⁶ No reference to the slaughtering of the bull, or the covering of the drum is made (as in the ritual with

⁴⁷⁹ *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 42 ff. // BM 134701, obv. 1 ff.

⁴⁸⁰ See II.7.3.

⁴⁸¹ A. Falkenstein, *UVB* 15 (1959), 40, obv. 10'f. and 13'f.

⁴⁸² *BRM* 4, 6, obv. 21 and rev. 43 f. // BM 134701, obv. 2 f.

⁴⁸³ M. Stol suggested to me: note that *lubāru* is only connected with the verbs *katāmu* 'to cover' and *ḫalāpu* 'to clad in', but not with *labāšu* 'to put on/to wear' (cf. *BRM* 4, 6, obv. 21' and rev. 43', W 18728, obv. 10'-11 and 13'). The first two indicate a temporary action, a sign of impurity. Perhaps the vocalisation (*fū'āl*) indicates a dirty cloth or clothing, see M. Stol in *Fs. Rykle Borger*, Groningen, 1998, 348-9.

⁴⁸⁴ G. Çağırzan, W.G. Lambert, *JCS* 43-45 (1991-1993), 89-106

⁴⁸⁵ See II.4.3. and II.8.2.

⁴⁸⁶ Col. I, 5, 18.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

the kettledrum, discussed below), although a drum skin(?) (*huppu*) is mentioned.⁴⁸⁷ The function of the bull is probably to carry the slave to and from the *akītu*-temple, as is clear from col. III, 115, where the slave descends from the bull when he has arrived in Esagila. Another reference to the kettledrum follows,⁴⁸⁸ and during the night of day 3 a kettledrum of Bēl and a kettledrum of Ea are used.⁴⁸⁹ The description of day 4⁴⁹⁰ contains the arranging of the *alū*-drum, in the same manner as for day 8 of Tašrītu.⁴⁹¹ No mention of the kettledrum is made until the procession is back in Esagila,⁴⁹² but the context is not clear because the relevant passage is partly damaged. Finally, in col. IV, 158 the text refers to a kettledrum (lamentation) 'It touches the Earth like a storm' (UD.D[AM K]I ÀM.ÚS), which however is not attested in the kettledrum ritual texts discussed below.⁴⁹³

Finally, according to a calendar text priests will beat a kettledrum, together with an *abgalgungunnu*-drum, on day 25 of the eighth month Arahsamna, after which the former is removed.⁴⁹⁴

This leaves us with only three attested pieces of data for the kettledrum, day 25-VIII, and days 3–4-IX, all from Babylon.

II.5.2. The ritual of the covering of the kettledrum

The ritual of covering the kettledrum is described in texts from the Neo-Assyrian period (Assur, Nineveh), and from the Hellenistic period, but only from Uruk.⁴⁹⁵ Although as we saw the kettledrum is attested in texts from Babylon, no ritual texts from Hellenistic Babylon are known which describe the covering of the kettledrum. However, we have two references in the astronomical diaries, which indicate that as we would expect the ritual was also practiced in Babylon. The ritual is mentioned in a diary for day 24 of the month Arahsamna in the year 41 S.E. (271 B.C.):

13' [... lūMA]Š.MAŠ.MEŠ u lūLAGAR.MEŠ né-pe-šú šá a-ra-mu šá li-[li-si DÙ-u (?)]

'[... the e]xorcists and the lamentation priests [performed(?)] the ritual procedure for the covering of the kettle[drum]'.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁸⁷ Col. I, 44.

⁴⁸⁸ Col. II, 48.

⁴⁸⁹ Col. II, 53.

⁴⁹⁰ Col. II, 55 ff.

⁴⁹¹ Col. II, 57–8, see also 59, and col. III, 102–3.

⁴⁹² Col. IV, 132–3.

⁴⁹³ It is mentioned in the Uruk building ritual *TU* 46, rev. 5, in the Uruk *mīs pī*-ritual text *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 9; and in the Uruk cultic calendar text *TU* 48, rev. 3, see II.2.2.

⁴⁹⁴ *SBH* VII, 4–5 // *BRM* 4, 25, 14–15.

⁴⁹⁵ Neo-Assyrian period: *KAR* 60; *KAR* 50; IV R², 23, no. 1 +. Hellenistic Uruk: *TU* 44; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. The *lilissu* is depicted on the reverse of the explanatory text *TU* 47 (A. Livingstone, *Mystical*, 187 ff.), from Hellenistic Uruk, and on two seal impressions found on the edges of cuneiform tablets from Hellenistic Uruk, see R. Wallenfels, *Uruk. Hellenistic Seal Impressions in the Yale Babylonian Collection. I. Cuneiform Tablets*, Mainz am Rhein, 1994 (*AUWE* 19), 19–20, nos. 51 and 52.

⁴⁹⁶ A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -270, B, rev. 12'–13'. This passage was discussed by W. Horowitz, *RA* 85 (1991), 75 ff.

In another diary, dealing with the month Ajjaru of the year 85 S.E., a reference is made to the temple workshop (*bīt mummi*); then a sheep is bound(?), after which the kettledrum is mentioned. Finally incantations are recited, presumably by an exorcist.⁴⁹⁷ The passage is damaged, but the reference to the temple workshop especially and to the incantations remind us of the covering of the kettledrum ritual, as we will see.

Here we will concentrate on the continuity of the kettledrum ritual: is it possible to see whether the ritual in the Neo-Assyrian period was different from the ritual in the Hellenistic period? We have several texts which give us good insight into the ritual, and generally they follow the same procedures, but there are also differences. We will first describe the ritual as it is described in the most important text, *TU 44*, which will be used here as the basis text, and compare this with other kettledrum ritual texts from the Neo-Assyrian and Hellenistic periods.

TU 44

The most elaborate version of the ritual, *TU 44*, was written in Hellenistic Uruk (the text is discussed in the Appendix.). The ritual begins with an *enūma*-phrase: ‘When y[ou] want [to cover] the kettledrum (proceed as follows)’.⁴⁹⁸ First, a knowledgeable expert (*ummānu*) selects a black bull.⁴⁹⁹ Then ‘on a favorable day’ the bull is led into the workshop (*bīt mummi*), where it is ritually prepared for the slaughtering.⁵⁰⁰ Twelve gods (figurines) are prepared. After this the kettledrum is positioned, the curtains are drawn shut, and the washing of the mouth ceremony (*mīs pī*) is performed on the bull. After a number of incantations and lamentations have been recited, the bull is slaughtered.⁵⁰¹

Its heart is burned, the sinew from its left thigh, which will be used later, is removed, and part of the carcass of the bull is buried in a cloth. Aside from the sinew more is left unburied: the face of the bull is placed towards the West, and the hide is soaked in flour, water, beer and wine. More preparations with the hide follow (laying it in ghee from a pure cow, steeping it with madder and alum), and then the kettledrum is covered with it, using a linen rope, wooden pegs, and the sinew, after which the remainder of the tanned hide is buried.⁵⁰²

Next a short explanatory passage follows which enumerates three groups totalling twelve gods: the three great gods Anu, Enlil and Ea, the twins Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea, and the seven children of Enmešarra.⁵⁰³ No explanation is given for these names here, but the duplicate IV R², 23, no. 1 +, I, 6 identifies the last group of seven gods as the sons of Enmešarra: ‘The seven gods, sons of Enmešarra, are (represented by) heaps of flour’. The twelve gods are probably the same figurines mentioned above, and they are placed in the kettledrum before it is covered, as is clear from the comment in the

⁴⁹⁷ A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -226, A, obv. 22’–23’. See W. Horowitz, *NABU* 1991, no. 80.

⁴⁹⁸ Col. I, 1.

⁴⁹⁹ Col. I, 2 ff.

⁵⁰⁰ Col. I, 7 ff.

⁵⁰¹ Col. II, 4 ff.

⁵⁰² Col. II, 16 ff.

⁵⁰³ Col. III, 1 ff. This passage is duplicated among others in the explanatory text *TU 47*, obv. 10 ff. (Hellenistic) and in IV R², 23, no. 1 +, I, 1–6 (Neo-Assyrian). See my comments on these lines in the Appendix.

following lines 7–8: ‘You will lay down twelve bronze gods into the bronze kettledrum and (then) you will cover the kettledrum’.⁵⁰⁴

The ritual continues: on day 15 the kettledrum is brought out before Šamaš, five offering accoutrements are arranged for Ea, Šamaš, Marduk, Lumḫa (also written ^dBALAG ‘the divine harp’ in the duplicate *KAR* 60, see the Appendix) and the (now) divine kettledrum (^dLILIZ), although only after this is the drum consecrated, purified, and the washing of the mouth ceremony performed on it. Then the drum is led before the gods and placed in a bed of barley seeds. After the lamentation LUGAL DIMMER ANKIA ‘The king, god of Heaven and Earth’⁵⁰⁵ the ritual ends.⁵⁰⁶ At the end of col. III a warning is added for the user of the tablet not to reveal its contents to anyone who is not competent.⁵⁰⁷ Finally col. IV enumerates all the materials and foodstuffs used during the ritual. The text ends with a colophon, which explicitly states that the text belongs to the ritual procedure (*nēpešu*) of the lamentation priest.⁵⁰⁸

Evidence from Nineveh and Assur: IV R², 23, no. 1 +, KAR 50 and KAR 60

The Nineveh text IV R², 23, no. 1 + is a catalogue of recitations, which had to be performed during the kettledrum ritual (the text is given in the Appendix.). It belongs to the corpus of the lamentation priest, as is specifically stated in the colophon.⁵⁰⁹ The text enumerates several recitations which have to be performed during the kettledrum ritual, but it also records a few passages from the ritual itself.⁵¹⁰ The text carefully records at which moment during the ritual a specific recitation has to be performed. It concentrates for the most part on the recitations, but we know that it was the first of a series of tablets describing the entire ritual, because the catchline refers to the bull entering the workshop, which, as we saw in *TU* 44, is the first step in the ritual after it has been inspected. These procedures are enumerated on separate tablets, which constitute our kettledrum ritual texts.

Descriptions for the kettledrum ritual in the Neo-Assyrian period are recorded in two text from Assur, *KAR* 50 and *KAR* 60 (both texts are given in the Appendix).

On the obverse of *KAR* 50⁵¹¹ we find a bilingual incantation for ‘the choice bull, the creation of the great gods’. The reverse describes the actual ritual. The text is apparently a shorter version of the ritual, compared with *TU* 44. After describing several offerings and purifications, the text explicitly describes how the bull was led into the workshop

⁵⁰⁴ See also II, 8–9. Cf. W.G. Lambert, *JSS* 13 (1968), 109–10; A. Livingstone, *Mystical*, 201.

⁵⁰⁵ III, 28, presented in full in *BRM* 4, 8, bilingual hymn to Anu, 61 S.E.; cf. M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 728 ff. Cohen pointed out (*Eršemma*, 48–9) that this lamentation, which had to be recited on the fifteenth of the month, was sung after the covering of the kettledrum was completed, and not while the drum was still being repaired. Therefore the recitation of lamentation to the accompaniment of the kettledrum did not serve the purpose of neutralising the divine anger, but was a means of testing the new drum.

⁵⁰⁶ Col. III, 15 ff.

⁵⁰⁷ Col. III, 29 ff.

⁵⁰⁸ Col. IV, 36.

⁵⁰⁹ Col. IV, 26.

⁵¹⁰ Cf. I, 7–8; III, 24–9; IV, 2; 24.

⁵¹¹ Part of the text is duplicated by the Nineveh texts K 6060 (*BBR* 2, no. 56) + K 10820 (unpublished, see Plate II). For details see the discussion of the text in the Appendix.

II.5. The kettledrum ritual

(described here as ‘a secluded place’, i.e. forbidden for outsiders)⁵¹² ‘in the morning, before sunrise’⁵¹³ (elsewhere not attested, although clear from the context). The text continues, in a very abbreviated passage, with the incantations which have to be recited, the slaughtering of the bull and the removing of the hide and sinew for the covering of the kettledrum.⁵¹⁴

More important for the comparison with *TU* 44 is another kettledrum ritual text from the Neo-Assyrian period, *KAR* 60. It is clear that in general the same procedures are followed, but the Uruk text describes all the ceremonies up to the slaughtering of the bull much more extensively⁵¹⁵ than the Assur text.⁵¹⁶ In addition, the enumeration of all the foodstuffs and materials, used during the ritual, is only attested in *TU* 44.⁵¹⁷ Furthermore, only in *TU* 44 is a short explanatory passage given.⁵¹⁸

There is one major difference between *TU* 44 and *KAR* 60. While the Uruk text first describes the slaughtering of the bull, and immediately continues with the covering of the kettledrum, the Assur text describes a special additional ceremony with the lamentation priest⁵¹⁹: he must uncover his head, kneel down and stand at the head of the bull, where he has to recite the prayer ‘He, who lies asleep’ three times. Then he must say: ‘these ritual acts the totality-of-the-gods has performed, I did not perform (them)’⁵²⁰ three times, after which the lamentation priest opens the curtains and this special ceremony is ended.

This passage has been discussed by Oppenheim.⁵²¹ The uncovering of the head and kneeling down is a typical position of penitence, and was necessary here because the priest was responsible for the crime he has committed: the killing of the bull, a sacred animal. That is why first he has to recite a lamentation for the dead three times, and then he has to decline the responsibility for killing the animal three times. Furthermore, in rev. 14 we read that the head of the lamentation priests, the chief singer of dirges (*galamāḥu*) is forbidden to eat the meat from the bull. Apparently the lamentation priests were allowed to eat the meat, but not the chief singer of dirges, because he was considered to have been responsible for killing the bull. This is interesting because in *TU* 44 the animal was carefully buried.⁵²² The Uruk text also mentions the burial of the remainder of the tanned hide.⁵²³

Oppenheim concluded that the inclusion of this ceremony in the ritual and the reference to the chief singer of dirges clearly show that between the Neo-Assyrian and the Hellenistic period major changes took place. However, we now have evidence from Hellenistic Uruk which might suggest otherwise.

⁵¹² Rev. 8.

⁵¹³ Rev. 1–2.

⁵¹⁴ Rev. 8 ff.

⁵¹⁵ Col. I, 7–II, 16.

⁵¹⁶ Obv. 1–15.

⁵¹⁷ Col. IV.

⁵¹⁸ Col. III, 1–14.

⁵¹⁹ Obv. 17–18, rev. 1–4.

⁵²⁰ Rev. 3–4.

⁵²¹ *OrNS* 11 (1942), 122, n. 1 (but note that he misinterpreted *KAR* 60, obv. 17).

⁵²² Col. II, 19.

⁵²³ Col. II, 32.

More evidence from Hellenistic Uruk: *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5⁵²⁴

Apart from *TU* 44 we have another kettledrum ritual text from Hellenistic Uruk, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, which allows us to follow the ritual procedures closely. Surprisingly this text is closer to the older Assur version than the other Hellenistic Uruk version *TU* 44⁵²⁵: the ceremonies that follow after the leading of the bull into the workshop⁵²⁶ are described in a much shorter version than in *TU* 44, and resemble more the Assur text. After this the bull was slaughtered in front of the kettledrum (*ina* IGI LI.LI.ÌZ).⁵²⁷ Note that in the duplicate *KAR* 60 the bull was placed for Lumḥa (^dBALAG) and then slaughtered.⁵²⁸

Next the bull's heart is scattered with juniper.⁵²⁹ This interesting passage is paralleled by *KAR* 60,⁵³⁰ but not by *TU* 44, where the heart is burnt in front of the kettledrum together with cedar, juniper and *maṣḥatu*-flour.⁵³¹ For this reason Thureau-Dangin, who did not know of *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, suggested that *KAR* 60 should be restored to make it fit *TU* 44.⁵³² But if we assume that the restoration proposed by Thureau-Dangin is not necessary, then we have here another indication that *TU* 44 on the one hand and *KAR* 60 and *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5 on the other represent two separate versions of the ritual.

The next passage in *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5 is badly damaged,⁵³³ but may have contained the special ceremony with the lamentation priest attested in *KAR* 60.⁵³⁴ The hide is then prepared and the drum covered with it.⁵³⁵

There are also parallels with *TU* 44. *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, like the other Uruk text *TU* 44, appears to begin with the *enūma*-phrase 'When y[ou want to cover the kettledrum (proceed as follows)]',⁵³⁶ but we know that in the Neo-Assyrian period the *enūma*-phrase was also used, as is clear from the catchline in IV R², 23, no. 1 +, IV, 25.⁵³⁷ More important, the end of the text describes, like *TU* 44, the burial of the carcass of the bull with the remainder of the hide,⁵³⁸ which is, as noted above, not in accordance with the Assur text.

⁵²⁴ Not discussed here is a small badly damaged fragment, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 9, which perhaps also describes part of the kettledrum ritual; for a transliteration see my comments on IV R², 23, no. 1 +, I, 17, in the Appendix.

⁵²⁵ Already noticed by G.J.P. McEwan, *BiOr* 38 (1981), 639 f. See also the commentaries on *KAR* 60 and *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5 in the Appendix, with many parallel passages.

⁵²⁶ Obv. 7 ff.

⁵²⁷ Rev. 22.

⁵²⁸ Obv. 14. See also *TU* 47, rev.: ^dLILIZ for the representation of the kettledrum

⁵²⁹ Rev. 23.

⁵³⁰ Obv. 15–16.

⁵³¹ Col. II, 16–18.

⁵³² *RAcc.*, 53, n. 61. See my comment on *KAR* 60, obv. 15–16, in the Appendix.

⁵³³ Rev. 24–5.

⁵³⁴ Obv. 17–8, rev. 1–4. Cf. *ep-še-e-ti an-na-a-túlti* in *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 25 // *KAR* 60, rev. 3, both followed by the removal of the water basin and the loosening of the curtains.

⁵³⁵ Rev. 27 ff.

⁵³⁶ Obv. 1.

⁵³⁷ The beginning of *KAR* 60 is lost; *KAR* 50 has a different beginning of the ritual.

⁵³⁸ Rev. 31 ff.

Another text from Hellenistic Uruk, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 7, also appears to follow the shorter version of *KAR* 60 and *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5.⁵³⁹ Of special interest here is obv. 6', which, if it follows the duplicate *KAR* 60,⁵⁴⁰ refers to the chief singer of dirges, who may not eat meat from the bull. If restored correctly, this clearly shows that in Hellenistic Uruk the chief singer of dirges is also not allowed to eat meat from the bull, as in the Neo-Assyrian period. Oppenheim's conclusion, based on *KAR* 60, cannot stand any longer.

II.5.3. *Who performed the kettledrum ritual?*

The kettledrum ritual texts indicate that the ritual belongs to the text corpus of the lamentation priest (*kalûtu*), which explains the dominant position of lamentations in the ritual. The lamentation priest, who is usually addressed in the second person (the 'you'-figure),⁵⁴¹ was not only responsible for the lamentations, but also took charge of many of the other cultic activities, such as making offerings and libations, and performing consecrations and purifications.

However, the two passages in the astronomical diaries mentioned above clearly state that the kettledrum ritual was performed by exorcists and lamentation priests. Horowitz already pointed out that, with the exception of the passages in the astronomical diaries, the exorcist is not attested in connection with the kettledrum ritual.⁵⁴² Clearly in the kettledrum ritual texts the duties of the exorcist are not referred to, only those of the lamentation priest are described.⁵⁴³ Furthermore, although we know that the exorcist played a major part in other temple rituals from Uruk and Babylon,⁵⁴⁴ in the kettledrum ritual many of the tasks, which are usually connected with the exorcist, are apparently performed by lamentation priests.⁵⁴⁵

Some concluding remarks

It is clear that the kettledrum ritual texts demonstrate an astonishing continuity of this tradition. We have different versions of the ritual, a longer one from Hellenistic Uruk (*TU* 44), and a shorter one from both Assur and Hellenistic Uruk (*KAR* 60, *KAR* 50, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, nos. 5 and 7), but although the relation between the two versions is not exactly clear (in particular, are both Uruk-versions based on one older composition?),

⁵³⁹ Obv. 2–9 is probably a duplicate of *KAR* 60, rev. 10–15 and *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 29–31. For a transliteration of these lines see my comments on *KAR* 60, rev. 10–15, in the Appendix.

⁵⁴⁰ Rev. 14.

⁵⁴¹ Note that in *KAR* 60 the 'you'-figure is mentioned together with the lamentation priest (in the third person).

⁵⁴² *RA* 85 (1991), 76.

⁵⁴³ The same is true for the building ritual texts, see II.6.3. In the cultic calendar texts *TU* 48, K 2724 + (see II.2.2) and BM 50503 (recently published by St. M. Maul, in: *Munuscula Mesopotamica. Festschrift für Johannes Renger*, Münster, 1999, 285 ff., cf. his remark on p. 291) only the activities of the lamentation priests are described.

⁵⁴⁴ See I.3.

⁵⁴⁵ Note that in the Nineveh text IV R², 23, no. 1 + the two incantations, usually connected with the exorcist, are also performed by the 'you'-figure (I, 19 ff.), presumably the lamentation priest.

there is probably no major change in tradition between the Neo-Assyrian and Hellenistic periods as far as the general procedures of the ritual are concerned.

The highlight of the ritual was the procedure with the bull. This is underlined by the fact that the curtains were drawn shut before it was prepared (as we know from *TU* 44, *KAR* 50 and IV R², 23, no. 1 +), and were opened again when the bull was slaughtered and recitations were performed (*KAR* 60, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5 and IV R², 23, no. 1 +).⁵⁴⁶

Finally, we do not have many data on days during which the kettledrum ritual was performed. Only day 15 in Uruk (*TU* 44), and days x-II-85 S.E. and 24-VIII-41 S.E. in Babylon (*Diaries*, nos. -226 and -270) are attested. This can be explained by the fact that the ritual for covering the kettledrum was not part of the regularly performed temple rituals, but was only performed when repairs on the kettledrum were necessary.⁵⁴⁷ Some of the texts contain the reference 'in an auspicious month, on a favourable day' (*ina* ITI ŠE.GA UD ŠE.GA),⁵⁴⁸ which indicates that it was an occasional ritual: the same phrase is also used in the building ritual texts⁵⁴⁹ and we must assume that this ritual was only performed on the occasion of rebuilding a temple. The occasional character of the ritual is also confirmed by the fact that the lamentations, recited during the ritual, are not accompanied by an exact date, as known from other texts.⁵⁵⁰ The lamentations were performed when a drum needed to be covered, and the days for this ritual were not set.

II.6. The building ritual

Within the Babylonian cult the ritual for the rebuilding of a temple was important.⁵⁵¹ From Hellenistic Uruk several major building ritual texts are known.⁵⁵² Although the colophons do not refer to older originals, these texts must have had parallels from the Neo- and Late Babylonian periods, of which one is preserved.⁵⁵³ Although from Hellenistic Babylon no building ritual texts are known, we do have one example from the Late Babylonian period, which interestingly enough is to a large extent duplicated by the Uruk texts.⁵⁵⁴ These texts form the basic material from which we have reconstructed the building ritual.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁴⁶ The procedure with the curtains is explained in III.3.

⁵⁴⁷ Cf. W. Farber, *TUAT* II, 2, 234.

⁵⁴⁸ Cf. Neo-Assyrian period: *KAR* 60, rev. 12, and similar in *KAR* 50, rev. 1; rev. 1–2 adds: 'in the morning, before sunrise'. Hellenistic period: *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 7, and no. 7, obv. 5'.

⁵⁴⁹ See II.6.

⁵⁵⁰ See K 2724 + and *TU* 48, discussed in II.2.2.

⁵⁵¹ Cf. G. Furlani, *Sacrificio*, 212 f.; id., *Riti*, 239 ff.; R.S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia*, New Haven and London, 1968, 5 ff.

⁵⁵² *TU* 45, *TU* 46, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, nos. 10 and 11. Cf. J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 169 sub b, no. 2.

⁵⁵³ *SpTU* 4, no. 141.

⁵⁵⁴ F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12. It also contains the beginning of the recitation *Enūma Anu ibnū šamē*, see below.

⁵⁵⁵ We can trace the *kalūtu*-type building ritual back to the Neo-Assyrian period, cf. the small Ninevite fragment K 5260 (K.D. Macmillan, *BA* 5/V, LVI, cf. p. 702). *STT* 232, which is concerned with the rebuilding/restoration of a door (cf. E. Reiner, *JNES* 26 [1967], 188), has similarities with *TU* 45. Other types of building rituals are known. For a short survey see F.A.M. Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits. The ritual texts*, Groningen, 1992, 127 f.

II.6. The building ritual

From the textual evidence it appears that there are two different versions of the building ritual. In this paragraph we will attempt to reconstruct these two versions.

II.6.1. The first version

We will start with the most elaborate version of the ritual, *TU 45*. On two occasions the ritual is identified as belonging to the ritual procedure (*nēpešu*) of the lamentation priest.⁵⁵⁶

The text has a special structure. It is divided into four sections, separated by a cross-line, each describing a day.⁵⁵⁷ Furthermore, the days are separated into two sub-sections, introduced by ‘on a favourable day’; the described events apparently take place during the night (*ina GE₆*), as is attested for the first and fourth days,⁵⁵⁸ and ‘in the morning’ (*ina še-ri*), and they are also separated by a cross-line.⁵⁵⁹ Only on the first day is the introduction of the sub-section referred to as ‘in an auspicious month, on a favourable day’,⁵⁶⁰ and appears to follow without a cross-line.⁵⁶¹ The text is interrupted by either a line, in which the ritual is attributed to the lamentation priest,⁵⁶² or one or two omens.⁵⁶³

Like the kettledrum ritual, the building ritual *TU 45* also begins with an *enūma*-phrase: ‘When the wall of the temple of Anu buck[les, to demolish and renovate that temple] ...’.⁵⁶⁴ Then, ‘in an auspicious month, on a favourable day, in the night’, offerings, libations, and lamentations are performed for the god of the temple (Anu), the goddess of the temple (Antu), and the protective spirit (*lamassu*) of the temple, and also for Ea and Marduk.⁵⁶⁵ Similar procedures are performed in the morning, this time on the roof of the temple, for Ea, Šamaš and Marduk.⁵⁶⁶ Then the curtains are drawn shut, indicating that now the most important part of the ritual is about to begin.⁵⁶⁷ Four lamentations are recited to Ea, Šamaš and Marduk. The curtains are opened (loosened) again, and the ritual ends.⁵⁶⁸

Two omens follow, which conclude the description of the first day.⁵⁶⁹

On the second day similar procedures are followed during the night, but now the king takes part in the ritual: he has to recite a special lamentation and *eršemšaḫungû*-prayers.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁵⁶ Obv. 15, rev. 2.

⁵⁵⁷ Obv. 2 ff.; 17 ff.; rev. 5 ff.; 17 ff.

⁵⁵⁸ Obv. 2 and rev. 17.

⁵⁵⁹ Obv. 20, rev. 8, 20.

⁵⁶⁰ Obv. 2.

⁵⁶¹ Obv. 6.

⁵⁶² Obv. 15, rev. 2.

⁵⁶³ Obv. 16, rev. 3 f., 14 ff.

⁵⁶⁴ Obv. 1.

⁵⁶⁵ Obv. 2 ff.

⁵⁶⁶ Obv. 6 ff.

⁵⁶⁷ Obv. 11 ff.

⁵⁶⁸ See also III.3 and III.9.

⁵⁶⁹ Obv. 16.

⁵⁷⁰ Obv. 17 ff. *eršaḫungû*-tablets are attested twice in the astronomical diaries from Babylon: a passage mentions ritual procedures of the gods, *maḥḥuru*-offerings (see II.7.2), and *eršaḫungû*-tablets, which were recited(?) by the chief singer of dirges (A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -229, B, obv. 5'–11'); a lamentation priest is referred to, and the chief singer of dirges (recites?) *eršaḫungû*-tablets (no. -226, B, rev. 1'–2').

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

After more offerings and libations, and a lamentation, *eršemšaḥungû*-prayers are recited by the king in the morning.⁵⁷¹ Then a special ceremony follows⁵⁷²: the king prostrates himself (*šukênu*), the barber shaves off the hair of his body, and puts it into a bottle, after which it is sent off to the enemy's border. The king returns to his palace. This ceremony has been the subject of much discussion, concentrating on the question whether the ceremony served the purpose of purifying the king, or whether it had the function of protecting the land from an enemy. According to Mayer the ceremony is an 'Abwehrritus'.⁵⁷³ The hair, which represents the power of the king even when it is shaven off, has the purpose of holding back the enemy from the border in order to protect the land from disaster. Danger from an enemy outside or from trouble within the land has also been announced in the omen in obv. 16: '(An omen says:) if the earth quakes, (then) an enemy will rise and the dwellings of the land will not be secure. (Another omen says:) if the earth turns around, (then) there will be injustice in the whole land, the land will turn mad'. Furthermore, *TU* 45 informs us that lamentations and *eršemšaḥungû*-prayers are recited over the king's hem in each and every sanctuary; if these instructions are followed, evil will not approach the king.⁵⁷⁴ Finally, although the ceremony is not repeated in *TU* 45, several more omens appear,⁵⁷⁵ all announcing some kind of danger for the king, the city or the land. So, warding off danger appears to be at least one reason for the recording of this special ceremony with the omens.⁵⁷⁶

Two more omens follow, and the description of the second day ends.⁵⁷⁷

The third day again begins with offerings, libations, a lamentation, and *eršemšaḥungû*-prayers, to be recited over the king's hem, this time, for the god of the city (Anu), the goddess of the city (Antu), and the protective spirit (*lamassu*) of the city.⁵⁷⁸ The procedures of the ritual continue 'in the open country or on the bank of a river, on a place where nobody sets foot', and similar procedures follow for Anu, Enlil and Ea, but also for the god of the open country and the goddess of the open country.⁵⁷⁹

A special interlinear line mentions the exorcist who, together with the lamentation priest, has to purify the city.⁵⁸⁰ Three more omens conclude the description of the third day.⁵⁸¹

The section concerning the fourth day begins with the same procedures as for the third day, for 'that god, that goddess' (= Anu and Antu?), Mašdub and Šamaš, but now the king himself has to perform the *eršemšaḥungû*-prayers again.⁵⁸² In the morning

⁵⁷¹ Obv. 20 ff.

⁵⁷² Obv. 24 f.

⁵⁷³ W. Mayer, *OrNS* 57 (1988), 150 ff. (for earlier discussions see ib., n. 9 and 10).

⁵⁷⁴ Obv. 26, rev. 1.

⁵⁷⁵ Rev. 3 f., 14 ff.

⁵⁷⁶ St.M. Maul (*Zukunftsbewältigung*, Mainz am Rhein, 1994, 76, n. 47; see also 78) pointed out that, while the hair indeed had the function of giving protection against any danger, at the same time in many rituals the shaving of the hair, an unclean element, served the purpose of purifying the person, in this case the king. According to J.S. Cooper (in: M.E. Vogelzang, H.J.L. Vanstiphout, *Mesopotamian Poetic Language*, Groningen, 1996, 53, n. 24) the ceremony has a mainly purifying function.

⁵⁷⁷ Rev. 3 f.

⁵⁷⁸ Rev. 5 ff.

⁵⁷⁹ Rev. 8 ff.

⁵⁸⁰ Rev. 12. For a discussion of this line see II.6.3.

⁵⁸¹ Rev. 14 ff.

⁵⁸² Rev. 17 ff.

purifications and offerings are performed on the roof of the temple for Ea, Šamaš and Marduk. After another lamentation is performed and the king recites *eršemšahungû*-prayers, the temple is consecrated, which must be the final goal of the ritual. After the king has performed another lamentation and made a gift, the ritual ends.⁵⁸³

We have two more text (fragments) from Hellenistic Uruk, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, nos. 10 and 11 (the latter in fact consists of five smaller fragments). They are both clearly duplicates of *TU* 45, and appear to represent the first version of the ritual.⁵⁸⁴ However, one of the fragments belonging to *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11⁵⁸⁵ contains a ceremony concerning the building-master and the first brick, and (the incipit of) the prayer ‘When Anu created Heaven’.⁵⁸⁶ These are not mentioned in *TU* 45, but we encounter them in the texts belonging to the second version of the ritual, to which this fragment apparently belongs.⁵⁸⁷

II.6.2. The second version

Several building ritual texts are known, which are clearly different from the version described in *TU* 45 and parallels. Two of them, *TU* 46 and *SpTU* 4, no. 141, come from Uruk.

Uruk

The second building ritual text from Hellenistic Uruk, *TU* 46, is only partly paralleled by *TU* 45, and most of the text is quite different. For example, the special ceremony concerning the king and the omens, attested in *TU* 45, is missing here. The text is identified twice as belonging to the ritual procedure of the lamentation priest.⁵⁸⁸

The beginning of *TU* 46⁵⁸⁹ appears to be a duplicate of the section describing the first day of the ritual, as recorded in *TU* 45.⁵⁹⁰ The only difference in this part of the text follows the *enūma*-phrase (‘[When] the wall of the temple buckles’): the diviner is mentioned, deconsecrating the emplacement (the building plot) of the temple.⁵⁹¹ After this the text follows the same procedures as described for the first day in *TU* 45. The ceremony behind the curtains is also described, although the reference to drawing the curtains shut⁵⁹² is erroneously left out.⁵⁹³

⁵⁸³ Rev. 20 ff.

⁵⁸⁴ For the corresponding lines see my comments on *TU* 45 in the Appendix.

⁵⁸⁵ Obv. fragment 1, 2’–8’. For a transliteration of this fragment 1, see my comments on *TU* 45, obv. 11–14, 15, 16, in the Appendix.

⁵⁸⁶ See lines 4’ and 7’.

⁵⁸⁷ *TU* 46 (obv. 13–20) and F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12 (obv. 14 ff.). However, the lines 9’ff. of the fragment record omens similar to those attested in *TU* 45.

⁵⁸⁸ Obv. 20, rev. 14, see also rev. 1.

⁵⁸⁹ Obv. 1–13.

⁵⁹⁰ Obv. 1–14.

⁵⁹¹ Obv. 2. See my comments on this phrase in the Appendix.

⁵⁹² Compare *TU* 45, obv. 11–12.

⁵⁹³ Obv. 9 ff.

But now a new section begins, in which the ceremony concerning the first brick (*libittu mahṛītu*), performed by the building-master (*itinnu*),⁵⁹⁴ is described.⁵⁹⁵ Ellis argues that this first brick is probably a former brick which was removed from the old temple, and then re-used in the construction of the new temple; because the brick embodied the essence of the temple, the house of the god, the continuity of worship was assured.⁵⁹⁶ The building-master has to remove this first brick with an axe made of lead, and place it in a secluded temple. Offerings and libations are performed before the brick for the god of the foundation, who is not named, and the lamentation priest recites the prayer ‘When Anu created Heaven’ in front of the brick.

A supplement (? [DI]RI.GA) follows, in which the duties of the diviner are described⁵⁹⁷: the intestines of a lamb are inspected, and if the result is good, the demolishing and renovating of the temple will be for the good of the king and the land.

The reverse is apparently concerned with the second day of the ritual, describing the laying of a temple foundation.⁵⁹⁸ These procedures include offerings, libations and lamentations, partly attested also in *TU* 45, for the god, goddess and the protective spirit (*lamassu*) of the temple. Again the curtains are drawn shut for the most important moment of the ceremony, which consists of reciting the lamentations, and also the *šuillakku*-prayer ‘When Anu, Enlil and Enki created Heaven and Earth’.⁵⁹⁹ Erroneously, no reference is made to opening the curtains again. After the foundation is laid, the temple is consecrated, and the ritual ends.

The text only describes a part of the ritual, because, as the catchline indicates,⁶⁰⁰ it is only one of a series of tablets belonging to the building ritual. Because this catchline refers to the doorframes, apparently the other tablet(s) is/are concerned with the different parts of the temple, but no examples are preserved.

A Late Babylonian text from Uruk, *SpTU* 4, no. 141, also contains a part of the building ritual belonging to the text corpus of the lamentation priest (*kalûtu*); the text is much more similar to *TU* 46 than to *TU* 45. The obverse contains the prayer ‘When Anu created Heaven’, also referred to in *TU* 46.⁶⁰¹ The first part of the reverse contains either the continuation of the prayer ‘When Anu created Heaven’, or more likely another prayer, probably for the well-being of the land and its people.⁶⁰² The second part, concerned with the activities of the diviner⁶⁰³ is duplicated by *TU* 46.⁶⁰⁴ When in *TU* 46 the laying of the foundations is next described,⁶⁰⁵ in *SpTU* 4, no. 141 only the introductory line to this passage is given, followed by the colophon,⁶⁰⁶ which confirms what we already

⁵⁹⁴ Wr. lûŠITIM (also attested in F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. [14]), not lûDÍM = *mubannû*, the ‘arranger (of the offering table)’, see III.4.3.

⁵⁹⁵ Obv. 13 ff.

⁵⁹⁶ Cf. R.S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, 29.

⁵⁹⁷ Obv. 21 ff.

⁵⁹⁸ Rev. 2 ff.

⁵⁹⁹ Rev. 10.

⁶⁰⁰ Rev. 15.

⁶⁰¹ Obv. 19.

⁶⁰² Rev. x + 1 ff.

⁶⁰³ Rev. 14 ff.

⁶⁰⁴ Obv. 21 ff.

⁶⁰⁵ Rev. 1 ff.

⁶⁰⁶ Lo. E. 20 f.

suggested on the basis of the catchline of *TU* 46, namely that the building ritual of the *kalûtu*-type from Uruk was described on a series of tablets.

Babylon

Another Late Babylonian building ritual text, this time from Babylon, is F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no.12. This text is important for it shows that this particular building ritual of the *kalûtu*-type was not only used in Uruk but also in Babylon. The obverse of the text is parallel to the first part of *TU* 46.⁶⁰⁷ However, although the same procedures are described, there are also differences. The lamentation priest is instructed to recite a lamentation, but the incipit is not given, while in *TU* 46 two lamentations, with the incipits are given.⁶⁰⁸ Then the Babylon text refers to the singer, who must recite a *inhu*-song.⁶⁰⁹ The ceremony which includes reciting four lamentations by the lamentation priest behind the curtains is also given, but no reference is made to the curtains.⁶¹⁰ After this the ceremony with the building-master and the first brick is described,⁶¹¹ which includes, after the removing of the first brick, the phrase (missing in *TU* 46): ‘he will mourn [for] the temple, say “woe!”’.⁶¹² Finally the incipit of the prayer ‘When Anu created Heaven’ is given, after which the prayer is presented in full.⁶¹³ Of the reverse of the Weissbach text only a small badly damaged part, perhaps containing the continuation of ‘When Anu created Heaven’, remains.

Clearly this text belongs to the version represented by *TU* 46 and *SpTU* 4, no. 141.

There is also evidence of the use of the second version of this ritual recorded in the astronomical diaries. A passage is preserved, which, as Horowitz has shown,⁶¹⁴ refers to a building ritual, performed on day 10 of the twelfth month Addaru, 41 S.E.⁶¹⁵:

15' ... ITI.BI UD.10.KAM [...]

16' [¹⁶MA]Š.MAŠ.MEŠ ¹⁶LAGAR.MEŠ šá É.SAG.GÍL *né-pe-šú šá e-nu-m*[^a ^dA-nu
ib-nu-ú AN-e]

17' '*lib*'-bu-ú *šaṭ-ri ina pa-ni-šú DÙ*-'

¹⁵'That month, day 10, [...] ¹⁶'[the ex]orcists and the lamentation priests of Esagila
¹⁷'performed ¹⁶the ritual procedure of 'Whe[n Anu created Heaven] ¹⁷'as written in front
of it'.

⁶⁰⁷ Obv. 1–19.

⁶⁰⁸ Obv. 6.

⁶⁰⁹ Obv.5.

⁶¹⁰ Obv. 11 ff.

⁶¹¹ Obv. 14 ff.

⁶¹² Obv. 18.

⁶¹³ Obv. 23, and 24 ff. (but only partly preserved) also referred to in *TU* 46, obv. 19, and recited in full (but also only partly preserved) in *SpTU* 4, no. 141, obv. 1 ff. See also my comments on F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no.12, obv. 23 ff., in the Appendix.

⁶¹⁴ *RA* 85 (1991), 76 f.

⁶¹⁵ A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -270, B, rev. 15'–17'.

Although the ritual of the kettledrum also begins with *enūma*, this ritual procedure is already referred to in the same passage, line 13'.⁶¹⁶ Therefore Horowitz is probably right in identifying the ritual with the ritual for the rebuilding of a temple beginning with: 'When the wall of the temple buckles' (*enūma igār bīt ili iqāpu*). In the Babylon text F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no.12 the ritual ends with the prayer 'When Anu created Heaven' (*enūma Anu ibnū šamē*) and according to Horowitz it is this incipit which has to be restored in the diary. The phrase 'as written in front of it' in the diary must refer to the text F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no.12, where the actual ritual (obv. 1–23) is described in front of (= preceding) the passage containing the prayer (obv. 24 ff.).

The existence of two separate versions has been clearly established. But how can we explain the differences between the two versions?

The king is prominently present in the first version of the ritual (*TU 45* and parallels); he is mentioned several times, while there are no references to him in the second version texts. Why is the king so prominent in the first version, but not in the second?

The first section of *TU 45*⁶¹⁷ must perhaps be interpreted as a general introduction to the building ritual. Note that only this part of the text is duplicated in the second version. The rest of the first version does not deal with the general procedures of the ritual, but instead only contains a specific part of the ritual activities performed by the priest addressed in the second person (the 'you'-figure), namely that part in which the king also participates.⁶¹⁸

Furthermore, divination is incorporated in the first version. We know that divination played an important part in decision-making before important events, such as the building of a temple, and that it was used to control the behaviour of kings and other important persons. We have several omens in the first version, which alert the king, the people and the land to dangers. These omens must be connected with the role of the king in the ritual. Apparently the first version contains a special programme not only for the leading priest of the ritual, the 'you'-figure, but also for the king.

The second version (*TU 46* and parallels) begins with (almost) the same general introduction of the building ritual as the first version. But then the important passage concerning the building-master, who performed the ceremony with the first brick, follows. This passage is not mentioned in the first version; clearly the duties of the building-master were not relevant there. Furthermore it is interesting that, except for the *enūma*-phrase, no more references are made to the demolishing or renovating of the temple in the first version, which is very different from the second version. Only at the end of *TU 45* do we learn that the temple is consecrated.⁶¹⁹ Apparently this process of demolishing or renovating was not relevant in this text.

But in the second version divination is equally incorporated in the ritual. While no omens are mentioned, the diviner is one of the participants performing the building ritual

⁶¹⁶ Discussed in II.5.2.

⁶¹⁷ Obv. 1–14.

⁶¹⁸ The question who this 'you'-figure is will be addressed in II.6.3.

⁶¹⁹ Rev. 23.

II.6. The building ritual

activities. He is mentioned immediately after the introductory line, and he even receives a separate section, which underlines how important divination was for the building of a temple. So, the second version texts also describe how the building ritual had to be performed, but concentrates on other persons: it gives instructions for the 'you'-figure, the diviner, and the building-master.

So we clearly have two different versions of one and the same ritual; the existence of the different versions is solely dependant on the participants in the ritual. Because their duties differ from each other they each received their own programme, their own set of instructions.

II.6.3. *Who performed the building ritual?*

On several occasions the texts indicate that the building ritual texts belong to the text corpus of the lamentation priest (*kalûtu*); the many lamentation incipits also clearly indicate that the lamentation priest, usually addressed in the second person, is the most important priest at this ritual.

However, for the building ritual we also have evidence from the astronomical diaries that both the exorcists and the lamentation priests performed the ritual activities: the astronomical diary, no. -270 can, as we saw, be connected with the second version of the building ritual. Furthermore, in the first version of the building ritual texts, on one occasion only, the exorcist is mentioned together with the lamentation priest. Both are addressed in the third person.⁶²⁰ In the second version, the exorcist is not mentioned. As in the kettledrum ritual, the role of the exorcist in this ritual also appears to be less important. The building ritual texts only concentrate on the duties of the lamentation priest, while the tasks of the exorcist, referred to in the astronomical diary, are left out.⁶²¹

II.6.4. *Building programmes in Uruk and Babylon*

We know that under royal supervision large building programmes in Uruk and Babylon were taking place in the Hellenistic period.⁶²²

Two Uruk building inscriptions⁶²³ inform us that in 244 B.C. the Rēš-temple complex of Anu was reconstructed by the governor (*šaknu*) Anu-uballit, who was given the second name Nikarchos by king Seleucus II, and was further extended in 202/1 B.C. during

⁶²⁰ *TU* 45, rev. 12. Note that this is an interlinear line, perhaps added after the text was written. The scribes of the building ritual texts usually address the leading lamentation priest in the second person, but on occasion change to the third person (as in the kettledrum ritual *KAR* 60), but there is no doubt that the 'you'-figure is always the lamentation priest, as becomes clear when we compare the texts. E.g. in F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, a ceremony which includes reciting four lamentations by the lamentation priest (here addressed in the third person) is described (obv. 11 ff.), while in the parallel text *TU* 46 these same lamentations are performed by the 'you'-figure (obv. 10 ff.). See also *TU* 46, obv. 18 f. and 28; F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 4; *SpTU*, no. 141, rev. 19.

⁶²¹ Contra W. Horowitz, *RA* 85 (1991), 76–7. See also II.5.3.

⁶²² R.J. van der Spek, in: J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse*, 205 and n. 2 with earlier literature.

⁶²³ *YOS* 1, 52 (partly reedited by L.T. Doty, in: *Studies A. Sachs*, Philadelphia, 1988, 95–6) and J. Jordan, *Uruk-Warka*. WDOG 51, Leipzig, 1928, pl. 108, c, with 41.

the reign of Antiochus III by another Anu-uballit, whose second name was Kephalon. The large Ešgal-temple of Ištar was also built by this Kephalon, as we know from an Aramaic building inscription from around 200 B.C.⁶²⁴

From Babylon there is more evidence. Alexander planned to restore Esagila and started by removing the debris.⁶²⁵ After his death this was continued by his successors: Chronicle 10 refers to the removing of the debris of Esagila during the fourth year of the reign of Philippos III, and the sixth and eighth years of Alexander IV.⁶²⁶ The famous building inscription of Antiochus I, dated 268 B.C.,⁶²⁷ refers to bricks which are brought to Babylon and Borsippa for renovating the temples Esagila and Ezida. Although the renovations of Esagila are not mentioned, there is evidence from other sources on this. Horowitz already referred to Chronicle 11⁶²⁸ (debris is removed from Esagila), the astronomical diary no. -273 (bricks for the reconstruction of Esagila are made) and the diary, mentioned in II.6.2, no. -270, referring to the building ritual and which, as Horowitz correctly assumes, probably relates to the reconstruction of Esagila by Antiochus I.⁶²⁹ Also, during the reign of Demetrius II repair work on Esagila was performed, as we know from diary no. -144.⁶³⁰

We know that reconstruction work on Esagila continued into the Arsacid period. An astronomical diary testifies to repair works on Esagila in 106 B.C..⁶³¹ Administrative documents belonging to the archive of the official Raḥimesu (94–92 v.C.) refer to removing debris, repair work and restorations of (parts of) Esagila.⁶³² Also debris on the roof of the *akītu*-temple (Day One temple) was removed.⁶³³ One text mentions expenditures for the restoration of the temple of Madānu.⁶³⁴

Some concluding remarks

Just as with the kettledrum ritual texts, the building ritual texts do not mention the specific days and months on which the ritual was performed. The texts only use the phrase ‘in

⁶²⁴ A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 31. Cf. J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 248.

⁶²⁵ A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, 116, obv. 6. Grayson refers in his comments to this line to CT 4, 39c, which is now CT 49, 6. BM 78651 in Grayson is now CT 49, 5. See also A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -321, obv. 13'–14'. Cf. J. Oelsner, *AoF* 5 (1977), 80; R. Zadok, *BiOr* 34 (1977), 79, below; G.F. Del Monte, *Testi dalla Babilonia Ellenistica, Volume I. Testi Cronografica*, Pisa, Roma, 1997, 13–16. Classical sources: Arrian 3.16.4–5; Strabo 16.1.5.

⁶²⁶ A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, 117, rev. 13, 118, rev. 33.

⁶²⁷ *VAB* 3, 12–35. Cf. A. Kuhrt, S. Sherwin White, *JHS* 111 (1991), 71–86. In this text Antiochus I assumes the same duties as Babylonian kings before him, taking care of the Babylonian temples and respecting the Babylonian gods, which must ‘be understood as intentional Seleucid policy (from Seleucus I on) of using Babylonian kingship as a vehicle for rule in Babylonia’, S. Sherwin-White, A. Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 37. See also I.3.

⁶²⁸ A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, 120, obv. 2.

⁶²⁹ W. Horowitz, *RA* 85 (1991), 75–77.

⁶³⁰ Obv. 33'–35'.

⁶³¹ A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. 105, A14'–A15', B30'; A, rev. 3'; 21'; 38'.

⁶³² CT 49, 154; K. Kessler, in *Festschrift J. Oelsner*, no. 16; CT 49, 155; CT 49, 163; K. Kessler, in *Festschrift J. Oelsner*, no. 10; AB 246 (G.J.P. McEwan, *Iraq* 43 [1981], 138 ff.); CT 49, 162. See the latest discussions of these texts by R.J. van der Spek, in J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse*, 205 ff., nos. 16, 17, 15, 22, 25, 28, and 29.

⁶³³ CT 49, 154.

⁶³⁴ CT 49, 157. See also K. Kessler, in *Festschrift J. Oelsner*, no. 9 and no. 15.

II.7. The eclipse of the moon ritual

an auspicious month, on a favourable day' (*ina* ITI *šal-mu* *ina* UD ŠE.GA).⁶³⁵ The only date that we have, day 10-XII-41, comes from the astronomical diary no. -270.⁶³⁶ Because of the nature of the ritual, no specific regular set of data must be expected: we must assume that the ritual was only performed on the occasion of rebuilding a temple, and for this reason the lamentations, recited during the ritual, are also not accompanied by any such data. When it was necessary to appease the anger of the gods, as was the case when a temple was built, lamentations were used.⁶³⁷

One important observation concerning the lamentations was made by Cohen⁶³⁸: in the building ritual the lamentations were recited while the offerings and libations were being performed. Furthermore, they were chanted during the demolition of the old building and not during ceremonies which commemorated the erection of the new building. Apparently the lamentations served the same function as the offerings, according to Cohen: they had to appease the anger of the gods whose sacred buildings are being torn down. In the kettledrum ritual, by contrast, the recitation of lamentations did not serve the purpose of neutralising the divine anger, but was a means of testing the new drum.⁶³⁹

II.7. The eclipse of the moon ritual

From Uruk we have evidence of a ritual which was performed during the course of a lunar eclipse.⁶⁴⁰ It was probably written during the Hellenistic period.⁶⁴¹ This ritual continued until the eclipse had ended, and served the purpose of neutralizing any evil consequences of such a lunar eclipse.⁶⁴² The eclipse ritual shows that Uruk as provincial capital of southern Babylonia was an important centre of learning. In this paragraph an attempt is made to explain the composition of the Uruk rituals.⁶⁴³

Although a great deal is known about how the Mesopotamians envisaged the moon and the lunar eclipse, the ritual from Uruk is quite unique and difficult to compare with other evidence on the lunar eclipse.⁶⁴⁴ The substitute king (*šar pūḫi*) ritual, probably performed to avert evil portended by an eclipse on the head of state, is known from the Old Babylonian period on, and appears to have been practised up to the Hellenistic

⁶³⁵ *TU* 45, obv. 2; see also 17, rev. 5 and 17; *TU* 46, obv. 2; 23; rev. 2; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 2; F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 3.

⁶³⁶ The fact that *TU* 45 was written on day 22 of the twelfth month Addaru is probably a coincidence. Compare *TU* 46, which was written on day 28 of the third month Simānu (81 S.E.).

⁶³⁷ Compare also my concluding remarks on the kettledrum ritual in II.5.

⁶³⁸ *Eršemma*, 48–9.

⁶³⁹ See II.5.

⁶⁴⁰ *BRM* 4, 6 and its continuation in BM 134701. The BM text was published by D. Brown and the present author in *RA* 91 (1997), 147–166. For more details see also the Appendix, where both texts are discussed.

⁶⁴¹ For the date of these texts see I.2 and the above mentioned *RA* article by David Brown and the present author.

⁶⁴² See E. Cassin, *Le semblable et le différent*, 1987, 258–66.

⁶⁴³ The ritual is extensively discussed by G. Furlani, *Riti*, 263 ff., and E. Cassin, *La splendeur Divine*, Paris, La Haye, 1968, 42 ff.

⁶⁴⁴ The most recent discussion of the moon and the lunar eclipse is that of M. Stol, in: *Natural Phenomena. Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East* (D.J.W. Meijer ed.), Amsterdam, Oxford, New York, Tokyo, 1992, 245 ff. with references to earlier literature. For the lunar eclipse see 257 ff.

period.⁶⁴⁵ In Neo-Assyrian letters there are allusions to the eclipse of the moon, but no extended descriptions of the ritual which had to be performed against the consequences of an eclipse are given there.⁶⁴⁶ Such a ritual is found in the Neo-Assyrian text *CT* 4, pl. 5–6. It describes for the twelve months of the year what the king had to do against the evil consequences of a lunar eclipse.⁶⁴⁷ *CT* 51, 190⁶⁴⁸ is a *namburbû*, an apotropaic ritual for an individual directed against the evil consequences of, in this case, a lunar eclipse, and furthermore it is also directed at the god who sent the omen in order to obtain protection from him (in this case *Sîn*).⁶⁴⁹

The first part of the Uruk ritual is described in *BRM* 4, 6; a small part of this text is duplicated in col. B of *CLBT*, pl. I. The last part of *BRM* 4, ⁶⁵⁰ is duplicated by the first sixteen lines of BM 134701.⁶⁵¹ The rest of the obverse of BM 134701, and the beginning of the reverse appear to describe the continuation of the ritual, but probably in rev. 10 ff. a passage begins, which belongs to the well-known lunar eclipse myth, described in the handbook against the evil *utukku*-demons (*utukkû lemnûti*).⁶⁵²

Because the description of the ritual on the two tablets partly overlaps, it is unlikely that they belong together. However, in both texts the sign NAG is on one occasion written for GU₇,⁶⁵³ and therefore it is not impossible that both tablets were written by the same writer.

The obverse of BM 134701 is inscribed with great care, unlike the reverse, perhaps because the writer noticed that he had more than enough space on the tablet for the final part of the text. Nevertheless the interpretation of BM 134701 is often difficult,⁶⁵⁴ especially because to a large extent the beginning and the end of the lines are lost.

Both texts must be dated to the Hellenistic period, and come from Uruk: the script is Late Babylonian; the texts mention the city of Uruk (Tiranna) and its temples, referring first to the Rēš- and Ešgal-temples before they mention Eanna and the other temples,⁶⁵⁵ and Anu appears to be the predominant deity; also the name of the owner of BM 134701 begins with Anu, as is clear from the (damaged) colophon. All this indicates that the text was written in the Hellenistic period, when Anu was the leading deity of the pantheon, and the Rēš-temple was the most important sanctuary in Uruk.⁶⁵⁶ However, as is clear from the incipits of the lamentations, the text must have had its roots in earlier periods.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁴⁵ See S. Parpola, *LAS* II, xxii–xxxii and J. Bottero, *Akkadica* 9 (1978), 2–24 = id., *Mesopotamia. Writing, reasoning, and the gods*, Chicago, London, 1992, 138–55 (chapter 9).

⁶⁴⁶ See the index in S. Parpola, *LAS* II, 533 with references.

⁶⁴⁷ See E. Cassin, *Le semblable et le différent*, Paris, 1987, 258–266.

⁶⁴⁸ See R. Caplice, *OrNS* 40 (1971), 166–8; St. M. Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, 458–60.

⁶⁴⁹ For the use of the kettledrum during an eclipse, see the end of II.7.3.

⁶⁵⁰ Rev. 42 ff.

⁶⁵¹ Obv. 1–16.

⁶⁵² Cf. *CT* 16, pl. 19 ff. See A.D. Kilmer, *JAOS* 98 (1978), 372–4 and M. Stol, in: *Natural Phenomena*, 260, with references to earlier literature.

⁶⁵³ Compare *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 48 with BM 134701, obv. 10.

⁶⁵⁴ See for instance obv. 23 and rev. 9.

⁶⁵⁵ *BRM* 4, 6, obv. 22, 26, rev. 39; BM 134701, rev. 5.

⁶⁵⁶ See I.3.

⁶⁵⁷ Strangely enough in the BM card catalogue a date of composition has been given to BM 134701. The note reads ‘Uruk 172 B.C.’; it is probably written in the hand of the ex-Keeper (a non-cuneiformist), so we have no idea even whose suggestion this date is.

II.7. The eclipse of the moon ritual

BRM 4, 6 and BM 134701 contain in fact more than one version of the ritual, performed possibly at three or four places, and at the same time⁶⁵⁸: each version probably concentrates on the duties of one or more particular priests during the eclipse ritual. Therefore the text appears to be a programme or a set of instructions for the main priests of the ritual.⁶⁵⁹ We will discuss the different versions here.

II.7.1. The first version

First, two rituals are performed, one during and one after the eclipse, in the gates of the temples of Uruk and on the main street. This first version is the most extensive description of the ritual, and very clearly expresses the most important function of the ritual: the neutralization of the evil consequences of a lunar eclipse. It also mentions most of the main performers of the ritual: the lamentation priests, a temple enterer (*ērib bīti*), a priest addressed in the second person, the people of the land, and the exorcists.⁶⁶⁰

Where the text becomes clear, we find first general instructions to the lamentation priests, although the duties of the lamentation priest are specified only in the third version of the ritual⁶⁶¹: he has to perform ‘the ritual procedure of the lamentation priest’ (*né-peš šá ŠU lúGALA*) during the eclipse.⁶⁶² This procedure consists of reciting several lamentations to the moon(god).⁶⁶³ Then the text mentions the incipits, in Akkadian, of several lamentations, which are clearly the Akkadian interlinear versions of bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian lamentations.⁶⁶⁴

We can distinguish eight units, which apparently are the first lines of the lamentations. The first unit⁶⁶⁵ perhaps contains a reference to the moongod Sîn. It not only mentions Ningal, who is the wife of Sîn, but also the wild cow.⁶⁶⁶ According to our text the cow has left(?) the temple. This indicates that times are hard and that war if it occurs destroys cities and its peoples. It is believed by the Mesopotamians that difficult times must be explained by the fact that, for whatever reason, the gods have left their temples and that the inhabitants are consequently left on their own to suffer. The link with the moongod is clear: when the evil consequences of a lunar eclipse are not properly dealt with, disaster also strikes.

The incipits of the other units which now follow⁶⁶⁷ confirm this interpretation; they are concerned with the destruction of cities and the consequences of it for the cult of the gods, a well-known theme in the Sumerian lamentations. Although this theme by itself has nothing to do with the eclipse of the moon, in the context of our text it is clear

⁶⁵⁸ BRM 4, 6 contains four rituals, performed possibly at three places, according to G. Furlani, *Riti*, 263 ff.

⁶⁵⁹ Unlike the kettledrum ritual texts, the building ritual texts and the cultic calendar texts, which only describe the role of one particular priest (i.e. the lamentation priest), see II.5.3.

⁶⁶⁰ BRM 4, 6, obv. 1–30, rev. 31–37.

⁶⁶¹ BRM 4, 6, rev. 42 ff. // BM 134701, obv. 1 ff.

⁶⁶² Obv. 2, see also 17.

⁶⁶³ See obv. 14.

⁶⁶⁴ Cf. J. Krecher, *Kultlyrik*, 27, n. 50.

⁶⁶⁵ Obv. 3–4.

⁶⁶⁶ Perhaps a reference to the well-known narrative ‘A cow of Sîn’, an incantation for a woman in childbirth, which tells of the moongod Sîn and his cow, called Geme-Sîn? For the latest edition see N. Veldhuis, *A Cow of Sîn* (Library of Oriental Texts, volume 2), Groningen, 1991.

⁶⁶⁷ Obv. 5–6; 7–8; 9; 10; 11a; 11b; 12–13.

that the lamentations refer to the evil consequences of an eclipse. The composer of our text felt that it was appropriate to list the lamentation incipits in this context.⁶⁶⁸ Note the incipit in obv. 8, which reads: ‘A storm arose, covered the face with dust’, which in the duplicate *CLBT*, col. II, 8–9 is extended by the explanatory remark: ‘Of Sîn they said: “a storm arose, cover[ed] the face with dust”’. The commentator apparently sees a parallel here with the covering of the moon.

After the enumeration of these lamentation incipits, the actual ritual begins.⁶⁶⁹ First near the gates of the temples and on the main street, a *garakku*-brazier is set up by a priest who is addressed in the second person. Then the text reads: ‘As soon as the eclipse begins’,⁶⁷⁰ clearly indicating that the Babylonians were able to calculate the moment when an eclipse would occur.⁶⁷¹

A temple enterer (*ērib bīti*) enters the scene, setting fire to the *garakku*-brazier. This fire must remain burning until the eclipse has ended. Until the end of the eclipse the lamentation priest must perform his ‘ritual procedure’, which may consist of performing the lamentations mentioned above, but may also refer to the lamentations mentioned in the third version of the ritual, discussed below.

Then several proceedings are described, indicating that the moment of an eclipsed moon is a time of distress and mourning⁶⁷²: funerary offerings (*kispu*) are made,⁶⁷³ possibly because a parallel is seen here with the situation as at the end of the month, when the moon does not shine; we know that in the cult for the dead offerings for the deceased were usually made at the end of the month.

The people of the land express their sorrow by removing their headdresses, covering their heads with clothing (*lubāru*), and uttering a special lament: ‘May hardship, murder, rebellion and (the evil predicted by) the eclipse not reach Uruk, Rēš, Ešgal, Baramaḫ, Eanna and the (other) temples of Tiranna’.⁶⁷⁴ This appears to be a regular apotropaic formula for averting all possible sorts of disasters for the city. Then seven soldiers utter the same formula.⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁶⁸ According to T. Podella, *Sôm-Fasten*, Kevelaer, 1989, 45–49, the moon has left the people, and mourning is appropriate in this crisis situation when the gods have left them.

⁶⁶⁹ Obv. 14 ff.

⁶⁷⁰ Obv. 16, see also rev. 43.

⁶⁷¹ Two deposition documents from the Eanna-temple in Neo-Babylonian Uruk are known which are concerned with the use of a kettledrum in Uruk and Larsa during an expected eclipse, which however did not occur (A. Boissier, *RA* 23 [1926], 13 ff. and *YOS* 7, 71). For a discussion see P.-A. Beaulieu and J.P. Britton, *JCS* 46 (1994), 73 ff. and P.-A. Beaulieu, in *Festschrift J. Oelsner*, AOAT, Bd. 252, Münster, 2000, 7–8.

⁶⁷² Obv. 19 ff.

⁶⁷³ In a metaphorical way (obv. 19’–20’): ‘You will make funerary offerings for the fields that lie fallow, you will make funerary offerings for the canals that bring no water, you will make funerary offerings for the Anunnaki’. Evil spirits that wander around and above the fields and make them lie fallow, and empty canals of water, and also the Anunnaki, the gods of the nether world, are appeased by these funerary offerings. This is the only example of *kispu* in Hellenistic temple ritual texts. Cf. G. van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, 168–9; A. Tsukimoto, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege*, Kevelaer, 1985, 197–8; G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4. 167.

⁶⁷⁴ Obv. 22 f.

⁶⁷⁵ Obv. 26 f. Possibly this lament is an Akkadian translation of a first millennium version of an Emesal lyric. If this is the case, then we have here evidence of Emesal repertoire which was performed by persons other than the lamentation priest; note that this lament is also uttered by the *šangû*-priest (*BRM* 4, 6, rev. 38 ff.), contra J.A. Black, *Eme-sal Cult Songs and Prayers*, 23. From *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 48 ff. // BM 134701, obv. 7 ff. it appears to be the case that not only lamentation priests utter Emesal lamentations. See D. Brown and the

II.7. The eclipse of the moon ritual

As soon as the eclipse of the moon has come to an end, the fire on the *garakku*-brazier is put out with beer. The last line of the obverse refers to ‘the next day’ (*ina 2-i u₄-mu*), when the building-master (*itinnu*)⁶⁷⁶ throws the *garakku*-brazier into the river. This is strange, because after a cross-line indicating that a new section begins,⁶⁷⁷ another ritual is described, again introduced by ‘On the next day’, which had to be performed on the day after the eclipse had ended. Perhaps the reference to the *itinnu* before the cross-line indicates that he had to throw the brazier into the river on the next day, but before the end of the night vigil and before the *pīt bābi*-ceremony,⁶⁷⁸ which was the first ceremony which was performed on the following day.⁶⁷⁹ In any case it is clear that for the composer of the text the removal of the ritual necessities by the *itinnu* belongs to the ritual of the first day, but was performed on the second.

In the ritual for the second day the gates, which had been placed under seal, are opened and a reed *urigallu*-standard, a magic circle of flour, and a white and black cord, which were in the temple, are thrown into the river by the ‘you’-figure. Probably, the broken beginning of the text contained the instructions for placing these objects in the temple. All the temples and especially the Edumununna, the temple of Sîn, are purified, the statue of Sîn is dressed, and the holy water basins are set up.

The following lines refer to the well-known lunar eclipse myth, attested in the handbook against evil *utukku*-demons, already mentioned above. Here the moon is threatened by seven hostile monsters. In our text the ‘you’-figure must say: ‘Verily, by the life of Anu and Enlil they (i.e. the seven monsters) are conjured’,⁶⁸⁰ after which the exorcists recite the Sumerian incantations ‘Storm of jubilating water’ and ‘Evil *utukku*-demons’. Finally the magic circle of flour, the *takpertu*-purification necessities and the *garakku*-brazier are thrown into the river. Note that the removing of all the ritual equipment has to be done again on the next day, although here by the ‘you’-figure and not by the *itinnu* as at the end of the last section.

It is strange that only here does the exorcist enter the scene,⁶⁸¹ unless the ‘you’-figure, the leading priest in the ritual, is also an exorcist, which is possible, since it is he who is the most important officiant in rituals which are used to neutralize the evil affects of bad omens such as an eclipse.⁶⁸²

Another cross-line follows.

II.7.2. The second version

This time, another very short version of the ritual, introduced with ‘alternatively’ (*šaniš*), is described, in which the actions of the *šangû*-priests of the temples of Uruk at the time of an eclipse of the moon are discussed.⁶⁸³ They have to light the *garakku*-brazier in

present author in *RA* 91 (1997), 151, n. 13.

⁶⁷⁶ For the reading *itinnu* (^uŠITIM) instead of *mubannû* (^uDÍM), see III.4.3.

⁶⁷⁷ Rev.1 ff.

⁶⁷⁸ See II.2.3.

⁶⁷⁹ Rev. 31.

⁶⁸⁰ Rev. 34.

⁶⁸¹ But see also BM 134701, rev. 16.

⁶⁸² See also I.3. Another candidate could be the chief singer of dirges (*galamāhu*).

⁶⁸³ *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 38–41.

the gates of the temples in the district Tiranna and utter the same apotropaic formula as stipulated in the first version for the people of the land and the seven soldiers, until the eclipse had ended.

II.7.3. *The third version*

The third version of the ritual also describes what had to be done during an eclipse, but now concentrates fully on the lamentation priests; it is performed near the BĀRA.KI.BA-LAG the ‘Dais, place (of) the Harp’, and apart from the lamentation priests a ‘you’-figure is also mentioned, as in the first version.⁶⁸⁴ Although the lamentation priests are mentioned twice before, in this version the duties of these priests are the main topic of interest, as is especially clear from the fact that several musical instruments, including the kettledrum, are mentioned. Also, only in this version does he actively participate in the ritual.⁶⁸⁵ As we saw, in the first version the lamentation priest only receives a general instruction to perform his ‘ritual procedure’ during the eclipse, which is now specified in the third version.

First, several musical instruments (a bronze *halḫallatu*-drum, a bronze *manzû*-drum, and a bronze kettledrum) are brought near the ‘Dais, place (of) the Harp’. When the eclipse begins the lamentation priests put on a linen garment, cover their heads with torn *hubāru*-clothing, and ‘raise’ (*na-šu-ú*)⁶⁸⁶ lamentations, wailings and mourning for the eclipsed moon. Then three heaps of flour are poured facing the kettledrum within the magic circle of flour. A jar which is filled with ‘tears of the holy tamarisk’ and water is placed at the right side of these heaps of flour within the magic circle of flour, facing the eclipsed moon ‘for the procedures of the lamentation priests’ (*a-na kun-nu ŠU^{II} a-na lúGALA.MEŠ*).⁶⁸⁷ Then the text describes lamentations which have to be recited during the several phases of the eclipsed moon.⁶⁸⁸ As soon as the eclipse has ended, the three main cult objects of the ritual, the kettledrum, the heaps of flour and the jar, are thrown into the river, just as in the first version, but here apparently this occurs on the same day as the other ritual proceedings, since no reference is made to the next day.

We have seen that the kettledrum plays an important part in this third version of the ritual. Warding off the evil effects of a lunar eclipse can be achieved in different ways: by lamentation priests singing a lamentation, by the people of the land and soldiers or *šangû*-priests uttering an apotropaic formula, or by exorcists reciting an incantation.⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁴ *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 42–55 // BM 134701, obv. 1–16.

⁶⁸⁵ See rev. 43 ff.

⁶⁸⁶ *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 45 // BM 134701, obv. 4.

⁶⁸⁷ *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 47 // BM 134701, obv. 6. See my comments on this line in the Appendix.

⁶⁸⁸ *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 48 ff. // BM 134701, obv. 7 ff. No songs or actions are outlined for when the maximal phase of the eclipse is passed and the moon begins to reemerge from the earth’s shadow. Supported by eclipse reports from Babylon and Uruk this could indicate that lamentation probably took place only while the eclipses grew to their greatest extent. See the article of D. Brown and the present author in *RA* 91 (1997), 151 f., n. 14. For the eclipse reports from Babylon see now vol. V of the astronomical diaries on lunar and planetary texts.

⁶⁸⁹ See M. Stol, in: *Natural Phenomena*, 258 f. contra E. Cassin, *La splendeur divine*, 41 f., and id., *Le semblable et le différent*, 1987, 259 ff.: according to Cassin the eclipse must be interpreted as a state of ‘being silent’ of the moon-god. This matches well with the fact that during this period the king remains quiet in his palace. Furthermore there is a clear opposition between the behavior on the street and in the house: in the house one is supposed to be quiet, on the street one has to make noise and light fires. It symbolizes the chaos

II.7. The eclipse of the moon ritual

Making loud noises and music are also effective.⁶⁹⁰ The use of the kettledrum during an eclipse is well attested.⁶⁹¹ The lamentation priest playing the kettledrum on the occasion of a solar(?) eclipse is attested in the Assur prayer VAT 13832.⁶⁹² In a Neo-Assyrian letter to Esarhaddon from 671 B.C. the kettledrum is used during an eclipse of the moon (*LAS* I, 278⁶⁹³). Furthermore, we already mentioned two deposition documents from the Eanna-temple in Neo-Babylonian Uruk, where the kettledrum is mentioned in connection with a eclipse during the eighth year of Cyrus (one that did not occur!).

The Uruk eclipse text does not specifically say that the kettledrum was used for playing, or more specifically for accompanying the lamentation priests while they sing their lamentations, because for the composer of the text this is self-evident. The text does, however, describe the use of the instrument as a cult object, taking part in the ritual together with other cult objects. On the day of the eclipse it is placed (for playing) together with two other drums near the ‘Dais, Place (of) of the Harp’. It is used in a ceremony which involves three heaps of flour and a magic circle of flour, and at the end of the ritual, when it served its purpose, the kettledrum together with the heaps of flour and a jar were thrown into the river. Clearly the kettledrum was not only an instrument which was used to make music during a ritual in order to neutralize the evil effects of the lunar eclipse, but it also functioned as a cult object taking part in the ritual. Finally, in our discussion of the kettledrum we already referred to another Uruk ritual text, W 18728, where the consecrated lamentation priest and the chief singer of dirges are instructed to take off (*paṭāru* lit. “to loosen”) the *lubāru*-clothing before they can sit near the kettledrum, which appears to be in contrast with the eclipse ritual text, where the lamentation priests are deliberately wearing *lubāru*-clothing during the eclipse, while reciting the lamentations and kettledrum music is played.⁶⁹⁴

On BM 134701 this section of the text is separated from the following by a cross-line.

II.7.4. The fourth version

Finally, in the last section another ritual is described in which, apart from the ‘you’-figure, the king appears to play an important part.⁶⁹⁵ Unfortunately the beginning and end of the lines on part of the obverse and the complete reverse of BM 134701 are lost, which makes it difficult to give a comprehensive interpretation of the text.

When the eclipse begins the king, wearing a *tillû*-uniform, is apparently in his palace. A person addressed in the second person performs a ceremony with a palm leaf and a multicolored cord; a similar cord was also mentioned in the first version of the ritual.⁶⁹⁶

of the eclipse of the moon as much as the silence in the houses, according to Cassin. Stol opposed by arguing that noise and fire will surely have had apotropaic purposes. Furthermore, there is no opposition: silence inside – noise outside, or: no fire inside – fire outside in our ritual text. Note however that in BM 134701, obv. 17, when the eclipse begins, the king apparently is in his palace, which may refer to this opposition inside-outside (unfortunately the context of this passage is not clear).

⁶⁹⁰ See P.-A. Beaulieu and J.P. Britton, *JCS* 46 (1994), 77 f.

⁶⁹¹ The kettledrum and the ritual for covering the kettledrum are discussed in II.5.

⁶⁹² E. Ebeling, *OrNS* 17 (1948), pl. 49, cf. pp. 416–22 (see l. 23).

⁶⁹³ = S. Parpola, *SAA* 10, no. 347. Cf. also S. Parpola, *LAS* II, p. 268.

⁶⁹⁴ See II.5.1.

⁶⁹⁵ BM 134701, obv. 17 ff.

⁶⁹⁶ *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 32.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

Furthermore myrtle, *ēru*-wood(?), and strong boxwood are mentioned and flour is used; while in *BRM* 4, 6 the magic circle of flour and heaps of flour are mentioned, in BM 134701 different types of flour (*tappinnu*, *šeguššu*) are recorded. The ‘you’-figure sprinkles a temple after which its gate is sealed. Another ceremony concerning the multicolored cord follows. At the end of the obverse the king is involved in another ceremony.

The reverse refers to a ceremony involving the cella and furthermore flour, utensils(?) and regular offerings are used.⁶⁹⁷ The Rēš-temple, the Ešgal-temple, the Baramah, the Eanna-temple and the other temples of Uruk, and also the *bīt pirišti* (a storage room for the ornaments and garments of the divine statues in the temple) and the Ubšukkinaku are involved in some kind of ceremony.⁶⁹⁸ The ‘you’-figure surrounds the temples with a magic circle of *tappinnu*-flour, and he places the well and the great gates under seal. Something else is not placed under seal.⁶⁹⁹

Finally a literary passage follows which refers to the lunar eclipse myth attested in *CT* 16, pl. 19 ff.⁷⁰⁰ Presumably these lines had to be recited during the ritual, and they served the same purpose as the incantations which the exorcists had to recite at the end of the first version of the ritual: to ward off the evil consequences of the eclipse.

More evidence for a lunar eclipse myth can be found in *CLBT*, pl.1, a text probably also from Uruk. From col. A only the end of the lines are preserved, which makes an interpretation very difficult, but col. B is better preserved; it contains a passage which duplicates *BRM* 4, 6,⁷⁰¹ but which is then followed by what appears to be a part of an eclipse myth.⁷⁰² The use of the verb *qabû* ‘to say’⁷⁰³ perhaps suggests that this passage is a commentary containing quotations of a lunar eclipse myth with some commentary remarks. Note also phrases like ‘He does not know’ (*ul i-de*)⁷⁰⁴ and ‘Or/Another possibility (*šá-niš*)’⁷⁰⁵ which support this interpretation.⁷⁰⁶

Some concluding remarks

We can conclude that the lunar eclipse ritual was celebrated not only on the day the eclipse occurred, but was continued the next day. Furthermore, the ritual was performed by the priest, addressed in the second person, presumably the exorcist, but also other officiants took part, among whom the lamentation priest, the *šangû*-priest and the king are especially important. Our Uruk ritual text does not present us with different eclipse rituals, but with four different versions of the same ritual. The composition of the eclipse

⁶⁹⁷ Rev. 2 ff.

⁶⁹⁸ Rev. 5 ff.

⁶⁹⁹ Rev. 7 ff.

⁷⁰⁰ Rev. 10 ff. For details see the Appendix.

⁷⁰¹ Col. B, 1–14 // *BRM* 4, 6, obv. 5–11.

⁷⁰² Col. B, 15 ff. Note for example the phrases where Sin ‘weeps’ (*bakû*), a figure of speech for ‘to eclipse’. See M. Stol, in: *Natural Phenomena*, 258.

⁷⁰³ Col. B, 8, 20, 22, 24, although the use of a present (*iqabbû*) in the latter three does not fit very well. See *CAD*, Q, 29 f. with examples of *qabû* used in commentaries.

⁷⁰⁴ Col. B, 21. Or perhaps “I do not know”?

⁷⁰⁵ Col. B, 22.

⁷⁰⁶ See M. Stol, in: *Natural Phenomena*, 260.

text was based on what duties were to be performed and by whom; it consists of four programmes each of which concentrates on one or more participants.

II.8. Other festivals

In this section several other festivals will be discussed, of which only little is known: a temple festival in Esabad, a so-called palm festival in Esagila, a *harû*-ritual in Esagila, a Greek festival, festivals for Ištar of Babylon and for Ištar of Uruk, and a nocturnal festival celebrated in the Rēš-temple, and finally the ruler cults.

II.8.1. A temple festival in Esabad

In an Arsacid document from Babylon, dated year 154 A.E./218 S.E. (= 94 B.C.)⁷⁰⁷ a reference is made to a temple festival (*isinnu bīti*)⁷⁰⁸ of Esabad, the temple of Gula in Babylon, which was celebrated on day 25 of the third month, Simānu. The relevant passage reads:

6 2 1/2 GÍN ana ši-me 1-en UDU.NÍTA SÍSKUR
7 šá ana UD.25.KAM šá ⁱⁱⁱSIG šá i-sin-nu É
8 šá É.SA.BAD ina ŠU^{II} ^{Id}ŠÚ-MU-MU
9 A šá ^{Id}AG-PAP na-din

‘62 1/2 shekels for the purchase price of one offering sheep ⁷for day 25 of Simānu, which is the temple festival ⁸of Esabad, ⁹was given ⁸to (into the custody of, to be spent by) Marduk-šuma-iddin, ⁹the son of Nabû-nāšir’.

We have several texts from Neo-Babylonian Sippar also referring to expenditures for temple festivals (*isinnu*).⁷⁰⁹ They deal with expenditures of mainly barley, flour for temple festivals of Bēlet-Sippar, Anunītu and Gula (*Nbn* 767, 2;⁷¹⁰ *Camb* 236, 3, 8;⁷¹¹ *Nbn* 799, 11;⁷¹² *Dar* 160, 2;⁷¹³ *CT* 56, 268, rev. [1], 37¹⁴). *Camb* 236 records a festival of the temple enterers (*ērib bīti*) and exorcists on day 12 of the third month; *Dar* 160

⁷⁰⁷ AB 248, cf. G.J.P. McEwan, *Iraq* 43 (1981), 141–3; R.J. van der Spek, in: J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse*, 215 f.

⁷⁰⁸ Perhaps originally a festival commemorating the founding day of the temple? For the general term *isinnu* ‘festival’, see I.3.

⁷⁰⁹ See G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 163 (already mentioning two texts).

⁷¹⁰ I. 1–5: 4 GUR *qé-me a-na šá-lam É šá i-sin-nu É šá* ^dGAŠAN-Sip-par^{ki} ^dA-nu-ni-tu₄ u ^dME.ME (12-III-14, Nbn). Cf. *CAD*, I/J, 196b.

⁷¹¹ I. 1–5: 4 (NIGIDA) 4 BÂN ŠE.BAR *re-ḫi ma-la-a-ta šá* ⁱⁱⁱBÁR ⁱⁱⁱGU₄ u ⁱⁱⁱSIG₄ *a-di-i UD.12.KAM šá i-sin-nu É šá* ¹⁰KU₄-É-ú-tu u ¹⁰ZABAR-ú-tu *a-na* ¹Su-qa-a-a A-šú šá ¹Ba-ku-ú-a SUM-na [...]x GUR 4 1/2 (NIGIDA) 3 SÍLA ŠE.BAR *ma-la-a-ta šá* MU.3.KAM [...] ¹B]a-la-tu₄ šá *tar-ra-šu* [...]x *i-sin-nu É* [...] *n]a* ^{Id}EN-it-tan-nu [...] SUM-na (25-III-4, Camb).

⁷¹² I. 11–12: 3 BÂN ŠE.BAR *ina* GIŠ.BÂN šá 10 MA.NA 2-ta EN *ma-la-a-ta šá* (i-)sin-ni É šá ^dGAŠAN-Sip-par^{ki} šá UD.22.KAM šá ⁱⁱⁱSIG₄ šá ¹La-a-ba-ši *ina* IGI ¹Ri-[...] (22-VII-14, Nbn).

⁷¹³ I. 1–4: *ma-la-a-ta šá a-na* [...] šá UD.12.KAM šá ⁱⁱⁱSIG₄ šá ¹i-sin-nu É¹ šá MU.5.KAM *a-na* ^dGAŠAN-Sip-par^{ki} ^dA-nu-ni-tu₄ u ^dGu-la na-di-in (12-III-5, Dar).

⁷¹⁴ I. rev. 1–4: [...] EZEN] É ^dGAŠAN-Sip-[par^{ki}]’x x *la* x¹ UD.12.KAM šá EZEN É ^dA-nu-ni-tu₄ 1 (NIGIDA) 4 BÂN (4-III-9, Nbn).

names a festival of Bēlet-Sippar on the same day, while *Nbn* 799 mentions day 22 of the third month for a festival of Bēlet-Sippar. See also *CT* 56, 268, which mentions a festival of Bēlet-Sippar on day 12 (of the third month?).

As McEwan has noted, these documents are similar to the Hellenistic text, although the latter mentions sheep instead of barley and flour.⁷¹⁵ However, the little evidence that we have of *isinnu* in the Hellenistic period does not give us enough information to draw any conclusions as to the nature of this special festival.

II.8.2. A palm festival

In BM 32206 +,⁷¹⁶ which describes ritual activities performed on the third and fourth day of the ninth month Kislīmu in Babylon, several references are made to a festival in which date palm branches (*libbi gišimmari*) play an important part.⁷¹⁷ On day 4 of Kislīmu date palm branches are brought by boat from the temple of Ea within the Esagila-complex to the god Zāriqu in a tent near the river bridge; then they are taken back by the boatmen to the temple of Ea, where temple personnel place them in various places in this temple and elsewhere in Esagila.⁷¹⁸ During the activities of the fourth day, *Enūma eliš* is recited for Bēl by the singer (*nāru*),⁷¹⁹ and furthermore two lamentations are recited: the kettledrum (lamentation) UDAM KI AMUS ‘It touches the Earth like a storm’⁷²⁰ and ELUM GUSUN ‘Honored one, wild ox’.⁷²¹

For this festival there is more evidence from the text BM 78076, a tablet dated to Darius, which describes days 2–15 of Kislīmu in the Gula temple in Babylon, Esabad.⁷²² Probably also referring to the palm festival is a small unpublished fragment of a temple ritual, BM 54901: although the context is not fully clear, the mentioning of several deities (Zāriqu, Muštēšir, ⁴KAŠ.DIN.NAM), also attested in the Esabad and Esagila texts, strongly points in the direction of this festival.⁷²³ Finally, the date palm branch is also used during the eclipse of the moon ritual in Hellenistic Uruk, as we now know from BM 134701.⁷²⁴

On the basis of textual evidence from Mesopotamia and Israel, Lambert made some suggestions as to the significance of this palm festival.⁷²⁵ He concluded that possibly ‘there was an old and widespread custom in the ancient Near East of carrying branches of the palm (among others) at a harvest festival, of which we see differing relics in the Babylonian Kislev rites and the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles’.⁷²⁶ This festival is not attested elsewhere in texts from the Hellenistic period.⁷²⁷

⁷¹⁵ *FAOS* 4, 163.

⁷¹⁶ G. Çağırzan, W.G. Lambert, *JCS* 43–45 (1991–1993), 89–106. See also II.4. 3 and II.5.1.

⁷¹⁷ See I, 11; II, 51, 64; III, 93, 98, 104, 107, 117, 123.

⁷¹⁸ BM 32206 +, III, 93 ff.

⁷¹⁹ II 62–3.

⁷²⁰ IV, 158. Not attested, however, in our kettledrum ritual texts, see II.5.1.

⁷²¹ IV, 162. Also known from the Uruk night vigil text *TU* 41, rev. 31, and *TU* 48, obv. 8, see II.2.2.

⁷²² This tablet is published by A.R. George, *Studies W.G. Lambert*, no. 3, 280 ff. A short description of the contents was given by G. Çağırzan, W.G. Lambert, *JCS* 43–45 (1991–1993), 92, cf. also 89.

⁷²³ We will discuss this fragment more extensively in a separate study.

⁷²⁴ Obv. 18. See II.7.4.

⁷²⁵ *JCS* 43–45 (1991–1993), 92–3.

⁷²⁶ *JCS* 43–45 (1991–1993), 93.

⁷²⁷ See however the New Year text from Babylon, *RAcc.*, 133, 209, where several figurines are girded with

II.8.3. *A ḥarû-ritual*

Not much is known about the nature of a religious ceremony or ritual called *ḥarû*,⁷²⁸ related to but not to be confused with the *ḥarû*-container.⁷²⁹ It is well known from the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods,⁷³⁰ but not attested in the Hellenistic period, with the exception of a reference in an astronomical diary from Babylon: during the New Year festival on the eighth day of Nisannu the king takes part in a procession from Esagila to the *akītu*-temple and ‘he performed the *ḥarû*-ritual of ... [fo]r(?) Esagila in their presence’.⁷³¹

The *bīt ḥarê*,⁷³² the *ḥarû*-temple, is attested in a Hellenistic chronicle text from Babylon.⁷³³ The *ḥarû*-house of the god Nabû is well-known from Assur⁷³⁴ and Babylon,⁷³⁵ but it is attested only twice in texts from Hellenistic Babylon, in a calendar text, where offerings were made on day 17 of Kislīmu,⁷³⁶ and in an astronomical diary.⁷³⁷

II.8.4. *A Greek festival*

In an astronomical diary from Babylon⁷³⁸ a festival called *puppē*, derived from the Greek word *πομπή* (procession)⁷³⁹ is mentioned:

- 14 ... ITI.BI *al-te-e um-[ma]*
 15 ¹An LUGAL *ina URU.MEŠ šá* ^{KUR}*Me-luḥ-ḥa šal-ta-niš* GIN.GIN-*a[k]*⁷⁴⁰ *lūpu-li-te-e*
pu-up-pe-e u ép-še-e-tú šá GIM *ú-šur-tú lūia-a-man-nu* ^{ʿx} [...]]

a belt of palm leaves (*eri gišimmari*); compare also 145, 455.

⁷²⁸ CAD, H, 117b, 2; AHw, 328b, 2.

⁷²⁹ Attested in TU 41, rev. 1 and 4. For the container see CAD, H, 117, 1; AHw, 328b, 1; K. Deller, I.L. Finkel, ZA 74 (1984), 89.

⁷³⁰ See the dictionaries for examples; see also: AUWE 5, no. 110 (Nbk); YOS 17, 50 (Nbk); M.J. Geller, in: *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots. Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, Winona Lake, Indiana, 1995, 532, obv. 7, cf. also 535 and 537 (Nbn). For Sippar see CT 55, 594; CT 57, 83.

⁷³¹ A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -204, C, rev. 15–16. This passage is also discussed in II.4.5.2.

⁷³² CAD, H, 118 and AHw, 328 f.

⁷³³ BHT pl. 17, 25 = A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, 118, chronicle 10, rev. 25: É *ḥa-re-e ŠU^{II}-su NU KUR* ‘he did not touch (capture) the *ḥarû*-house’.

⁷³⁴ See B. Menzel, *Tempel*, I, 75 f. and II, 158, cf. A.R. George, BTT, 178 (sub 158) with 461; B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi irub*, 101 f.

⁷³⁵ See A. Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires du temple de Nabû ša ḥarê I* (Texts from Babylon), Baghdad, 1981, and id., *Sumer* 37 (1981), 118 ff., with all Neo-Babylonian references to the *Nabû ša ḥarê*-temple. For the location see J.N. Postgate, *Iraq* 43 (1981), 173; J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 118; A.R. George, BTT, 24 (sub 5), see also 58 (sub 15) and 225 (sub 7), cf. id., *House Most High*, no. 878, with a short history of the temple; B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi irub*, 103.

⁷³⁶ BRM IV, 25, rev. 43.

⁷³⁷ A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -77, B, rev. 16. Cf. R.J. van der Spek, *Grondbezit in het Seleucidische rijk*, 75.

⁷³⁸ A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -168, A, obv. 14–15.

⁷³⁹ With assimilation of mp } pp in Akkadian, see R.J. van der Spek, in: A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White (eds.), *Hellenism in the East*, 67 f. The festival was celebrated not only by the Greeks, but also by the Romans, see H.S. Versnel, *Triumphus*, 94 ff. with more literature.

⁷⁴⁰ Cf. R.J. van der Spek, *A/O* 44/45 (1997/98), 170, n. 13.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

¹⁴ ... In that month I heard as follows: ¹⁵King Antiochus went victoriously into the cities of Meluhha (i.e. Egypt), the citizens [performed?] a πομπή and ritual acts according to Greek custom ... [...].

This Greek festival probably celebrates Antiochus IV's victories of the first Egyptian campaign in 169 B.C. According to Polybius (XXX 26, 9) the spoils of this victory were displayed during a well-known festival held in Daphne, near Antioch, in 166 B.C. For this reason R.J. van der Spek argued that the festival referred to in the astronomical diary cannot be identified with the festival in Daphne.⁷⁴¹ However, M.J. Geller suggested that the festival is indeed the festival of Daphne, but contrary to the classical sources celebrated in 169 rather than in 166 B.C..⁷⁴²

Important for us is that we have here a Babylonian source which refers to a Greek festival, celebrated by Greeks (lûpu-li-še-e = πολῖται) according to Greek custom (lûia-a-man-nu).⁷⁴³

II.8.5. Festivals for Ištar of Babylon and Ištar of Uruk

Two well-known deities are Ištar of Babylon and Ištar of Uruk. The cults of both deities must each have had their own series of temple rituals, but for the Hellenistic period only fragments are preserved.

Ištar of Babylon: BM 32656

The cult of Ištar of Babylon in her temple Eturkalamma⁷⁴⁴ is attested in a temple ritual fragment from Hellenistic Babylon dealing with the month Simānu, BM 32656, which is published by A.R. George.⁷⁴⁵ The leading roles of the *kurgarrû* and the *assinnu* demonstrate an especially close affinity with the so-called 'Love Lyrics Ritual', known from several Late Assyrian and Late Babylonian fragments.⁷⁴⁶ There is evidence that the Divine Love Lyrics text was known up to the Arsacid period.⁷⁴⁷

The following cult proceedings are described⁷⁴⁸: the preserved part of the ritual begins with day 3 of Simānu (col. III), when a *kurgarrû* goes to Eturkalamma and recites a

⁷⁴¹ *Grondbezit in het Seleucidische Rijk*, Amsterdam, 1986, 75; id., in: A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White (eds.), *Hellenism in the East*, 67 f.; id., *BiOr* 50 (1993), 99 f.; id., *Religieuze en economische politiek in het Seleucidische Rijk*, 32.

⁷⁴² *BSOAS* 54 (1991), 1 ff.

⁷⁴³ Another festival, only known from Greek sources, as for example in an unplaced fragment of Book I of Berossus' *Babyloniaca*, is the festival of Sacaea (Σάκαια); it is celebrated in Babylon on days 16–20 of the fourth month Du'ūzu. It may be of Persian origin, according to S.M. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*. SANE 1/5, Malibu, 1978, 17, with n. 24.

⁷⁴⁴ This temple is also attested in *BRM* 1, 99, rev. 26; *CT* 49, 150, obv. 23; AB 246 (G.J.P. McEwan, *Iraq* 43 [1981], 138), obv. 7, all belonging to the Raḥimesu archive, cf. R.J. van der Spek, in: J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse*, 253. For Eturkalamma in Babylon see A.R. George, *BTT*, 307 f.

⁷⁴⁵ *Studies W.G. Lambert*, no. 2, 270 ff.

⁷⁴⁶ W.G. Lambert, in: H. Goedicke and J.J.M. Roberts (eds.), *Unity and Diversity*, Baltimore, London, 1975, 98 ff. Perhaps also *CT* 51, 101 deals with the cult of Ištar of Babylon, cf. A.R. George, *Studies W.G. Lambert*, 270, n. 21.

⁷⁴⁷ Ph.M. Hibbert, *WdO* 15 (1984), 93–95. See also G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 14.

⁷⁴⁸ For a detailed discussion see the article of George.

prayer to Šamaš. This section is described elsewhere as a ritual procedure of the morning (*nēpešu ša šēri*). After a break the text continues with the last line of another prayer; this section is identified as the ritual procedure of the afternoon (*nēpešu ša mušlāli*), and could refer to days 3 to 8, since the next passage deals with day 9 (col. IV). In the morning the *kurgarrû* goes to the temple Emeurur (the temple of Nanāja at Babylon) and throws fruit at a wall behind which, according to George, lies the cella of Nanāja. In the afternoon more fruit is thrown at the cult-rooms of Ištar of Babylon's temple. As George suggests, this fruit symbolizes aphrodisiacs, and must be connected with the patronage of sexual love of Ištar and Nanāja.⁷⁴⁹ The text continues with the afternoon of day 15 of Simānu. The *assinnu* places a brick in the House of Lament (*bīt sipittê*); after this the text describes several ceremonies, and the recitation of a Love Lyric by the *assinnu* follows. On day 16 the *kurgarrû* performs a similar ritual in a cultic place called the Equḷû,⁷⁵⁰ after which he proceeds to the Uraš-gate, reciting perhaps another Love Lyric. Most of col. V is lost.

Ištar of Uruk: TU 42 +

We do not have much detailed information on the cult of Ištar of Uruk, although her name is often mentioned, both in cultic and non-cultic texts from the Hellenistic period. Her importance is illustrated not only by the fact that a new temple, Ešgal, was built for her in the Hellenistic period,⁷⁵¹ but also by several fragments of a well-known myth, 'The Exaltation of Ištar', which were copied during the Hellenistic period.⁷⁵²

In *TU 42 +* a special festival for Ištar is described, which is celebrated in Uruk during an unknown month. The obverse describes the preparations for a procession of Ištar; the ceremonies are similar to those, which for days 8 and 9 of the New Year festival (*akītu*) of Anu, during the seventh month Tašrītu, are handed down to us (*TU 39–40*). The last part of the obverse and the whole of the reverse describe the actual procession of Ištar from (probably) the Ešgal to the *akītu*-temple,⁷⁵³ and resembles the Anu-procession described in *KAR 132*.⁷⁵⁴

The beginning of the text is lost. When the text becomes understandable, several deities, among whom are many goddesses, take up position (*tarāšu*) in front of Ištar, presumably in her cella in the Ešgal-temple (which was probably mentioned in the lost beginning of the text), while the king prepares for the procession by putting on a *tillû*-uniform. Meals are served to Ištar and the other deities.⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁴⁹ For fruit served during the divine meal as offering see III.7.1.

⁷⁵⁰ Or *bīt qūlu*, cf. *CAD*, Q, 303a.

⁷⁵¹ See I.3.

⁷⁵² See J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 168 with an enumeration of all the texts and literature.

⁷⁵³ The procession was also briefly analysed by B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi irub*, 44. *TU 42* was also discussed by G. Furlani, *Sacrificio*, 251 f. and id., *Riti*, 219 ff.

⁷⁵⁴ See II.4.5.1.

⁷⁵⁵ Obv. 19'ff.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

Then she is escorted to the first station of the procession, the room between the curtains (*birūt šiddī*), and again the gods take up position in front of her.⁷⁵⁶ After an offering and a libation by a priest, and a purification of the king and others who are present, first the Scepter of Kingship, and then Ištar herself go to the next station of the procession, the Dais of Destinies (*parak šīmāti*).⁷⁵⁷

The procession of Ištar and the Scepter of Kingship together with the other gods then makes its way to the procession-boat (^{giš}MÁ.GUR₈).⁷⁵⁸ After they have arrived at the wharf (*arammu*), the god Usmû and the king lead Ištar and the Scepter of Kingship into the courtyard of the *akītu*-temple, where Ištar takes her place on the Great Dais (BÁRA.GAL), and the other gods follow.⁷⁵⁹ Presumably when all the gods are in the courtyard, Usmû and the king lead Ištar and the Scepter of Kingship into the last station of the procession, Ištar's cella (*papāḫu*) in the *akītu*-temple.⁷⁶⁰ The final lines of the text describe other gods following Ištar into her cella, and preparations for a ceremony in her cella, which include setting up several cult objects, such as Anu's armchair, chariots, a kettledrum, a carrying pole, and offering tables.⁷⁶¹

Because this festival for Ištar is not known from other ritual texts,⁷⁶² it is difficult to establish the function and importance of *TU* 42 +. It is clear, however, that the text only contains part of the ritual, and at least one more tablet must have been used to describe the rest of the festival, probably including the journey back to, in this case, the Ešgal-temple in Uruk, just as Anu returned during the New Year festival. The importance of this ritual for Ištar is underlined by the fact that the king takes part in the ritual. Clearly the text provides us with no more than a glimpse of the Ištar cult in Uruk, paralleled as it is by the Anu cult of which we know more, especially owing to the New Year texts.

It is interesting that the text mentions the exorcists, the lamentation priests, the singers and a temple enterer (*ērib bīti*),⁷⁶³ but there is no reference to a leading priest, addressed in the second person. This is not unusual in the temple ritual texts which belong to the large series of temple rituals covering the whole year, and *TU* 42 + apparently belongs to this series.

II.8.6. *TU* 41: a nocturnal festival in the Rēš-temple

As we already saw,⁷⁶⁴ an important source for the good-functioning of the temple ceremony (*šalām bīti*) and the vigil (*bajjātu*) is the Uruk temple ritual text *TU* 41, which describes a nightly ritual for days 16 and 17 of perhaps the tenth month Ṭebētu.⁷⁶⁵ The

⁷⁵⁶ Obv. 26'–27'.

⁷⁵⁷ Obv. 35'.

⁷⁵⁸ Rev. 15'.

⁷⁵⁹ Rev. 21'ff. Whether there is any connection between the reference to the *assinnu* and *kurgarrû* in rev. 25' and the 'Love lyrics ritual' known from Babylon, is not clear from the context, but it is not impossible since *TU* 42 + also deals with the cult of Ištar.

⁷⁶⁰ Rev. 27'f.

⁷⁶¹ Rev. 29'ff.

⁷⁶² But we do know of an *akītu*-temple of Ištar in Neo- and Late Babylonian Uruk, see II.4.5.1.

⁷⁶³ Obv. 25'; rev. 6'; 7'; 30'.

⁷⁶⁴ See II.3.4 and II.3.6.

⁷⁶⁵ See I.2. The text was discussed by G. Furlani, *Sacrificio*, 226 f. and id., *Riti*, 137 ff.

beginning (probably mentioning the place where, and the moment when, the festival was held) and end of the text are not preserved.

When the text becomes understandable, the Scepter and a lamp in the shape of a shoe (*šēnu*), which symbolizes Nusku, god of light and fire,⁷⁶⁶ descend to the Grand Courtyard and take up position facing Anu, who is in his cella, and where he remains during the entire ritual. The Scepter enters and Papsukkal, Nusku and Usmû go and sit in the courtyard of Anu. Then the Shoe enters the bed-chamber of the goddess Antu, the ‘House with the golden bed’ (É.NIR É ^{gi}šNÚ GUŠKIN *šá An-tu*)⁷⁶⁷ and is placed upon a footstool, while the goddesses Mārāt-Anu and Mārāt-Uruk sit in the courtyard of Anu. An evening meal is served but not cleared away, and the gate, in contrast with a normal cultic day, is not closed because the vigil continues the entire night.⁷⁶⁸ Then a description follows of the ceremonies which were held during this vigil, including several offerings, libations, and recitations in the sanctuary on the top of the temple tower of the Rēš-temple.⁷⁶⁹ Note that most of these proceedings are performed by a priest addressed in the second person (see below).

The ritual continues with a procession with the Torch (*gizillû*),⁷⁷⁰ that is a divine Torch, upon which the washing of the mouth ceremony (*mīs pī*) has been performed.⁷⁷¹ First a *lumahḫu*-priest lights this Torch. The chief temple enterer (*ērib bīti rabû*), accompanied by exorcists, lamentation priests and singers, leads the Torch down from the temple tower, and he enters the Grand Courtyard by the Holy Gate, where the torch takes up position in front of Anu.

After a container is broken(?) in front of Anu, the procession of the Torch, now led by the temple enterer together with three gatekeepers, Papsukkal, Nusku, Usmû, and Messagunug, proceeds to the cella of Antu. Again a container is broken(?), now in front of Antu. The next station of the procession is Ubšukkinaku: an ox is killed near the Dais of Destinies, a brushwood pile (*abru*) is kindled from the Torch, and the right and left side of the pile are touched with the shoulder of the slaughtered ox.⁷⁷²

Then the procession leaves the Ubšukkinaku through the Grand Gate (KÁ.MAH), and the four gods encircle the temple, after which they re-enter, each god through his own gate: Papsukkal through the Grand Gate, Nusku through the Great Gate (KÁ.GAL), and Usmû through the Main Gate (KÁ.SAG).⁷⁷³

Although the text makes no reference to the Torch and Messagunug returning into the temple, this must have taken place as is clear from what follows.⁷⁷⁴ The three gods remain at their gates until dawn and temple enterers (*ērib bīti*) light brushwood piles from the Torch in front of them. Then fires in the other temples of Uruk are kindled from the Torch by *šangû*-priests and temple enterers, after which they perform ‘the good-

⁷⁶⁶ See my comments on *TU* 41, obv. 2 in the Appendix.

⁷⁶⁷ See also II.4.4 and my comments on *TU* 39, obv. 4 in the Appendix.

⁷⁶⁸ Obv. 13.

⁷⁶⁹ Obv. 13 ff.

⁷⁷⁰ The different stations of this procession with the Torch are discussed by B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi irub*, 45–47.

⁷⁷¹ Obv. 28 ff.

⁷⁷² Rev. 1 ff.

⁷⁷³ Rev. 8 ff. For the location of these gates see B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi irub*, 45.

⁷⁷⁴ Rev. 13 ff.

functioning of the temple' ceremony (*šalām bīti*) in the temples. After more brushwood piles are kindled at the gates of the temples, and two blessings are recited, the Torch and Messagunug return to the courtyard of Antu. The Torch is extinguished by an exorcist. Messagunug remains in the Ubšukkinaku and Adad, Šîn, Šamaš and Bēlet-ilī in the courtyard until daybreak.

The people of the land kindle brushwood piles in their homes, serve a banquet for Anu, Antu and the other gods, and recite the same blessing as before.⁷⁷⁵ The city guardians kindle brushwood piles in the streets and crossroads, and they also plant standards left and right of the city gates. Brushwood piles will burn here until dawn.⁷⁷⁶

There is no mention of closing the gate at the end of the night,⁷⁷⁷ but in the morning of day 17, 40 minutes after sunrise, the gate is opened again and the vigil ends.⁷⁷⁸ The main and second meals of the morning are served for Anu, Antu and the other gods. After censers have been filled, and more offerings and a recitation by the singers are performed (among which is the lamentation ELUM GUSUN 'Honored one, wild ox'⁷⁷⁹) Adad, Šîn, Šamaš, Messagunug and Bēlet-ilī are led into the room between the curtains (*birīt šiddī*).⁷⁸⁰ The rest of the text is lost.

Some concluding remarks

This text is especially interesting because it gives us more detailed information about the proceedings during the night vigil than the other sources which were discussed elsewhere.⁷⁸¹ However, the ritual which is described in *TU* 41 was probably held for a special occasion and the different ceremonies celebrated during the nocturnal ritual cannot be used as a standard schedule for a normal vigil. This is confirmed by the appearance of the priest addressed in the second person; this 'you'-figure is not attested in the texts belonging to the large series of temple ritual text covering the whole year. We do know of the 'you'-figure, especially from other occasional rituals, which belong to the corpus of the lamentation priest (the kettledrum ritual and the building ritual).⁷⁸² The most likely candidate for the 'you'-figure in *TU* 41 is the exorcist; he is mentioned more often than the other participants in the ritual. Moreover we know that he participated in many temple rituals performing all sorts of ritual activities.⁷⁸³

II.8.7. *Ruler cults*

As we saw, the Macedonian kings and their representatives in Babylon and Uruk took an active part in the Babylonian cults.⁷⁸⁴ However, on several occasions we also referred to

⁷⁷⁵ Rev. 22 ff.

⁷⁷⁶ Rev. 24 ff. Note that, with the exception of the eclipse of the moon ritual (see II.7), this is the only other example in our corpus of Hellenistic temple ritual texts of the people participating in a ritual.

⁷⁷⁷ See my comment on rev. 26 in the Appendix.

⁷⁷⁸ Rev. 28 f.

⁷⁷⁹ Rev. 31.

⁷⁸⁰ Rev. 29 ff.

⁷⁸¹ See II.3.4.

⁷⁸² See II.5.3 and II.6.3.

⁷⁸³ See I.3.

⁷⁸⁴ See I.3.

a special cult *for* the king and his family; the royal family appears to have been the object of offerings in the Babylonian temples. In this paragraph we will discuss the evidence for this cult and examine whether it can be connected with the Hellenistic ruler cults.

Evidence from Hellenistic Babylonia

Susan Sherwin-White and Amélie Kuhrt have extensively discussed the so-called ruler cults in the Seleucid empire.⁷⁸⁵ They emphasize the distinction which has to be made between on the one hand a centrally imposed and organised state cult, instituted by Antiochus III for himself and former rulers (πρόγονοι), together with a separate royal cult of his wife Laodice, and on the other hand civic ruler cults, established by the Greek cities on their own initiative without direct orders from the king.⁷⁸⁶ As far as Babylonia is concerned, they argue, there is no evidence of any ruler cult (state nor civic) for Seleucid kings. There are many references in the Hellenistic text corpus from Babylonia to offerings, prayers or dedications ‘for the life of the king’. In an earlier article Sherwin-White discussed these passages⁷⁸⁷ and concluded that they constitute not a new development but an old Babylonian practice, which was only concerned with the physical and mental well-being of the king. Furthermore, the practice of offering before the statues of ruling and deceased kings cannot be connected with ruler cults, because deification of the king is not implied here. Also, offerings made by or on behalf of the king only indicate the participation of the king in the temple cult, and have nothing to do with a royal cult of the Seleucid monarchs.

Let us examine the Babylonian evidence of the Hellenistic period.

Uruk

An Uruk building inscription⁷⁸⁸ from 244 B.C. dedicates the reconstruction work on the Rēš-temple complex of Anu to the reigning kings. Line 15 reads: *a-na bul-tu šá* ¹*An-ti-i-ku-su u* ¹*Se-lu-ku* LUGAL.MEŠ DÜ-uš-ma ú-šak-lil ¹⁵‘for the life of Antiochus and Seleucus, the kings, he built (all this) in its entirety’. Similarly, in another Uruk building inscription from the year 202/1 B.C.;⁷⁸⁹ lines 10–12: *a-na muḥ-ḫi* [*bul-tu šá*] ¹*An-ti-i-ku-su* LUGAL *b[e-el-ia] te-me-en-na-šú-nu-ti* SUMUN DAGAL ¹⁰... for the sake of the [life of] ¹¹Antiochus, the king, my lord, ¹²I have extended their old foundations’. Another example is an Arsacid fragment, a contract from Uruk, which records the dedication of a slave girl⁷⁹⁰:

⁷⁸⁵ *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 116 ff.; 202 ff.

⁷⁸⁶ This distinction was already made by E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, Paris, 1938, 236–57.

⁷⁸⁷ S. Sherwin-White, *JHS* 103 (1983), 156–9. But see also R.J. van der Spek, *BiOr* 42 (1985), 557–61; revised in id., *BiOr* 50 (1993), 100–101 and id., *BSOAS* 57 (1993), 367–8.

⁷⁸⁸ *YOS* 1, 52 (see L.T. Doty, in: *Studies A. Sachs*, Philadelphia, 1988, 95–6).

⁷⁸⁹ J. Jordan, *Uruk-Warka*. WVDOG 51, Leipzig, 1928, pl. 108, c, with 41. See also II.6.4.

⁷⁹⁰ *BRM* 2, 53.

II. Ceremonies, rituals and festivals

1. [¹Ni-ka-nu-ur] A šá ¹Di-e-mu-uk-ra-te-e ina ħu-ud lib-bi-šú
2. [^{sa}A-ra-ĥ]u-na-’ SAL.KUR-su šá ta-tur-ru⁷⁹¹ DUMU.SAL šá MU.5 MU.MEŠ
3. [a-na mu]ĥ-ĥi bul-tu šá LUGAL a-na muĥ-ĥi bul-tu šá NĪ-šú
4. [a-na mu]ĥ-ĥi bul-tu šá UN.MEŠ u a-na muĥ-ĥi bul-tu šá
5. [A.MEŠ(?)]-šú a-na DÜ-uš dul-lu₄ IM^{bá} šá É DINGIR.MEŠ šá
6. ⁷UNUG^{ki} a-na ^dLX u An-tu₄ u DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ šá UNUG^{ki}
7. a-na u₄-mu ša-a-tù it-ta-din ...

¹[Nikanor] son of Demokrates, of his own free will ⁷has given ²[Arah]ne, his slave girl, five years old, ³[fo]r the sake of the life of the king, for the sake of his own life, ⁴[fo]r the sake of the life of the people and for the sake of the life of ⁵the (lit. his) [children(?)], for doing the work in clay for the temples of ⁶Uruk, for Anu and Antu and the great gods of Uruk ⁷in perpetuity. ...’.

More examples are known.⁷⁹² They clearly show that the phrase *ana (muĥĥi) bul-tu* means ‘for (the sake of) the (physical and mental) health of’, and is in no way different from similar phrases use in pre-Hellenistic times. So far we can agree with Susan Sherwin-White and Amélie Kuhrt.

We already discussed Hellenistic legal documents from Uruk concerning prebend shares (all dated to the second century B.C.), which refer to offerings brought up ‘to (the table of) the statues of the kings’.⁷⁹³ Unlike the passages discussed above, these references are unusual. We know that on rare occasions, particularly during the Ur III-period, statues of deified kings received offerings, but from the Old Babylonian period on deified kings are unknown in Mesopotamia. In the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods the statue of the legendary Sargon of Akkad was also honored with special offering gifts,⁷⁹⁴ but note that in these texts Sargon was usually referred to by name, unlike the Hellenistic kings.

The question is whether the text passages from Hellenistic Uruk refer to statues of living kings of the Seleucid dynasty, or to statues of former rulers like Sargon. As van der Spek noted, there are parallels for deified kings honored as *σύνναοι θεοί* in native temples.⁷⁹⁵ Also, phrases in Hellenistic cuneiform sources like the *ana (muĥĥi) bul-tu*-examples mentioned above (but also those attested in the astronomical diaries from Babylon discussed below) all refer to living Seleucid kings. We may therefore safely assume that the statues are also of living Seleucid rulers.

For now there is no hard evidence which connects the Hellenistic text passages with a ruler cult practice in Hellenistic Uruk, instigated by a Seleucid king, but, in view of

⁷⁹¹ According to G.J.P. McEwan, *RA* 75 (1981), 91–2 and repeated in M.J. Geller, H. Maehler (eds.), *Legal Documents of the Hellenistic World*, London, 1995, 22, šá ta-tur-ru = ‘widow’, but different in M. Roth, *JCS* 43–45 (1991–93), 4, n. 17. See also F. Joannès, *KTEMA* 22 (1997), 123, and M. Jursa, *NABU* 2001, no. 103.

⁷⁹² A similar phraseology is used in YBT 11633 (= L.T. Doty, *CAHU*, 87 ff., 100 + x S.E. = J. Oelsner, *XXXVIII R.A.I.*, Paris, 1992, 346–7); *BiMes* 24, 43 (x-I-184 S.E./120 A.E. = 128 B.C.); *BiMes* 24, 44 (4-III-179 S.E./115 A.E. = 133 B.C.). See also an obscure text from Tell ‘Umar (ancient Seleucia-on-the-Tigris), published by L.T. Doty in *Mesopotamia 13–14* (1978–79), 91–98, S₁₁-894 (87 S.E. = 225/4 B.C.). Discussed again by J. Oelsner in *XXXVIII R.A.I.*, Paris, 1992, 345–6.

⁷⁹³ *BRM* 2, 36, J. Oppert, J. Ménant, *Doc. Jur.*, no. 5 and *VS* 15, 16. See II.3.1 and II.3.2.

⁷⁹⁴ See A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar temple at Sippar*, 230 f., n. 205.

⁷⁹⁵ *BiOr* 42 (1985), 560.

the fact that suddenly in cuneiform sources of the second century B.C. in Uruk offerings for the statues of rulers show up, seeing a connection is tempting.

Babylon

From Babylon we have one example in a chronicle text. Chronicle 13b⁷⁹⁶ states that during the reign of king Seleucus III the administrator (*šatammu*) of Esagila established offerings within Esagila *a-na* ^dEN *u* ^dGAŠAN-ia *u* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ù a-na dul-lu(?) šá* ¹Se[-lu]-ku 'LUGAL' *u* A.MEŠ-šú 'for Bēl and Bēltija and the great gods and for the ritual(?) of Seleucus, the king, and his sons' (obv. 7–8).

The phrase used here is slightly different: the offerings are made for DN₁ and DN₂ and the great gods 'and for' (*u ana*) the ritual (if this reading is correct) of the king and his sons, indicating not a separation,⁷⁹⁷ but a close connection between on the one hand the gods and on the other hand the king and his family. The latter are not seen as gods (therefore no *dinger* [= god] sign is used) but as superhumans. Here offerings are made 'for the gods and for the ritual(?) of the king', while in pre-Hellenistic times offerings were made to the gods to ensure the well-being of the king (using the phrase: *ana DN ana bulṭi šarri/ana balāt napšāti šarri* 'to the gods for the life/well-being of the king').

We frequently encounter a very similar expression in the astronomical diaries from Babylon.⁷⁹⁸ They start during the reign of Antiochus III and continue into the Arsacid period. They all deal with offerings made in Esagila for Bēl, Bēltija, sometimes Ištar of Babylon, the great gods 'and for the life' (*u ana bulṭi*) of the king, usually performed by a high military or temple official, although the broken context is often a problem. See, for example, this passage from the Arsacid period (no. -107, 108 B.C.): [*ana* ^dEN] '^dGAŠAN-ia' DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *u ana bul-ṭu šá* LUGAL LUGAL.MEŠ DÚ *uš-kin-nu* 'He (i.e. an official from Subartu, who was the substitute of Orodes, the chief *kumar* of the temples) performed (the offerings) [for Bēl], Bēltija, the great gods and for the life of the king of kings, (and) prostrated himself'.

It is important to observe that the connecting word *u* 'and' (often *u ana* 'and for'), attested in chronicle 13b, is also used in most of these passages in the astronomical diaries (in fact, it is only missing when the tablet is damaged), but is unknown in texts from pre-Hellenistic times. On two occasions (nos. -187 and -178) the offerings are also made for the king's wife and sons. We have three examples (nos. -171, -140, -107) in which the offerer prostrates himself (*šukēnu*) after having offered to the great gods and for the life of the king. The verb *šukēnu* is used to express worship of or submission to a deity, although it can also be used between human beings, like subject and ruler.⁷⁹⁹

The evidence at least leaves open the possibility that perhaps from Seleucus III on in the Esagila-temple of Babylon a special royal cult was practised side by side with the cult for the great Babylonian gods. The passages known from Babylon are all very

⁷⁹⁶ A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, 283 f. See also II.4.5.2.

⁷⁹⁷ S. Sherwin-White, A. Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 203.

⁷⁹⁸ A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -204, C, rev. 18 (cited in II.4.5.2); no. -187, A, rev. 5' and 8'; no. -178, C, rev. 21'; no. -171, B, rev. 7'; no. -160, A, obv. 2'; C, rev. 2'; no. -144, rev. 18; no. -140, A, U.E., 1; no. -133, B and C, obv. 24'; no. -132, A, rev. 4'; D₂, rev. 14', 23'; no. -129, A₁, obv. 14'; A₂, obv. 19'; no. -126, B, rev. 8'; no. -107, C, rev. 18'.

⁷⁹⁹ See *CAD*, Š/III sub *šukēnu* 1 and 2.

similar in context and formulation. A clear connection is made between the gods and the king (sometimes including his wife and sons) by the word ‘and’ (*u*). Hence, all these fragments suggest that after this time the kings received a special status. Furthermore, why do we find in many of these passages a reference to the *ilāni rabûti* ‘the great gods’? This may very well be an attempt to emphasize the difference between the ‘real’ gods and the superhuman king.

Some concluding remarks

As far as Uruk is concerned we must conclude that, for now, there is no evidence which suggests that the phrase ‘for the life of the king’ in the examples from the Hellenistic period deals with anything other than the physical and mental well-being of the king, just as in pre-Hellenistic times. However, the passages which refer to offerings brought before the statues of the kings are unusual; the possibility of a *local* ruler cult for Seleucid kings during the second century B.C. cannot be excluded.

For Hellenistic Babylon we have attempted to show that the cuneiform sources possibly contain references to a royal cult. The fact that in the astronomical diaries of Babylon the *ana bulû*-expression is used only from Antiochus III on (and not before him), is striking. Because a reference to the king’s wife and sons is sometimes made in this phrase, and yet for the state cult of Antiochus III only his wife, and never his sons are included, Sherwin-White and Kuhrt may be right in assuming that the Babylonian references cannot be connected with this state cult. However, it does not exclude the possibility that these references constitute a *local* royal civic cult in Babylon. The evidence from chronicle 13b suggests that such a local cult in Babylon may have been practised at least from the time of Seleucus III on. Whether it was initiated by the Babylonians or by the Seleucid king remains unclear.

This does not mean, however, that the kings became top gods. As van der Spek already stated: ‘Ruler-cult or dynastic cult did not imply that the “deified” kings were treated in the same way as Olympian or other traditional gods. Ruler-cult was a method of honouring one or more kings in a superhuman manner, but it did not mean that these kings became the colleagues of Zeus or Marduk’.⁸⁰⁰ The cuneiform sources may reflect an *interpretatio Babylonica* of a Greek cult: the scribes of Babylon simply used the old *ana bulû*-phrase to express the Hellenistic view on superhuman kingship.

⁸⁰⁰ *BiOr* 42 (1985), 559–60.

III. THE DIVINE MEAL

III.1. Introduction

One important element of the cult is the offering. An offering¹ is a series of cultic acts which exist in almost all known religions. One brings something from a profane or secular place into a holy or sacred place, kills or destroys it, or eats it in the presence of others, in order to make a connection with the divine.

In Mesopotamian rituals the offering is predominant. In his article '*The origins of the sacrificial cult: new evidence from Mesopotamia and Israel*', W.W. Hallo examines the origin of the offering in Israel and Mesopotamia²: in Mesopotamia and in Israel similar conceptions of the origins of the offering practice existed, namely to sanctify the act of consumption by the deity. However, the cult and concept of offering of the Hebrews and the Mesopotamians evolved in entirely different directions. Since in Mesopotamia the ideology of the ritual is never expressed, the myths are used to explain the function of the offering³: there we find that mankind was created to take over the hard work from the gods and provide the gods with food and drinks. Since the gods needed food just like humans, offerings usually consisting of food, drinks and aromatics (fumigation) were presented in front of the statues of the gods. The cultic meals provided for this need.

As in the Greek and Roman world the principle of *do ut des* (I give, in order that you give) was important: one has to give the deities the honours they deserve, and in return the deities will protect the state and give prosperity. The 'feeding of the gods' remained the most important purpose of the divine meal in Mesopotamia. Although the foods and drinks offered were re-distributed after the offering ceremony to priests, temple personnel and others, an official cult maintained up to the end of Mesopotamian civilization the fiction that the divine meal was consumed by the gods, or rather their statues, and that the offerings served no other purpose.

In texts from Mesopotamia we do not find a clear definition of an offering. However, a general description of the offering practice in the temples of Hellenistic Uruk is known. As we already saw,⁴ in *TU* 38 a list is presented, which appears to be an attempt to present a complete description of the regularly recurring offerings and ceremonies during the cultic year in Uruk. Obv. 35–38 mentions loaves and date cakes which are meant for several offerings and ceremonies. The list starts off with two groups of general

¹ I will take W.G. Lambert's advice (in: *OLA* 55 [1993], 191) and avoid the term 'sacrifice' (usually referring to the killing of an animal), which in modern usage 'is too dependent on Biblical institutions and concepts to be a suitable vehicle to express ancient Mesopotamian practices'. Relevant for the study of the Babylonian offering practice in the Hellenistic period are especially G. Furlani, *Sacrificio*, F. Blome, *Opfermaterie*, and G.J. P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 166 ff.

² In: P.D. Miller Jr., P.D. Hanson, S. Dean McBride (eds.), *Ancient Israelite Religion*, Philadelphia, 1987, 3–13.

³ For the connection between myth and ritual see also II.1.

⁴ See II.1.

III. The divine meal

offering gifts: the travel provisions for the procession of (the statues of) the gods (*šidītu ilāni*),⁵ and the monthly *guqqû*-offerings,⁶ apparently here mentioned instead of *ginû* or *sattukku*, perhaps because further on in the list the *eššēšu*-festivals, with which they are connected, are mentioned.

At the end of the list a third group, the offerings of the *kāribu*-citizen, and a fourth group, the additional offerings, which the king had to perform (*tardīt šarri*), are mentioned.⁷ No attempt has been made to enumerate all the specific offerings; instead they are summarized in four larger groups: one specific group of offerings performed by priests for the gods when they leave the temple for a procession, one general group of offerings performed by priests for the gods when they are in the temple, and two specific groups of offerings for the gods offered by *kāribu*-citizen and the king.

As for the divine meal, a sequence of events can be distinguished. At the place chosen as an offering site, an offering table is set up, and water is brought in for washing. Then the table is arranged. Meat, liquids and sometimes fruit are served, and fumigation and purifications are performed. The offering side is consecrated. Behind closed curtains recitations are performed, after which the table is cleared away. Here the divine meal ends.

Although not necessarily in this order, these are the basic elements of the divine meal. In this chapter we will first describe which cultic meals are attested in texts from Hellenistic Uruk and Babylon. Then we will describe the different elements of the divine meal.

III.2. Cultic meals

The income of the temple, which consisted of agricultural and meat products, was not only used as payment for the priests, administrators and other personnel in the temple, or stored away for future need. Most importantly, it served as food which was offered daily in front of the divine statues in the temple. In the temple ritual texts from Hellenistic Uruk and Babylon the cultic meals are described extensively. In this section we will first examine which cultic meals are attested. Then we will discuss *TU 38*, a text describing in detail the daily offering practice in the Rēš-temple and other sanctuaries of Hellenistic Uruk, and one which is therefore important for our understanding of the cultic meals.

III.2.1. Terminology

In the Hellenistic period⁸ *naptanu* and *tardennu*⁹ are known as the formal main and second ritual meals offered on a stand in front of the statues of the gods in the temples; they were prepared and served by priests during various ceremonies and rituals. This

⁵ See III.2.2.

⁶ See III.7.2. and II.3.2.

⁷ See III.2.2. and III.7.2.

⁸ Cf. G. Furlani, *Sacrificio*, 252 ff.; G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 165

⁹ See J.J. Glassner's article 'Mahlzeit', in *RLA* 7 (1987–90), 259 ff. For the (cultic and secular) use of *naptanu* in older periods see E. Kingsbury, *HUCA* 34 (1963), 22 f.; B.A. Levine, W.W. Hallo, *HUCA* 38 (1967), 46 ff. and 55 sub kin-sig; R. Frankena, *Tākkultu*, 54 ff.; G. van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, 159 f.

III.2. Cultic meals

combined use of main and second meal is also known in Neo-Babylonian Uruk.¹⁰ In the Hellenistic temple ritual texts, both meals are used during the daily offering practice in Uruk,¹¹ the New Year festival in Uruk,¹² the Uruk night vigil festivities¹³ and the festival for Ištar of Uruk.¹⁴ Also during the festivities of the month Kislīmu in Babylon meals are served.¹⁵ No meals are mentioned in the ritual texts of the lamentation priest, i.e. the kettledrum ritual and the building ritual texts.

Normally four meals were presented during the day: the main and second meal in the morning (*naptan rabû ša šēri, tardennu ša šēri*)¹⁶ and the main and second meal in the evening (*(naptan) rabû u tardennu ša līlât*).¹⁷ Sometimes additional indications for the times of the meal are given, e.g. a main and second (meal) of the (last) double hour of the day (GAL-ú ù tar-den-nu šá bi-ru u₄-mu),¹⁸ or in the afternoon: on the fourth day of the New Year festival of the month Nisannu in Babylon, after a second meal in the late afternoon ([EGIR tar]-den-nu šá ki-iš u₄-mu) was served, *Enūma eliš* was recited.¹⁹ Usually however the texts simply refer to these meals as *naptanu* and *tardennu*.

Other words for ‘meal’ e.g. *līlātu*, *mākālū*, *qerītu*, *nubattu* and *tākultu* are, as far as the Hellenistic period is concerned, rare and usually only attested in (Emesal) incantations and prayers.²⁰

The main and second meal are described extensively in the temple ritual text *TU* 38.

¹⁰ See the Late Neo-Babylonian Uruk ritual text *LKU*, no. 51, where ceremonies for the whole year involving the goddesses Bēlet-ša-Uruk, Ušur-amassu and Aška’itu in the Eanna-temple are described (passim in this text).

¹¹ *TU* 38, passim.

¹² *TU* 39 +, passim.

¹³ *TU* 41, obv. 12 (KIN.SIG), 14; rev. 29, 30.

¹⁴ *TU* 42 +, obv. 19', 20'.

¹⁵ G. Çağırkan, W.G. Lambert, *JCS* 43–45 (1991–93), 1, 44, II, 58–59.

¹⁶ The main meal in the morning (*šēru*, written syll.): *TU* 38, obv. 1, 28; rev. 3, 4, 7; *TU* 39, rev. 12, 19; *TU* 41, rev. 29; the second meal in the morning: *TU* 38, obv. 6, 28; rev. 13; *TU* 39, obv. 2. The latter meal is also attested in the astronomical diaries from Babylon, A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -140, A, obv. 21–22. See also II.4.5.2.

¹⁷ The main meal in the evening (*līlātu*, written syll. or KIN.SIG): *TU* 38, obv. 6, 7, 29; rev. 18; *TU* 39, rev. 6, 14; the main meal in the evening: *TU* 38, obv. 6, 7, 29; rev. 21; *TU* 39, rev. 14. The main and second meals of the evening are also attested in a diary from Babylon, A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -156, A, obv. 20', on the 24th, 25th and 27th of Nisannu (context not clear).

¹⁸ *TU* 39, rev. 23. See also *LKU*, no. 51, obv. 26: ‘the main (meal) of the (last) double hour of the day’ (*ra-bu-ú šá bi-ri u₄-mu*).

¹⁹ *RAcc.*, 136, 280. See II.4.5.2.

²⁰ - *līlātu* (written syll. and KIN.SIG) ‘evening, evening meal’, cf. B.A. Levine, W.W. Hallo, *HUCA* 38 (1967), 51 sub á-u₄-te-na, and 55 sub kin-sig; see also the dictionaries; in the Hellenistic text corpus only the meaning ‘evening’ is attested (often in connection with *naptanu* or *tardennu*, see above), with the exception of one Sumerian incipit of an incantation mentioned in *BRM* 4, 7, rev. 30.

- *mākālū* ‘meal’. We have one example of *mākālū* in a Hellenistic Uruk ritual text, written syllabically, *TU* 38, obv. 46–47, in a partly Sumerian incipit of a blessing.

- *qerītu* (written syll. and KAŠ.DÉ.A), ‘banquet’, ‘festival’, cf. E. Kingsbury, *HUCA* 34 (1963), 25; see also the dictionaries. While it is well-known from Assyrian rituals (cf. G. van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, 161–2), in Hellenistic ritual texts it only occurs once: in combination with *nīqu* it is mentioned in the Uruk ritual text *TU* 41, rev. 23. Other examples of *qerītu* in obscure context, in a Hellenistic cultic calendar text from Babylon: *SBH* VIII, rev. col. v, 10, and 22.

- for *nubattu* ‘vigil, evening’, but also ‘evening ceremony, evening meal’, see II.3.5.

- *tākultu* is not attested in texts from the Hellenistic period.

III.2.2. TU 38

TU 38 contains ritual instructions for the daily offerings in the temples of Anu, Ištar, Nanāja and the other gods in Hellenistic Uruk, and dates from the beginning of the second century B.C.²¹ It describes very explicitly and in detail the immense quantity of products which were brought into the temples for the regular offerings (*ginû*).²² They were used for the four daily meals. A main meal followed by a second meal were served in the morning; they took place at the beginning of the day when the temple was opened. Another main and second meal were served in the evening and apparently took place before the temple was closed.

liquids

Lines obv. 1–16 of the text begin to describe all sorts of liquids: barley-beer, *labku*-beer, *nāšu*-beer, *zarbābu*-beer, milk, and drawn wine, and first quality beers, which were brought in containers (*šappu*), containers used as libation bowls (*maqqu*), and vases (*tilimtu*) for the four daily meals to the table of Anu.

For the main meal of the morning we first find eighteen *šappu*-containers, which are not used as libation bowls, with their contents (obv. 1–5):

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 6 golden <i>šappu</i> -containers | barley-beer |
| 5 golden <i>šappu</i> -containers | <i>labku</i> -beer |
| 1 golden <i>šappu</i> -container | <i>nāšu</i> -beer |
| 1 golden <i>šappu</i> -container | <i>zarbābu</i> -beer |
| 1 alabaster <i>šappu</i> -container | milk |
| 4 golden <i>šappu</i> -containers | drawn wine |

For the second meal of the morning and the main and second meal of the evening the list is the same, with exception of the alabaster *šappu*-container with milk, which is not served during the evening meals (obv. 6–7). The first section of the text ends with 5 golden *šappu*-containers with a *zarīnu*-stand of *algamišu*-stone (obv. 8).

After a cross-line, five *šappu*-containers, which are used as libation bowls, with their contents are listed (obv. 9–16):

| | |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1 <i>šappu</i> -container used as libation bowl | barley-beer |
| 1 <i>šappu</i> -container used as libation bowl | <i>labku</i> -beer |
| 1 <i>šappu</i> -container used as libation bowl | <i>nāšu</i> -beer |
| 1 <i>šappu</i> -container used as libation bowl | drawn wine |
| 1 <i>šappu</i> -container used as libation bowl | <i>zarbābu</i> -beer(?) |

Then a *šappu*-container with wine from Izallu and 4 *tilimtu*-vases are mentioned (obv. 11–16), after which a second cross-line follows, indicating the end of the second section.

The 5 *šappu*-containers used as libation bowls mentioned in the second section are additional to the 18 containers mentioned in obv. 1–5, as is clear from obv. 1: *e-lat šap-*

²¹ See the introduction of the text in the Appendix.

²² See III.7.2.

pi.MEŠ šá ma-aq-qa-né-e ‘in addition to the *šappu*-containers belonging to the libation bowls’. This is what distinguishes section one from section two. As we will see, similar distinctions (indicated by *elat* ‘in addition to/not included are’) are given throughout the text.

Although Anu is mentioned together with Antu in obv. 16 (the context is not clear since the end of obv. 15 and 16 is damaged), it is evident that the first and second section (obv. 1–16) are only concerned with Anu (cf. obv. 2; see also the reference to the cella of Anu in obv. 12 and probably also in obv. 9). This is also confirmed by the fact that the following section, obv. 17–18, is concerned with Antu, Ištar and Nanāja:

| | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|----------|
| 14 golden <i>šappu</i> -containers | first quality beer | Antu |
| 12 golden <i>šappu</i> -containers | (first quality beer) | Ištar |
| 10 golden <i>šappu</i> -containers | (first quality beer) | [Nanāja] |

In addition to these *šappu*-containers obv. 19 mentions golden *šappu*-containers used during the offering service of the whole year for the other gods living in Uruk. And, separated by another cross-line, obv. 20 (the fourth section) refers to 2 more golden *šappu*-containers with travel provisions for the procession of the gods (*šidītu ilāni*), and 2 *tilimtu*-vases. We will have more to say about these travel provisions shortly.

šidītu ilāni

The travel provisions of the gods are mentioned directly after the section concerned with the liquids (obv. 1–19), but separated by a cross-line, and directly before the section concerned with flour used to make loaves, also separated by a cross-line (obv. 21–47). So, what did they consist of? *Šidītu* was written syllabically and with the Sumerogram NINDA.KASKAL ‘bread for the road’ (Akkadian *akal ḥarrāni*²³) which gives us some idea what these travel provisions, at least originally, consisted of. In the first millennium bread or flour (*qēmu*) must also have been a main component, next to beer, chick-peas and barley; the examples of flour connected with *šidītu* in Neo-Babylonian administrative texts confirm this.²⁴ The Hellenistic text discussed here, *TU* 38, also mentions the travel provisions once more (obv. 36); *šidītu ilāni* is listed here together with the offerings and ceremonies, for which large(?) loaves and date cakes are distributed. Exactly the same list of offerings and ceremonies, but without *šidītu ilāni*, is mentioned in rev. 36–38, but here oxen and sheep meat are distributed. So, apparently, in this case meat did not belong to the travel provisions of the gods. However, in a prebend sale of the *ērib bītūtu* (office of the temple enterer) a share in the mutton for the *šidītu ilāni* was also part of the sale.²⁵

²³ Cf. the lexical list *Proto-Diri*, 374 f.: NINDA.KASKAL.[LA] = *ši-di-[tum]*, *a-ka-al ḥar-[ra-nim]*. For the gods traveling see J. van Dijk, in: *RIA* 3 (1957-), s.v. ‘Gott’, § 4: ‘Götterreisen’.

²⁴ Cf. *CAD*, S, 172–73 sub c-g, and for the Neo-Babylonian period 173 sub h.

²⁵ J. Oppert, J. Ménant, *Doc. jur.*, no. 2 (5, 7, 12, 20). L.T. Doty will publish two texts mentioning sales of rights to *šidītu ilāni*, NCBT 1963 and NCBT 1975, in *YOS* 20; apparently they also consist of mutton, cf. L.T. Doty, *CAHU*, 198. The *šidītu ilāni* is also attested in the ritual fragment *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 14, 5’ (see my comments on *TU* 44, I, 8 in the Appendix).

flour and loaves

Lines obv. 21–35 (the fifth section) are concerned with barley flour and emmer flour (explicitly called flour in obv. 25), which the miller has to deliver every day to the bakers for the regular offerings (*ginû*, obv. 22), and are used to provide the loaves and cakes for the four divine meals of Anu, Antu, Ištar and Nanāja, and all the other gods in Uruk.²⁶ The amount of flour is described very accurately: the contents of 1 *pūru*-bowl = 3 kor and 3 *pānu* of barley and [emmer] flour = (in sexagesimal ciphers) 1,48 seah (*sūtu*) = (in decimal ciphers) 108 seah, in accordance with a fixed standard for the regular offerings: the seah-measure of 10 *manû* (*ina* ^{giš}BÁN šá 10 MA.NA). This is then further specified: the 108 seah flour consist of 81 seah barley flour and 27 seah emmer flour. This means that, by the Neo-/Late-Babylonian standard of 1 seah = 6 litres, the immense amount of 648 litres of flour was brought into the temple every day of the year, i.e. 486 litres of barley flour and 162 litres of emmer flour.²⁷

The flour was used by the bakers to make 243 *šibtu*-loaves. Of these loaves 168 were supplied for the four daily offerings (obv. 26–33) in front of Anu, Antu, Ištar, Nanāja, for some divine symbols and for the ziqqurra, as follows:

| | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| 8 <i>šibtu</i> -loaves | the main meal of the morning | Anu |
| 8 <i>šibtu</i> -loaves | second meal of the morning | Anu |
| 7 <i>šibtu</i> -loaves | the main meal of the evening | Anu |
| 7 <i>šibtu</i> -loaves | the second meal of the evening | Anu |
| 30 <i>šibtu</i> -loaves | the four meals | Antu |
| 30 <i>šibtu</i> -loaves | the four meals | Ištar |
| 30 <i>šibtu</i> -loaves | the four meals | Nanāja |
| 12 <i>šibtu</i> -loaves | the four meals | the seat of Anu and the household god of the cella of Antu |
| 4 <i>šibtu</i> -loaves | the four meals | the 2 tiaras of Anu |
| 16 <i>šibtu</i> -loaves | the four meals | the ziqqurra and the household god of the ziqqurra |
| 16 <i>šibtu</i> -loaves | the four meals | the wings(?) of the cella of Anu and Antu |

The 30 loaves for Antu, Ištar and Nanāja clearly must have been divided in the same manner as those of Anu: 8 loaves each for the main and second meal of the morning, and 7 each for the main and second meal of the evening. After specifying these 168 loaves there are 75 loaves for the four daily meals left (distinguished by *elat*) for the other gods from Uruk in their temples, making a total of 243 loaves (obv. 34–35).

In addition to (*elat*) these 243 loaves the text also mentions large(?) loaves (*šiba-at rab-bu-û*) and the date cakes (*a-kal ma-ak-kàs*), which are used for the travel provisions for the processions of the gods and also during some other ceremonies and offerings (obv. 35–38): the *guqqû*-offerings, the *eššēšu*-ceremonies, the opening-of the gate ceremonies, the clothing ceremonies, the holy water (basin) ceremonies, the night

²⁶ See G. Furlani, *Riti*, 1 ff.

²⁷ Cf. *RAcc.*, 81, n. 4.

III.2. Cultic meals

vigil ceremonies, the brazier ceremonies, the rites of the divine marriage, the offerings of the *kāribu*-citizen and the additional offerings of the king (*tardītu šarri*).²⁸

It is not unlikely that the products mentioned next (obv. 38–43: red cakes (*sāmūtu*), *takkasû*-cakes, 1200 *kusīpu*-loaves, pressed oil, and *maṣṣatu*-flour) refer to the additional offerings of the king. In the almost identical list in rev. 36–38 (in a section which is concerned with meat) these additional offerings are also the last to be mentioned, but here they are not specified further.²⁹

The fifth section ends with a reference to two recitation-incipits; these recitations have to be performed by the miller and the baker.

Dates, figs, raisins, ḥiṣṣaṣātu-cake

The last section of the obverse (obv. 48–50) describes the amount of choice dates, Dilmun-dates, figs, raisins, which ‘in addition to *ḥiṣṣaṣātu*-cakes(?) and the table-arrangement (*tabnītu*)’ (obv. 49) are needed for the four meals, and which are served to Anu, Antu, Iṣtar, Nanāja and the other gods of Uruk. The total of these products amounts to (in sexagesimal ciphers) 1, 48 seah or (in decimal ciphers) 108 seah, i.e. 648 litres, precisely as much as the amount of 648 litres of flour mentioned in the fifth section (obv. 21 ff.).

meat

The reverse of the tablet is concerned with meat deliveries for the regular offerings (*ginū*),³⁰ especially oxen and sheep. In total 13 sections are indicated by cross-lines. The introduction (rev. 1–3) states that these regular offerings will be served daily throughout the year to Anu, Antu, Iṣtar, Nanāja and the other gods residing in the Rēš-temple, the Ešgal-temple and the Ešarra-temple (the sanctuary, also called Baramah, on the temple tower of Anu). Note that the Eanna-temple and the other temples of Tiranna (= Uruk) are addressed later (rev. 35).

Lines rev. 4–9 are concerned with the main meal of the morning. Then the text refers to the incipit of a blessing and perhaps to a prayer (rev. 10–12), which had to be recited during the slaughtering by the butcher (see rev. 8–9 and 11), after which the second meal of the morning is described (rev. 13–17). After this follow the main (rev. 18–20) and second (rev. 21–23) meals of the evening. The meat-products for these four daily meals are³¹:

| main meal of the morning (rev. 4–9) | second meal of the morning (rev. 13–17) |
|---|---|
| 7 first-quality sheep | 6 fat, pure sheep |
| 1 <i>kālū</i> -sheep suitable for the <i>ginū</i> | 1 (<i>kālū</i> -) sheep suitable for the <i>ginū</i> |
| 1 full-grown ox | 5 fat sheep of lesser quality |
| 1 suckling calf | 1 full-grown ox |

²⁸ For this list see also II.1 and III.1. For the *kāribu*-citizen see III.7.2.

²⁹ The *tardītu šarri* will be discussed in see III.7.2.

³⁰ Cf. rev. 1, 5, 6, 8, 15, 18, 20, 21, 23, 25, 35.

³¹ See my comments on these lines of *TU* 38 in the Appendix.

III. The divine meal

| | |
|---|---|
| main meal of the morning (rev. 4–9) | second meal of the morning (rev. 13–17) |
| 10 fat sheep of lesser quality | 8 lambs |
| | 5 ducks |
| | 2 ducks of lesser quality |
| | 3 geese |
| | 4 <i>ušummu</i> -mice |
| | 30 <i>marratu</i> -birds |
| | 20 turtledoves |
| | 3 ostrich eggs |
| | 3 duck eggs |
| main meal of the evening (rev. 18–20) | second meal of the evening (rev. 21–23) |
| 4 fat, pure sheep | 4 fat, pure sheep |
| 1 <i>kālû</i> -sheep suitable for the <i>ginû</i> | 1 <i>kālû</i> -sheep suitable for the <i>ginû</i> |
| 5 sheep of lesser quality | 5 sheep of lesser quality |
| 10 turtledoves | 10 turtledoves |

Lines rev. 24–28 then give the totals of animals used for the two meals of the morning and the evening:

| | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 21 first-quality sheep | 30 turtledoves |
| 4 <i>kālû</i> -sheep | 3 geese |
| 25 sheep of lesser quality | 5 ducks |
| 2 full-grown oxen | 2 ducks of lesser quality |
| 1 suckling calf | 4 <i>ušummu</i> -mice |
| 8 lambs | 3 ostrich eggs |
| 30 <i>marratu</i> -birds | 3 duck eggs |

Furthermore in rev. 29–31 two special offerings to the planets are mentioned. First, in the *bīt maḥazzat*, an unknown room in the sanctuary,³² 10 sheep are slaughtered ‘for Anu and Antu, of the heaven, (for) Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Saturn (and) Mars, (at?) sunrise and the appearance of the moon, to be offered as a voluntary(?) offering in the *bīt maḥazzat*’.

Secondly (rev. 32–34), every month on day 16 in the Baramaḥ (the name of the temple on the temple tower of Anu), 10 sheep are again offered for Anu and Antu of the heaven, and for Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Saturn, Mars, the sun and the moon (here referred to as ‘the seven planets’), this time on the occasion of the cleansing of the hands ceremony (*te-bi-ib-tu*₄ ŠU^{II}) exactly as on day 16 of the tenth month Tebētu.³³

While so far the text has been concerned with offerings in the Rēš-temple, the Ešgal-temple and the Ešarra-temple, in the beginning of the next section sheep are mentioned as offerings in the Eanna-temple and the other temples of Uruk (rev. 35).

Furthermore the list already mentioned in obv. 36–38 is repeated, indicating here that oxen and sheep are also used for these offerings and ceremonies. The fact that the

³² See my comments on rev. 31 in the Appendix.

³³ See my earlier remarks on this passage in I.2 and in the introduction of II.3.

travel provisions of the gods are not mentioned here indicates that meat products were not used for these provisions. Also, we already noticed above that the products which are probably used for the last offerings mentioned in the list, the additional offerings of the king (obv. 38 f.), are not further specified here. Finally, as discussed elsewhere, at the end of the section the list is explained as a description of the Urukæan cults.³⁴

In a new section the text mentions a few restrictions on the meat-menu of four specific gods: Šakkan, Ningublaga, Bēlet-šēri and Ereškigal (rev. 40–42).³⁵

The text ends with a most interesting colophon (rev. 43–50).³⁶

Some concluding remarks

As Lambert already noted with regard to *TU* 38, because the gods deserve only the best, the offerings mentioned in the text only consist of the best food and liquids, while cheaper products such as pork, goat meat and fish are missing, as are fruits and vegetables, probably because these were not available throughout the year.³⁷

As one would expect Anu, as the city god of Uruk and most important resident of the Rēš-temple, receives most of the offerings. See for example the total amount of liquids for Anu (obv. 1–16) which is much more than the liquids for Antu, Ištar Nanāja and the other gods (obv. 17–20). Also, the offerings for Anu are sometimes more accurately described than the offerings for the other gods: see obv. 28–29 which specifies the loaves for the two morning and evening meals for Anu, while for the other gods only the total numbers are mentioned.

Can we determine any differences between the four meals? The different kinds of liquids are the same for the morning and evening meals, except for the milk, which is missing in the main and second meal of the evening (obv. 6–7); the serving of fresh milk only during the morning meals probably reflects general custom.³⁸ Furthermore, while the main and second meal of the morning receive 8 loaves each, the main and second meal of the evening receive seven each (obv. 28–29).

As far as the meat offerings are concerned, from our table it becomes clear that there are many differences between the four meals. First of all, there is a remarkable difference between the meat products for the main and second meal of the morning: the first meal has more sheep, of which only seven in the morning meal are of first-quality, while the second meal contains ducks, geese, *marratu*-birds, turtledoves, ostrich eggs and duck eggs. A suckling calf is mentioned only in the main meal, while eight lambs are mentioned only in the second meal. The main and second meals of the evening are exactly the same, and the total amount of meat offerings is less than in the morning meals.

Also quality differences exist so far as the meat offerings go: sheep which have been fed with barley are of a higher quality than those not fed with barley; and ducks which

³⁴ See II.1.

³⁵ Cf. F. Blome, *Opfermaterie*, 59–60, who considers some food taboos for certain deities. W.G. Lambert, in: *OLA* 55 (1993), 199 has given some suggestions for explaining these taboos.

³⁶ See I.3.

³⁷ *ib.* For fruit see also III.7.1.

³⁸ Fresh milk cannot be kept for more than a few morning hours, when it is cool, see M. Stol, in *RLA* 8 (1994), 192.

III. The divine meal

are fed with dough are of a higher quality than those not fed with dough, but both the ones fed with barley and those not fed with barley are offered for all four meals.

We can conclude that the difference between the morning and the evening meals lies apparently more in the quantities than in the qualities of the foodstuffs and liquids. The quantity of offerings is higher in the morning meals than in the evening meals, while perhaps the mentioning of more loaves and first-quality sheep only in the morning meal also suggests that the main meal of the morning is more important than the second.³⁹

TU 38 does not state who performed the ritual instructions. Only in the beginning of the text a priest, addressed in the second person, appears (obv. 1, 2, 17). This person could be either the *mubannû* ‘the arranger of the offering table’,⁴⁰ or he could be the exorcist (*āšipu*), which is more likely, because the scribe of the text, Šamaš-ēṭir, is an exorcist. Furthermore, the *mubannû* is attested only rarely in the temple ritual texts, while the exorcist played a major part in many of the rituals from Uruk and Babylon.⁴¹

TU 38 very extensively describes what and how much was used for the meals, and furthermore where, when, and for which deities the foodstuffs were served. It also presents an elaborate list of ceremonies and offerings and in addition a description of the Urukæan cult is given in the colophon. As we saw, Falkenstein already dismissed this colophon as propaganda of the Urukæan priesthood for the Late Babylonian Anu-cult,⁴² and indeed the scribe’s elaborate description of the food products, ceremonies and offerings clearly shows that the text was written for propaganda purposes. Nevertheless this does not disqualify the entire text as unreliable. The scribe Šamaš-ēṭir may have exaggerated, but he did not invent what was not there. There is no reason to believe that the meals were not served in the Urukæan temples along the line as described in *TU* 38. Certainly, the foodstuffs used and the quantities referred to in the text may have differed in time and from temple to temple, but having said this, the text gives us a unique insight into the offering practices in Hellenistic Uruk.

III.3. The offering site

The location where the food and drink offerings in front of the statue of one or more gods were placed, and where the offering table and the offering accoutrements were set up,⁴³ was sometimes called KI ŠÍSKUR GABA.RI ‘the place where (the god) is made

³⁹ Note also the fact that the sheep of lesser quality, which have not been fed with barley, are only called ‘fat’ in the section of the main (rev. 6) and second (rev. 15) meal of the morning, but not in the section concerned with the evening meals (rev. 20, 23), which could suggest a dominance of the morning over the evening meals. However, since the adjective is also missing in the enumeration of the four meals (rev. 26), it could merely reflect the slovenliness of the writer.

⁴⁰ See III.4.3.

⁴¹ See I.3.

⁴² See I.3.

⁴³ See G. Furlani, *Sacrificio*, 341 f.

III.3. The offering site

to accept the offering'.⁴⁴ It had to be a secluded site,⁴⁵ away from daily secular life and safe from any intrusion of evil.

The temple ritual texts often only mention the temple(name) as the place where offerings took place, but sometimes a certain place in the temple is referred to, like for example the courtyard (*kisallu*) or the Grand Courtyard (*kisalmahhu*) in the Rēš-temple,⁴⁶ or more specific places like the workshop (*bīt mummi*) in the Rēš-temple,⁴⁷ or the roof of the Anu-temple.⁴⁸ Sometimes offerings were placed outside the temple, as for example 'in the open country or on the bank of a river, on a place where nobody sets foot'.⁴⁹

curtains

Sometimes the temple ritual texts refer to curtains (*šiddu*) which are used to isolate the offering place, or to the *birīt šiddī* '(the room) between the curtains',⁵⁰ which is the passage way between the cella, where the statue resides, and the ante-cella.⁵¹ By using this curtain the offering table and the statue were hidden from human eyes during the ritual of the divine meal. Although this practice may have originally reflected palace protocol, in the temple its main purpose was not to disclose to outsiders that the gods did not really consume the offerings and that after the divine meal was finished it was the priests who disposed of the food and drinks, which as substantial 'leftovers' were presented to the priests and other temple personnel.

The normal procedure with regard to the curtains was as follows: first offering preparations, purifications and fumigations, after which offerings and libations were performed; then the curtains were drawn shut (*šiddā šadādu*),⁵² after which lamentations were recited. When the recitations have ended the curtains were loosened (*šiddī nuḥḥu*) and the procedure was completed.⁵³

Apparently the gods also spent the night behind closed curtains. This is at least the case for Bēl in Esagila during the New Year festival in Babylon.⁵⁴

⁴⁴ TU 39, obv. 30. See my comments on this line in the Appendix. See also TU 42 +, obv. 28', 30'.

⁴⁵ See for example TU 46, obv. 15 and F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 19 (Ē *pār-si* 'a secluded room'). Cf. KAR 50, rev. 8 (KI *par-si* 'a secluded place').

⁴⁶ For example during the New Year festival in Uruk (TU 39–40) or during a night vigil in Uruk (TU 41).

⁴⁷ For example during the kettledrum ritual (TU 44 and parallels).

⁴⁸ For example during the building ritual (TU 45 and parallels).

⁴⁹ TU 45, rev. 8 // *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, rev., fragment 2, 3' (KI GĪR^{II} *pār-kat*).

⁵⁰ For references to these curtains or the *birīt šiddī*, in Neo-Assyrian temple ritual texts: KAR 60, rev. 4; KAR 50, rev. 7; IV R², 23, no. 1 +, IV, 1; 2; 24; also in the Neo-Babylonian temple ritual LKU no. 51, rev. 28; see also the dictionaries AHW, 128b, sub 2, c, CAD, B, 254b, mng. 3b–6', and CAD, Š/II, 408a sub b.

In Hellenistic temple ritual texts: from Uruk TU 39, obv. 12; 29 (2x); TU 40, obv. 15; 16; rev. 6; TU 41, rev. 33; TU 42 +, 26'; KAR 132, I, 18; 26; TU 44, II, 8; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), [23], no. 5, rev. 26; TU 45, obv. 11; 14; TU 46, obv. 13; rev. 7; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 23, no. 10, obv. 16; 20.

⁵¹ Cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 20; B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi irub*, 40 ff. A place surrounded by a linen curtain is also found in the *akītu*-temple outside Uruk, cf. TU 42 +, rev. 24'.

⁵² Entirely different in St. M. Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, 55 f. 'Mehllinien ziehen'.

⁵³ See for example the building ritual text TU 45, obv. 1–14.

⁵⁴ See the temple ritual RAcc., 129, 3; 133, 218; 137, 287: at the beginning of the day the high priest removes (*dekū*) the *gadalū*-curtain in front of Bēl and Bēltija.

flour and standards

Another way of secluding the site was by using heaps of flour (*zidubdubbû*), which were often connected with the verb *nadû* ‘to throw/pour’,⁵⁵ or by using a magical circle of flour (*zisurrû*), which ‘served as a barrier to demonic entry’ as Lambert pointed out.⁵⁶ Also *urigallu*-standards were set up; this is attested in ritual texts from the pre-Hellenistic periods,⁵⁷ but in the eclipse ritual text *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 31–33 we have perhaps an indication that this was also custom in the Hellenistic period:

‘31’On the next day, before sunrise, you will open the gates which you have placed under seal. You will moisten (l. 32’) the reed *urigallu*-standard, the magic circle of flour, ^{32’}(and) a white and black cord (and) throw (it) into the river. You will purify (l. 33’) all the temples (with) *takpertu*-purifications ^{33’}and (especially) Edumununna, the temple of Sîn’.

Because the *urigallu*-standard is mentioned here together with the circle, we may assume that both, together with the white and black cord, had the function of creating a secluded offering site.

III.4. The offering preparations

Several terms which are used in connection with the preparations of offerings are attested in the temple ritual texts. The offerings were made on offering tables (*paššûru*, *paṭîru*), which were set up in front of the divine statue(s) in the cella. On the table offering arrangements (*tabnîtu*) were placed. The offering table was set by the ‘arranger of the offering table’ (*mubannû*). Finally the texts refer to the offering accoutrements (*riksu*). In this section we will discuss these terms.

III.4.1. *paššûru* and *paṭîru*

Often in the temple ritual texts the description of the preparation of the ceremony begins with the offering table (*paššûru*),⁵⁸ usually of gold (*ḥurāṣu*),⁵⁹ which was brought in and set up (*kunnu*) in front of the statue.⁶⁰ One temple ritual text refers to seven large offering

⁵⁵ *zidubdubbû* is attested in the Hellenistic eclipse of the moon ritual *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 45 (see also 46). See also *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 23 (*mīs pī*) (Hellenistic period), and *KAR* 50, rev. 7 (kettledrum ritual, Neo-Assyrian example). Another Neo-Assyrian example from the kettledrum ritual, IV R², 23, no. 1 +, I, 6, is paralleled by the Hellenistic example *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 11, in the latter connected with the verb *sarāqu* ‘to scatter’. See my comments on this line in the Appendix. For *sarāqu* see III.4.1.

⁵⁶ *JSS* 13 (1968), 111. Examples from Hellenistic temple ritual texts from Uruk: the kettledrum ritual text *TU* 44, II, 13 and *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 18. The eclipse of the moon ritual text: *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 31, 37, 45, 47. In *BM* 134701, rev. 7’, the flour of this magic circle is identified as *tappinnu*-flour.

⁵⁷ *AHw*, 1429–30 with references.

⁵⁸ Written: ⁵⁸BANŠUR. See also the lexical list *S^a Fragment M 14* (*MSL* III, 65): [...] BUR = *ni-q[u-ú]* = MIN = *naptanu* = MIN = *pa-āš-š[u-ru]*.

For the table in general, cf. A. Salonen, *Möbel*, 174–203, for *paššûru*, 176–192.

⁵⁹ But see *TU* 42 +, rev. 33’, where a silver offering table (⁵⁸BANŠUR KÛ.BABBAR) is mentioned.

⁶⁰ *TU* 41, obv. 17–18; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 14. Perhaps also in *TU* 42 +, rev. 33’: [⁵⁸BANŠUR?] GUŠKIN *ina pa-ni* ^dINNIN *uk-tan-nu* ‘A golden [offering table(?)] will be set up before Ištar’.

III.4. The offering preparations

tables (*paššurmāhu*)⁶¹ made of gold. Sometimes, however, we find that the offering table is not specifically mentioned at the beginning of the ceremony, and the text immediately concentrates on the cultic meal. Either the scribe refrains from mentioning this apparently self-evident information, or, less likely, the table is already (permanently?) placed in the temple in front of the statue.⁶²

paššūru is also mentioned many times in Hellenistic prebend texts from Uruk, where during monthly and yearly ceremonies foodstuffs as prebend income are brought up (*elū Š-stem*) to the offering table in front of one or more deities.⁶³

Several verbs are used in the temple ritual texts in connection with *paššūru*. Most important are *rakāsu* ‘to arrange’,⁶⁴ and *paṭāru* ‘to clear (away)’,⁶⁵ but other verbs are also attested.⁶⁶

Also mentioned many times is the *paṭīru* (GI.DU₈),⁶⁷ an offering table or small altar,⁶⁸ which was made of reed, as becomes clear not only from the logogram (GI = *qanū* ‘reed’), but also from kettledrum ritual text *TU* 44, IV, 34, where it is mentioned as one of the utensils of the reed-worker:

‘³⁴The utensils of the reed-worker (*udê adkuppî*): 24 offering tables (*paṭīru*), 24 reed baskets (*sellî*), 5 ³⁵hand-baskets (*sella qāti*), 3 reed mats (*burû*), 3 reed covers (*kutummu*)’.

The *paṭīru* was brought in and set up (*kunnu*)⁶⁹ or placed (*šakānu*)⁷⁰ in front of the statue. It was arranged (*paṭīra rakāsu*),⁷¹ but strangely enough *paṭīra paṭāru* ‘to clear away the offering table’ is not attested in Hellenistic temple ritual texts. Also not attested

⁶¹ *š³⁵BANŠUR.MAḪ*, see *TU* 41, obv. 22, see also obv. 32. Cf. *AHw*, 845b, ‘kostbarer Opfertisch’.

⁶² For example, the ritual text *TU* 41, obv. 8 ff. begins by describing an offering ceremony with the divine meal (obv. 12), without mentioning the offering table; however, the following ceremony, performed on the roof of the ziqqurrat (obv. 14 ff.) does mention the offering table (obv. 17).

⁶³ See II.3.1 and II.4.1.

⁶⁴ *TU* 38, obv. 2, 17; *TU* 41, obv. 19; obv. 24; *Racc.*, 142, 386–7.

⁶⁵ *TU* 41, obv. 32; *Racc.*, 143, 403; see also IV R², 23, no. 1 +, obv. 18 (*pi-tir š³⁵BANŠUR*).

Instead of *paššūru* the object of *paṭāru* can also be the meal (*TU* 39, obv. 14; *TU* 40, obv. 15; *TU* 39, rev. 3; 5; 7; 9; 13; 14; 21; *TU* 41, obv. 13; rev. 30), the vigil (*TU* 39, rev. 11; *TU* 41, rev. 29; see II.3.4) and the censor (*Racc.*, 142, 356; see III.5).

⁶⁶ *ana paššūri nadānu* ‘to deliver on the offering table’ (*TU* 38, obv. 27. Cf. also *Racc.*, 143, 405–6); *ana paššūri našū* ‘to lift up on the offering table’ (*TU* 41, obv. 22); *ina(?) pāni paššūri šakānu* ‘to place in(?) front of the offering table’ (*Racc.*, 142, 393; 143, 410); *ina muḫḫi paššūri šakānu* ‘to place on the offering table’ (*Racc.*, 142, 392; 143–4, 412–13); *ana tarši paššūri tarāšu* ‘to take up position in the direction of the offering table’ (*TU* 41, obv. 30); *riksu ša paššūri šalāmu* ‘to complete the offering accoutrements of the offering table’ (*Racc.*, 140, 339); *piṭru paššūri qerēbu* and *piṭru paššūri našū* ‘to serve/lift up the leftovers of the offering table’ (*Racc.*, 133, 211 and 143, 410–12. For *piṭru* see my comments on *Racc.*, 133, 211 in the Appendix).

⁶⁷ But see also *MSL* VII, 45, 197: GI.ŠU.BIL.LÁ = *pa-[ti-ru]* and 198: GI.DIM = ditto.

⁶⁸ Cf. A. Falkenstein, *LKU*, 17, n. 6; *AHw*, 851b, ‘Tragaltärchen’. See also a representation of a *paṭīru* in St. M. Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, 58.

⁶⁹ Uruk kettledrum ritual text: *TU* 44, I, 17, II, 2, 5; see also IV R², 23, no. 1 +, III, 25 (Neo-Assyrian). Uruk building ritual texts: *TU* 45, obv. 7; *TU* 46, obv. 8. An example from Neo-Babylonian Nippur is the ritual text T.G. Pinches, *Berens Coll.* no. 110, obv. 6 and 8–9.

⁷⁰ *TU* 45, rev. 20.

⁷¹ In the Uruk building ritual *TU* 45, obv. 2; 20; rev. 5; 8; 11; 17; *TU* 46, obv. 15; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, 10. See also *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, rev. fragm. 2, 3’ (broken context); also the Neo-Assyrian kettledrum ritual *KAR* 50, rev. 2 and in the late Neo-Babylonian Uruk text *LKU*, no. 48, containing a ritual for the king, obv. [2] and 7.

III. The divine meal

in these texts is the expression *ina muḫḫi paṭīri naptana qerēbu* ‘to bring the meal on the offering table’.⁷² Finally, the explanatory Uruk text *TU* 47 offers on the reverse the drawing of a rectangle with the subscript: *paṭīru šuklulu* (GI.DU₈ DU₇) ‘perfect offering table’.⁷³

It is difficult to determine what the differences in function are between the *paššūru* and the *paṭīru*. We can only ascertain that the *paššūru* is never mentioned together with the *paṭīru* in a temple ritual text and therefore they apparently excluded each other. Furthermore the *paṭīru* was used only in the rituals of the lamentation priest (*kalû*),⁷⁴ while the *paššūru* is mentioned in the other temple rituals.⁷⁵ Finally, while *paššūru* is always singular in the Hellenistic temple ritual texts, the examples of *paṭīru* are usually plural.

Other tables, such as the *maškittu*, known from the Neo-Assyrian period, are not attested in Hellenistic rituals. The *guhšû*, an altar made of reed, known from the Old Babylonian period on and mentioned only rarely in the Neo-Assyrian rituals, was replaced by the *paṭīru* after the Middle Babylonian period.⁷⁶

III.4.2. *tabnītu*

Attested only once in the Hellenistic corpus is *tabnītu* ‘table-arrangement’. *TU* 38, obv. 48 ff. reads:

‘⁴⁸Every day of the year, for the 4 (daily) meals (in sexagesimal ciphers) 1,48 seah (or in decimal ciphers) 108 seah choice dates, ⁴⁹Dilmun-dates, figs and raisins, in addition to *ḫiššaṣātu*-cakes(?) and the table-arrangement (*tab-ni-ti*), which will be served (l. 50) to Anu, ⁵⁰Antu, Ištar, Nanāja and the (other) gods, residing in Uruk’.

Examples from earlier periods show that this table-arrangement must have consisted of dishes, bowls and the like which were used for serving food and drinks on the offering table.⁷⁷ The table arrangement was prepared by the *mubannû*, discussed next.

III.4.3. *mubannû*

The *mubannû* ‘arranger (of the offering table)’ was responsible for decorating the offering table.⁷⁸ The *mubannû*, best known from Neo-Babylonian administrative docu-

⁷² This phrase is attested for example in the late Neo-Babylonian Uruk ritual text *LKU* no. 51, obv. 6.

⁷³ See A. Livingstone, *Mystical*, 194.

⁷⁴ From Hellenistic Uruk: *TU* 44, *TU* 45, *TU* 46, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10 and 11. Also in *KAR* 50 (NA), *LKU*, no. 51 (NB).

⁷⁵ From Hellenistic Uruk: *TU* 38, *TU* 39–40, *TU* 41, *TU* 42; from Hellenistic Babylon, in the New Year text *RAcc.*, 127 ff.

⁷⁶ *CAD*, G, 125b; *AHW*, 296b.

⁷⁷ See *AHW*, 1299a, I, 2; A.L. Oppenheim, *ArOr.* 17 (1949), 231, n. 7 with text references. See also the Late Babylonian ritual from Uruk W 22758/5 (a fragment belonging to the so-called Nippur compendium = A.R. George, *BTT*, no. 18, 145–62), obv. III, 1.

⁷⁸ Cf. *AHW*, 665a, ‘der “schön macht”, Opfertische herricht’, and *CAD*, M/II, 158a, ‘cook (who prepares, arranges, and serves food to the gods), temple cook’. Translated as such for the first time by F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 20 (1923), 109, n. 3.

III.4. The offering preparations

ments,⁷⁹ is also found in the Hellenistic Uruk ritual *KAR* 132, III, 16 (see also III, 3), where, during the procession of Anu to the New Year temple, two *mubannû*'s (^{lù}*mu-ban-nu-ú*) bring out cedar (shavings, burning) in a *huluppaqu*-brazier to Anu. From this passage it becomes clear that the *mubannû* not only prepared the bowls and dishes for the divine meal, but was also allowed to enter the temple.⁸⁰ This is confirmed by another passage describing a ceremony, which took place on the first day of Nisannu during the New Year festival in Babylon⁸¹: here the *mubannû* performs a ceremony involving a key in the courtyard of Bēl in Esagila.

We have another reference to the *mubannû* in a deed concerning a baker's prebend from Nippur (154 B.C.).⁸² Obv. 5 reads:

PN₁ 'A' PN₂ *šá ana muḫ-ḫi ba-nu-ú šá É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ* ^{lù}LÜNG[A *a-na*? PN₃ ...]

'PN [descendant] of PN₂, who [is] in charge of arranging (the offering tables) of the temples, the brew[er, to PN₃ ...]'.⁸³

Finally we have evidence of a *mubannû*-prebend in a list of temple expenditures from Hellenistic Babylon (of which however no prebends are known), *CT* 49, 150, reads in obv. 16–17:

šá <put> *baṭ-lu šá* ^{lù}*mu-ban-nu-ú-tú i-na-áš-šu-ú*

'(X amount is given by PN) who is responsible for the (non-) interruption of the office of the arranger (of the offering table)'.⁸³

These four cases are the only certain references to the *mubannû* in texts from the Hellenistic period.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ A.L. Oppenheim, *ArOr.* 17 (1949), 231, n. 7; J. MacGinnis, *AJO* 38–39 (1991–1992), 81, no. 2, obv. 11 (Neo-Babylonian prebend text from Sippar); A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar temple at Sippar*, 292–94.

⁸⁰ Compare A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar temple at Sippar*, 292–93.

⁸¹ Attested in a small ritual fragment discussed by G. Çağırhan, *Festivals*, 1. The ceremony is discussed in II.4.5.2.

⁸² Published by R.J. van der Spek, in: Maria de Jong-Ellis (ed.), *Nippur at the Centennial*, 250–54, and 257–8, text 1 (UM 29–15–802).

⁸³ After R.J. van der Spek, in: J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse*, 223. G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 47, reads *šá til-lu šá* ^{lù}*mu-ban-nu-ú-tú i-na-áš-šu* (not *šú*) -ú 'who is picking up the trappings(?) of the temple cooks', referring to *AHW*, 1358 f. *tillu* 'ein Behang'. *CAD* M/II, 158b, quoting this passage, reads *baṭ-lu*, but gives no translation.

⁸⁴ If Doty is right in asserting that ^{lù}DÍM in some cases must not be read ^{lù}ŠITIM = *itinnu* 'the building master (builder, director of the reconstruction)', but ^{lù}DÍM = *mubannû* (*CAHU*, 129–133), we would have more examples: the Hellenistic Uruk ritual text *BRM* 4, 6 (describing the eclipse of the moon ritual), obv. 30', refers to the ^{lù}DÍM who has to throw a *garakku*-brazier into the river. Furthermore Doty mentions several private documents from Hellenistic Uruk which are concerned with a ^{lù}DÍM-*ūtu*-prebend. However, Doty's reading is followed neither by the dictionaries (cf. *AHW*, 404a; *CAD*, I/J, 298a and id., M/II, 158), nor by G.J.P. McEwan (*FAOS* 4, 87–89), B. Funck (*Uruk zur Seleukidenzeit*, 214 ff., see especially n. 335), nor by J. Oelsner (in: M.J. Geller, H. Maehler (eds.), *Legal Documents of the Hellenistic World*, London, 1995, 109, n. 13), who prefer ^{lù}DÍM-*ūtu* = ^{lù}ŠITIM-*ūtu* = *itinnūtu* 'office of the building master'.

III.4.4. *riksu*

The temple ritual texts refer many times to *riksu* (KEŠDA) ‘offering accoutrements’.⁸⁵ Sometimes *raksu* is attested, which may be a Late Babylonian variant of *riksu*.⁸⁶ It stood for a set of cult objects, such as an altar or table,⁸⁷ the holy water basin (*egubbû*), and the censer (*nignakku*), used for fumigations and purifications,⁸⁸ and all sorts of bowls, vessels and dishes used to serve the offerings. Furthermore, *riksu* also included the offerings themselves, as Blome has already suggested.⁸⁹

riksu is cognate with the verb *rakāsu* (also written KEŠDA), which has as a basic meaning ‘to bind’. The expression *rikša rakāsu* ‘to arrange the offering accoutrements’, used at the beginning of the offering ceremony, is well-known from pre-Hellenistic and Hellenistic temple ritual texts.⁹⁰

When the ceremony had ended, the offering accoutrements were removed, expressed by *rikša paṭāru* ‘to clear away the offering accoutrements’.⁹¹ *Riksu* is also found in connection with the verb *ullulu* (D-stem of *elēlu*) ‘to purify’ in the kettledrum ritual,⁹² and with *šalāmu* ‘to complete’, said of *riksu ša paššūri* ‘the offering accoutrements of the offering table’, in the New Year festival in Babylon.⁹³

It is interesting that *riksu* is only attested in Uruk in the rituals of the lamentation priest, i.e. the kettledrum ritual and building ritual (*TU* 44 and *TU* 45 with parallels).

⁸⁵ Cf. *AHW*, 984b, B, 2, a (‘Opferzurüstung’). Translated as ‘a set table of offerings’ by *CAD*, E, 244b sub b. See also the definition of *riksu* in St. M. Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, 66, n.74. A rare Neo-Babylonian example exists in the ritual T.G. Pinches, *Berens collection*, no. 110, rev. 15.

⁸⁶ In a liturgical calendar text from Hellenistic Uruk, *TU* 48 (see II.2.2); the text refers to a *taqribtu*-lamentation incipit which has to be recited on day 1 of Nisannu, over the offering accoutrements (*rak-su*) to Anu (obv. 8–9). Perhaps also in *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 10, 25.

⁸⁷ Both *paššūru* and *paṭīru*, since *riksu* is found not only in the rituals of the lamentation priest but also in other rituals. However, in the Neo-Assyrian ritual IV R², 23, no. 1 +, III, 25 the *paṭīru* is set up and the offering accoutrement is arranged (GI.DU₈ GIN-an KEŠDA [KEŠDA]), which suggests that perhaps in this case the *paṭīru* is not part of the *riksu*.

⁸⁸ Discussed in III.5 and III.6.

⁸⁹ *Opfermaterie*, 343, no. 314; see also the index p. 465 s.v. *rikša rakāsu* and *rikša paṭāru*. See also G. Furlani, *Riti*, 246.

⁹⁰ Cf. St. M. Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, 51. See for example the Neo-Assyrian kettledrum ritual IV R², 23, no. 1 +, III, 25: ‘you will [arrange] an offering accoutrement (KEŠDA)’; see also the late Neo-Babylonian rituals *LKU* no. 51, obv. 19, rev. 7, 32, 35, and F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 6 (3 *ri-ik-si* for Ea, Šamaš and Marduk).

Hellenistic period: *TU* 44, II, 33: ‘You will arrange (KEŠDA-as) 1 offering accoutrement (KEŠDA) in front of Lumḥa’; III, 16–18: you will arrange 5 offering accoutrements for Ea, Šamaš, Marduk, Lumḥa and divine kettledrum; *TU* 45, obv. 18: 2 offering accoutrements for his (the kings’?) god and goddess you will arrange; *TU* 46, rev. 3: 5 offering accoutrements (one for each god) for Sin, Marduk, Ninmah, Kulla and Ninšubur the lamentation priest will arrange; 6: 3 offering accoutrements for the god of the temple, the goddess of the temple (and) the genius of the temple the lamentation priest will arrange; 8–9: you will prepare three offering accoutrements for Anu, Enlil and [Ea]; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 10, 25.

⁹¹ *TU* 44, III, 25 KEŠDA.MEŠ DUḥ-ār; *TU* 46, rev. 11 ‘You will clear away the offering accoutrements’ (KEŠDA.MEŠ DUḥ-ār); *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 59, 60 (KEŠDA.MEŠ).

⁹² *TU* 44, II, 2: ‘you will purify the offering accoutrements’ (KEŠDA.MEŠ *tu-ul-lal*).

⁹³ *RAcc.*, 140, 338–40: ‘When the first double hour of the morning (has passed), after the offering accoutrements of the offering table of Bēl and Bēltija are completed (*šal-mu*), he will call for the exorcist and he will consecrate the temple’.

See also the cultic calendar text *BRM* 4, 25 // *SBH* VII, obv. 5 (broken context).

Riksu in connection with *epēšu* (cf. *CAD*, E, 217a) is not attested in the Hellenistic temple ritual texts.

For every god who participates in the ritual (in the kettledrum ritual also for the drum itself) an offering accoutrement is arranged. Part of the offering accoutrements is the offering table, which in these texts is only the *paṭīru*, since we already noticed that the *paššūru* is not attested in the rituals of the lamentation priest. However, in general there is probably no restriction of *paṭīru* to *riksu* in Hellenistic ritual texts, because in the only example from Babylon (mentioned above) *riksu* is indeed connected with the *paššūru*.

III.5. Fumigation

Fumigation⁹⁴ is a religious act, during which barley, aromatics, flour, incense and aromatic woods are scattered (*sarāqu*) on a censer; the burning of these materials results in smoke which, because of its pleasant smell, pleases the gods, just as did presenting of the food as offerings.⁹⁵ Therefore, fumigation is a form of offering, which is confirmed by the fact that *serqu* and *surqinnu*, cognates of the verb *sarāqu*, mean ‘offering’ (*CAD*) or ‘Schüttopfer’ (*AHw*) and are also used for food offerings.⁹⁶ Furthermore, although fumigation is not a secular table custom to dispel the odor of food,⁹⁷ it has a purifying function: the burning of aromatics and incense purifies the atmosphere.⁹⁸

In the divine meal fumigation could be performed either before or after the foodstuffs and liquids were served. The instrument used for fumigation is the censer. While the use of the *šēhtu*-censer and the *qutrīnu*-censer is restricted to earlier periods,⁹⁹ the *nignakku*-censer (*NĠG.NA*) is attested up to the Hellenistic period.¹⁰⁰ It was made of gold¹⁰¹ or silver¹⁰² and used in all known temple rituals.¹⁰³ Together with the torch (*gizillû*) and holy water-basin (*egubbû*) it was also used for consecrations and purifications.¹⁰⁴

In this section we will first examine how fumigation was described in the temple ritual texts. Then we will discuss the different fumigation materials which are attested.

⁹⁴ Cf. G. Furlani, *Sacrificio*, 353; F. Blome, *Opfermaterie*, 272–84.

⁹⁵ The gods love the smell of the fumes, cf. P.A.H. de Boer, in: *Suppl. VT* 23 (1972), 46 f.

⁹⁶ See W.G. Lambert, in: *OLA* 55 (1993), 195–6.

⁹⁷ As suggested by A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 189.

⁹⁸ In the same way as sweeping and water-sprinkling purifies the offering site, and washing purifies the person who offers. See III.6.

⁹⁹ See the dictionaries *AHw* and *CAD* sub *šēhtu* and *qutrīnu* with many examples.

¹⁰⁰ See the dictionaries *CAD* and *AHw* sub *nignakku*. See also St. M. Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, Register, s.v. Räuchergefäß.

Hellenistic period: *TU* 39, rev. 4, 6; *TU* 41, obv. 10, 21, rev. 30; *TU* 42 +, rev. 34', 35'; *TU* 44, I, 30; II, 12; III, 20; 26; IV, 31, cf. *KAR* 60, obv. 9 and *KAR* 50, rev. 6; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ I/), 19; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 19; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 13; *TU* 45, obv. 9; *RAcc.*, 140–142, 343, 347, 351, 356, 392. See also the cultic calendar text *SBH* VII, rev. 6.

¹⁰¹ *TU* 41, obv. 10, 21, 26, rev. 30; *TU* 42 +, rev. 34', [35']; *RAcc.*, 142, 392.

¹⁰² *RAcc.*, 140, 351.

¹⁰³ But also attested for example in an astronomical diary, no. -209, D, obv. 16' (102 S.E.), which mentions a censer situated on the throne(?) in which the food offerings for Bēl and the other great gods were placed.

¹⁰⁴ See III.6.1.

III. The divine meal

III.5.1. *sarāqu* and *šakānu*

In Akkadian the most likely candidates for ‘fumigation’ are as mentioned *surqinnu* and *serqu*,¹⁰⁵ but in the Hellenistic temple ritual texts *surqinnu* is not attested at all, and for *serqu* we only have a few examples.¹⁰⁶

However, the cognate verb *sarāqu* ‘to scatter’ is used many times in the context of offerings of meat and libations. We find that cedar needles, *maṣḥatu*-flour, aromatics and juniper are scattered upon the censer, which indicates fumigation. Also, the phrase *nignak(ki) burāši šakānu*, ‘to place a censer (with) juniper’ i.e. ‘which burns juniper’, is used.¹⁰⁷

Are there other references to fumigation without the verb *sarāqu* and *šakānu*? We have several examples from Uruk of the expression *nignakka (ḥurāšu) mullû* ‘to fill (*malû* D-stem) the (golden) censer’.¹⁰⁸ On one occasion the Uruk *mīs pī*-ritual text states that the (in this case unfired) censer is filled with *ašāgu*-coals and scattered with boxtree.¹⁰⁹ In this text the verb *šēnu* is also used: to heap *ašāgu*-coals, probably on the censer.¹¹⁰ The expressions are always made in direct connection with meals and/or offerings of oxen and sheep.

The verb *qatāru*, in D-stem *qutturu* ‘to cause something to smoke, to make an incense offering, to cense, fumigate, to fume incense’ (*CAD*) appears to be missing from Hellenistic temple ritual texts.¹¹¹

Finally, we add that the burning (*qalû*) of aromatics during burnt offerings of meat and other foodstuffs is not to be interpreted as fumigation.¹¹²

III.5.2. *Fumigation materials*

We already encountered most of the materials which were used for fumigation: we mentioned cedar needles (*lukšu?*), boxtree (*šimeššalû*), *maṣḥatu*-flour, aromatics (*riqqû*) and juniper (*burāšu*).

Strangely enough we find that *qutrīnu* ‘incense’,¹¹³ nor *qutāru* ‘fumigant’, is attested

¹⁰⁵ For *serqu* see B.A. Levine, W.W. Hallo, *HUCA* 38 (1967), 52 sub DUB.DUB (Old Bab.); G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 169.

¹⁰⁶ *TU* 44, I, 10; *TU* 46, obv. 18 (with *sarāqu*) and 28 // *SpTU* 4, no. 141, rev. 18; see also the Late Babylonian parallel from Babylon, F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 20 (a *serqu*-offering is scattered on a censer). Also from Babylon: BM 32206 +, III, 111.

¹⁰⁷ *TU* 41, obv. 21, 26–27; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 19, cf. *KAR* 60, obv. 9 and similar in *KAR* 50, rev. 6; *RAcc.*, 140, 351–52; 142–4, 392–94. Fumigation also in the *mīs pī*-ritual text *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+//), 19 (NÍG.NA DUB-aq).

For these phrases with *saqāru* and *šakānu*, see W.R. Mayer, in *OrNS* 47 [1978], 453, in *OrNS* 56 [1987], 207 sub *nignakku* a, in *OrNS* 60 [1991], 112 sub *sarāqu* A, and in *OrNS* 63 (1994), 114.

¹⁰⁸ *TU* 39, rev. 4; 6; *TU* 42 +, rev. 34', 35'; *TU* 41, obv. 10–11; rev. 30, 32.

¹⁰⁹ *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+//), 18.

¹¹⁰ *ib.*, 21–22.

¹¹¹ Perhaps with one exception, in *TU* 40, obv. 12, see my comments on this line in the Appendix.

Compare Akk. *qatāru/qutturu* with Hebrew cognated verb קטר in the *pī* ‘send offerings up in smoke’ and *hi*. ‘make (offerings) smoke’.

¹¹² The burnt offering is discussed in III.7.3.

¹¹³ Cognate of the verb *qatāru*; see also קטר smoke of (burning) offering’, also: incense, perfumes burned in the fire of offering. Cf. *AHw*, 930–31; *CAD*, Q, 324–5, sub 2. For *labānātu* ‘frankincense’, see the dictionaries *CAD*, L, 8b and *AHw*, 522a.

III.6. Consecration, purification and washing

in the Hellenistic temple ritual texts,¹¹⁴ which stands in contrast with Herodotus, who wrote (*Histories*, I, 183) that yearly 1000 talents of incense (*λιβανωτός*) were offered in the temple of Bēl in Babylon. We may presume however that aromatics in general (*riqqū*), at least in the Hellenistic period, also included incense.¹¹⁵

That the garden was the origin of these aromatics is well-known.¹¹⁶ An indication whence the aromatics, used in the cult of Hellenistic Babylon, came, is given by an administrative text, *BRM* 1, 99, rev. 26–27 (// *CT* 49, 150, obv. 23–24): *gišKIRI₆ šimLI la-me-e É {É} dGu-la É.ḪUR.SAG.SIKIL.LA* ‘the garden of juniper surrounding the temple of Gula, Eḫursagsikilla’.¹¹⁷

As a source for the aromatics used in Hellenistic Uruk we have the garden of Eḫilianna, the shrine of Nanāja, probably in the Eanna-complex,¹¹⁸ in *VS* 15, 13 (146 S.E.), obv. 3 and 6: *gišKIRI₆ É.ḪI.IL.AN.NA* ‘the garden of Eḫil(i)anna’.¹¹⁹

III.6. Consecration, purification and washing

In order to perform the divine meal successfully the offering site, and also everything which, and everyone who, participated in the meal had to be ‘pure’. This was partly achieved by fumigation, which purifies the atmosphere,¹²⁰ but equally by performing consecrations, purifications, sweeping the ground and sprinkling with water, everything else was made pure. Furthermore, the priest who performed the ritual purified himself by washing.

According to the Hellenistic temple ritual texts these religious activities could take place at different moments during the divine meal.¹²¹ In this section these activities will be discussed.

III.6.1. Consecration

The Hellenistic temple ritual texts on occasion refer to a ritual act called *ḫub bīti* ‘the consecration of the temple’. It is well attested for the public cult in texts from the Neo-Assyrian¹²² and Hellenistic periods.

¹¹⁴ Other than *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 6, obv. 20 (*NÍG.NA* // *qutrīnu*), actually a Hellenistic bilingual *šullakku*- (hand-raising) prayer, which therefore represents an older tradition and cannot be used as evidence for the Hellenistic period.

¹¹⁵ This is supported by the lexical list *LTBA* 2, I VI 22 f. // 2, 358 f.: *zi-i-bu = qut-rin/ri-in-nu, qutrinnu = gišŠIM.MEŠ/ri-qu-u*. Note that some of the known aromatics, such as *ladnu, qunnabu, kašišīhatu* and *suādu*, are mentioned in the Hellenistic kettledrum ritual text *TU* 44, IV, 5 ff.

¹¹⁶ Cf. *CAD*, K, 414–15 sub c and *AHW*, 485a.

¹¹⁷ See also A.R. George, *BTT*, 306. This garden is also known from the astronomical diaries from Babylon, cf. A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -93, A, rev. 25 and no. -79, obv. 4’.

¹¹⁸ See A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 41.

¹¹⁹ See also my comments on *TU* 39, obv. 4. Note that in a recently published private document from Uruk, dated 11 S.E. (*SpTU* 5, no. 308), uncultivated lands (*nidūtu*) of Nanāja are turned into garden and arable land (rev. 15).

¹²⁰ See III.5.

¹²¹ See G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 166.

¹²² See G. van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, 169 and the dictionaries *CAD* and *AHW* sub *ḫābu*. A rare Neo-Babylonian example is *LKU*, no. 51, rev. 28.

III. The divine meal

In Hellenistic Babylon during the New Year festival, on the fifth day of the month Nisannu, first the temple complex Esagila was consecrated (*hâbu*),¹²³ and then Ezida, the cella of Nabû, was consecrated, in the last case by using the censer (*nignakku*), the torch (*gizillû*) and the holy water-basin (*egubbû*).¹²⁴ In Hellenistic Uruk the Rēš-temple was consecrated during the second New Year festival on the seventh day of Tašrītu.¹²⁵ During the Uruk building ritual the temple was consecrated with *takpertu*-purifications,¹²⁶ which illustrates the close connection between consecration and purification.

Objects could also be consecrated. In the beginning of the Uruk text describing what occurred during a night vigil, the Scepter, which plays an important part in the ritual, is consecrated by the exorcist (*āšipu*).¹²⁷ In the Uruk kettledrum ritual a censer and torch are used to consecrate the bull¹²⁸ and the kettledrum.¹²⁹

III.6.2. Purification

The importance of purifications is underlined by the fact that they are mentioned in the colophon of *TU* 38, detailing the daily offering practice in Uruk. Rev. 44–45 mention ‘the pure *šuluḥḥu*-purification rites’ (ŠU.LUḤ.ḤA KÙ.MEŠ) and ‘the divine *šuluḥḥu*-purification rites of the Rēš-temple, the Ešgal-temple, the Eanna-temple and the (other) temples of Tiranna’ (ŠU.LUḤ.ḤA DINGIR.RA šá É re-eš ÈŠ.GAL É.AN.NA ù É.MEŠ TIR.AN.NA^{ki}).¹³⁰

takpertu and *kuppuru*

We already referred to the *takpertu*-purifications in connection with the verb *hâbu*. However, *takpertu* is also used with the cognate verb *kuppuru* (D-stem of *kapāru*) ‘to purify’. The earliest references go back to the Old Babylonian period, but the purification is best attested in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods.¹³¹ In the Late Babylonian Uruk eclipse of the moon text the priest must purify all the temples, and especially Edmununna, the temple of the moongod Sîn, with *takpertu*-purifications. The next day these purifications, together with a magic circle of flour (*zisurrû*) and a *garakku*-brazier, are thrown into the river.¹³²

¹²³ *RAcc.*, 140, 340 ff.

¹²⁴ *RAcc.*, 140, 346 ff. For the *gizillû* see the dictionaries and St. M. Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, Register, s.v. Fackel. For the *egubbû* see III.6.2.

¹²⁵ *TU* 39, obv. 13.

¹²⁶ *TU* 45, rev. 23–4, and the parallel *TU* 46, rev. 13. In the latter the object is not the temple but ‘that emplacement’ (KI.BI). See also the Hellenistic astronomical omen-text *BRM* 4, 19 (// 20), rev. 30: ‘(it is a favourable day) to purify the temple’ (É ana ḥu-ub-bi). For *takpertu* see III.6.2.

¹²⁷ *TU* 41, obv. 4.

¹²⁸ *TU* 44, I, 30–31; II, 12–13.

¹²⁹ *TU* 44, III, 20–21; 26. See also BM 32206 +, I, 12 (context not clear).

¹³⁰ *šuluḥḥu*-purification rites for Anu and Ištar on a unknown day of the 6th month Ulūlu are also attested in the Uruk cultic calendar text K 3753, obv. I, 15. A Graeco-Babyloniaca fragment from Babylon, VAT 412 (M.J. Geller, *ZA* 87 (1997), 78–9, no. 13), palaeographically dated to the time of Tiberius(!), reads perhaps in obv. 5’: ‘*par-si*’ ŠU.‘LUḤ’.ḤA[.MEŠ]. However, because according to Geller VAT 412 is probably a school text (containing extracts copied from other sources) we cannot use this passage as evidence for Babylonian cult practices in the first century A.D.

¹³¹ See the dictionaries *CAD* and *AHW* sub *takpelirtu* and *kapāru*.

¹³² *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 32–33 and 37. Note that *takpertu*-purifications together with burnt offerings are also attested

III.6. Consecration, purification and washing

For the use of *kuppuru* without the noun *takpertu* we have two examples in the Hellenistic temple ritual texts. Firstly, in a Uruk building ritual text it is said that an exorcist and a lamentation priest will purify the city.¹³³ Secondly, in the Esagila ritual text describing the New Year festival of the month Nisannu in Babylon, after the consecration of Ezida, the cella of Nabû (see III.6.1), an exorcist purifies the cella by using the carcass of a sheep, after which it is thrown into the river.¹³⁴

tēliltu and elēlu

For the purification called *tēliltu* we have many references from the Middle and Neo-Assyrian, but only a few from the Neo-Babylonian period.¹³⁵ For the Hellenistic period only two examples, both from cultic calendar texts, are known, but the context in both cases is not clear.¹³⁶ However, the cognate verb *elēlu* (in D- and Dt-stem) is attested several times in the Hellenistic corpus in connection with the temple. In the Uruk kettledrum ritual the bull, the hide of which is used to cover the kettledrum, and the kettledrum itself are purified.¹³⁷ In the Uruk building ritual the king purifies himself.¹³⁸

šabātu and qadāšu

The ground had to be swept (*šabātu*) in order to clear the offering site. This is attested in the Uruk kettledrum ritual (*tašabbīṭ*, written SAR, ‘you will sweep’)¹³⁹ and is a form of purification, as is illustrated by the duplicate, which reads instead: *tu-^rqád’-da-áš* ‘you will make ritually clean’ (*qadāšu* D-stem).¹⁴⁰ The ground is also swept in the Uruk *mīs-pī*-ritual,¹⁴¹ and in the Uruk building ritual the roof of the temple is swept.¹⁴² This activity is also attested in a late Neo-Babylonian Uruk ritual for the king.¹⁴³

salāḫu and sarāqu

After the ground was swept, it was sprinkled with water, in order to make the dust settle; this makes sprinkling a part of the purification activities.

in Neo-Assyrian letters dealing with the substitute king (*šar pūḫi*) ritual, which are probably performed to avert evil portended by an eclipse on the king (see II.7), e.g. S. Parpola, *LAS* I, 167.

¹³³ *TU* 45, rev. 12.

¹³⁴ *RAcc.*, 140–41, 353 ff. Cf. W.G. Lambert, in *OLA* 55 (1993), 201.

¹³⁵ *AHw*, 1344–45. The expression *te-lil-te ū-lal* ‘he performs the purification’ is not attested in the Hellenistic temple rituals. Cognate with *elēlu* is the *mullilu*, a sprinkler used for purification; it is used during the Hellenistic Babylon ritual of Kislīmu in Esagila (BM 32206 +, obv. I, 22).

¹³⁶ *SBH* VIII, II, 2 (Babylon); K 3753, I, 21 (Uruk).

¹³⁷ *TU* 44, II, 12; III, 21.

¹³⁸ *TU* 45, obv. 17. We also find *elēlu* in *RAcc.*, 142, 378, in a ‘cry of distress’ (*ikkillu*), and in *BRM* 4, 7, rev. 30, the incipit of the incantation ‘The temple has been purified’, but these represent older traditions and cannot be used as evidence for the Hellenistic period.

¹³⁹ *TU* 44, I, 8.

¹⁴⁰ *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 8.

¹⁴¹ *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+//), 3. The *mīs-pī*-ritual is discussed in III.6.3.

¹⁴² *TU* 45, obv. [6] // *TU* 46, obv. [7] // *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 8–9. See also my comments on these lines in the Appendix.

¹⁴³ *LKU*, no. 48, obv. 1.

III. The divine meal

The verb *salāḥu* (SÛ) ‘to sprinkle’ is used in connection with several locations: the Esagila-temple and Ezida, the cella of Nabû, were sprinkled with water from a well along the Tigris and a well along the Euphrates during the New Year festivities in Babylon.¹⁴⁴ Pure water was sprinkled on the roof of a temple in the building ritual in Uruk,¹⁴⁵ and in the same ritual in the open country or on the bank of a river.¹⁴⁶ Pure water was also sprinkled during the kettledrum ritual on the ground in the workshop (*bīt mummi*), where the bull, whose hide was used to cover the kettledrum, is placed.¹⁴⁷ Also note that water from the holy water-basin was sprinkled on the bull.¹⁴⁸

Furthermore in the Uruk kettledrum ritual cedar balsam (*dam erēni*) was sprinkled for purification purposes on the bull itself,¹⁴⁹ and on the (still uncovered) kettledrum.¹⁵⁰

And finally, an unknown substance was used to sprinkle the temple during the last phase of the Uruk eclipse of the moon ritual.¹⁵¹

Also scattering (*sarāqu*) juniper on the heart of the bull during the Uruk kettledrum ritual must have had purification purposes.¹⁵²

On two occasions *sarāqu* is used without object: during the Uruk New Year festival and during a special festival for Ištar of Uruk aromatics presumably were scattered ‘on the place where (the god) is made to accept the offering’, after which offerings follow.¹⁵³ If we assume correctly that aromatics are the object, then these two passages may be connected with purification.

Furthermore, good oil was sprinkled on the torch used during the night vigil festivities,¹⁵⁴ all kinds of aromatics (*riqqū kalama*) and powder(?) of cedar (*qēm erēni*) were scattered during the Uruk *mīs pî*-ritual.¹⁵⁵

egubbû

In the descriptions of the divine meal we often encounter the holy water-basin (*egubbû*, dugA.GÛB.BA). Water from this basin was used for purifying everything which was used during the divine meal.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁴ *Racc.*, 140, 341–2 and 348–9.

¹⁴⁵ *TU* 45, obv. 7; rev. 20, and the parallels *TU* 46, obv. 8, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 9, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, rev. fragment 2, 3' (for this fragment see my comments on rev. 6–13 of *TU* 45, in the Appendix).

¹⁴⁶ *TU* 45, rev. 8.

¹⁴⁷ *TU* 44, I, 8 (cf. I, 35); *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 8.

¹⁴⁸ *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 18; *KAR* 60, obv. 7.

¹⁴⁹ *TU* 44, II, 12.

¹⁵⁰ *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 22.

¹⁵¹ *BM* 134701, obv. 21.

¹⁵² *KAR* 60, obv. 15 (Neo-Assyrian), with the parallel *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5 (Hellenistic), rev. 23. Compare this with *saḥāpu* ‘to overturn’ a golden *malītu*-bowl of *maṣṣatu*-flour over the heart of an ox (*TU* 39, obv. 32, *TU* 40, rev. 2, *TU* 42 +, obv. 31').

¹⁵³ *TU* 39, obv. 30; *TU* 42 +, obv. 28'.

¹⁵⁴ *TU* 41, obv. 29.

¹⁵⁵ *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+//), 8; 22.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. *CAD*, E, 49bf.; ib., K, 171a, sub *kutunnu*; *AHW*, 17a, and 440b, with many references from earlier periods. See also St. M. Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, Register, s.v. Weiwassergefäß (*agubbû*). For the Neo-Assyrian period see G. van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, 167–8.

III.6. Consecration, purification and washing

The holy water-basin-ceremony is well attested in temple ritual texts from the Hellenistic period. It is one of the ceremonies, mentioned in the Uruk text *TU* 38,¹⁵⁷ from which it becomes clear that loaves and cakes and oxen and sheep apparently were used during the ceremony. We also know of an incantation incipit ‘From the pure holy water-basin’, recited during the New Year festival of the month Tašrītu in Uruk.¹⁵⁸

As we saw above, during the New Year festivities of Nisannu in Babylon it was used together with the censer and the torch to consecrate Ezida, the cella of Nabû in Esagila.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, in the Uruk text which describes the night vigil festivities, the exorcist must extinguish the torch with water from the holy water-basin (together with beer, milk, wine and oil).¹⁶⁰ In the Uruk eclipse of the moon ritual first all the temples are purified, then the statue of Sîn is robed, after which a holy water-basin is set up and incantations are recited.¹⁶¹

Finally, the holy water-basin was used on a number of occasions during the Uruk kettledrum ritual: after two holy water-basins for the gods Kusu and Ningirim have been set up, offering tables are placed and food is served.¹⁶² With water from the holy water-basin of Ningirim the offering accoutrements are purified,¹⁶³ and the bull is sprinkled with water from the holy water-basin.¹⁶⁴ After the bull is slaughtered the kettledrum itself, after being consecrated by using the censer and torch, is purified with water from the holy water-basin.¹⁶⁵

III.6.3. Washing

In the Hellenistic temple ritual texts several kinds of washing activities are attested. Although we only have a few examples of washing expressed by the verbs *ramāku* or *mesû*, there are many references to hand-washing (*mê qāti*). This hand-washing was intended to cleanse the body of the priest who performs the ritual. It made the priest ‘pure’ and allowed him to proceed with the rest of the ritual, which sometimes contained another washing activity, the ‘washing of the mouth’ (*mīs pî*). This ritual had to be performed on the divine protagonist of the ritual, which could be either the statue of the god, an animal like the bull, or even an object like the torch. We will discuss these washing activities here.

¹⁵⁷ Obv. 37; rev. 37; see II.1.

¹⁵⁸ *BRM* 4, 7, obv. 13.

¹⁵⁹ *RAcc.*, 140, 347. See III.6.1.

¹⁶⁰ *TU* 41, rev. 19.

¹⁶¹ *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 33’.

¹⁶² *TU* 44, I, 16. Cf. also I, 28 and 34.

¹⁶³ *TU* 44, II, 2.

¹⁶⁴ Only attested in the duplicates *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 18 // *KAR* 60, obv. 7.

¹⁶⁵ *TU* 44, III, 21. Cf. IV, 29.

The context is less clear in W 18728 (A. Falkenstein, *UVB* 15 [1959], 40–44), rev. 16’. The holy water basin is also attested in the astronomical diaries from Babylon: No. -173, A, rev. 2–3, mentioned together with offerings; No. -200, A, rev. 16, in the cella of Bēl in Esagila.

III. The divine meal

Washing with river water

From the large temple ritual text describing days 2–5 of the New Year festival of the month Nisannu in Babylon, we know that at the beginning of every day the high priest (*aḫu rabû*) began by washing himself (*ramāku*, written TU₅) with river water, on one occasion specified as coming from the Tigris and Euphrates, after which he removes the curtain for the god Bēl and recites a prayer.¹⁶⁶

Hand-washing

mê qāti našû

In Akkadian ‘hand-washing’ can be expressed in different ways. Firstly, there are references to *mê qāti našû* (written A.MEŠ ŠU^{II} ÍL) ‘to lift up the water (basin) for (the washing of) the hands’.¹⁶⁷ It is attested in the Uruk New Year festivals of Tašrītu¹⁶⁸ and Nisannu,¹⁶⁹ in the Uruk ritual text describing a special festival for Ištar,¹⁷⁰ and in the Uruk text describing the night vigil.¹⁷¹ It is also attested in the Kislīmu ritual of Esagila in Babylon.¹⁷² On one occasion the basins used are identified as 2 *kallu*-bowls and a golden *šulpu*-vessel.¹⁷³ They were probably placed on offering tables.¹⁷⁴

These references state that the priest must ‘lift up the water (basin) for (the washing of) the hands’ for one or more deities after which, we assume, the priest proceeded by washing his hands; although this is never stated as such, it seems likely since often no further use of the water is indicated. We also assume that *mê qāti* is intended in the first place for the priest, as is specifically stated in one case.¹⁷⁵ However, the texts sometimes continue by indicating that the priest then ‘sprinkles the king and the other persons’.¹⁷⁶ It is not impossible that *mê qāti* is also used for this, because there is a connection between *mê qāti* and the king: during the New Year festival of Nisannu in Babylon a water (basin) for (the washing of) the hands is moved in front of the king,¹⁷⁷ which may suggest that hand-washing was also performed by the king. Supporting evidence comes from a speech later on in the ritual, during which the high priest advises the king: ‘At the opening of the gate ceremony, cleanse [your] hands [...]!’¹⁷⁸.

¹⁶⁶ *RAcc.*, 129, 2; 132, 158; 133, 218; 136, 286 (in the later case: from the Tigris and Euphrates).

¹⁶⁷ Cf. *CAD*, M/II, 155b, sub 3; *AHw*, 664b, 4, a. In the Assyrian rituals the expression *mê qāti ana DN (ana LUGAL) qurrubu* (instead of *našû*) is more common, e.g. in the rituals for the singer (*zammāru*), *BBR* 2, nos. 60–70.

¹⁶⁸ *TU* 39, obv. 22, 29, 33; *TU* 40, obv. 3, 6, 20, rev. 3, 4; *TU* 39, rev. 12, 16.

¹⁶⁹ *KAR* 132, I, 24, III, 17, IV, 11.

¹⁷⁰ *TU* 42 +, obv. 28', 32', rev. 26'.

¹⁷¹ *TU* 41, obv. 18, 24, 32.

¹⁷² BM 32206 +, II, 55, 81 and 83 (*ša* A.MEŠ ‘the water rites’), III, 128, IV, 158 on day 4 of Kislīmu.

¹⁷³ *TU* 40, rev. 4.

¹⁷⁴ *TU* 41, obv. 22–24, 32, although this may not have been the rule.

¹⁷⁵ Namely the chief singer of dirges (*galamāḫu*), in *TU* 40, obv. 3.

¹⁷⁶ The verb *lapātu* (in D-stem) is probably used to express ‘to sprinkle’: *TU* 39, obv. 23; 34; *TU* 40, obv. 20; rev. 4; *KAR* 132, III, 18; IV, 11; *TU* 42 +, obv. 32'; rev. 26'. For *lapātu* ‘to sprinkle’ instead of ‘to smear’ see my comments on *TU* 39, obv. 23 and *TU* 41, obv. 10, in the Appendix.

¹⁷⁷ *RAcc.*, 144, 413.

¹⁷⁸ *RAcc.*, 145, 440.

mê kunnu and mê našû

References to *mê qāti* are not attested in the Uruk temple rituals for the lamentation priest (*kalû*), i.e. the kettledrum ritual and the building ritual. We have instead in these texts many references to ‘setting up the water (basin)’ (*mê kunnu*) before drawing the curtains shut, and ‘lifting up (i.e. removing) the water (basin)’ (*mê našû*) after the curtains are loosened again.¹⁷⁹ Although the function of this water basin is never specifically indicated, we know that it was for hand-washing. In IV R², 23, no. 1 +, a Neo-Assyrian list of recitations, which had to be performed during the different stages of the kettledrum ritual, one section is concerned with setting up the water basin and drawing shut the curtains¹⁸⁰: at this moment a bilingual recitation, beginning with the words:

3 [ŠU LUḪ.ḪA ME.E]N ŠU LUḪ.ḪA ME.EN 4 [*qa-ti-ka m*]i-si *qa-ti-ka mi-si*
‘3–4. [W]ash [your hands], wash your hands!’¹⁸¹

has to be performed, which clearly suggests a connection with hand-washing.

tēbibti qāti

The ceremony called ‘the cleansing of the hands’ (*tēbibti qāti*) is attested only once in Hellenistic temple ritual texts. We already referred to this ceremony taking place on the 16th of Ṭebētu in the sanctuary on top of the temple tower in Uruk.¹⁸²

mīs pī

The statue of a god was made, i.e. given birth to, with great care. In order to endow the statue with life it was subjected to rituals and incantations. Two of these were the ‘washing of the mouth’ (*mīs pī*) and the ‘opening of the mouth’ (*pīt pī*), which together enabled the statue to eat the foodstuffs and drink the liquids served during the divine meal. While *pīt pī* is not attested in the Hellenistic temple ritual texts, we have some evidence for *mīs pī*.¹⁸³ Four texts from Uruk are known;¹⁸⁴ they probably fall into the

¹⁷⁹ Kettledrum ritual: *TU* 44, II, 7 // *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 15, rev. 26 // *KAR* 60, obv. 2, rev. 4. Building ritual: *TU* 45, obv. 11, 14 // *TU* 46, obv. 9, 13, rev. 7 // *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 16, 20.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. IV, 1 f. and 2 f.

¹⁸¹ The washing of the hands activities called *mīs qāti* are not attested elsewhere in the Hellenistic temple ritual texts.

¹⁸² In the Uruk text *TU* 38, rev. 32–34, see the introduction of II.3. For *tēbibtu* see *AHw*, 1341b. *Tēbibtu* is found in an Uruk *mīs pī*-ritual text: we learn that not only priests, but also the king and people could perform the *tēbibtu*, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 27. It is also attested for an unknown day of the 6th month Ulūlu, in the Uruk cultic calendar text K 3753, obv. 1, 21 (broken context). The cognate verb *ebēbu* (in Dt-stem) is also used, in the Uruk building ritual *TU* 45, obv. 17 // *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1, fragment 2, 5'. One example of *tēbibtu* from Babylon is known: in the astronomical diary A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. 141, C, obv. 11'–12', the cleansing ceremony is mentioned in connection with the lamentation priests. It was performed on the 17th of the second month Ajjaru, but the context is not clear.

¹⁸³ Cf. *CAD*, M/II, 112a, b; *AHw*, 659a, 3, with references. See V. Hurowitz, *HUCA* 60 (1989), 48–73 and A. Berlejung, *Die Theologie der Bilder*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 162, Freiburg Schweiz, 1998, 178 ff. with earlier literature. See also P.J. Boden, *The Mesopotamian Washing of the Mouth (mīs pī) Ritual*, Baltimore, 1998. For the Hellenistic period see G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 164–5.

¹⁸⁴ *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 // no. 2 // no. 3, and no. 4, cf. W.R. Mayer, *OrNS* 47 (1978), 443–458.

Hellenistic period,¹⁸⁵ and describe the end of the *mīs pī*-ritual. Although the ritual appears to be in many ways unchanged in comparison with the earlier Assur version of the ritual, there are also some new elements,¹⁸⁶ in particular the appearance of the brushwood pile (*abru*), which is set on fire,¹⁸⁷ the references to lamentations, which have to be recited by the lamentation priest,¹⁸⁸ and the appearance of the king with or without the people.¹⁸⁹

The *mīs pī*-ritual could also be performed on objects other than the statue of a god.¹⁹⁰ In the Uruk text *TU* 41, describing the festivities performed during a night vigil, the *mīs pī*-ritual was performed on a large torch, which was one of the protagonists in the night vigil festivities;¹⁹¹ the interpretation of the ritual in this case is difficult. Furthermore, in the Uruk kettledrum ritual the *mīs pī*-ritual could be performed on a bull, the hide of which was used the cover the kettledrum,¹⁹² and on the kettledrum itself.¹⁹³ The Neo-Assyrian catalogue of recitations which had to be performed during the kettledrum ritual, IV R², 23, no. 1 +, also describes (III, 23) which recitations had to be performed when the washing of the mouth ritual on the kettledrum was to be performed.

III.7. Offerings and libations

An important phase in the divine meal was the presentation of foodstuffs and liquids as offerings. In this section we shall first analyse how and what was served to the deities in the temples. Then we shall examine which offerings and libations are attested, concentrating on the terminology used in the Hellenistic temple ritual texts. We shall discuss the food and drink offerings and the burnt offering.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁵ According to W.R. Mayer, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, p. 13.

¹⁸⁶ Especially *TuL*, no. 27, cf. W.R. Mayer, *OrNS* 47 (1978), 444, with n. 37.

¹⁸⁷ Attested in the Uruk text *TU* 41, describing the night vigil, and the Uruk building ritual (*TU* 45 and parallels).

¹⁸⁸ Well-known from the Uruk building ritual and the eclipse of the moon ritual.

¹⁸⁹ Passim in all the Uruk New Year texts, but also in the Uruk building ritual and the eclipse of the moon ritual.

Several lamentations are attested in the *mīs pī*-ritual texts, which are also known from other texts:

taqribtu: NIRGAL (LU) EDE 'Respected one, manifest one', in *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 29. Also attested in K 2724 +, obv. 2; see M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 21 ff. and 468 ff.; URSAGGAL ANNI ŠERMALLA ILLA 'Great warrior, hero in the Heaven, elevated', in *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 12. As *taqribtu* in K 2724 +, obv. 12, as *eršemakku* in IV R², 53, III, 17.

eršemakku: DILMUN NIGINNA 'Important one, who wanders abroad', in *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 24; 26; also in the kettledrum ritual and the building ritual texts, see II.5 and 2.6; EŠABḤUNGATA 'The heart of the temple will be calmed down', in *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 24; 26; (+ //), 30 f. Also attested in the building ritual texts, see II.6; UMUN BARAKUGA 'Lord of the pure Dais' (*Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 9); also in the building ritual text *TU* 46; UŠUM GUD NUA 'Dragon, recumbent (resting) bull', in *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 12, cf. W.R. Mayer, *OrNS* 47 (1978), 452, n. 42; M.E. Cohen, *Eršemma*, 42–47.

¹⁹⁰ See A. Berlejung, *Die Theologie der Bilder*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 162, Freiburg Schweiz, 1998, 182 ff.

¹⁹¹ Obv. 29.

¹⁹² *TU* 44, II, 8 // *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 18 // *KAR* 60, obv. 7.

¹⁹³ *TU* 44, III, 23.

¹⁹⁴ The *ḥitpu*-offering was already discussed in connection with the *lubuštu*-ceremony, see II.3.3. For the funerary offering (*kispu*) see II.7.1. *Taklīnu* 'shew offering' is not attested in Hellenistic temple ritual texts; we only have an example in a Hellenistic bilingual hymn to Šamaš (W 18828, A. Falkenstein, *UVB* 15 [1959], 36 ff., obv. 13). Not attested in texts from the Hellenistic period are the *qinītu*-offering (*AHW*; *CAD*: *kīnāātu*)

III.7.1. The presentation of the offerings

Serving foodstuffs and liquids as offering

There are several verbs which are used to describe the presentation of the offerings before the god in the temple.¹⁹⁵

Sarāqu ‘to scatter’ is used in the descriptions of the Uruk kettledrum ritual, in connection with dates and *sasqû*-flour,¹⁹⁶ loaves of barley and emmer bread and a *mirsu*-confection (made with honey, ghee, dates and *sasqû*-flour),¹⁹⁷ and barley seed.¹⁹⁸ It is also used in the Uruk building ritual texts, in connection with emmer bread, dates and *sasqû*-flour;¹⁹⁹ and all (kinds of) barley seed (*zēru kalama*).²⁰⁰ And it is attested in the Uruk *mīs pî*-ritual, in connection with barley seed.²⁰¹

Šakānu ‘to place’ in general is used with the same food products. In the kettledrum ritual it is used with barley bread and emmer bread and a *mirsu*-confection (made with honey, ghee, dates and *sasqû*-flour),²⁰² and furthermore with barley and emmer malt,²⁰³ and with beer.²⁰⁴ In the building ritual and the *mīs pî*-ritual it is used with the *mirsu*-confection made with honey, ghee, dates, *sasqû*-flour and pressed oil.²⁰⁵

and the *zību*-offering. *Siltu* is some kind of food which can be presented as an offering (*CAD*, S, 267, *AHW*, 1044a). It is attested only once in the Hellenistic ritual text corpus, in *TU* 39, obv. 13, together with the *guqqû*-offering. Perhaps *siltu* is cognate with the Hebrew/Aramaic noun סִלְתָּא ‘wheat groats’.

¹⁹⁵ In the Hellenistic prebend texts from Uruk we often find the verb *elû* (Ē₁₁) ‘to come up, to go up’ in the Š-stem ‘to bring up’, in the context of bringing food up to the table (*paššūru*) in front of the divine statue(s). See II.3.1 and II.4.1 where the relevant passage have been discussed.

¹⁹⁶ Only in the Aššur duplicate *KAR* 50, rev. 3 (Neo-Assyrian).

¹⁹⁷ *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 12–13, and IV R², 23, no. 1 +, III, 26–27 (Neo-Assyrian).

¹⁹⁸ *TU* 44, II, 4.

¹⁹⁹ Only in the Babylon duplicate F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 7–8 (Late Babylonian).

²⁰⁰ *TU* 45, obv. 9–10; *TU* 46, obv. 9; 16; rev. 4; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 13–14; the Late Babylonian parallel F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 10.

Blome suggested (*Opfermaterie*, 274–76) that *zēra sarāqu* (ŠE.NUMUN DUB) and *zēra kalama sarāqu* (ŠE.NUMUN DÚ.A.BI DUB) are general phrases: the object ŠE.NUMUN stands for ‘offering material for fumigation’ and the verb DUB for ‘burning on a censer’. However, barley seed belongs to the food products and not to the aromatics, which explains why it is never mentioned in connection with the censer. Furthermore, we always find the expression in the context of offerings of meat and libations. Also, almost always before the scattering of barley seed, the phrase *nignak(ki) burāši šakānu* is used (see III.5.1), which indicates that only the latter phrase refers to fumigation.

²⁰¹ *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 16; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 3 (duplicate of *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1), 2’.

²⁰² *TU* 44, I, 17–18; *KAR* 50, rev. 4.

²⁰³ *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 14.

²⁰⁴ *TU* 44, I, 15.

²⁰⁵ *TU* 45, obv. 8; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 11–12; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 14–15(1?).

III. The divine meal

Rakāsu ‘to arrange’ is attested in the Uruk night vigil ritual with beef, mutton, and fowl;²⁰⁶ in the *mīs pî*-ritual with emmer bread;²⁰⁷ and in the Uruk description of the daily offerings with beer and wine.²⁰⁸

The use of *tuhḫû* (D-stem of *teḫû*) ‘to bring near’²⁰⁹ is restricted to shoulder, *ḥimṣu*-omentum, roasted meat. Only in the Uruk temple rituals is it used for the lamentation priest in the context of the kettledrum ritual,²¹⁰ the building ritual,²¹¹ and the *mīs pî*-ritual.²¹²

Qerēbu ‘to be served’ is attested with food products such as milk, loaves, cakes, oil, dates, figs, raisins, and meat like oxen, sheep, mutton, beef, fowl, in the Uruk description of food offerings,²¹³ in one of the Uruk New Year texts²¹⁴ and in the description of the night vigil ritual²¹⁵ in connection with meals,²¹⁶ and in the Babylon New Year text it is used in connection with leftovers of the offering table of Madānu.²¹⁷

Qurrubu ‘to serve’ (D-stem of *qerēbu*) is also attested in one of the Uruk New Year texts, this time in connection with meal and hot roasted meat,²¹⁸ and in a description of a special festival for Ištar of Uruk, also with meal and hot roasted meat.²¹⁹ Examples of *qerēbu* / *qurrubu* used with liquids are rare in Hellenistic temple ritual texts, contrary to the case with Neo-Assyrian rituals.²²⁰

Finally, the verb *kunnu* (D-stem of *kānu*) ‘to set up’ is only connected with (containers holding) beer, wine, and milk, and is attested in the Uruk description of daily offerings,²²¹ in the night vigil ritual text,²²² in the kettledrum ritual texts,²²³ the building ritual texts²²⁴ and in the *mīs pî*-ritual text.²²⁵

Šūtuqu and šubū’u

We have listed several ways in which the texts describe the serving of foodstuffs and liquids to the gods. However, Oppenheim pointed out that offered food was sometimes

²⁰⁶ TU 41, obv. 19, 25.

²⁰⁷ Bagh. Mitt. Beih. 2, no. 1 (+ //), 14.

²⁰⁸ TU 38, obv. 2, 17.

²⁰⁹ In Middle and Neo-Assyrian rituals for *tuhḫû* usually *apālu* ‘to present food offerings’ is used, see the dictionaries CAD and AHw for examples.

²¹⁰ TU 44, I, 31–32, II, 3–4, 6, 34–35, III, 19; Bagh. Mitt. Beih. 2, no. 5, obv. 14; KAR 50, rev. 5; IV R², 23, no. 1 +, III, 28.

²¹¹ TU 45, rev. 9–10; 22; Bagh. Mitt. Beih. 2, no. 10, obv. 3–4.

²¹² Bagh. Mitt. Beih. 2, no. 1 (+ //), 6–7; 10–11; 21; 25–26; 33–34. Bagh. Mitt. Beih. 2, no. 3 (dupl. of Bagh. Mitt. Beih. 2, no. 1), 7’–8’, 8’–9’(?). See also the late Neo-Babylonian ritual for the king LKU 48 (VAT 14521), obv. 4 and 10.

²¹³ TU 38, obv. 7, 35, 42, 50, rev. 3, 39, 40, 41; 42.

²¹⁴ TU 39, rev. 4, 6, 8, 12, 13, 14, 20.

²¹⁵ TU 41, obv. 12, 14, rev. 29, 30.

²¹⁶ See also the Neo-Babylonian ritual LKU 51 (VAT 14524), obv. 6, 25, rev. 9 (meal).

²¹⁷ RAcc., 133, 212.

²¹⁸ TU 39, obv. 25.

²¹⁹ TU 42 +, obv. 20’, 21’.

²²⁰ E.g. in the rituals for the singer (*zammāru*), BBR 2, nos. 60–70.

²²¹ TU 38, obv. 20 (vases).

²²² TU 41, obv. 20; 25.

²²³ TU 44, I, 19; Bagh. Mitt. Beih. 2, no. 5, obv. 13.

²²⁴ TU 45, obv. 9; Bagh. Mitt. Beih. 2, no. 10, obv. 13.

²²⁵ Bagh. Mitt. Beih. 2, no. 1 (+ //), 15.

also presented ‘with a solemn ritual gesture, passing it in a swinging motion before the staring eyes of the image’, comparing this with offering practices described in Egyptian religious texts and the Old Testament.²²⁶ But what exactly was he referring to?

In the Mesopotamian ritual texts, we do know of several passages with *šutuqu* (Š-stem of *etēqu*) ‘to pass (objects) on, to move (objects) past (a person or another object)’.²²⁷ Several occurrences of *ú-še-ti-iq* with *ana pa-ni* in Hellenistic ritual texts are attested.²²⁸ However, on closer examination these cannot be the phrases which Oppenheim refers to. They all describe the passing on of offering dishes etc., which are in front of, or passed (from) before (*pāni*) one god, to (*ana pāni*) other gods, as for example in *TU* 39, obv. 25:

‘²⁵He will pass the golden dish (from) before (*pa-ni*) Anu to (*ana pa-ni*) the (other) gods, who are in the Grand Courtyard’.

In texts from the Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods *šutuqu* corresponds to the Babylonian verb *šubū’u* (*bā’u* Š-stem) ‘to move (an object) alongside (a person for ritual purposes)’,²²⁹ but the relevant examples of *šubū’u* in the Hellenistic temple ritual texts do not describe moving offerings in a swinging motion in front of a statue, but the moving of a censer and torch inside the temple,²³⁰ or the moving of a water (basin) for (washing of) the hands in front of the king, and do not therefore parallels OT and Egyptian practices either.²³¹

Fruit

Sometimes fruit (*inbu*) was used during the divine meal, ‘adding an esthetic touch’.²³² See for example the Uruk temple ritual text *TU* 41, describing the night vigil festivities: after a golden offering table is set up for Anu and Antu of Heaven, and a water basin is brought for the washing of the hands, the table is arranged with meat, beer and wine. Then the text reads (obv. 20):

‘You will provide all (kinds of) garden fruits (*inib kiri*) in abundance (*tu-šar-ra-aḫ*)’.

The text follows with the scattering of cedar needles(?) and *maṣḥatu*-flour on a golden censer. The ritual ends with a libation of wine. Then follows a similar ritual conducted on seven large golden offering tables for the seven planets (Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Saturn, Mars, Moon and Sun), after which fruit from the garden plants is again used

²²⁶ A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 192.

In the OT we find that not only placing an offering in front of a god, but also waving (תנופה) and lifting up (תרומה) in front of God or the altar was practised.

²²⁷ *CAD*, E, 391a, c.

²²⁸ *TU* 39, obv. 25; *KAR* 132, I, 2; 3; 4; *TU* 42 +, obv. 22'; 23'.

²²⁹ Cf. *CAD*, B, 181b sub 3, a; *AHW*, 117a, Š, 3.

²³⁰ *RAcc.*, 140, 343.

²³¹ *RAcc.*, 144, 413.

²³² A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 188.

(obv. 26). A similar phrase is used in *TU* 12, an astrological text from Hellenistic Uruk, which is concerned with the zodiacal system.²³³

To slaughter an animal for offerings

To offer an animal for meat offerings means first having to slaughter it. Akkadian has several words for ‘slaughtering’ sacrificial animals, of which *nakāsu*,²³⁴ *maḥāṣu*,²³⁵ and *palāqu*²³⁶ are attested in the Hellenistic temple rituals.²³⁷ They are, however, unlike in ancient Israel,²³⁸ ‘entirely secular in overtones since there was no Kosher slaughtering in ancient Babylonia, and no custom of burning slaughtered victims to ashes’.²³⁹

III.7.2. Food and drink offerings

niqû-offerings

The Akkadian word most often used for ‘offering’ is *niqû*,²⁴⁰ written syllabically and SISKUR or SÍSKUR. Often it is preceded by UDU.NÍTA, indicating that it usually consisted of sheep, although oxen and goats were also used. It is cognate with the verb *naqû* (BAL) ‘to pour out (as a libation), to offer’. It is well-known from the Neo-Assyrian temple rituals, and Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid administrative texts.²⁴¹

In the Hellenistic temple ritual texts both sheep and cattle are attested as *niqû*-offering. We have a few examples of the phrases *niqâ naqû* ‘to make an offering’ (SÍSKUR BAL) and *niq alpi u immeri naqû* ‘to make an offering of ox and sheep’ (SÍSKUR GU₄ ù UDU.NÍTA BAL). They are all from Uruk and are attested in texts describing the New Year of the month Tašrītu, the special festival for Ištar, and the night vigil.²⁴² For the phrase *niqê naqû* ‘to make a sheep offering’ (udu.[nita]-SÍSKUR BAL) there is more

²³³ Obv. lower part, col. VI, last line reads: [GURUN] ^{gi8}KIRI₆ *tu-šar-ra-aḥ* ‘You will provide garden fruit in abundance’. For *TU* 12 see also II.2.3. For the garden see also III.5.2.

For fruit symbolizing aphrodisiacs, as George suggests, in a fragment related to the so-called Divine Love Lyrics, see II.8.5.

²³⁴ *TU* 38, rev. 9; 11. Cf. the Neo-Babylonian temple ritual text VAT 14524, obv. 9, 17.

²³⁵ *TU* 41, rev. 6.

²³⁶ *TU* 44, II, 16; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 23; cf. the Neo-Assyrian parallel KAR 60, obv. 15.

²³⁷ Not attested in Hellenistic temple ritual texts, although well-known from Assyrian rituals (see the dictionaries *CAD* and *AHW*) are *nasāḥu* and *ṭabāḥu*.

²³⁸ Although there was both secular and sacred slaughtering, in a sense all slaughtering was religious, since meat with blood was not allowed to be eaten by humans (Gen. 9, 4; Lv. 3, 17; 7, 27; 27, 10). This is because blood (𒁺) is the soul, the power of life (Lv. 17, 14; Deut. 12, 23), or is the location of the soul (Lv. 17, 10–11); when blood is flowing out of the body, man or animal will die. Therefore all slaughtering was religious and had to be performed in a kosher manner. This ‘blood consciousness’, as Oppenheim called it (*Ancient Mesopotamia*, 192), is not paralleled in Mesopotamia. The concept of ‘the life being in the blood’ was known, but there was no general prohibition on the consuming of blood, nor of offering it, as, for example, was done by the king in *KAR* 146, rev. 1, 10’.

²³⁹ W.G. Lambert, in: *OLA* 55 (1993), 194.

²⁴⁰ Cf. G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 169.

²⁴¹ See the dictionaries *CAD* and *AHW* sub *niqû* and *naqû*. An example of *niqû* from a Neo-Babylonian temple ritual text is VAT 14521, obv. 4.

²⁴² SÍSKUR: *TU* 39, obv. 30; *TU* 42 +, obv. 28’, 30’; *TU* 41, rev. 23. SÍSKUR GU₄ ù UDU.NÍTA: *TU* 39, rev. 6–7; *TU* 41, obv. 11; rev. 30–31 and 32.

evidence, but it is only attested in the Uruk temple rituals of the lamentation priest, i.e. the kettledrum ritual,²⁴³ the building ritual,²⁴⁴ and the *mīs pī*-ritual.²⁴⁵

Finally, from administrative documents,²⁴⁶ chronicles²⁴⁷ and the astronomical diaries²⁴⁸ from Babylon we know that *niqû* remained important well into the Arsacid period. We find that in the diaries just as in the temple ritual texts sheep offerings are used side by side with offerings of cattle; together they are often referred to as *nindabû* ‘food offering’ (see below). These offerings are in most cases provided by a high official of Esagila, such as the administrator (*šatammu*) or his representative (*kūm šatammi*), sometimes performed in a specific place in the temple, e.g. the *dudē*-Gate or the ‘Gate of the Son of the Prince’. Sometimes the offerings are used for the cult of the king and his family.²⁴⁹

naqû-libations

The verb which is usually used for libations²⁵⁰ is *naqû* (BAL) ‘to pour out’. It is well-known especially from the Assyrian rituals.²⁵¹

In the Hellenistic temple ritual texts from Uruk we find *naqû*²⁵² with wine, beer, milk, honey, ghee, oil and cedar oil, in several different combinations. It is interesting that, with one exception,²⁵³ all examples come from temple rituals for the lamentation

²⁴³ *TU* 44, II, 3; 5; 33; III, 18; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 13; cf. IV R², 23, no. 1 +, III, 27 (Nineveh, Neo-Assyrian).

²⁴⁴ *TU* 45, obv. [2]; [4]; 10; 18; 20; 25 (^{udu}SĪSKUR GAL-û); rev. 6; 9; 11; 17; 21; *TU* 46, 3; 5; 9; 16; rev. 4; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 3; 6; 14; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, obv. fragment 1, 5'; [7'](?); obv. fragment 2, 6' (these fragments are discussed in my comments on *TU* 45, in the Appendix); F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 4, 11 (Babylon, Late Babylonian).

²⁴⁵ *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 6 (^{udu}SĪSKUR ŠU.DU₇.MEŠ [šuklulu]); 10; 20; 25; 32 (^{udu}SĪSKUR GAL-û); 33; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 3 (duplicate of *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1), 6'.

²⁴⁶ See for example *CT* 49, 151 (218 S.E.), an administrative text from the Arsacid period belonging to the so-called Raḥimesu archive (94–93 B.C.), which contains texts recording the income and expenditures of the temples. Obv. 6 refers to the ‘offerings of the Day One temple’, i.e. the *akītu*-temple (SĪSKUR.MEŠ *ina* É UD.1.KAM). Many of these administrative texts refer to (regular) offering sheep, indicating that for the temple expenditures sheep were primarily used as meat offering, e.g. AB 248 (= G.J.P. McEwan, *Iraq* 43 [1981], 141 ff.), obv. 6; *CT* 49, 150, obv. 29, rev. 39, 41, *CT* 49, 156, obv. 11; *BRM* 1, 99, obv. 11, rev. 31, 33, 45, 46; AB 244 (= G.J.P. McEwan, *Iraq* 43 [1981], 132 ff.), obv. 7, 13. The Raḥimesu archive was discussed by R.J. van der Spek, in: J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse*, 205–258.

²⁴⁷ See the Hellenistic chronicle 13b (A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, 283 f., see II.4.5.2 and II.8.7), where ‘The portions of the oxen and those (other) offerings (*niqû*) he designated for(?) the lamentation priests and the administrator (*šatammu*)’ (8–9).

²⁴⁸ A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -226, A, rev. 18; no. -204, C, rev. [18]; no. -187, A, rev. 5', 13'; no. -178, C, rev. 20'; no. -173, A, rev. 3'; no. -171, B, rev. 6'; no. -170, A, obv. 1'; no. -160, C, obv. 6'(?); no. -158, C, obv. 6'; no. -144, rev. 18; no. -137, D, rev. 23, 27; no. -133, B and C, obv. 23', 24'; no. -132, D₂, rev. 13', 22'; no. -129, A₂, obv. 18'; 24'; no. -126, A, obv. 9, rev. 4, B, rev. 7'; no. -125, A, rev. 6; no. -124, B, obv. 5'; rev. 19'; no. 111, B, 9', 10'; no. -107, C, rev. 17'; no. -105, obv. A14', B13'; no. -87, A, rev. 15'; no. -82, B, rev. 2'; no. -77, A, obv. 27', 29', rev. 30, B, rev. 15'.

²⁴⁹ See II.8.7.

²⁵⁰ For libations in general see F. Blome, *Opfermaterie*, 298–341; J. Danmanville, *RA* 49 (1955), 57–68 (concentrating on monuments which depict libations); W. Heimpel, *RLA* 7 (1987–1990), 1–5.

²⁵¹ See the dictionaries *AHW*, 744 f. and *CAD*, N/I, 337 f. An example from a Neo-Babylonian temple ritual is *LKU*, no. 48 (VAT 14521), obv. 5, [10] and rev. 10.

²⁵² In G-stem; *nuqqû*, the D-stem, is attested only twice: in the Uruk building ritual *TU* 46, obv. 19 and *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, obv. fragment 1, 7'.

²⁵³ The ritual describing the night vigil: wine and oil (*TU* 41, obv. 9).

III. The divine meal

priests.²⁵⁴ No examples from Babylon are known. The verb *nadû* ‘to pour’ is used to express a libation with water during the special festival of Ištar in Uruk.²⁵⁵ Other verbs which express pouring liquids as libation are not attested in Hellenistic temple rituals either.²⁵⁶

maqqu- and maqqû-libations

Two nouns which are cognates of *naqu* are *maqqu* ‘libation’ (with liquids), or ‘offering’, attested from the Old Babylonian period on, and *maqqû* ‘libation bowl’,²⁵⁷ known from Mari texts and from the Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian periods on.²⁵⁸

In the temple ritual texts from Hellenistic Uruk *maqqu* is attested only once. In a building ritual text it is said that the lamentation priest (*kalû*) must continue with *serqu*-offerings, *maqqu*-libations (*ma-aq-qa-a-tû*) and recitations.²⁵⁹ Furthermore, during the Babylon Esagila ritual, on day 4 of Kislîmu, offerings ([*m*]a-qa-a-tu₄) of *maṣḥatu*-flour are scattered on the brazier by the high priest (*aḥu rabû*).²⁶⁰

The *maqqû*-libation bowl, usually made of gold, belongs to the category of the *šappu*-containers.²⁶¹ It is mentioned many times in Hellenistic temple rituals. It is placed on a offering table (*paššûru*) in front of the statue of the god in the temple.²⁶² The expression usually used is *maqqê redû* ‘to make a libation with the libation bowl’.²⁶³ While (as we saw) the libation expressed by *naqu* is almost exclusively used in the Uruk rituals for the lamentation priest, we find libations with the *maqqû*-libation bowl in the other Uruk

²⁵⁴ The kettledrum ritual: beer, wine, milk, cedar oil, honey and ghee (*TU* 44, I, 11, 29–30, 32; II, 4, 7, 35; III, 20; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, 19, 23); the building ritual: beer, wine, milk, honey, ghee, oil (*TU* 45, obv. 3, 5, 11, 21; rev. 6, 10, 12, 18, 22; *TU* 46, obv. 4, 6, 17, 19; rev. 5; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, 5, 7, 16; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, rev. fragment 2, 4', 6'(?); H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 9, 21–22 (Late Babylonian); the *mīs pî*-ritual: beer, wine and milk (*Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 7, 20 (a *miḥ[ru]*-offering(?)), 23, 34; the duplicate *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 2, 7'(?); [9']).

²⁵⁵ *TU* 42 +, rev. 31'. *nadû*, literally ‘to throw’, is also used in connection with flour (see III.3) or oil (*TU* 44, II, 20, cf. also I, 33), but not as libation. Water is used for libation in an astrological text from Hellenistic Uruk, *TU* 12, obv., second row. For this text see II.2.3.

²⁵⁶ *miḥḥa naqu* ‘to pour out a libation of *miḥḥu*-beer’ is known from a Neo-Babylonian ritual text (T.G. Pinches, *Berens Coll.*, no. 110, obv. 5, 8, 11). Also the verbs *karāru*, *ṣarāru* (in D-stem) and *tabāku* are well-known from Assyrian rituals, but not attested in Hellenistic temple ritual texts.

²⁵⁷ *CAD*, M/I, 253bf. Note that the *AHW*, 607b, 607–608 accepts *maqqu* as ‘offering bowl’ and *maqqû* as ‘offering’ and offering bowl’, but the examples of *maqqu* in the dictionaries suggest a translation of ‘libation’ rather than ‘libation bowl’ or a bowl in the shape of a boat (*makkîtu*). Cf. W. Heimpel, *RLA* 7 (1987–1990), 3a. For the boat *makkîtu* see *KAR* 132, I, 24 and my comments on this line in the Appendix.

²⁵⁸ Cf. A. Salonen, *Hausgeräte*, II, 223 (‘Libationskanne’); B.A. Levine, W.W. Hallo, *HUCA* 38 (1967), 52 sub dub-dub; G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 168.

²⁵⁹ *TU* 46, obv. 28 // *SpTU* 4, no. 141, rev. 18. In the Nabonidus chronicle (A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, 109, III, 7), possibly written in the Hellenistic period (J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 204) a *maqqu*-libation (written BALA-tu₄) of wine is attested.

²⁶⁰ BM 32206 +, rev. IV, 152. See also III.5.1.

²⁶¹ See *TU* 38, obv. 1 ff. We know that these containers were used in secular and cultic context for keeping water, beer, milk, wine, oil, butter, honey, aromatics, vinegar and flour, see A. Salonen, *Hausgeräte*, II, 124 ff. Also the *tilimtu*-vases, mentioned in *TU* 38, obv. 11 ff. are used for libations, see the dictionaries and A. Salonen, *Hausgeräte* II, 232–234.

²⁶² In two instances a libation is made on the head of a sheep: *TU* 39, obv. 33; *TU* 42 +, obv. 31'.

²⁶³ Cf. *AHW*, 965b, I, 6, c. See also Thureau-Dangin's comments on *redû* in *RAcc.*, 95, n. 4.

rituals, such as the description of the daily offering practice,²⁶⁴ the New Year festival,²⁶⁵ and the festival for Ištar;²⁶⁶ no examples from Babylon are known. The liquids which are usually libated from the *maqqu*-libation bowl are wine, different types of beer and milk.

The expression *maqqu naqu* ‘to pour out with the libation bowl’ is mostly known from Assyrian rituals, but it is also attested in the Uruk ritual concerning the night vigil festivities.²⁶⁷

We have evidence from administrative texts belonging to the Raḫimesu archive (94–93 B.C.) from Babylon that both *maqqu* and *maqqu* were used well into the Arsacid period.²⁶⁸

kāribu and tardūt šarri

The *kāribu*, perhaps not a priest but a citizen, a praying, private person, who offers on special occasions,²⁶⁹ is attested from the Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian periods on.²⁷⁰ *terdūtu* ‘additional offering’ is known from the Middle and Neo-Babylonian periods on.²⁷¹ However, for the Hellenistic period they are only known from the Uruk description of the daily offering practice in *TU* 38. As we already saw, in this text a list of offerings and ceremonies is presented.²⁷² We suggested that the offerings mentioned here are in fact four general groups of offerings.²⁷³ Among these four groups of offerings, there are two which are named: the offerings of the *kāribu*s and the additional offerings of the king (*tardūt šarri*). We also saw that the food products used for these offerings consisted of cakes, loaves, possibly oil and flour, and finally meat.²⁷⁴

This information supports McEwan’s idea that *tardūt šarri* may be identified with the *niqī šarri* ‘the offerings of the king’ which are mentioned many times together with the *niqī kāribi* ‘the offerings of the *kāribu*’ in documents from the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods.²⁷⁵ The foodstuffs used in these documents, oxen and sheep, are also part of the products attested in *TU* 38 for the offerings of the *kāribu* and the

²⁶⁴ *TU* 38, obv. 1 and 9.

²⁶⁵ *TU* 39, obv. 23, 26, 32, 34, rev. 21; *TU* 40, obv. 8, 13, 21, rev. 2, 5, 8, 12, 17; *KAR* 132, I, 17, 19, 26, III, 19, IV, 4, 12.

²⁶⁶ *TU* 42 +, obv. 27', 31', 33'.

²⁶⁷ *TU* 41, obv. 22, 27–28.

²⁶⁸ *CT* 49, 150 (154 S.E.) is a list of temple expenditures, which informs us that Sosipatros was given 5 shekel for the purchase price of 5 vessels of wine for the libation (*ana ma-aq-qi-tu*) of the gates of Esagila for a certain period (Lo. E, 32). Similar in AB 244 (219 S.E.), rev. 26, and AB 248 (218 S.E.), obv. 11 (G.J.P. McEwan, *Iraq* 43 [1981], 132 ff. and 141 ff.), for the libations of Ešabad. *CT* 49, 160 (219 S.E.), obv. 6 mentions *maqqu*-libation bowls together with *kallu*- and *šassu*-vessels.

²⁶⁹ Or perhaps a layman? Suggested to me by G. van Driel and A.C.V.M. Bongenaar (Leiden), based on an interpretation of L.W. King, *BBS* 36. See now also R. Da Riva, in *Festschrift Walker*, Dresden, 2002, 62–3.

²⁷⁰ Cf. *AHW*, 449a; *CAD*, K, 216.

²⁷¹ *AHW*, 1348a, 2, b. Cognate of the verb *redū* D, ‘hinzufügen, dazugeben’.

²⁷² *TU* 38, obv. 36–38 and rev. 36–39. See II.1.

²⁷³ See III.1.

²⁷⁴ See III.2.2.

²⁷⁵ G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 167, 169, with text references; add: M. Ellis, *JCS* 36 (1984), 41, no. 6, obv. 4 (Kandalanu); F.E. Peiser, *Verträge*, 107, 4 (= J. MacGinnis, *Afo* 38–39 (1991–1992), 88–90, no. 7, 4) (Dar.); M. Jursa, *Das Archiv der Bēl-Rēmāni*, Istanbul, 1999, 144, obv. 7 (Dar.). See also F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 16 (1919), 132 sub n. 13; G. Furlani, *Sacrificio*, 345; B. Landsberger, *Brief*, 54–55 with n. 102.

additional offerings of the king. Moreover, the presentation of *niqī šarri* and *niqī kāribi* as a pair belonging together, is very similar to *kāribu* and *tardūt šarri* in *TU* 38. They represent the participation of a praying (private) person and the king in the Uruk cult activities, which corresponds with our assumption that *TU* 38 is intended to describe the complete daily offering practice in the temples of Uruk. The *tardūt šarri*-offerings are a part of the *sakkē šarrūtu* the ‘ritual regulations of kingship’ mentioned in the colophon of *TU* 38.²⁷⁶

merdītu

The *merdītu*-offering is known from Standard and Late Babylonian texts and is often used with its cognate verb *redū* ‘to make a *merdītu*-offering’. The offering mainly consists of oxen and sheep.²⁷⁷ In the Hellenistic temple ritual texts from Uruk we have a few examples.²⁷⁸

In the Uruk New Year texts of the seventh month *Tašrītu*, on the eighth and ninth day a *merdītu*-offering (written *SÍSKUR mer-de-e-tú*) consisting of ox and sheep is performed (*naqū*), after which the heart of the ox is scattered with flour and the head of the sheep is libated with wine.²⁷⁹ In the Uruk text describing a special festival for *Ištar*, the same procedure is described (only here with the verb *redū*) for the eighth and ninth day of *Tašrītu* during the New Year festival.²⁸⁰

ginū and sattukku

Both *ginū* and *sattukku* are regular offerings i.e. they had to be performed every day, contrary to specific offerings, which had to be performed either on specific days of the month (e.g. *guqqū*, see below), or on a special occasions.²⁸¹ In the Neo-Babylonian period *ginū* and *sattukku* were interchangeable²⁸² and can refer to bread, dates, wine, beer, sheep, fish, oil, sesame, barley, pomegranates and juniper. For the Hellenistic period both are attested in temple ritual texts, building inscriptions, chronicles, and administrative and private documents, although the texts seem to favour *ginū*.

In the Uruk description of the daily offering practice *ginū* is (as expected in this text) dominantly present. As commodities, barley and emmer²⁸³ and furthermore oxen and sheep are referred to.²⁸⁴ The *ginū* used during the Uruk New Year festival of *Tašrītu* consisted of roasted meat, beef and mutton.²⁸⁵ In the Uruk kettledrum ritual barley,

²⁷⁶ Rev. 44. See I.3.

²⁷⁷ See the dictionaries *AHw*, 645a, 2 and *CAD*, M/II, 20f. for examples. There is a different translation of *merdītu redū* in St. M. Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, 56. *Merdītu* is also attested in the Late Babylonian explanatory text AO 17662 (J. Nougayrol, *RA* 41 [1947], 33), obv. 1, 4, 8, 12, rev. 18, a text very similar to those belonging to the so-called Nippur Compendium (A.R. George, *BTT*, 145 ff.).

²⁷⁸ Cf. G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 168.

²⁷⁹ *TU* 39, obv. 30–31; *TU* 40, obv. 21.

²⁸⁰ *TU* 42 +, obv. 29’.

²⁸¹ F. Joannès, *Textes économiques*, 57, 213.

²⁸² A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, 143.

²⁸³ *TU* 38, obv. 22.

²⁸⁴ *TU* 38, rev. 1; 5; 6; 8; 13; 15; 18; 20; 21; 23; 25; 35.

²⁸⁵ *TU* 39, obv. 8.

III.7. Offerings and libations

emmer, salt and juniper are mentioned, perhaps for the *ginû*, but the context is unclear.²⁸⁶ In the New Year festival of Nisannu in Babylon no commodities are mentioned for the *ginû*²⁸⁷ and the *sattukku*,²⁸⁸ but again the context is unclear.

The building inscription *YOS* I, 52, from the year 244 B.C. (68 S.E.) is an inscription of Anu-uballiṣ, son of Anu-ikṣur, of the family Aḫûtu, who was given the Greek name Nikarchos. He was governor (*šaknu*) of Uruk during the reign of Seleucus II. The text describes an extensive building undertaking in the Rēš-temple, the temple of Anu and Antu in Uruk.²⁸⁹ The end of the inscription records that the governor made Anu and Antu enter the Rēš-temple and take their seats in the cella Enamenna, where he established *ginû*- and *sattukku*-offerings as before (*gi-nu-ú sat-tuk-ku ki-ma maḥ-ri-im-ma ú-kin^m-ni qé-reb-šú*) (18–19). No commodities are mentioned.

In the last passage of a Hellenistic chronicle regular offerings (*ginû*) are made in Ekišnugal, the temple of Sîn in Babylon.²⁹⁰ An astronomical diary mentions a general (*rab uqu*) who gave a bull and sheep for the regular offering (*ginû*) of Bēl to the butchers of Esagila, after which they were offered to Bēl.²⁹¹

In private documents from Uruk *ginû* is attested only rarely.²⁹² The administrative documents belonging to the Raḫimesu archive (94–93 B.C.) from Babylon refer to regular offering sheep, and cereals or meat for the regular offerings.²⁹³

guqqû

The *guqqû*-offering is attested in texts from the Neo-Babylonian, the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods. It is unknown in Assyria. It was performed on a regular basis on certain days of certain months.²⁹⁴ When no specific days are mentioned (*guqqû šaⁱⁱⁱ MN*), probably the total sum of all the *guqqû*-offerings of that month (*guqqānē*) are intended.²⁹⁵ In the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods the *guqqû*-offerings consisted mainly of meat (sheep), dates, wine and beer.

²⁸⁶ *TU* 44, IV, 18.

²⁸⁷ *Racc.*, 142, 388.

²⁸⁸ BM 32654+, containing a line additional to *Racc.*, 149, 72 (72a in my line numbering), see my comments on l. 69–79 in the Appendix.

²⁸⁹ A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 4–5. See L.T. Doty, in: *Studies A. Sachs*, Philadelphia, 1988, 95–6.

²⁹⁰ Antiochus I(?), A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, 26 f. and 119 ff., obv. 6.

²⁹¹ A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -273, B, obv. 12.

²⁹² E.g. *VS* 15, 19 (109 S.E.), obv. 3, in connection with *akītu*-temples: [... É(?)] *a-ki-tu₄.MEŠ a-na gi-nu-ú* (see II.4.5.1); see also *BRM* 2, 47 (157 S.E.), obv. 15, where regular offering sheep (*UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ gi-né-e*) are mentioned.

²⁹³ *BRM* 1, 99 (218 S.E.), obv. 11, rev. 31, 33: regular offering sheep (*UDU.NÍTA gi-né-e*) of the *akītu*-temple, of Esabad, the Gula temple, rev. 28: cereals for the regular offerings (*NINDA^{b4} gi-nu-ú*) of the Gula temple; AB 244 (219 S.E., G.J.P. McEwan, *Iraq* 43 [1981], 132 ff.), obv. 7: regular offering sheep of the *akītu*-temple, rev. 30: 2 cuts of meat for regular offerings (2 *UZU(?) gi-[nu]-ú*); *CT* 49, 156 (218 S.E.), obv. 12: offering sheep for the regular offerings (*uduSÍSKUR gi-nu-ú*), presented to the governor of Babylon; *CT* 49, 150 (218 S.E.), obv. 25: cereals for the regular offerings of the temple of Gula, rev. 41: regular offering sheep(?); 59: 5 cuts of meat for the regular offerings; rev. 43: here the expenditure consists of an advance payment of the *sattukku*-offering for a certain period.

²⁹⁴ F. Joannès, *Textes économiques*, 214; A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, 145.

²⁹⁵ *AUWE* 5, 61–2.

III. The divine meal

In the Hellenistic temple ritual texts the *guqqû*-offerings are mentioned only rarely.²⁹⁶ They are referred to together with clothing ceremonies and *siltu*-food, which had to be performed on the seventh day of Tašrītu during the New Year festival in Uruk.²⁹⁷ Furthermore, the *guqqû*-offerings are one of the four groups of offerings listed in *TU* 38.²⁹⁸ Here they precede the *eššēšu*-ceremonies with which they are connected. This connection is confirmed by the Uruk prebend texts where usually the *guqqû*-offerings are mentioned as a pair with the *eššēšu*-ceremonies. As we already suggested, the commodities used for the *guqqû*-offerings and *eššēšu*-ceremonies (loaves, cakes, oxen and sheep) served, together with the commodities of the monthly and yearly unspecified ceremonies,²⁹⁹ to provide an income for the various prebends of the Hellenistic Uruk temples.³⁰⁰

nindabû

Nindabû ‘cereal offering, food offering’ is a Sumerian loanword (NIDBA),³⁰¹ and is attested from the Old Akkadian period on.³⁰² We find the offering usually in cultic context. It is a food offering, originally consisting of bread or cereal. However, McEwan already pointed out³⁰³ that *nindabû* could also contain meat, as becomes clear from Hellenistic chronicle texts.³⁰⁴ *Nindabû* is, together with *niqû*, the most frequently mentioned offering in the astronomical diaries from Babylon.³⁰⁵ In these passages *nindabû* is used as a general term for food offering, usually consisting of bull and sheep (see my comments on the use of *niqû* above). From the Hellenistic temple ritual texts we have no examples of *nindabû*,³⁰⁶ with exception of a reference in the eclipse of the moon ritual (*BRM* 4, 6, obv. 12'–13'). However, it is found in a literary passage, in an Akkadian quotation of a Sumerian lamentation, which had to be sung in front of Sîn at the time of an eclipse (see obv. 14). Because in this literary context *nindabû* is clearly distinguished from *niqû* as a different type of offering, in this passage the opposition of cereal offerings and meat offerings seems justifiable.

²⁹⁶ G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 166–7.

²⁹⁷ *TU* 39, obv. 13.

²⁹⁸ Obv. 36, rev. 36.

²⁹⁹ See II.3.1 and II.4.1.

³⁰⁰ See II.3.2.

³⁰¹ For the etymology of the word see W.G. Lambert, in: *OLA* 55 (1993), 196, n. 3.

³⁰² Cf. *CAD*, N/II, 236; *AHW*, 790b.

³⁰³ *FAOS* 4, 168.

³⁰⁴ In chronicle 11 (A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, 26 f. and 119 ff.) crown prince Antiochus I (?) presented a sheep as *nindabû* in Ekišnugal, the temple of Sîn in Babylon (obv. 8); in chronicle 13b (*Chronicles*, 283, 5 ff.) the administrator (*šatammu*) of Esagila established among other animals, oxen, ewes and ducks for the offering within Esagila for Bēl and Bēltija and the great gods and for the ritual(?) of Seleucus, the king, and his sons. See also II.8.7.

³⁰⁵ A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -209, D, obv. 16'; no. -204, C, rev. 16(?); no. -179, E, rev. 14'; no. -178, C, rev. 20'; no. -158, B, rev. 20'; 21'; no. -137, D, rev., 27; no. -136, C, rev. 13'; no. -133, B and C, obv. 25'; no. -132, B, obv. 27; rev. 27, 28; no. -126, B, rev. 5'; no. -124, rev. 20'; no. -123, B, 15'; no. -111, B, rev. 10'; no. -107, C, rev. 17'; no. -105, obv. A14', B13'; no. -87, A, rev. 15'; no. -82, B, rev. 2'; no. -78, 13'; no. -77, A, obv. 27', 30', rev. 31, B, rev. 15'.

³⁰⁶ See also II.7.

muhḥuru

Muhḥuru, but also *maḥḥuru*, *miḥḥuru*, *miḥru* and *muḥru* all render the meaning ‘offering’.³⁰⁷ We know that in the Neo-Babylonian period *maḥḥuru*-offerings consisted of sheep and barley.³⁰⁸ In Hellenistic temple ritual texts *muhḥuru* is attested in the Uruk building ritual, where it is said that ‘during the demolishing and renovating *muhḥuru*-offerings (*mu-uh-ḥu-ru*) and *taqribtu*-lamentations (ÉR.MEŠ) will be performe[d]’.³⁰⁹ Further on in the text it is stated: ‘until (the completion of) that temple comes to an end, you will not stop performing the *muhḥuru*-offerings (*mu-uh-ru*) (and) *taqribtu*-lamentations’.³¹⁰ Perhaps we also have an example of the *miḥru* (*meḥru*)-offering in the Hellenistic *mīs pī*-ritual text from Uruk.³¹¹ In an astronomical diary a *maḥḥuru*-offering is mentioned on two occasions, together with rituals (*nēpešu*) of the gods and a chief singer of dirges (*galamāhu*), who recites *eršahungû*-tablets, but the context is not entirely clear, and no information on the contents of the offerings is given.³¹²

III.7.3. *Burnt offering*

Burning activities are frequently mentioned in the Hellenistic temple ritual texts. The night vigil description (*TU* 41), the building ritual (*TU* 45 and parallels), the *mīs pī*-ritual (*Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 and parallels) and the eclipse of the moon ritual (*BRM* 4, 6), all from Uruk, refer on many occasions to a brushwood pile (*abru*), sometimes using a torch (*gizillû*). For ‘setting fire’, the verbs *qādu*,³¹³ *napāḥu*,³¹⁴ *nummuru* (D-stem of *namāru*),³¹⁵ and *šusbutu* (Š-stem of *šabātu*)³¹⁶ are used. Also fumigation is, as we have seen, a well-known practice.³¹⁷ However, unlike in Ancient Israel³¹⁸ or Assyria,³¹⁹

³⁰⁷ See the dictionaries *CAD* and *AHW*.

³⁰⁸ E.g. *Cyr* 136, 4: sheep for the *maḥḥuru*-offering (*a-na maḥ-ḥu-ru*) of Anunītu were given. *Dar* 285, 10: barley for the *maḥḥuru*-offering of Anunītu are given. See also the Neo-Babylonian ritual text T.G. Pinches, *Berens Coll.*, no. 110, obv. 5: *maḥ-ḥu-ru tu-maḥ-ḥa-ru* ‘you will present a *maḥḥuru*-offering’.

³⁰⁹ *TU* 46, obv. 27 // *SpTU* 4, no. 141, rev. 18.

³¹⁰ Rev. 11–12. From the context it is clear that *mu-uh-ru* is not the *muḥru*-prayer (*CAD*, M/II, 177a), which is supported by similar passages e.g. in the *mīs pī*-ritual text K 224 (= E. Ebeling, *TuL*, 27), obv. 20: *mu-uh-ḥu-ru taqribtu ... ul i-kal-la*.

³¹¹ *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 20: *mi-ih-ri* in UGU SAG.DU UR.‘MAḤ’ BAL-*qī* ‘You will pour out a *miḥru*-offering(?) on the head of the lion(?)’. If Mayer is correct in assuming that flour is poured out here (*OrNS* 47 [1978], 452), then my reading *mi-ih-ri* is not impossible, since flour is used with *miḥru* in Neo-Babylonian texts (thus *CAD*, M/II, 59b sub 5). Furthermore, Mayer’s suggestion ‘head of the lion’ is supported by an example from the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, where a *muhḥuru*-offering is made over lions killed in a hunt (*CAD*, M/II, 176a sub 1, a).

³¹² A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -229, B, obv. 7’; rev. 14’. For the interpretation of the historical passage in this diary, see R.J. van der Spek, *Religieuze en economische politiek in het Seleucidische Rijk*, 26.

³¹³ *TU* 41, obv. 30, rev. 15.

³¹⁴ *TU* 41, rev. 7 (N-stem), 16, 22, 25, 27; *TU* 45, rev. 7, 10, 22; *TU* 46, rev. 4; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 7, 11. Compare also the Neo-Babylonian temple ritual VAT 14521, obv. 5.

³¹⁵ *TU* 45, obv. 4 with parallels *TU* 46, obv. 5 and *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 5.

³¹⁶ *TU* 41, rev. 13; *BRM* 4, 6, obv. 16, rev. 39. See also *šarāpu* ‘to burn’ (W 18828, rev. 2).

³¹⁷ See III.5.

³¹⁸ Well-known are *אֶשֶׁה* ‘offerings made by fire’, and *כָּלִיל* ‘whole-offering’, an offering of which the offerer does not eat, early replaced by *עֹלָה* ‘whole burnt-offering’, i.e. an offering which is burnt wholly. On the altar the animal would either be totally burnt as an offering to the god, or some of its flesh would be eaten and the rest burnt. By burning the food it could be consumed by the god through its scent.

³¹⁹ E.g. *BBR* 2, no. 60, rev. 30: turtledoves are used as a burnt offering (*maqlūtu*), after which the heart of

III. The divine meal

burnt offerings (*maqlūtu*) are rare.³²⁰ We have one example from the Uruk kettledrum ritual, where it is accompanied by burning aromatics: after cedar balsam(?) is kindled (*napāḫu*), the heart of the slaughtered bull is burnt (*qalū*) in front of the kettledrum with cedar, juniper and *maṣḫatu*-flour.³²¹

a sheep is burnt. More often the burning of animals or meat on a brazier: VAT 16435 = F. Köcher, *ZA* 50 (1952), 192–202 (Middle Assyrian temple ritual), obv. 13–15; Bu 91–5–9, 104 = H. Zimmern, *Neujahrsfest* I, 131, n. 1 (Neo-Assyrian), 7'; K 3455 + = B. Menzel, *Tempel*, no. 43, rev. IV, 1–2.

³²⁰ Perhaps because of West Semitic influence, and so not typically Babylonian, according to W.G. Lambert, in: *OLA* 55 (1993), 194.

³²¹ *TU* 44, II, 16–17, see my comments on *KAR* 60 obv. 15–16, in the Appendix. *maqlūtu* is perhaps attested in a passage from the lunar eclipse myth: *CLBT*, pl. 1 reads in Col. B, 26, in difficult context: *ma-qa-lu-[tú(?)]*. Note that burnt offerings are also attested in Neo-Assyrian letters dealing with the substitute king (*šar pūḫi*) ritual, which as we saw were also probably performed to avert evil portended by an eclipse on the king (see II.7), e.g. S. Parpola, *LAS* I, 167.

IV. CONCLUSION

We set out in this study to examine whether the temple ritual texts, which were copied during the Hellenistic period from older original compositions, are a reliable source of information on the cult practices of Hellenistic Uruk and Babylon. Having surveyed the textual evidence discussed in the previous chapters we can now conclude that there is enough evidence to suggest that the temple ritual texts do indeed describe the cultic activities as they took place during the Hellenistic period.

The extensive descriptions of festivals, rituals and offerings in the temple ritual texts show how important the public cults were in Hellenistic times, at least until the first century B.C. Daily ceremonies such as the ‘awakening of the temple’-ceremony (*dīk bīti*) and the ‘opening of the gate’-ceremony (*pīt bābi*) are well attested in ritual texts and cultic calendars. Many monthly ceremonies are also known, such as a ceremony called *eššēšu*, the monthly clothing ceremony (*lubuštu*), a nocturnal ceremony (*bajjātu*), an evening ceremony (*nubattu*), and a ceremony called ‘the good-functioning of the temple’-ceremony (*šalām bīti*). The same is true for many of the annually celebrated ceremonies, such as the clothing ceremonies, the processions, the divine marriage ceremonies (*hašādu*), and the brazier festivals (*kinūnu*). Also, for the New Year festivals (*akītu*) of Uruk and Babylon there is substantial evidence to be gleaned from Hellenistic temple ritual texts. Many of the important temple rituals, such as the kettledrum ritual, the building ritual, the Uruk lunar eclipse ritual, festivals for Ištar of Uruk and Ištar of Babylon, and a nocturnal festival in the Rēš-temple in Uruk are extensively described; other less well-known temple rituals are also attested. They clearly show how active the Babylonians were on matters of religion and cult during the Hellenistic period. The large corpus of cult songs (particularly from Babylon) underlines this.

Admittedly, these literary texts are copies of older compositions, but the information of other, contemporary sources (chronicles, astronomical diaries, legal and administrative texts, building inscriptions) shows that the cults were still very important in the Hellenistic period. Moreover, some of the rituals (the kettledrum ritual, the building ritual) are referred to in the astronomical diaries. Although because of their damaged state the astronomical diaries are often very enigmatic, as far as the political and religious events described are concerned, they are nonetheless important evidence for the fact that Babylonian religion and cult were not yet dead; the numerous references to temples, gods and religious and cultic activities are firm evidence for the existence of the traditional Babylonian cults in the Hellenistic period. References to the New Year festival occur in all contemporary sources. The same is true for many offerings and libations, presented during the divine meal (*naptanu*).

The practice of using the names of deities in personal names is another important indication of the importance of Babylonian religion and cults in the Hellenistic period. The contemporary sources also refer on many occasions to different temples, not only the Rēš-temple in Uruk and the Esagila-temple in Babylon, but also to many other temples (e.g. Esabad, the temple of Gula in Babylon, Eturkalamma, the temple of Ištar

IV. Conclusion

of Babylon, and the temples of Zababa and Ninlil, of Nabû ša ḫarê, of Madānu, and the *akītu*-temples). We also found that building inscriptions refer to the restorations of temples.

Finally, administrative documents show how important the temples were as economic institutions; the prebendary system in Uruk cannot be explained if the cults were not functioning; it shows that the temple was not only an important religious center, but also an important economic institution.

The Babylonian cults practised in the temples of Uruk and Babylon in the Hellenistic period are, as far as we can see in the sources, not different from those in the pre-Hellenistic times. All the evidence clearly shows that the Babylonians held on to their old Babylonian traditions. The pantheon referred to in both religious and secular texts is entirely Babylonian. The terminology used for the cultic activities or the cult participants is not different from pre-Hellenistic times. Even the Macedonian rulership took part in the Babylonian cults; they did not attempt to change the cults but themselves adapted to Babylonian customs.

We found only one possible exception to this rule. In particular the astronomical diaries from Babylon contain some references to what may be a local ruler cult for the king and his family, a custom well-known to the Seleucid monarchies. In Babylon such a local ruler cult may have been in practice from the time of Seleucus III on. Also for Uruk we cannot exclude the possibility that certain texts contain references to a ruler cult practice, in which Seleucid kings were honored as superhumans; legal documents concerning prebend shares, dated to the second century B.C., which refer to offerings brought up 'to (the table of) the statues of the kings', may refer to this cult. Although the evidence remains scarce and dubious, this interpretation of the discussed text passages is possible. Hopefully new texts will help us to solve this difficult issue once and for all.

APPENDIX

THE TEMPLE RITUAL TEXTS¹

| | |
|--|-----|
| a. A description of the daily offerings in the temples of Uruk | |
| <i>TU</i> 38 (Uruk, Hellenistic period) | 172 |
| b. The New Year ritual | |
| <i>TU</i> 39–40 (Uruk, Hellenistic period) | 184 |
| <i>TU</i> 43 (Uruk, Hellenistic period) | 197 |
| <i>KAR</i> 132 (Uruk, Hellenistic period) | 201 |
| <i>BRM</i> 4, 7 (Uruk, Hellenistic period) | 209 |
| <i>RAcc.</i> , 127–54 + BM 32485 (Babylon, Hellenistic period) | 215 |
| c. A festival for Ištar | |
| <i>TU</i> 42 + AO 8648 + AO 8649 (Uruk, Hellenistic period) | 238 |
| d. A nocturnal festival in the Rēš-temple | |
| <i>TU</i> 41 (Uruk, Hellenistic period) | 245 |
| e. The kettledrum ritual | |
| <i>TU</i> 44 (Uruk, Hellenistic period) | 252 |
| <i>KAR</i> 60 (Aššur, Neo-Assyrian period) | 263 |
| <i>KAR</i> 50 (Aššur, Neo-Assyrian period) | 267 |
| <i>Bagh. Mitt. Beih.</i> 2, no. 5 (Uruk, Hellenistic period) | 270 |
| Pinches, <i>IV R²</i> , 23, no. 1 + K 9421 (Nineveh, Neo-Assyrian period) | 275 |
| f. The building ritual | |
| <i>TU</i> 45 (Uruk, Hellenistic period) | 283 |
| <i>TU</i> 46 (Uruk, Hellenistic period) | 293 |
| <i>Bagh. Mitt. Beih.</i> 2, no. 10 (Uruk, Hellenistic period) | 299 |
| F.H. Weissbach, <i>Misc.</i> , no. 12 (Babylon, Late Babylonian period) | 301 |
| g. The eclipse of the moon ritual | |
| <i>BRM</i> 4, 6 and BM 134701 (Uruk, Late Babylonian period) | 306 |
| <i>CLBT</i> , pl. 1 (Uruk?, Late Babylonian period) | 317 |

¹ This appendix consists of a selection of temple ritual texts, of which only older or incomplete editions are available. The texts which are kept in the British Museum were collated by the present author. For a complete survey of all relevant temple ritual texts see I.2.

a. A description of the daily offerings in the temples of Uruk

TU 38 (AO 6451)²

This text describes the ritual instructions for the daily offerings in the temple of Anu (Rēš) and the other temples in Hellenistic Uruk. On the basis of prosopographic evidence we can date the text to the first half of the second century B.C.: the text is written by Šamaš-ēṭir, son of Ina-qibīt-Anu, son of Šibqat-Anu, who belongs to the family Ekur-zakir. He is also the scribe of the ritual text *TU* 39–40 (see *TU* 39, rev. 28–29). Furthermore he is known as the owner of several astronomical texts, two of which are dated 118 S.E. (194/3 B.C.)³ Šamaš-ēṭir is also attested as the scribe of *VS* 15, 32 // HSM 913.2.181 (R. Wallenfels, *Seleucid Archival Texts*, no. VI), dated 119 S.E. (193/2 B.C.), and probably also of the much later *BRM* 2, 54 // *BiMes* 24, 28, dated 150 S.E. (162/1 B.C.) He is also mentioned as the father of the scribe Ina-qibīt-Anu in *BRM* 2, 49 and 50, both dated in the year 166 S.E. (146/5 B.C.), and probably also in *BiMes* 24, 12, dated 162 S.E. (150/49 B.C.) This indicates that Šamaš-ēṭir was probably at the end of his career around 155 S.E. (157/6 B.C.)

According to the colophon the high priest Kidin-Anu of the family Ekur-zakir made a copy of the original tablets, which Nabopolassar had carried off from Uruk to Elam, and brought them back to Uruk during the co-regency of either Seleucus I and Antiochus, which would have been during the period of 20–31 S.E. (292/1–281/0 B.C.), or during the co-regency of Antiochus I and his son Seleucus, 32–45 S.E. (280/79–267/6 B.C.). This Kidin-Anu is also known as the father of Anu-aḥa-ušabši, the owner of the tablet *BRM* 4, 7.⁴

The text is discussed in III.2.

Obv.

- 1 *u₄-mi-šam kal MU.AN.NA ina nap-tan GAL-ú šá še-e-ri e-lat šap-pi.MEŠ šá ma-aq-qa-né-e*
 - 2 *18 šap-pi.MEŠ GUŠKIN ina ^{giš}BANŠUR ^dLX ta-rak-kás ina lib-bi 7 šap-pi ana XV*
 - 3 *3 KAŠ ŠE.BAR 4 KAŠ lab-ku 7 šap-pi a-na 2,30 3 KAŠ ŠE.BAR 1-en KAŠ lab-ku*
 - 4 *1-en KAŠ na-a-šú 1-en KAŠ zar-ba-ba ù GA ina šap-pi ^{na4}GIŠ.NU₁₁.GAL*
 - 5 *4 {PA} šap-pi.MEŠ GUŠKIN šá GEŠTIN ŠUR.RA a-na ma-ḥar ^dA-nù ta-rak-kás*
 - 6 *šá tar-den-nu šá še-e-ri ù GAL-ú ù tar-den-nu šá li-lat KI.MIN-ma*
 - 7 *ina GAL-ú ù tar-den-nu šá li-lat GA ul i-qar-rub ina šap-pi.'MEŠ GUŠKIN'*
 - 8 *šá ^{giš}BANŠUR 5 šap-pi.MEŠ GUŠKIN šá za-ri-i-ni ^{na4}[UD].SAL.[KA]B*
-
- 9 *5 šap-pi.MEŠ GUŠKIN šá 1 ŠÌLA.TA.ÀM i-šab-bat ma-aq-qa-né-e šá É pa-pa-ḥa [^dLX]*

² Cf. *RAcc.*, 62–65, 74–86; E. Ebeling, in: H. Gressmann, *ATAT*², 305 ff.; A.J. Sachs, in: J.B. Pritchard, *ANET*², 343 ff.; W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 227 ff. See also R. Borger, *HKL* 1, 567 and 2, 297.

³ O. Neugebauer, *ACT*, p. 17, F, l. 2; L, l. 23, which is dated 118 S.E. (194/3 B.C.); H, l. 2; O. Neugebauer, *ACT*, p. 18, M, l. 2, dated 118 S.E.; N, l. 9; O, rev. 6; the colophons of these texts (except O. Neugebauer, *ACT*, p. 18, N) were collected by H. Hunger, *AOAT* 2, nos. 94, 103, 105, 118.

⁴ See my introduction to *BRM* 4, 7, below. On Kidin-Anu see also R. Wallenfels, *Uruk. Hellenistic Seal Impressions in the Yale Babylonian Collection. I. Cuneiform Tablets*, Mainz am Rhein, 1994 (AUWE 19), 29, and 146, and id., *Seleucid Archival Texts in the Harvard Semitic Museum*, Groningen, 1998, 30.

a. A description of the daily offerings in the temples of Uruk

- 10 *ina lib-bi 1-en KAŠ ŠE.BAR 1-en KAŠ lab-ku 1-en KAŠ na-a-šu 1-en GEŠTIN ŠUR.RA*
[ù 1-en GA]
- 11 *šap-pi šá 5 NINDA^h i-šab-bat šá GEŠTIN^{kur} A-za-al-lu 4 TI.L[IM.DÙ GUŠKIN]*
12 *šá É pa-pa-ḥa^d LX ina lib-bi 1-et TI.LIM.DÙ GUŠKIN šá ši-iq-du [še-en-de-et(?)]*
13 *1-et TI.LIM.DÙ GUŠKIN šá a-a-ri še-en-de-et*
14 *1-et TI.LIM.DÙ GUŠKIN šá DUR ti-ik-ka-šu NIGIN-ú 1-et TI.LIM.[DÙ GUŠKIN ...]*
15 *PAP 4-ta TI.LIM.DÙ GUŠKIN ina muḥ-ḥi kan-du-ri-né-e [...]*
16 *šá^d A-nù ù An-tu₄ [...]*
-
- 17 *14 šap-pi.MEŠ GUŠKIN ina^{gis} BANŠUR An-tu₄ tar-kás KAŠ SAG.MEŠ GI[M šá*
gis BANŠUR^d LX]
- 18 *12 šap-pi.MEŠ GUŠKIN IGI^d INNIN 10 šap-pi.MEŠ GUŠKIN IGI [^dNa-na-a]*
19 *e-lat šap-pi.MEŠ GUŠKIN šá kal MU.AN.NA šá DINGIR.MEŠ a-šá-bu-tu šá [UNUG^{ki}]*
-
- 20 *ù e-lat šap-pi.MEŠ GUŠKIN šá a-na ši-di-ti DINGIR.MEŠ ù 2-ta TI.LIM.DÙ [...]'^rú'-kan-*
nu(?)
-
- 21 *u₄-mi-šam kal MU.AN.NA 1-en BUR 3 GUR 3 NIGIDA ŠE.BAR 'ú' [ZÍZ.ÀM]*
22 *1, 48^{gis} BÁN.MEŠ 1 ME 8^{gis} BÁN SAG.DU gi-né-e ina^{gis} BÁN šá 10 MA.NA [...]'-šú(?)*
23 *šá^{lú} HAR.MEŠ ina É^{lú} MUḤALDIM.MEŠ a-na 1-en u₄-mu a-na 4 nap-tan šá^d LX*
'An¹-tu₄
- 24 *^dINNIN^d Na-na-a ù DINGIR.MEŠ a-šá-bu-tu šá UNUG^{ki} a-na^{lú} MUḤALDIM.MEŠ*
i-na[m-d]i-in
- 25 *ina lib-bi 81^{gis} BÁN.MEŠ ZÌ ŠE.BAR 27^{gis} BÁN.MEŠ ZÌ ZÍZ.ÀM*
26 *šá a-na 2 ME 43 šib-tu₄^{lú} MUḤALDIM ip-pu-ú šá TA 'lib-bi' a-na 4 nap-tan*
27 *a-na^{gis} BANŠUR a-na IGI^d A-nù 30 šib-tu₄^{lú} MUḤALDIM i-nam-din*
28 *ina GAL-ú ù tar-den-nu šá KIN.NIM 8.TA.ÀM šib-tu₄^{lú} MUḤALDIM i-nam-din*
29 *ina GAL-ú ù tar-den-nu šá KIN.SIG 7.TA.ÀM šib-tu₄^{lú} MUḤALDIM i-nam-din*
30 *30 šib-tu₄ IGI An-tu₄ 30 šib-tu₄ IGI^d INNIN 30 šib-tu₄ IGI^d Na-na-a 12 šib-tu₄ IGI*
31 *šu-bat^d LX u DINGIR É šá É pa-pa-ḥa An-tu₄ 4 šib-tu₄ IGI 2 AGA šá^d A-nù*
32 *16 šib-tu₄ IGI ziq-qur-rat ù DINGIR É šá ziq-qur-rat 16 šib-tu₄ IGI a-ḥa-nu šá pa-pa-ḥa*
^dLX
- 33 *ù An-tu₄ PAP 1 ME 68 šib-tu₄ šá a-na 4 nap-tan^{lú} MUḤALDIM SUM-in*
34 *e-lat 75 šib-tu₄ šá a-na DINGIR.MEŠ a-šá-bu-tu šá UNUG^{ki} ina É.MEŠ-šú-nu*
35 *ina 4 nap-tan i-qar-rub e-lat ši-ba-at rab-bu-ú ù a-kal ma-ak-kàs*
36 *šá a-na ši-di-i-tu₄ DINGIR.MEŠ gu-uq-qa-né-e UD ÉŠ.ÉŠ.MEŠ BAD-te KÁ.MEŠ*
lu-bu-ša-at
- 37 *^{du}gA.GÚB.BA.MEŠ ba-a-a-at.MEŠ KI.NE.MEŠ GARZA.GARZA ḥa-šá-du ka-ri-bi.MEŠ*
38 *ù tar-di-i-tu₄ LUGAL sa-mu-tu šá ina^{gis} se-li.MEŠ šá mun-ta-qu*
39 *tak-ka-su-ú šá ina^{gis} se-li.MEŠ šá ma-ka-at ku-up-pu-šu es-pi*
40 *ù 1 IGI 2 ME ku-si-ip-e-ti Ì.GIŠ šá ina šu-pal ma-ak-kàs ù as-né-e*
41 *iš-šak-kan ù Ì.GIŠ ḥal-ša a-na muḥ-ḥi ka-lak šá^d LX An-tu₄ u DINGIR.MEŠ šu-ut UNUG^{ki}*
42 *i-qar-rub ù ZÌ.MAD.GÁ šá ina ma-sap-pi ka-re-e*
43 *šá u₄-mi-šam kal MU.AN.NA^{lú} HAR a-na^{lú} KU₄-É SUM-in*
44 *^{lú} HAR ina muḥ-ḥi ṭe₄-e-nu^{na₄} HAR^{mul} APIN ina EDEN^{gis} APIN ŠE.NUMUN iṣ-mi-du*
45 *naq-bit i-qab-bi ù^{lú} MUḤALDIM ina muḥ-ḥi ba'-la-la šá gi-ir-ši*
46 *ù ṭa-ḥu-ú šá em-mé-e-ti^d NISABA HÉ.EN.GÁL du-uš-šu-ú*
47 *ma-ka-lu-ú el-lu naq-bi-tu₄ i-qab-bu-ú*
-
- 48 *u₄-mi-šam kal MU.AN.NA ina 4 nap-tan 1, 48^{gis} BÁN.MEŠ 1 ME 8^{gis} BÁN ma-ak-kàs*

Appendix

49 *as-né-e* ^{giš}PÈŠ ù *mun-ziq e-lat ħi-iš-ša-ša-at(?)* ù *tab-ni-ti šá a-na* ^dLX

50 *An-tu₄* ^dINNIN ^dNa-na-a ù DINGIR.^rMEŠ *a¹-šá-bu-tu šá UNUG^{ki} i-qar-rub*

Rev.

1 GU₄.MEŠ ù UDU.NÍTA *gi-né-e šá u₄-mi-šam kal MU.AN.NA a-na* ^dLX *An-tu₄* ^dINNIN ^dNa-na-a

2 ù DINGIR.MEŠ *a-šá-bu-tu šá É re-eš É ÈŠ.GAL ù É.ŠÁR.RA BÁRA.MAḪ ziq-qur-rat* ^dLX

3 *šá TA UD.1.KAM šá* ^{iti}BÁR *a-di UD.30.KAM šá* ^{iti}ŠE *ina nap-tan GAL-ú šá še-e-ri i-qar-rub*

4 *a-na nap-tan GAL-ú šá še-e-ri šá kal MU.AN.NA 7 UDU.NÍTA reš-tu-ú-tú ma-ru-tu₄* DADAG.GA

5 *šá 2-ta MU.AN.NA.MEŠ ŠE.BAR GU₇.MEŠ 1-en UDU ka-lu-ú gi-né-e kab-ri šá GA*

6 PAP 8 UDU.NÍTA *gi-né-e 1-en GU₄ GAL-ú 1-en* ^{gu₄}AMAR GA ù 10 UDU.NÍTA *kab-ru-tu*

7 *šá EGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu šá ŠE.BAR la GU₇.MEŠ PAP ina nap-tan GAL-ú šá še-ri šá kal MU.AN.NA 18 UDU.NÍTA*

8 *ina lib-bi ina 1-en UDU ka-lu-ú gi-né-e šá GA 1-en GU₄ GAL-ú 1-en* ^{gu₄}AMAR GA *ina muḫ-ḫi*

9 *na-ka-sa šá GU₄ ù UDU.NÍTA* ^{lu}GÍR.LÁ *naq-[b]i-tu₄ i-qab-bi*

10 DUMU ^dUTU *be-lu bu-lim ina EDEN ú-šab-šá-a ri-’i-ti*

11 *šá-niš a-na muḫ-ḫi na-ka-sa šá GU₄ ù UDU.NÍTA* ^{lu}GÍR.LÁ G[AL]-^rú¹ *a-na* ^dLX *An-tu₄* MUL.GAL

12 ù ^dDil-bad *ba-la-tu i-qab(-bi)-ma a-na DINGIR.MEŠ šá-n[im-m]a ul i-qab-bi*

13 *nap-tan-nu tar-den-nu šá še-e-ri gi-nu-ú šá* ^dLX *An-tu₄* ù DINGIR.MEŠ É.MEŠ-šú-nu

14 *šá É re-eš É ÈŠ.GAL ù BÁRA.MAḪ šá kal MU.AN.NA 6 UDU.NÍTA ma-ru-tú* DADAG.GA *šá 2-ta MU.AN.NA.MEŠ ŠE.BAR GU₇.MEŠ*

15 *1-en UDU.NÍTA gi-né-e kab-ri šá GA ù 5 UDU.NÍTA kab-ru-tú šá EGIR-šú-nu šá ŠE.BAR la GU₇.MEŠ 1-en GU₄ GAL-ú 8* ^{udu}SILA₄ 5 UZ.TUR^{mušen} *šá NÍG.SILAG.GÁ GU₇*

16 2 UZ.TUR^{mušen} *šá EGIR-šú-nu 3 KUR.GI^{mušen} šá ZÌ NÍG.SILAG.GÁ GU₇ 4 PÈŠ.GIŠ.GI*

17 30 ŠEŠ^{mušen} 20 TU.KUR₄^{mušen} 3 NUNUZ GA.NU₁₁^{mušen} 3 NUNUZ UZ.TUR^{mušen}

18 *nap-tan GAL-ú šá KIN.SIG gi-nu-ú šá* ^dLX *An-tu₄* ù DINGIR.MEŠ É.MEŠ-šú-nu *šá kal MU.AN.NA*

19 4 UDU.NÍTA *ma-ru-tú DADAG.GA šá 2-ta MU.AN.NA ŠE.BAR GU₇.MEŠ 1-en UDU ka-lu-ú*

20 *gi-né-e kab-ri šá GA 5 UDU.NÍTA šá-nu-ú-tú šá EGIR-šú-nu šá ŠE.BAR la GU₇.MEŠ ù 10 TU.KUR₄^{mušen}*

21 *nap-tan tar-den-nu šá KIN.SIG gi-nu-ú šá* ^dLX *An-tu₄* ù DINGIR.MEŠ É.MEŠ-šú-nu *šá kal MU.AN.NA*

22 4 UDU.NÍTA *ma-ru-tú DADAG.GA šá 2-ta MU.AN.NA ŠE.BAR GU₇.MEŠ 1-en UDU ka-lu-ú*

a. A description of the daily offerings in the temples of Uruk

- 23 *gi-né-e kab-ri*¹⁵ šá GA 5 UDU.NÍTA šá-nu-ú-tu šá EGIR-šú-nu šá ŠE.BAR la GU₇.MEŠ
-
- 24 PAP *u₄-mi-šam kal* MU.AN.NA *a-na* 1-en *u₄-mu ina* 4 *nap-tan* 21 UDU.NÍTA *reš-tu-ú-tu ma-ru-tú*
- 25 DADAG.GA šá 2-ta MU.AN.NA.MEŠ ŠE.BAR GU₇.MEŠ 4 UDU *ka-lu-ú gi-né-e* (*kab-ri*) šá GA
- 26 25 UDU.NÍTA *šap-lu-ú-tú* šá EGIR-šú-nu šá ŠE.BAR la GU₇.MEŠ 2 GU₄ *rab-bu-tu*
- 27 1-en ^{gu₄}AMAR GA 8 ^{udu}SILA₄ 30 ŠEŠ^{mušen} 30 TU.KUR₄^{mušen} 3 KUR.GI^{mušen} šá NÍG.SILAG.GÁ GU₇(.MEŠ)
- 28 5 UZ.TUR^{mušen} šá ZÌ NÍG.SILAG.GÁ GU₇ 2 UZ.TUR^{mušen} šá EGIR-šú-nu 4 PÉŠ.GIŠ.GI 3 NUNUZ GA.NU₁₁^{mušen} 3 NUNUZ UZ.TUR^{mušen}
-
- 29 *u₄-mi-šam kal* MU.AN.NA 10 UDU.NÍTA *ma-ru-tu* DADAG.GA šá SI ù UMBIN *šuk-lu-lu*
- 30 *a-na* ^dLX ù *An-tu₄* šá AN-e ù ^dSAG.ME.GAR ^dDil-bad ^dGU₄.UD ^dGENNA ^dŠal-bat-a-nu
- 31 KUR-*ḥa* ^dUTU ù IGI.DU₈.ÀM ^dXXX *a-na na-qé-e lib-bi ina* É *ma-ḥa-az-za-at in-né-ep-pu-uš*
-
- 32 UD.16.KAM šá ITI-us-su 10 UDU.NÍTA SAG-ú-tú *ma-ru-tú* DADAG.GA šá SI u UMBIN *šuk-lu-lu*
- 33 *a-na* ^dLX ù *An-tu₄* šá AN-e ù ^dUDU.IDIM.MEŠ 7-šú-nu *a-na sa-al-qa i-na*
- 34 *te-bi-ib-tu₄* ŠU^{II} *ina* BÁRA.MAḤ *ziq-qur-rat* ^dLX *ki-ma* šá UD.16.KAM šá ^{III}AB DÙ-uš
-
- 35 *e-lat* UDU.NÍTA *gi-né-e* šá *kal* MU.AN.NA šá É.AN.NA ù É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ ^dTIR.AN.NA^{ki}
- 36 ù *e-lat* GU₄ ù UDU.NÍTA šá *a-na gu-uq-qa-né-e* ÈŠ.ÈŠ.MEŠ BAD-te KÁ.MEŠ
- 37 ^{lu}glu-bu-šá-at ^{du}GA.GÚB.BA.MEŠ *ba-a-a-at*.MEŠ KI.NE.MEŠ GARZA.GARZA *ḥa-šá-du*
- 38 *ka-ri-bi*.MEŠ ù *tar-di-i-tu₄* LUGAL šá *ina* GARZA šá *kal* MU.AN.NA *šat-ri* šá *ina* É *re-eš*
- 39 É ÈŠ.GAL É.AN.NA ù É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ TIR.AN.NA^{ki} *a-na* ^dLX *An-tu₄* u DINGIR.MEŠ DÙ.A.BI *i-qar-rub*
-
- 40 *ina* É ^dUTU UZU UDU.NÍTA *a-na* ^dŠÁKKAN *ul i-qar-ru-ub*
- 41 *ina* É ^dXXX UZU GU₄ *a-na* ^dNIN.GUBLAGA *ul i-qar-ru-ub*
- 42 UZU MUŠEN *a-na* ^dGAŠAN.EDEN *ul i-qar-rub* UZU GU₄ ù UZU MUŠEN *a-na* ^dEREŠ.KI.GAL *ul i-qar-rub*
-
- 43 *qāt* ^{ld}UTU-SUR A šá ^IIna-qí-bit-^dLX A šá ^IŠib-qát-^dLX
- 44 ^{giš}DA GARZA ^dLX-ú-tú ŠU.LUḤ.ḤA KÙ.MEŠ *sak-ke-e* LUGAL-ú-tú *a-di* ŠU.LUḤ.ḤA DINGIR.RA šá É *re-eš* ÈŠ.GAL
- 45 É.AN.NA ù É.MEŠ TIR.AN.NA^{ki} *al-ka-ka-at* ^{lu}MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ ^{lu}GALA.MEŠ u ^{lu}NAR.MEŠ ù DUMU.MEŠ *um-man-nu*
- 46 *nap-ḥar-šú-nu* šá EGIR ^{lu}PAP(?) *a-na ma-še-e ma-la* šá ^{lu}ŠÁMAN.MAL.LÁ *kul-lu₄ ki-i pi-i* *ṭup-pi*.MEŠ
- 47 šá ^{ld}AG-A-URÙ LUGAL KUR *tam-ti* TA *qé-reb* UNUG^{ki} *iš-lu-lu-ma i-nu-uš* ^IKi-din-^dLX ^{lu}UNUG^{ki-a}
- 48 ^{lu}MAŠ.MAŠ ^dLX u *An-tu₄* ^{lu}ŠÁ.BAL.BAL ^IÉ-kur-za-kir ^{lu}ŠEŠ.GAL-i šá É.SAG *ṭup-pi*.MEŠ MU.MEŠ

⁵ Copy: -lu.

49 *ina* KUR ELAM.MA^{ki} *ip-pal-lis-ma* *ina* BALA-e 'Se-lu-ku u 'An-ti-'-i-ku-su LUGAL.MEŠ
50 *iš-ṭur-ù-ma a-na qé-reb* UNUG^{ki} *ù-bi-il*

Obv.

- 1 Every day of the entire year, for the main meal of the morning, you will arrange (l. 2), in addition to the *šappu*-containers belonging to the libation bowls,
 - 2 18 golden *šappu*-containers on the offering table of Anu. Of these (18 containers) you will arrange in the presence of Anu (l. 5): 7 *šappu*-containers on the right,
 - 3 3 with barley-beer, 4 with *labku*-beer, (and) 7 *šappu*-containers on the left, 3 with barley-beer, 1 with *labku*-beer,
 - 4 1 with *nāšu*-beer, 1 with *zarbābu*-beer, and milk in an alabaster *šappu*-container,
 - 5 (and) 4 golden *šappu*-containers with drawn wine.
 - 6 For the second (meal) of the morning and the main and second (meal) of the evening ditto, but
 - 7 no milk will be served for the main and second (meal) of the evening. Among the golden *šappu*-containers
 - 8 for the offering table, there are 5 golden *šappu*-containers with a *zarīnu*-stand of *algamišu*-stone.
-
- 9 5 golden *šappu*-containers, each holding 1 litre, are the libation bowls of the cella [of Anu].
 - 10 Of these (5 golden *šappu*-containers:) 1 with barley-beer, 1 with *labku*-beer, 1 with *nāšu*-beer, 1 with drawn wine [and 1 with milk].
 - 11 The *šappu*-container holding 5 *akalu*, is for wine from the country Izallu. 4 [golden] *til*[*imtu*-vases]
 - 12 belong to the cella of Anu. Of these 1 golden *tilimtu*-vase [is decorated(?)] with almonds,
 - 13 1 golden *tilimtu*-vase, which is decorated with rosettes,
 - 14 1 golden *tilimtu*-vase, which has a torque around its neck, 1 [golden] *tili*[*mtu*-vase, which ...]
 - 15 (This makes) a total of 4 golden *tilimtu*-vases on stands [...]
 - 16 of Anu and Antu [...]
-
- 17 You will arrange 14 golden *šappu*-containers on the offering table of Antu (containing:) (the same) first-quality beers, exactl[y as those on the offering table of Anu].
 - 18 12 golden *šappu*-containers (are to be set up) in front of Ištar, 10 *šappu*-containers in front of [Nanāja].
 - 19 Not included are: the golden *šappu*-containers of the whole year for the (other) gods residing in [Uruk].
-
- 20 And not included are (also): the golden *šappu*-containers, which (are filled) with the travel provisions for (the procession of) the gods and the 2 *tilimtu*-vases, which [...] will set up.
-
- 21 Every day of the entire year: 1 *pūru*-bowl (containing) 3 kor (540 litres), 3 *pānu* (108 litres) of barley and [emmer],
 - 22 (in other words, in sexagesimal ciphers) 1,48 seah (or in decimal ciphers) 108 seah (648 litres), the original amount of the regular offerings, according to the seah-measure of 10 mina [...]
 - 23 which the millers in the (temple)kitchen will deliver (l. 24) every day for the 4 meals of [Anu], Antu,
 - 24 Ištar, Nanāja and the (other) gods, residing in Uruk, to the bakers.

a. A description of the daily offerings in the temples of Uruk

25 Of (these 108 seah-measures there will be) 81 seah (486 litres) of barley flour (and) 27 seah (162 litres) of emmer flour
26 which the baker will use in baking 243 *šibtu*-loaves. Of these (loaves) the baker will deliver (l. 27), for the 4 (daily) meals,
27 on the offering table before Anu 30 *šibtu*-loaves.
28 (That is specified:) for the main and second (meal) of the morning the baker will deliver 8 *šibtu*-loaves each;
29 for the main and second (meal) of the evening the baker will deliver 7 *šibtu*-loaves each.
30 (Furthermore,) 30 loaves in front of Antu, 30 loaves in front of Ištar, 30 loaves in front of Nanāja, 12 loaves in front of
31 the seat of Anu and the household god of the cella of Antu, 4 loaves in front of the 2 tiaras of Anu,
32 16 loaves in front of the temple tower and the household god of the temple tower, 16 loaves in front of the wings(?) of the cella of Anu
33 and Antu, totalling 168 *šibtu*-loaves, which the baker will deliver for the 4 (daily) meals.
34 Not included are the 75 loaves, which will be served (l. 35) to the (other) gods, residing in Uruk, in their temples
35 for the 4 (daily) meals. Not included are (also) the large(?) loaves and the date cakes
36 which are for the travel provisions of the gods, the *guqqû*-offerings, the *eššēšu*-ceremonies, the opening of the gate ceremonies, the clothing ceremonies,
37 the holy water (basin) ceremonies, the night vigil ceremonies, the brazier ceremonies, the rites of the divine marriage, (the offerings of) the *kāribus*
38 and the additional offerings of the king (consisting of(?):) red (cakes), which are (collected) in reed baskets (usually used) for *muttāqu*-cakes
39 (and) *takkasû*-cakes, which are collected in reed baskets (usually used) for *makûtu*-cakes (and) *kubbušu*-cakes,
40 and (furthermore) 1200 *kusīpu*-loaves (baked in) oil, which are placed (l. 41) under the choice dates and the Dilmun-dates,
41 and pressed oil will be served (l. 42) upon the *kalakku*-container of Anu, Antu and the (other) gods of Uruk
42 and *maṣḥatu*-flour in *masappu*-baskets from the storage room,
43 which the miller will deliver every day during the whole year to a temple enterer.
44 The miller will say (l. 45), while grinding (flour) on the millstone, the blessing (l. 45) ‘O Plow-star, they have hitched up the seeder-plow in the open country’
45 and the baker will say (l. 47), while kneading the pieces of dough,
46 and serving the hot (loaves), the blessing (l. 47) ‘O Nisaba, rich abundance,
47 pure meal’.

48 Every day of the year, for the 4 (daily) meals (in sexagesimal ciphers) 1,48 seah (or in decimal ciphers) 108 seah (648 litres) choice dates,
49 Dilmun-dates, figs and raisins, in addition to *hiššašātu*-cakes(?) and the table-arrangement, which will be served (l. 50) to Anu,
50 Antu, Ištar, Nanāja and the (other) gods, residing in Uruk.

Rev.

1 The oxen and sheep for the regular offerings, which will be served (l. 3) every day of the year to Anu, Antu, Ištar, Nanāja
2 and the (other) gods, residing in the Rēš-temple, the Ešgal-temple and the Ešarra-temple, (which is) the Baramah on the temple tower of Anu,

Appendix

- 3 from the first day of Nisannu through the thirtieth day of Adaru for the main meal of the morning:
-
- 4 For the main meal of the morning, during the whole year: 7 first-quality sheep, fat (and) pure,
5 which have been fed barley for 2 years; 1 *kālû*-sheep, for the regular offering, fattened with milk;
6 totalling 8 sheep for the regular offerings. (Furthermore) 1 full-grown ox, 1 suckling calf and 10 fat sheep,
7 of lesser quality, which have not been fed barley. Totalling, for the main meal of the morning, during the whole year: 18 sheep,
8 of which 1 is a suckling *kālû*-sheep for the regular offering, 1 full-grown ox (and) 1 suckling calf. While
9 slaughtering the oxen and sheep the butcher will say the ble[s]sing (beginning with the words:)
-
- 10 'The son of Šamaš, the lord of the cattle, will create in the open country a fertile meadow'.
-
- 11 Alternatively: while slaughtering the ox and sheep the he[ad]-butcher will say (l. 12) to Anu, Antu, the 'Big Star'
12 and Dilbat (a prayer for?) life, (but) he will not say (it) to the other gods.
-
- 13 (For) the second meal of the morning, the regular offerings for Anu, Antu and the (other) gods of their temples,
14 (i.e.) of the Rēš-temple, the Ešgal-temple and the Baramah, during the whole year: 6 fat, pure sheep, which have been fed barley for 2 years;
15 1 (*kālû*-)sheep for the regular offering, fattened with milk and 5 fat sheep of lesser quality, which have not been fed barley; 1 full-grown ox; 8 lambs, 5 ducks, which have been fed dough;
16 2 ducks of lesser quality, 3 geese, which have been fed dough(!); 4 *ušummu*-mice;
17 30 *marratu*-birds; 20 turtledoves; 3 ostrich eggs (and) 3 duck eggs.
-
- 18 (For) the main meal of the evening, the regular offerings for Anu, Antu and the (other) gods of their temples, during the whole year:
19 4 fat, pure sheep, which have been fed barley for 2 years; 1 *kālû*-sheep,
20 for the regular offering, fattened with milk; 5 other sheep of lesser quality, which have not been fed barley, and 10 turtledoves.
-
- 21 (For) the second meal of the evening, the regular offerings for Anu, Antu and the (other) gods of their temples, during the whole year:
22 4 fat, pure sheep, which have been fed barley for 2 years; 1 *kālû*-sheep,
23 for the regular offering, fattened with milk; 5 other sheep of lesser quality, which have not been fed barley, and 10 turtledoves.
-
- 24 Totalling, every day during the whole year, for the 4 meals of the day: 21 first-quality sheep, fat,
25 pure, which have been fed barley for 2 years; 4 *kālû*-sheep, for the regular offering, (fattened) with milk;
26 25 'lower' sheep of lesser quality, which not have been fed barley; 2 full-grown oxen;

a. A description of the daily offerings in the temples of Uruk

- 27 1 suckling calf; 8 lambs; 30 *marratu*-birds; 30 turtledoves; 3 geese, which have been fed dough;
28 5 ducks, which have been fed dough(!); 2 ducks of lesser quality; 4 *ušummu*-mice; 3 ostrich eggs (and) 3 duck eggs.
-

- 29 Every day during the whole year: 10 fat, pure sheep, whose horns and hooves are perfect,
30 will be slaughtered (l. 31) for Anu and Antu of the Heaven, (for) Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Saturn (and) Mars,
31 (at?) sunrise and the appearance of the moon, to be offered as voluntary(?) offering in the *bīt maḥazzat*.
-

- 32 On day 16, monthly, (the priest) will offer (l. 34) 10 first-quality sheep, fat (and) pure, whose horns and hooves are perfect,
33 for Anu and Antu of Heaven and the 7 planets, as cooked meat, on occasion of
34 the cleansing of the hands ceremony, in the Baramaḥ on the temple tower of Anu, just like on day 16 of Țebētu.
-

- 35 Not included are the sheep for the regular offerings throughout the year in the Eanna-temple and the (other) temples of Tiranna,
36 and (also) not included are the oxen and sheep, which will be served (l. 39) for the *guqqû*-offerings and *eššēšu*-ceremonies, the opening of the gate ceremonies,
37 the clothing ceremonies, the holy water (basin) ceremonies, the night vigil ceremonies, the brazier ceremonies, the rites of the divine marriage,
38 (the offerings of) the *kāribus* and the additional offerings of the king, which are written down in (the tablets of) the rites for the whole year, in the Rēš-temple,
39 the Ešgal-temple, the Eanna-temple and the (other) temples of Tiranna for Anu, Antu and all the (other) gods.
-

- 40 In the temple of Šamaš mutton will not be served to Šakkan.
41 In the temple of Sîn beef will not be served to Ningublaga.
42 Fowl will not be served to Bēlet-šēri; neither beef nor fowl will be served to Ereškigal.
-

(Colophon:)

- 43 (Written by) the hand of Šamaš-ētir, son of Ina-qibīt-Anu, son of Šibqat-Anu.
44 Wax-table (containing) the rites for the Anu-worship, the pure *šuluḥḥu*-purification rites, the ritual regulations of kingship, including(?) the divine *šuluḥḥu*-purification rites of the Rēš-temple, the Ešgal-temple,
45 the Eanna-temple and the (other) temples of Tiranna, the ritual activities of the exorcists, the lamentation priests, the singers and the craftsmen,
46 all of them, who are subservient to the ..., not to mention all that concerns the apprentices, in accordance with the contents of the tablets,
47 which Nabopolassar, king of the Sealand, carried off from Uruk. And at that time(?) Kidin-Anu from Uruk,
48 the exorcist of Anu and Antu, descendant of Ekur-zakir, the high priest of the Rēš-temple,
49 saw these tablets (l. 48) in the land of Elam and during the reign of Seleucus and Antiochus, the kings,
50 he copied and brought (them) to Uruk.

Comments

Obv.

l. 3, the reading *labku* (cf. *RAcc.*, 75; *CAD*, L, 34a) is preferable to *ribku* (cf. *AHw*, 980b: ‘ein (Drogen-)Absud’): see *SpTU* 3, no. 100, 5, where *labāku* is found in the context of brewing beer (reference of M. Stol).

l. 4 ff., for milk see M. Stol, in *RLA* 8 (1994), 192. See also obv. 10.

l. 5, 4 {PA} *šap-pi*.MEŠ, similar mistake in *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1, 18, see Mayer’s comments on the latter in *OrNS* 47 (1978), 453.

l. 7 and passim in this and other Late Babylonian rituals: *i-qar-rub*, *qerēbu* is an *i/i*-verb but in the Neo- and Late Babylonian period often an *u/u*-verb. Cf. W. von Soden *GAG*, § 87, b.

l. 8, *za-ri-i-ni* ^{na4}[UD].SAL.[KA]B ‘a *zarīnu*-stand of *algamišu*-stone’, cf. *CAD*, Z, 68a.

l. 10, or, instead of milk: [KAŠ *zar-ba-ba*], *zarbābu*-beer?

l. 11, Azallu / Izallu. Wine imported from this country is famous, see A.L. Oppenheim, *JCS* 21 (1967), 244.

l. 19, ‘the golden *šappu*-containers of the whole year’, i.e. containers used for the offering service during the whole year.

l. 21, instead of BUR = *pūru*, W. Farber (*TUAT* II/2, 228 with n. 21, a) suggested BUR = *naptanu*(?) ‘Speiselieferung’.

l. 24, *i-na[m-d]i-in*, a singular although a subjunctive in the plural (see the subject ^{lu}ĪAR.MEŠ) is intended. In l. 33 and 43 a subjunctive ending *-u* is also missing.

l. 31, the 2 tiaras of Anu, see A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 19 with n. 3. Cf. also E. Unger, in *RLA* 2 (1938), 201 ff., especially p. 209–10; E. Douglas van Buren, *AnOr* 23, 104 ff.; *CAD*, A/I, 157a (commentary).

l. 31 (see also 32), DINGIR É ‘household god’ (cf. W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 229), i.e. the protective god of Antu’s cella. For ‘the 2 tiaras of Anu’ see R. Wallenfels, *Uruk. Hellenistic Seal Impressions in the Yale Babylonian Collection. I. Cuneiform Tablets*, Mainz am Rhein, 1994 (AUWE 19), 135.

l. 32, *aḫānu* ‘wings’(?), cf. *CAD*, A/I, 169b, B, 2. W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 229: ‘Nebenkapellen’.

l. 35, *i-qar-rub*, the subjunctive ending *-u* is missing (see also l. 50, and rev. 3 and 39).

l. 37 (see also rev. 38), for the *kāribu*, see III.7.2.

l. 38–39, following *CAD*, K, *kubbušu*, 483b.

l. 41, *iš-šak-kan*, a singular N-stem, although a subjunctive in the plural is intended.

a. A description of the daily offerings in the temples of Uruk

l. 41, ‘upon the *kalakku*-container’ (see *CAD*, K, 64a, 3, b and ib., H, 51a, 1). Or perhaps: ‘at the expense of (*ana muḥḥi*) the silo’ (following W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 229), see the following l. 42, where the storage room is mentioned.

l. 46, cf. *CAD*, E, 151a, c and *AHw*, 214b, 2, b. W. Farber (*TUAT* II/2, 229) translates: ‘und wenn er (den Teig) auf die heißen (Backsteine) verstreicht’.

l. 49, *ḥiṣṣaṣātu*-cake(?), cf. *AHw*, 349a. See also *CAD*, H, 203b, ‘*ḥiṣṣaṣtu*-mats?’ Or perhaps *ḥasisātu* (cf. *CAD*, H, 126b; *AHw*, 330b) bread in the form of an ear (suggestion M. Stol)?

Rev.

l. 2, É ÈŠ.GAL ‘Ešgal-temple’ (see also 14; 39; 44), the temple of Ištar in Hellenistic Uruk. It is also attested in *KAR* 132, I, 23 (written ÈŠ.GAL.LA ÚRU.GAL), and *BRM* 4, 6, obv. 22; 26; rev. 39. It is also known from private contracts from Hellenistic Uruk: L. Speleers, *Recueil*, 296, obv. 3 ([É] ÈŠ.GAL) and *VS* 15, 19, rev. 20. In other contracts it also refers to a city quarter of Uruk, see A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 36–39; add: *VS* 15, 27, obv. 3; G. Kh. Sarkisjan, *FuB* 16 (1975), 38, no. 25, obv. 3; 4.

The reading of this temple name has been much discussed. The reading ÈŠ.GAL is accepted widely (cf. *MSL* IV, 12 f., the dictionaries *CAD*, E, 364, 3, a, and *AHw*, 257a, 2, and recently A.R. George, *House Most High*, no. 270), contra IRI_{10–11}.GAL (cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 31–34 and J.J.A. van Dijk, *AfO* 20 (1963), 162 f.).

l. 2, Rēš, it is not clear whether É = *bītu* has to be interpreted as the determinative é(Rēš) or whether we should read Bīt-Rēš; cf. J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 330, n. 200 with literature. See also A.R. George, *House Most High*, no. 940.

l. 2 (see also 14, 34), the BÁRA.MAḤ ‘Grand Dais’, appellative of the sanctuary, named É.ŠÁR.RA ‘House of the Universe’, was the temple on top of the Anu-temple tower, cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 27 ff.; A.R. George, *House Most High*, no. 1036. Cf. also *BRM* 4, 6, obv. 22; 26; rev. 40.

l. 5 (see also 8, 19, 22, 25), UDU *ka-lu-ú* ‘sheep (pastured on) *kālû*-land’, according to *CAD*, K, 105a, 2; ib., I-J, 131b, b’; or: *udukalû*-offering sheep, cf. *AHw*, 1402a. See also *TU* 39, obv. 8. I will follow the *CAD*. Note that attested in the same position in some Sippar texts is *pargallu* (*AHw*, 1582a), see F. Joannès, *RA* 82 (1988), 76 f.; Ungnad *NRV Glossar*, nos. 738–9, 745 etc.

l. 10, ‘the lord of the cattle’, i.e. Šakkan.

l. 11, ‘Big Star’, i.e. the planet Jupiter.

l. 12, ‘Dilbat’, i.e. the planet Venus.

l. 15, 1 (*kālû*)-sheep for the regular offering, fattened with milk (*gi-né-e kab-ri šá GA*): in l. rev. 5, 19 and 22 a *kālû*-sheep is mentioned for the main meal of the morning and the two meals of the evening, each time with the additional remark ‘for the regular offering, fattened with milk’. In the summing up of all animals (l. rev. 24–28), however, 4 *kālû*-sheep are mentioned with this additional remark (however without the noun *kabri*

‘fattened’, which is probably a slovenliness of the scribe). Therefore the sheep mentioned in l. rev. 15 (for the second meal of the morning), with the same additional remark, is also a *kālû*-sheep; the scribe mistakenly wrote UDU.NÍTA for UDU *ka-lu-ú*.

l. 16 (see also 28), ZÌ NÍG.SILAG.GÁ: l. rev. 15 mentions 5 ducks which have been fed dough (NÍG.SILAG.GA, *lišu*), while l. 16 mentions 3 geese which have been fed ZÌ NÍG.SILAG.GA (‘dough (and?) flour’, according to CAD, Q, 207b, 9’). However, when the text sums up all the offering animals (l. 24–28), it refers back to the 3 geese, which have been fed dough, now written NÍG.SILAG.GA (without ZÌ, l. 27), and it refers back to the 5 ducks, which have been fed ZÌ NÍG.SILAG.GA, so now with ZÌ. (l. 28). It is clear that this is a scribal error (the scribe made another mistake in l. rev. 25, see my comment below), and in all cases we have to translate ‘dough’. B. Landsberger (*WdO* 3 [1966], 252, with n. 25) already pointed out that *lišu* is written ZÌ.SILAG.GA. Cf. also B. Landsberger, O.R. Gurney, *Afo* 18 (1957–58), p. 330, l. 173: ZÌ.SILAG.GA = *li-e*-[*šu*].

l. 25, UDU *ka-lu-ú gi-né-e* <*kab-ri*> šá GA. *Kab-ri* ‘fattened’ is mistakenly omitted by the scribe. See my comment on l. rev. 15.

l. 31, see CAD, M/I, 89a. Or with W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 231: ‘für Herz-Opfer im Schlachthof geschlachtet’? Cf. also *AHw*, 745a, 4, b and CAD, N/I, 340b, 3, b, but quoted without translation. For the *bīt maḥazzat* (or *bīt maḥaššat*) see R. Zadok, *JAOS* 102 (1982), 116a: etymological evidence points into the direction of a ‘wall, partitionwall’, or ‘a kind of gallery which is divided/set apart by a partition/compartment, apartment’.

l. 35 (see also 39; 45), ^(d)TIR.AN.NA^{ki} is a Late Babylonian writing for Uruk. See also *TU* 39, rev. 29; *TU* 41, rev. 14; *BRM* 4, 6, obv. 23; 27; rev. 38; 40. Cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 40, n. 4.

l. 41, probably ^dNIN.GUBLAGA (EZENxLA) is intended, although the copy reads ^dNIN.EZENxGU₄. See also *KAR* 132, I, 10. For l. 40–42 see also CAD, Q, 234b, 4. The god Ningublaga is the son of Nanna and resides in Kiabrig, in the temple É ^dNIN.EZEN (Å.W. Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 25–6, no. 11; cf. G. Selz, *Die Bankettszene*, Wiesbaden, 1983, 572), but he is also known from Ur (A.R. George, *House Most High*, nos. 295; 379; see also nos. 103, 294, 438, 499, 921). See also K.L. Tallqvist, *AGE*, 402 (NIN.EZEN+ĜĀR (GUD)). For the reading NIN.EZENxLA cf. R. Borger, *ABZ*, p. 242 and 386 with literature.

l. 43–50, for the colophon, see A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 8f.; H. Hunger, *AOAT* 2, 46, no. 107; P.A. Beaulieu, *Studies W.W. Hallo*, Bethesda, 1993, 47.

l. 45, although in general ^{lu}MAŠ.MAŠ probably has to be read *āšipu*, we have evidence that in some literary texts for ^{lu}MAŠ.MAŠ (with the phonetic complements -*šu* or -*ši*) the learned reading *mašmaššu* is used (cf. CAD, A/II, 435a and M/I, 381b). For the Late Babylonian and Hellenistic periods both readings are attested. Based on the syllabic writings of *āšipu* in the clan list *VS* 15, 1, I, 8 and the prebend sale *YOS* 20, 84 (NCBT 1954, unpublished), 2 f. and 6, both from Hellenistic Uruk, G.J.P. McEwan (*FAOS* 4, 73) argued that the reading *mašmaššu* is to be excluded during the Hellenistic period. This seems to be supported by *CLBT*, pl. 1, col. B, 27 and possibly 29, where we find the

a. A description of the daily offerings in the temples of Uruk

syllabic writings *a-ši-pu* / *a-ši-[pu-ti(?)]*. However, from Late Babylonian Uruk we now also have evidence for the reading *mašmaššu*: *SpTU* 1, no. 56 (list), rev. 13: ^{lú}*maš-maš-ši*, and *SpTU* 3, 111 (ḪAR.RA = *hubullu*), rev. VI, x + 1: ^{lú(?)}*maš-maš-šu* (cf. J. Oelsner, in: *Šulmu IV, Papers Presented at the International Conference Poznan, 19–22 September, 1989*, 235).

l. 46, ^{lú}ŠĀMAN.MAL (usually MÁL).LÁ *kul-lu₄*, see *CAD*, Š/I, 293b, 1', contra H. Hunger, *AOAT* 2, 46, no. 107 (^{lú}ŠĀMÁN.MÁL.LÁ NUMUN.LUM 'lernender Opferschauer').

l. 47, *i-nu-uš*, see *CAD*, I-J, 163a, but not certain.

l. 48, ^{lú}ŠĒŠ.GAL-*i* 'the high priest', ^{lú}ŠĒŠ.GAL with the phonetic complements -*ú* or -*i* in texts from Hellenistic Uruk (see also *BRM* 4, 7, obv. 3, 7, 10, 14, 18, 22, 26, rev. 39, 45), and Babylon (see BM 32206 +, I, 20, 22; II, 75; III, 115; IV, 150; without the phonetic complements in *Racc.*, 127 ff. passim) probably has to be read *aḫu rabû* instead of *šešgallu*, cf. *CAD*, A/I, 204–5, ib., Š/II, 336b, and G. Çağiran, W.G. Lambert, *JCS* 43–45 (1991–93), 101a. See also G. Frame, *ZA* 81 (1991), 42 and A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, 149 f., with more references.

l. 50, *iš-tur-ú-ma* 'he has copied' (lit. 'written'), a plural although a singular is intended, see *ú-bi-il* in the same line.

b. The New Year ritual

TU 39 (AO 6459)⁶ + TU 40 (AO 6465)⁷

These two tablets contain the ritual for the seventh month Tašrītu, the New Year festival (*akītu*) in Uruk. On the basis of prosopographical evidence we can give it an approximate date. Because *TU 39–40* was written by the same scribe as *TU 38*, it can also be dated to the first half of the second century B.C. But we can be more precise here, by way of connecting the data on the scribe of *TU 38* and *TU 39–40*, Šamaš-ēṭir, with the data on the owner of *TU 39–40*, Anu-uballiṭ, son of Nidintu-Anu, son of Ina-qibīt-Anu, of the family Hunzû. This Anu-uballiṭ is also known from two extispicy texts, dated 97 and 98 S.E. (215/4–214/213 B.C.),⁸ and one astronomical text.⁹ We also know more than one Anu-uballiṭ, son of Nidintu-Anu, of the family Hunzu from several private contracts.¹⁰

So, while the earliest date of scribe Šamaš-ēṭir is 118 S.E., the earliest date of owner Anu-uballiṭ is from 20 years before that, 97/98 S.E. Now, although the latest date of Šamaš-ēṭir is 150 S.E., it is not likely that Anu-uballiṭ was still alive at that time. Tablets *TU 39–40* must have been written at least 20 years before 150 S.E., but not much earlier than 118 S.E., because at that time Šamaš-ēṭir could not have been working, considering his long career. Therefore *TU 39–40* must have been written between approximately 115 and 130 S.E. (182/1 B.C.)

The text is discussed in II.4.5.1.

TU 39

U.E.

ina INIM dLX u An-tu₄ liš-lim

Obv.

- 1 itⁱDU₆.KÙ UD.1.KAM dEN.LÍL dÉ-a ù šu-ut UNUG^{ki} il-lab-biš-'
 - 2 gišGIGIR dLX KÙ.BABBAR gišGIGIR dLX GUŠKIN u₄-mu 1-šú a-di UD.8.KAM it-ti
tar-den-nu šá še-ri
 - 3 a-na É a-ki-i-tu₄ e-lit šá dLX GIN-ak.MEŠ-ma lúNAR.MEŠ ina IGI-šú-nu GIN-ak
 - 4 par-ši šá ha-šá-du ina É ĦI.LI.KÙ.GA É.NIR šá É.ĦI.LI.AN.NA
 - 5 É dNa-na-a up-tar-ra-aš
-
- 6 UD.6.KAM dIM dUTU dLUGAL.BÀN.DA ù dNIN.SÚN MU₄.MU₄-' ina EN.NUN.USAN
dugA.GÚB.BA uk-tan-nu
-

⁶ Cf. *RAcc.*, 66–67, 89–90, 92–96, 98–99; G. Çağırhan, *Festivals*, 72–77, 87–81; W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 223 ff.; M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 431–33. See also R. Borger, *HKL* 1, 567.

⁷ Cf. *RAcc.*, 72, 90–92, 96–97; G. Çağırhan, *Festivals*, 76–81; M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 431–33.

⁸ R. Largetment, *ZA* 52 (1957), 254, 116 (duplicate *TU 4*, but with different scribe), dated 97 (var. 99) S.E. i.e. 215/4 B.C. (213/2 B.C.); *BRM* 4, 12, 84 (duplicate no. 13, but with different scribe), dated 98 (var. 99) S.E. i.e. 214/3 (213/2) B.C.

⁹ *TU* 11, rev. 38.

¹⁰ *VS* 15, 36, dated 36 S.E.; *OECT* 9, 11, dated 43 S.E.; *BRM* 2, 21 (here with the grandfather, Labaši), 75 S.E.; *BRM* 2, 23, 78 S.E.; *OECT* 9, 57, dated 110 + S.E.; *BiMes* 24, 13, dated 137 S.E. In I 15, 26 the date is lost.

- 7 UD.7.KAM di-ik É šá lúGALA.MEŠ ù lúNAR.MEŠ lúMUḪALDIM a-kal.MEŠ u ŠÌR
ḪÚL.LA
- 8 uzušu-me-e UZU GU₄ ù UDU ka-lu-ú gi-né-e KAŠ SAG nap-ḫar-šú-nu
- 9 a-di GEŠTIN ŠUR.RA ù GA ma-ak-kàs KAŠ.Ú.SA SIG₅ ù KAŠ.Ú.SA lab-ku
- 10 ti-ir-mat¹.MEŠ dan-nu-tu ù nam-ḫa-ri.MEŠ a-ri-bi šá dPAP.SUKKAL ù
dGUŠKIN.KÙ.BÀN.DA
- 11 a-na É pa-pa-ḫa tūglu-bu-šá-at šá dLX ù An-tu₄ ù tūglu-bu-šá-at šá dINNIN
- 12 ta-ra-aš šá GU₄ ina bi-rit šid-di zi-im-ri šá lúNAR ù lúGALA
- 13 gu-uq-qa-né-e šá EGIR tūglu-bu-uš-tu₄ ù si-il-tu₄ ḫu-ub É
- 14 ma-la-ku su-qa.MEŠ gisMÁ.GUR₈.MEŠ ù É a-ki-i-tu₄ KEŠDA u DUḪ-ár
- 15 nap-tan šá še-e-ri ù li-lat ki-ma šá UD.7.KAM šá itiBÁR KI.MIN
-
- 16 UD.8.KAM KÁ ina pa-ni dLX ù An-tu₄ BAD-te-ma dPAP.SUKKAL ZI-ma a-na
KISAL.MAḪ E₁₁-ma
- 17 ina É.KA.KÉŠ.ḪU.ḪU man-za-zi-šú a-na tar-ša dLX i-tar-ra-aš
- 18 dNUSKU dARA ù dKÙ.SÚ ZI.MEŠ-nim-ma ina DA dPAP.SUKKAL GUB-zi-zu
- 19 gis¹tal-lu GUŠKIN É-a-ni a-na dLX SUM-in gisTUKUL.MEŠ dUTU.MEŠ ù GIGIR.MEŠ
ZI.MEŠ-nim-ma
- 20 ina KISAL.MAḪ a-na dLX LAL-aš dIM dŠA.LA dXXX dUTU dMAŠ dMES.SAG.UNUG^{ki}
- 21 dIGI.DU dLUGAL.BÀN.DA ù dNIN.SÚN TA É.MEŠ-šú-nu ZI.MEŠ-nim-ma
- 22 a-na KISAL.MAḪ E₁₁.MEŠ-ma a-na dLX i-tar-ra-aš A.MEŠ ŠU^{II} a-na dLX u An-tu₄
- 23 ÍL-ši-ma LUGAL u UN.MEŠ ú-lap-pat ma-aq-qu-ú GUŠKIN i-red-de-e-ma
- 24 nap-tan ù uzušu-me-e ḫa-an-tu-tú ina muḫ-ḫi na-šap-pi GUŠKIN a-na dLX
- 25 ú-qar-rib na-šap-pi GUŠKIN pa-ni dLX ana pa-ni DINGIR.MEŠ šá ina KISAL.MAḪ
ú-še-ti-iq
- 26 dPAP.SUKKAL GIN-ak-ma ina muḫ-ḫi É.GÙ.BI.DÙG.GA GUB-za-az lúKU₄.É ma-aq-qu-ú
GUŠKIN
- 27 i-red-de-e-ma dPAP.SUKKAL ù lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ ŠU^{III} dLX DAB-bat.MEŠ-ma ina
lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ
- 28 É-am-ma 1-en lúKU₄.É šá tūgÍB.LÁ rak-su gisÚ.LUḪ NAM.LUGAL.LA ina pa-ni-šú
- 29 na-ši-i-ma ki-ma šá dLX bi-rit šid-di ik-tal-du ina muḫ-ḫi šu-bat GUŠKIN ina bi-rit šid-di
DÚR-ab A.MEŠ ŠU^{III} ÍL
- 30 ina muḫ-ḫi KI SÍSKUR GABA.RI i-sar-raq-ma SÍSKUR mer-de-e-tú GU₄ u UDU.NÍTA
- 31 ina pa-ni dLX i-naq-qa uzu¹lib-bi šá GU₄ ù SAG.DU šá UDU.NÍTA ina pa-ni-šú i-šak-kan
- 32 ma-lit GUŠKIN šá ZI.MAD.GÁ a-na muḫ-ḫi uzu¹lib-bi i-saḫ-ḫap ma-aq-qu-ú GEŠTIN
- 33 'a-na' muḫ-ḫi SAG.DU UDU.NÍTA i-red-de A.MEŠ ŠU^{II} a-na dLX ÍL-ši-ma
- 34 [LUGAL u UN.MEŠ ú-lap-pat m]a-aq-qu GUŠKIN i-red-de-e-ma dPAP.SUKKAL ù
dNUSKU
- 35 [...] ¹lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ ¹lúN'[AR.MEŠ ...]
- 36 [...]

TU 40

Obv.

- 1 [UD.9.KAM ... lúG]ALA.MAḪ GIN [...]
- 2 LÚ.MAḪ ina BA.AN.DU₈.DU₈ 'x' [...]
- 3 šit-ti A.MEŠ a-na ŠU^{II} lúGALA.'MAḪ' [...]
- 4 ŠU^{II}-su LAL-aš-ma EN NIR.GÁL.LA [...]
- 5 ŠU.ÍL.LÁ.KAM a-na dLX ÍL-ši [...]
- 6 A.MEŠ ŠU^{II} a-na dEN.LÍL ù [dÉ-a ÍL-ši ...]

- 7 ^{lú}DUMU *si-si-i pag-ri* GU₄ *su-uš-šú* [...]
 8 LUGAL *ma-aq-qu-ú* GUŠKIN *i-red-de-^re¹* [...]
 9 KÁ.MAḤ KU₄-*ub-ma* *ina muḥ-ḥi* BÁRA NAM[.MEŠ DÚR-*ab*]
 10 UDU.NÍTA *šá* TA *nu-bat-tu₄* *it-ti* KÁ KISAL.[MAḤ(?) *rak-su*(?)]
 11 *par-ši-šú ki-ma šá* UD.8.KAM KI.MIN KÁ ÈŠ.M[*AḤ* ...]
 12 NU È *ina muḥ-ḥi* SAR-ár ^{giš}*tal-lu* GUŠKIN [...]
 13 LUGAL *ma-aq-qu-ú* GUŠKIN *a-na* ^dLX *i-red-d[e-e* ^dPAP.SUKKAL LUGAL *u*
^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ]
 14 ŠU^{II} ^dA-*nù* TA BÁRA NAM.MEŠ DAB-*bat*.MEŠ-*ma* *n[ap-tan*(?)]
 15 *ul* DUḤ-ár *ki-ma šá* ^dLX *bi-rit šid-du ik-t[al-du* ...]
 16 *ina bi-rit šid-du pa-ni-šú a-na* ^dUTU.È.A GAR-*an-m[a* ...]
 17 *ina muḥ-ḥi šu-bat* GUŠKIN DÚR-*ab* ^dIM KI.TUŠ GAL *ina ŠÀ* ^rx¹[...]
 18 DINGIR.MEŠ *gab-bi* *ina man-za-zi-šú-nu* GUB-*zi-zu-'* IGI.MEŠ-šú-*nu a-n[a* ^dLX GAR-
an.MEŠ]
 19 ^dINNIN.MEŠ *nap-ḥar-ši-na a-na pa-ni* *An-tu₄* LAL-*aš*.MEŠ-*a-ma* [...]
 20 A.MEŠ ŠU^{II} *a-na* ^dLX *ù An-tu₄* ÍL-*ši-ma* LUGAL *ù UN*.MEŠ [*ù-lap-pat*]
 21 *ma-aq-qu-ú* GUŠKIN *i-red-de-e-ma* SÍSKUR *mer-de-e-tù* GU₄ *u* UDU.NÍTA *ki-m[a* *šá*
 UD.8.KAM]

TU 40

Rev.

- 1 ^{uz}lib-*bi šá* GU₄ *ù* SAG.DU *šá* UDU.NÍTA *ina pa-ni-šú* [*i-šak-kan*]
 2 *ma-lit* GUŠKIN *šá* ZÌ.MAD.GÁ *a-na muḥ-ḥi* ^{uz}lib-*bi i-saḥ-ḥap ma-aq-q[u-ú* GEŠTIN
a-na]
 3 *muḥ-ḥi* SAG.DU UDU.NÍTA *i-red-de* A.MEŠ ŠU^{II} *a-na* ^dLX *ù An-t[u₄* ÍL-*ši-ma]*
 4 LUGAL *u* UN.MEŠ *ù-lap-pat* *ina 2 kal-lu₄* *šul-pu* GUŠKIN A.MEŠ ŠU^{II} *a-n[a* ^dLX *u*
An-tu₄]
 5 KI *a-ḥa-a-meš* ÍL-*ši* LUGAL *ma-aq-qu* GUŠKIN [*i-red-de-e-ma]*
 6 ^dPAP.SUKKAL LUGAL *ù* ^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ ŠU^{II} ^dLX TA *bi-rit šid-du* D[*AB-bat*.MEŠ-*ma]*
 7 KU₄-*ma* *ina muḥ-ḥi* BÁRA NAM.LUGAL.LA *ina šub-ti-šú* DÚ[*R-ab* ...]
 8 KU₄.MEŠ-*ma* XV *u* 2,30 GUB-*zi-zu* LUGAL *ma-aq-qu-ú* [GUŠKIN *i-red-de-e-ma]*
 9 LUGAL ^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ *u* ^dINNIN.MEŠ ŠU^{II} *An-tu₄* DAB-*bat*.MEŠ-*ma a-[na* ...]
 10 ^dBe-*let*-DINGIR.MEŠ ^dŠA.LA ^dDUMU.SAL.MEŠ-^dLX ^dA-*a* [...]
 11 *ina šu-tù-m-mu šá* KISAL *An-tu₄* DÚR-*ab ki-ma šá* ^{lú}[...]
 12 LUGAL *ma-aq-qu-ú* GUŠKIN *a-na pa-ni* ^dEN.LÍL *ù* [^dÈ-*a i-red-de-e-ma]*
 13 ^dNUSKU ^dKÙ.SÙ ^dARA *ù* LUGAL ŠU^{III} [...]
 14 DAB-*bat*.MEŠ-*ma* KÁ È *pa-pa-ḥa a-na pa-ni* [...]
 15 ^dUTU ^dA-*a* ^dBu-*ne-ne* ^dMAŠ ^d[...]
 16 *ù* ^dŠU.BU.LÁ ^dMES.SAG.UNUG^{ki} [...]
 17 LUGAL *ma-aq-qu-ú* GUŠKIN *a-na pa-ni* [...]
 18 LUGAL *a-di* UB.ŠU.UKKIN.NA.KI ^rx¹[...]
 19 ^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ ^r^{lú}GALA.MEŠ¹ [*u* ^{lú}NAR.MEŠ ...]
 20 ^rx¹

TU 39

Rev.

- 1 UZU [...]
2 *ina šub-ti-šu šá KISAL DÚR-ab* ^{uzu}KIN ÍL.MEŠ-nim-ma *ana* UGU BÁRA ^dLX *i-šak-kan-nu*
3 ^{lú}DUMU.AD.ĤAL ù ^{lú}SANGA ^dIM ^{uzu}KIN *i-leq-qu-ú* GAL-ú DUĤ-ma
4 *tar-den-nu i-qar-rub níg-na-qa*.MEŠ *ú-mál-le-e-ma* ^{lú}NAR.MEŠ *i-za-am-mu-ru*
5 *É i-šal-lim* SILIM^{im}.MA.ÁB(?) DUG₄.GA-ma *ul* DUĤ-ár *ina* li-lat DUĤ-ár-ma
6 *nap-tan* GAL-ú *ša* li-lat *i-qar-rub níg-na-qa* GUŠKIN *ú-mál-le-e-ma* ŠÍSKUR
7 GU₄ ù UDU.NÍTA *i-naq-qa* ^{lú}NAR.MEŠ *i-za-am-mu-ru* GAL-ú DUĤ-ma
8 *tar-den-nu i-qar-rub* ^{lú}NAR.MEŠ *i-za-am-mu-ru* *É i-šal-lim*
9 SILIM^{im}.MA.ÁB(?) DUG₄.GA-ma *ul* DUĤ-ár *ba-a-a-at i-ba-at KÁ ut-ta-dal*
-
- 10 UD.10.KAM *ina* GE₆ UMUN ŠE.ER.MA.AL AN.KI.A *a-na* ^dLX AN E.LU₄.UM.MA *a-na* DINGIR.DIDLI
11 *ina* UB.ŠU.UKKIN.NA.KI *di-ik* *É i-šak-kan* *ina* ZÁLAG KÁ BAD-te-ma *ba-a-a-at* DUĤ-ma
12 A.MEŠ ŠU^{II} ÍL-ši Ì.GIŠ *i-ša-bat nap-tan* GAL-ú *ša še-rì i-qar-ru-ub*
13 ^{lú}NAR.MEŠ *i-za-am-mu-ru* GAL-ú DUĤ-ma *tar-den-nu i-qar-rub tar-den-nu* DUĤ-ma
14 *nap-tan* GAL-ú *ša* li-lat *i-qar-rub* ^{lú}NAR.MEŠ *i-za-am-mu-ru tar-den-nu* *ša* li-lat DUĤ-ma KÁ *ut-ta-dal*
-
- 15 UD.11.KAM *ina* GE₆ AM.E AMAŠ {DIŠ}.AN.NA *a-na* ^dLX E.LUM DI.DI.RA *a-na* DINGIR.DIDLI
16 *ina* UB.ŠU.UKKIN.NA.KI *di-ik* *É i-šak-kan* *ina* ZÁLAG KÁ BAT-te-ma A.MEŠ ŠU^{II} ÍL-ši
17 ^dIM ^dXXX ^dUTU ^dMAŠ ^dMES.SAG.UNUG^{ki} ^dPAP.SUKKAL ^dNUSKU ^dARA *u* ^dKÙ.SÙ
18 ZI.MEŠ-nim-ma *ina* KISAL.MAĤ *a-na* ^dLX LAL-aš *ina* KISAL *ina muḥ-ḥi* šu-bat.MEŠ DÚR-ab.MEŠ-ma
19 *pa-ni* ^dLUGAL.BÀN.DA *u* ^dNIN.SÚN *i-dag-gal-la nap-tan* GAL-ú *ša še-e-ri*
20 *a-na* ^dLX An-tu₄ ù DINGIR.MEŠ DÙ.A.BI *i-qar-rub ki-ma* *ša* ^dLUGAL.BÀN.DA *u* ^dNIN.SÚN
21 *ik-tal-du a-na* KISAL ^dLX KU₄-ma *a-na* ^dLX LAL-aš GAL-ú DUĤ-ár-ma *ma-aq-qu-ú* GUŠKIN
22 *a-na* ^dLUGAL.BÀN.DA ù ^dNIN.SÚN ù DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu-tú *i-red-de-e-ma a-na*
23 *šub-ti-šu-nu* GUR-ru.MEŠ-ma *uš-šá-ba* GAL-ú ù *tar-den-nu* *ša* bi-ru *u₄-mu*
24 *ki-ma* *ša gi-né-e* KI.MIN-ma
-
- 25 *an-nu-ú* GARZA *ša* ⁱⁱⁱDU₆.KÙ AL.TIL
-
- 26 ⁱⁱⁱAPIN DU₈.A UD.5.KAM ^dMi-šar-ri TA *É.ĤÉ.NUN.NA* *É* ^dIM ZI-am-ma
27 TA ^{giš}DA SUMUN-bar *gaba-re-e* UNUG^{ki} SAR-ma *ba-IGI IM* ^{Id}LX-DIN-iṭ A *ša* ^{INÍG}.SUM.MU-^dLX
28 A ^IḤun-zu-ú ^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ ^dLX *u* An-tu₄ UNUG^{ki}-ú ŠU^{II} ^{Id}UTU-SUR A *ša* ^IIna-qí-bit-^dLX A *ša* ^IŠib-qát-^dLX
29 ^{lú}ŠÀ.BAL.BAL ^IÉ-kur-za-kir ^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ ^dLX *u* An-tu₄ TIR.AN.NA^{ki}-ú

TU 39

U.E.

By the command of Anu and Antu may (this work) be successful.

Obv.

- 1 The (seventh) month Tašrītu, day 1: Enlil, Ea and those (other gods) of Uruk will be robbed.
- 2 The silver chariot of Anu (and) the golden chariot of Anu will go (l. 3) each day until day 8, at the time of the second meal of the morning,
- 3 to the higher situated *akītu*-temple of Anu, and the singers will go in front of them.
- 4 The rites of the divine marriage will be performed (l. 5) in the Eḫilikuga-chapel, the bed-chamber of Eḫilianna,
- 5 the temple of Nanāja.

-
- 6 Day 6: Adad, Šamaš, Lugalbanda and Ninsun will be robbed, at the first watch of the night the holy water-basin will be set up.

-
- 7 Day 7: the awakening of the temple ceremony (performed) by the lamentation priests and the singers. (As to) the cook: food and songs of jubilation,
 - 8 roasted meat, beef and mutton for the regular offerings, all sorts of fine beer,
 - 9 including drawn wine and milk, date confection, fine mixed beer and *labku*-mixed beer,
 - 10 *tirimtu*-cups(?), *dannu*- and *namḥaru*-vats (shaped like) raven(?) for Papsukkal and Guškinbanda.
 - 11 As to the cella: the clothing ceremonies of Anu and Antu and the clothing ceremonies of Ištar.
 - 12 The setting in place of the ox. (Inside the room) between the curtains: songs by the singer and the lamentation priest.
 - 13 (The presentation of) *guqqū*-offerings which follow the clothing ceremony and (the presentation of) the *siltu*-food (offerings). The consecration of the temple.
 - 14 The street processional way, the procession-ships and the *akītu*-temple. The arranging and the clearing of
 - 15 the meal of the morning and the evening, as for the seventh day of the month Nisannu ditto.

-
- 16 Day 8: the gate will be opened before Anu and Antu and Papsukkal will rise and come down (from his seat) to the Grand Courtyard and
 - 17 will take up position in Ekakešḫuḫu, his station, in the direction of Anu.
 - 18 Nusku, Usmū and Kusu will rise and stand next to Papsukkal.
 - 19 The gold(-plated) carrying pole (for use) inside (the temple) will be given to Anu. The symbols, the sun disks and the chariots will rise and
 - 20 take up position towards Anu in the Grand Courtyard. Adad, Šala, Sîn, Šamaš, Ninurta, Messagunug,
 - 21 Palil, Lugalbanda and Ninsun will rise from their temples and
 - 22 come down (from their seats) to the Grand Courtyard and take up position towards Anu. (The priest) will lift up (l. 23) the water (basin) for (the washing of) the hands to Anu and Antu
 - 23 and he will sprinkle(?) the king and the (other) persons. He will make a libation with the golden libation bowl and
 - 24 he will serve (l. 25) the meal and the hot roasted meat on the golden dish to Anu.
 - 25 He will pass the golden dish (from) before Anu to the (other) gods, who are in the Grand Courtyard.

b. The New Year ritual

- 26 Papsukkal will go and stand up on Egubiduga. A temple enterer will, with the golden libation bowl,
27 make a libation and Papsukkal and the exorcists will lead Anu and he will go out (l. 28) and, accompanied by the exorcists,
28 and one temple enterer, who is girt with a girdle, he will lift up (l. 29) the Scepter of Kingship in front of him.
29 (Then), as soon as Anu has reached (the room) between the curtains, he will sit on the golden seat (in the room) between the curtains (while the priest) is lifting up the water (basin) for (the washing of) the hands.
30 He will scatter (aromatics) on the place where (the god) is made to accept the offering and he will make (l. 31) a *merditu*-offering (consisting) of ox and sheep
31 in front of Anu. He will place the heart of the ox and the head of the sheep in front of him.
32 He will overturn a golden *malītu*-bowl with *maṣḥatu*-flour over the heart. With a libation bowl of wine
33 he will make a libation on the head of the sheep. He will lift up the water (basin) for (the washing of) the hands to Anu and
34 [sprinkl]e(?) [the king and the (other) persons]. He will make a libation with the golden libation bowl and Papsukkal and Nusku
35 [...] the exorcists and the si[n]gers ...]
36 [...]

TU 40

Obv.

- 1 [(Day 9:) ... the ch]ief lamentation priest will go [...]
2 The *lumahḫu*-priest from the bucket [...]
3 The rest of the water (basin) for (the washing of) the hands of the 'chief' singer of dirges [...]
4 He will stretch his hands and the hand-raising prayer (l. 5) 'Lord, Respected one' [...]
5 he will recite to Anu [...]
6 [He will lift up] the water (basin) for (the washing of) the hands to Enlil [and Ea ...]
7 The charioteers [...] the corpses of the oxen, ... [...]
8 The king will make a libation with the golden libation bowl [...]
9 (Anu) will enter the Grand Gate and [sit] on the Dais of Destinies[s].
10 The sheep, which since the evening (ceremonies?) [was tied(?) to] the gate of the [Grand(?)] Courtyard,
11 its rites as for the eighth day ditto. The gate of the Ešm[aḫ ...]
12 will not go out; he will write(?) on it. The gold(-plated) carrying pole [...]
13 The king will make a libation with the golden libation bowl for Anu. [Papsukkal, the king and the exorcists]
14 will lead Anu from the Dais of Destinies. [The meal]
15 will not be cleared. When Anu has re[ached] (the room) between the curtains [...]
16 (inside the room) between the curtains he will place his face towards the East a[nd ...]
17 he will sit on the golden seat. Adad [will ...] on the great seat in the middle of [...]
18 All the gods will stand on their stations, they [will place] their faces t[owards Anu].
19 All the goddesses will take up position before Antu and [...]
20 (The priest) will lift up the water (basin) for (the washing of) the hands, and [sprinkle(?)] the king and the (other) persons [...]
21 He will make a libation with the golden libation bowl and a *merditu*-offering (consisting of) ox and sheep as [for the eighth day ditto.]

TU 40

Rev.

- 1 [He will place] the heart of the ox and the head of the sheep in front of him.
- 2 He will overturn a golden *malītu*-bowl of *maṣḥatu*-flour over the heart. He will make(l. 3) a libation of [wine] with a liba[tion bowl]
- 3 on[to](l. 2) the head of the sheep. He [will lift up] the water (basin) for (the washing of) the hands to Anu and Ant[u and]
- 4 sprinkle(?) the king and the (other) persons. In 2 *kallu*-bowls (and) a golden *šulpu*-vessel he will lift up the water for (the washing of) the hands t[o Anu and Antu]
- 5 simultaneously [...]. The king [will make] a libation with the golden libation bowl [and]
- 6 Papsukkal, the king and the exorcists w[ill lead] Anu from (the room) between the curtains.
- 7 He will enter and sit on the Dais of Kingship, on his seat [...]
- 8 They will enter and stand on the right and the left, the king [will make a libation] with the [golden] libation bowl [and]
- 9 the king, the exorcist and the goddesses will lead Anu and t[o...]
- 10 Bēlet-ilī, Šala, Mārāt-Anu, Aja [...]
- 11 will sit in the storehouse of the courtyard of Antu. As soon as [...]
- 12 The king will make a libation with the golden libation bowl before Enlil and [Ea and]
- 13 Nusku, Kusu, Usmū and the king will lead (l. 14) [...]
- 14 and (from) the gate of the cella before [...]
- 15 Šamaš, Aja, Bunene, Ninurta, ... [...]
- 16 and Šubula, Messagunug [...]
- 17 The king [will make(?) a libation] with the golden libation bowl before [...]
- 18 The king [will go] up to Ubšukkinaku ...[...]
- 19 the exorcists, 'the lamentation priests' [and the singers ...]
- 20 'x'

TU 39

Rev.

- 1 meat ...[...]
 - 2 He will sit on his seat in the courtyard. They will lift up and place the liver on the Dais of Anu.
 - 3 The diviner and the *šangu*-priest of Adad will take the liver. The main (meal) will be cleared and
 - 4 the second meal will be served. (The priest) will fill the censers and the singers will sing and (then)
 - 5 'the temple will stay intact, keep it safe!')(?) they will say, and (the meal) will not be cleared. In the evening (the meal) will be cleared and
 - 6 the main meal of the evening will be served. (The priest) will fill the golden censers and he will make (l. 7) offerings
 - 7 of ox and sheep. The singers will sing (and) the main (meal) will be cleared. Then
 - 8 the second (meal) will be served. The singers will sing and (then) 'the temple will stay intact,
 - 9 keep it safe!')(?) they will say, and (the meal) will not be cleared. The vigil will continue the entire night. The gate will be closed.
-
- 10 Day 10: at night, (by means of the lamentations) 'Lord, respected one of Heaven and Earth' for Anu, (and) 'The honored one of Heaven' for the gods,

b. The New Year ritual

- 11 in Ubšukkinaku the awakening of the temple ceremony will be performed. At dawn the gate will be opened and the vigil will be ended. Then
12 a water (basin) will be lifted up for (the washing of) the hands. Oil will be taken, the main meal of the morning will be served.
13 The singers will sing. The main (meal) will be cleared and the second (meal) will be served. The second meal will be cleared. Then
14 the main meal of the evening will be served. The singers will sing. The second (meal) of the evening will be cleared and the gate will be closed.
-

- 15 Day 11: at night, (by means of the lamentations) 'The bull in his fold' for Anu, (and) 'The honored one who wanders about' for the gods
16 in Ubšukkinaku the awakening of the temple ceremony will be performed. At dawn the gate will be opened and a water (basin) will be lifted up for (the washing of) the hands.
17 Adad, Sîn, Šamaš, Ninurta, Messagunug, Papsukkal, Nusku, Usmû and Kusu
18 will rise and take up position towards Anu in the Grand Courtyard. In the courtyard they will sit on their seats and
19 wait for Lugalbanda and Ninsun. The main meal of the morning
20 will be served to Anu, Antu and all the (other) gods. As soon as Lugalbanda and Ninsun
21 have arrived, they will enter the courtyard and take up position towards Anu. The main (meal) will be cleared and with a golden libation bowl
22 (the priest) will make a libation for Lugalbanda and Ninsun and all those (other) gods. Then
23 (Lugalbanda and Ninsun) will return to their seats and sit. The main and second (meal) of the (last) double hour of the day
24 in the usual manner ditto.
-

- 25 These are the rites of the (seventh) month Tašrītu; completed.
-

(Catchline:)

- 26 The (eighth) month Araḥsamna, day 5: Mīšaru will rise from Eḡenunna, the temple of Adad and (will come here).

(Colophon:)

- 27 From an older wax table, a copy from Uruk. Copied and collated. Tablet of Anu-uballit, son of Nidintu-Anu,
28 descendant of Ḫunzû, the exorcist of Anu and Antu, from Uruk. (Written by) the hand of Šamaš-ēṭir, son of Ina-qibīt-Anu, son of Šibqat-Anu,
29 descendant of Ekur-zakir, the exorcist of Anu and Antu, from Tiranna.

Comments

TU 39

U.E.

For the invocational formula see H. Hunger, *AOAT* 2, 12 ff.; J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 210, n. 779 and 224 with n. 829; M.T. Roth, *JSS* 33 (1988), 1–9.

Obv.

l. 2, *it-ti* 'at the time of' (the second meal of the morning), following W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 224, seems better than translating literally 'with'.

l. 3, GIN-*ak* a singular although a plural is intended.

l. 4, the É.ĦI.LI.KÙ.GA ‘House of Pure Luxuriance’ is the name of the bed-chamber (É.NIR) of Nanāja (see M. Stol, in *RIA* 9 (1998), s.v. Nanaja), situated in the É.ĦI.LI.-AN.NA ‘House of the Luxuriance of Heaven’, the shrine of Nanāja. The É.ĦI.LI.AN.NA is also attested in *VS* 15, 13, a contract from Hellenistic Uruk concerning the sale of a plot of land, obv. 3 and 6 (gišKIRI₆ É.ĦI.LI.AN.NA ‘the garden of Eḫil(i)anna’). Probably it has to be located not in the Ešgal, but in the Eanna-temple. Cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 26, with. n. 2; 36 and 41; A.R. George, *House Most High*, nos. 459 and 464.

The É.NIR ‘bed-chamber’ (perhaps representing *É A.NIR = *bīt tānēḫi* ‘House of Weariness’, see A.R. George, *House Most High*, no. 899), is also mentioned in the Hellenistic ritual *TU* 41, obv. 6, here the bed-chamber of Antu in the Rēš-temple. It is also attested in a Late Babylonian (perhaps Hellenistic) list from Uruk enumerating different sections of temples, *SpTU* 1, no. 136, obv. 8’: É.NIR.MAḪ [KI] U₈.ZÉ.EB.BA.MU ‘Exalted Bed-chamber, place where the sleep is made pleasant’.

l. 6, dugA.GÚB.BA *uk-tan-nu* ‘the holy water-basin will be set up’; in similar context also in *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 33. *uk-tan-nu* is not a plural, but rather a Dt-stem present with ‘überhängende Vokal’ -u (cf. W. von Soden *GAG*, § 104, g; see also § 82, e and § 18, e): we have two more examples of *uk-tan-nu* where it is clearly connected with a singular subject. See *TU* 42 +, rev. 33’(2x). Furthermore we have several examples in Hellenistic rituals of a D-stem present singular *tu-kan-nu*. See *TU* 41, obv. 18; 20; 26; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 15.

l. 7, ^{lú}MUḪALDIM *a-kal*.MEŠ or perhaps ^{lú}MUḪALDIM.A.KAL.MEŠ ‘bread bakers’? Cf. ^{lú}MU.NINDA, *MSL* 12, 234. Suggestion M. Stol.

l. 7, ŠÌR ḪÚL.LA ‘songs of jubilation’, cf. *CAD*, Z, 119a, a, although it looks out of place here together with the cook and several sorts of food.

l. 7, ‘mutton’, lit. ‘(meat of) *kālû*-sheep’.

l. 10, *ti-ir-mat*.MEŠ, *tirimtu*-cups(?), cf. *AHw*, 1361a.

l. 10, *dannu*- and *namḫaru*-vats, (shaped like) raven (*a-ri-bi*), following W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 224. *CAD*, A/II, 265b, 1, a is not certain. Perhaps similar to: 5 *ša-bit* ‘5 gazelle (shaped) vessels’(??), in *TU* 44, IV, 32 (but also not certain)? M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 431 (he only gives a translation) probably reads *e¹-re-bi* and translates: ‘the entering’ (of DN₁ and DN₂).

l. 10, for ^dGUŠKIN.BÀN.DA the text reads ^dGUŠKIN.KÙ.BÀN.DA.

l. 16 (see also 20; 22; 25; *TU* 40, obv. 10(?); *TU* 39, rev. 18), KISAL.MAḪ ‘Grand Courtyard’ of the Rēš-temple. See also *TU* 41, obv. 3; 34; *TU* 42 +, obv. 2; *KAR* 132, I, 2; 7; 20; 30. The Grand Courtyard of Esagila is mentioned in *Racc.*, 136, 273 and 146, 456. The location of the Grand Courtyard (*kisalmahḫu*), situated by A. Falkenstein (*Topographie*, 22) in the ‘Hof I’, is now questioned by A.R. George, suggesting that ‘either one of the several other courtyards in the temple’s annexes or the principal courtyard of an outer precinct’ is more likely (*BiOr* 53 [1996], 372).

l. 18, GUB-*zi-zu* (see also *TU* 40, rev. 8, and *TU* 40, obv. 18: GUB-*zi-zu*-'), probably a G-stem perfect plural *ittazizzū* (var. *ittašizzū*) with present meaning (see *CAD*, M/I, 236b, c), not (contra *AHw*, 409b, II, 1, b) *izzizū*, a G-stem preterite plural, in Late Babylonian also used as present, because a present is attested below l. obv. 26: GUB-*za-az*.

The verb *izuzzu* in G- and Š-stem (cf. W. von Soden, *ZA* 50 (1952), 163–69; id., *GAG*, § 107a-h; *AHw*, 408–9, 410a, sub 'Formen') is attested many times, with different spellings. To illustrate the variation in spellings attested in the Hellenistic rituals, we will give here a short survey of *izuzzu*:

1. G-stem (to stand):
 - a. present singular masculine:
 - GUB-*za-az*: *TU* 39, obv. 26.
 - GUB-*za*: *TU* 42 +, obv. 32' (GUB-[*za*(?)]); rev. 23' (GUB-z[*a*(?)]); rev. 28'; *KAR* 132, II, 10 (or a plural feminine, as in l. 6, 9, 15?); IV, 20; 23 (GUB-*za-ma*).
 - GUB-*az-ma*: *TU* 43, rev. 19 (see also *KAR* 60, obv. 18).
 - see also *TU* 44, II, 14 (GUB).
 - *iz-za-a*[*z*]: *TU* 43, obv. 8.
 - b. present plural masculine:
 - GUB-*zu*: *TU* 42 +, rev. 24' (GUB-*zu*!, copy has GUB-*za*); *KAR* 132, II, 2 ([GUB-*zu*]); 4.
 - GUB-*zu*.MEŠ: *KAR* 132, I, 11; 13.
 - GUB-*zi*.MEŠ: *KAR* 132, I, 21; IV, 11.
 - c. present plural feminine:
 - GUB-*za*: *KAR* 132, II, 6 (GUB-[*za*]); [9]; 15.
 - d. a preterite, *iz-zi-za-ma*, but in the Late Babylonian period used as present, is attested once: *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 6, obv. 18.
 - e. perfect plural, with present meaning:
 - GUB-*zi-zu*: *TU* 39, obv. 18; *TU* 40, rev. 8; *TU* 42 +, obv. 19'; *KAR* 132, II, 16.
 - GUB-*zi-zu*-' : *TU* 40, obv. 18; *KAR* 132, II, 13.
 - f. Furthermore a precative, *li-iz-zu-ka* (for *lizziz(z)ūka*, *TU* 43, rev. 4) is attested.
2. Š-stem (to make stand), all written syllabically:
 - a. present singular masculine:
 - *tuš-za-za-ma*: *TU* 44, I, 14; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 14, 5' (*tuš-za-za*).
 - *tuš-za-zi*: *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 10.
 - *tuš-za-as-su-ma*: *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 17.
 - see also in Neo-Assyrian texts: *tuš-za-za-a-ma* (*KAR* 60, obv. 6) and *tuš-za-az-ma* (*KAR* 50, rev. 8).
 - b. We have one example of a preterite: *uš-ziz* (*Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 6, rev. 30).

l. 19, ^{gi}*tal-lu* 'carrying pole' see also *TU* 40, obv. 12. Also attested in the Uruk rituals *KAR* 132, IV, 20, 22, *TU* 42 +, obv. 18', rev. 8', 19', 32', and playing a major role in *BRM* 4, 7, obv. 4, 7, 11, 15, 19, 23, 26, rev. 40. Also known from Babylon: BM 47902 + (W.G. Lambert, *RA* 91 [1997], 52–56), I, 12–19. In his comments (ib., 56) Lambert suggested that the *tallu* might have been (or included) a portable incense altar. Note,

however, that in *TU* 42 +, rev. 32'ff. a *tallu* of Ištar is mentioned before offering tables are placed in front of Ištar and the other gods and censers are filled, indicating perhaps that the *tallu* was not used for fumigation but had a different function. Evidence from Neo-Babylonian Sippar supports the translation 'carrying pole' (cf. A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, 21, n. 247),

See also *RAcc.*, 141, 370, where based on the context for *tallu* a crossbeam in the top of Ezida, the cella of Nabû, is probably intended. For *tallu* = 'crossbeam(s) supporting a false ceiling below the roof itself', see A.R. George, *BTT*, 218.

l. 20, LAL-aš, a singular although a plural is intended. Other examples where a singular is written (usually LAL-aš), although from the context it is clear that a plural is intended: *TU* 39, obv. 22 (*i-tar-ra-aš*); *TU* 40, obv. 19; *TU* 39, rev. 18; 21 (*KU₄-ma ... LAL-aš*, both singular).

l. 20 (see also *TU* 40, rev. 16; *TU* 39, rev. 17), ^dMES.SAG.UNUG^{ki} is a later writing of ^dMES.SANGA.UNUG^{ki}. For the latest information on this god see M. Krebernik, in *RIA* 8 (1993), 94–5. Cf. also *TU* 41, rev. 3, 5, 9, 10, 18, 20, 33; *KAR* 132, IV, 25.

l. 23 (see also 34, *TU* 40, obv. 20; rev. 4), *ú-lap-pat* 'sprinkle' (?) is probably better than 'smear' (for the latter see *TU* 41, obv. 10, see my comments on this line; *RAcc.*, 140, 350), following *CAD*, L, 92a, j. Cf. also *TU* 42 +, obv. 32'; rev. 26'; *KAR* 132, III, 18; IV, 11–12.

l. 27, ^dPAPSUKKAL ù ^{lu}MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ ŠU^{II} ^dLX DAB-bat.MEŠ-ma 'Papsukkal and the exorcists will lead Anu', lit. 'will seize the hands of' (cf. *CAD*, Š, 31a, b, 3', c and 4'); the singular is usually written DAB-bat-am-ma or DAB-bat-ma. For more examples of the phrase *qātē šabātu* see for Uruk: *TU* 40, obv. 14; rev. 6; 9; 14. See also *TU* 41, obv. 34; rev. 3; 34(?); *TU* 42 +, obv. 25' (unusual spelling of plural: DAB-bat-ú-ma); 34'; rev. 22' (see also 32'); 27' (DAB-bat-ma, a singular, although a plural is intended); *KAR* 132, I, 19; 27; III, 21; IV, 6; 13; *TU* 44, III, 27; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 30; W 18728 (A. Falkenstein, *UVB* 15 [1959], 40–44), rev. 8'. For Babylon see *RAcc.*, 143, 400. For a discussion see A.K. Grayson, in: *CRRRA* 17, Ham-sur-Heure, 1970, 164 ff.; B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, 171 ff. with more text references. See also II.4.2.

l. 28, for ^{giš}Û.LUḪ NAM.LUGAL.LA, see also *TU* 42 +, obv. 32'; rev. 16', 22'–23', 28', and *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 14, 4'.

l. 29, ŠU^{II}, the copy reads: *šu-ut*, see *RAcc.*, 90, n. 4.

l. 30, KI ŠÍSKUR GABA.RI 'the place where (the god) is made to accept the offering' (*šumḫuru*), cf. *AHw*, 579b, *maḫāru* Š; *CAD*, M/I, 68 f., *maḫāru* 10. See also *TU* 42 +, obv. 28'; 30'.

***TU* 40, Obv.**

l. 4–5, the complete incipit of this hand-raising prayer (*šuillakku*) is attested in *TU* 43, rev. 19.

l. 7, for *su-uš-šú* see *CAD*, S, 418–19, but no translation is suggested.

l. 9, KÁ.MAḤ ‘Grand gate’, cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 10–11. See also *TU* 41, rev. 9; 12; *BRM* 4, 7, obv. 2. This gate is also mentioned in the building inscription *YOS* 1, 52, l. 4.

l. 9 (see also 14), BÁRA NAM.[MEŠ], ‘Dais of Destinies’. See also *TU* 41, rev. 6; *TU* 42 +, obv. 32'; 35'; *KAR* 132, III, 21. The Dais of Destinies is most likely not located in the Grand Courtyard (courtyard I, cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 22 f.; B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, 59 f.), but rather in the Ubšukkinaku, the large central courtyard in front of the Anu-Antu-temple, in the Rēš-complex (Falkenstein’s courtyard VI, cf. ib., 10, 13, 22 ff.), according to A.R. George, *BiOr* 53 [1996], 373 f.

l. 10, KISAL.[MAḤ(?) rak-su(?)], following A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 23, n. 1.

l. 11, the ÈŠ.MAḤ, located in the Rēš-temple, is also attested in *KAR* 132, II, 16; 17. Cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 24; A.R. George, *House Most High*, no. 281.

l. 12, *ina muḥ-ḫi SAR-ár* ‘he will write(?) on it’, this is rather sudden and strange in this context. Perhaps we should read *uqattar* ‘he will make a fumigation on it’ (suggestion M. Stol)?

l. 14, *n[ap-tan]*, although the copy before the break reads AN, the context makes it clear that here a meal was mentioned. However, whether this was the main or the second meal is not clear.

TU 40, Rev.

l. 4, *šulpu*-vessel, cf. *CAD*, Š/III, 257–8 (see also *AHW*, 1269b: ‘Metallröhrchen’), but contra *CAD*, K, 83a, c: ‘handle’, which seems less likely since on other occasions *kallu* and *šulpu* are clearly separated by *u* ‘and’ (*CT* 51, 95, obv. 14); strong evidence can be found in the Late Babylonian ritual *LKU*, no. 51, rev. 5 where *kallu* and *šulpu* are also separated by *u*, and furthermore both are preceded by the determinative DUG.

l. 6, D[AB-bat.MEŠ-ma], reconstruction following *TU* 39, obv. 27; *TU* 40, obv. 14; *TU* 40, rev. 9; 14. See my comment on *TU* 39, obv. 27, above.

l. 7, BÁRA NAM.LUGAL.LA ‘Dais of Kingship’, perhaps also in *TU* 43, rev. 18. Cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 19.

l. 11, KISAL *An-tu*₄ ‘courtyard of Antu’; for the latest discussion of KISAL see A.R. George, *BiOr* 53 (1996), 370 ff. (contra A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 21 with n. 6, and B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, 40, who translate ‘Vorzeila’). While A. Falkenstein situated the courtyard of Antu in ‘Raum 16’, the antechamber of the cella of Antu (*Topographie*, 25), A.R. George, ib., 372 suggested that the courtyard in front of this antechamber (Falkenstein’s ‘Hof I a’) is more likely.

l. 18 (see also *TU* 39, rev. 11; 16), for the Ubšukkinaku (UB.ŠU.UKKIN.NA.KI), also attested in *TU* 41, rev. 5; 7; 9; 20; *KAR* 132, I, 4; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 12, obv. 12, see my comments on *TU* 40, obv. 9.

TU 39, Rev.

l. 2 (see also 3), ^{uzu}KIN ‘liver’ (cf. *AHW*, 1351a, c, *CAD*, B, 122a, e’ and Š/I, 382a, 3’). It is not attested elsewhere in Late Babylonian ritual texts.

l. 2, BĀRA dLX ‘Dais of Anu’, cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 19. See also *TU* 43, rev. 18.

l. 5 (see also 8–9), É *i-šal-lim* SILIM^{im}.MA.ĀB, an Akkadian recitation incipit, but the translation is difficult: ‘the temple will stay intact (or: will be completed), keep it safe!’(?) (suggestion M. Stol). Cf. *CT* 16, 7, 272: SILIM.MA.AB.

Less likely for the second part of the incipit is: SILIM^{im}-*ma ma-lit* ‘she is filled with peace’. Cf. M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 432–3, who does not transliterate but translates: ‘He is reconciled (to) the house. *She is filled with peace*’. However, the problem here is that *malit* refers to a feminine subject while *bītu* (É) is masculine. See II.3.6.

l. 10, the lamentation ‘The honored one of Heaven’ is also attested in the Uruk eclipse of the moon ritual *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 51 and [53] and the duplicate BM 134701, obv. 11 and 13. Also mentioned for the *dīk bīti*-ceremony in the Uruk cultic calendar text *TU* 48, rev. 6, see II.2.2. The lamentation ‘Lord, respected one of Heaven and Earth’ is also mentioned in the Uruk building ritual text *TU* 46, rev. 9, and the Uruk *mīs pī*-ritual text *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 24; 25. See M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 413 ff.

l. 11 (see also 16), in my interpretation the *dīk bīti*-ceremony is the subject of *iššakkan*, but the lamentations in l. 10 can also be subject (cf. W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 226).

l. 15, the lamentation ‘The bull in his fold’ is also attested in *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 48, 49, 51, 52, and the duplicate BM 134701, obv. 7, 9, 11, 13. Also mentioned in connection with the *dīk bīti*-ceremony in *TU* 48, obv. 13, rev. 5, see II.2.2. The lamentation ‘The honored one who wanders about’ is also mentioned in connection with the *dīk bīti*-ceremony in *TU* 48, rev. 1, see II.2.2.

l. 19, *i-dag-gal-la* is a mistake for *i-dag-gal-lu*.

l. 23, *uš-šá-ba* is either a mistake for *uš-šá-bu* (plural) or a rare example of a dualis.

l. 23, *bi-ru u₄-mu*, see *AHW*, 130b, 3, b. See also II.2.2.

l. 27, *ba*-IGI (cf. *CAD*, G, 2b, b, 1) or BA.IGI (cf. H. Hunger, *AOAT* 2, 42, no. 99, 3) for *bari* is not attested elsewhere. The logogram IGI is used often, alone or in combination with KĀR, TAB, LAL and BAR, cf. H. Hunger, *AOAT* 2, 4 and index, 160a.

This text from Hellenistic Uruk contains part of a ritual for the New Year festival (*akītu*) of the month Nisannu. The text presents a *šullakku*- (hand-raising) prayer, which has to be recited on the tenth day of the New Year festival, and a *šullakku*-prayer on the eleventh day.

The text is discussed in II.4.5.1.

Obv.

- 1 'gišNÍG.GIDRU' GAM.MA BAL.E NAM.LUGAL.LA NAM.BÍ.IN.S[A₄ ...]
- 2 *ta-mi-ḫi ḫaṭ-tu kip-pat u pa-la-a na-bu-ú šar-ru-ú-tú*
- 3 NIR.GÁL DÌM.ME.ER.E.NE UKKIN.NA GAR.RA DÌM.ME.ER GAL.GAL.E.NE
KA.TA.È.A.NI.ŠÈ SUN_x(BÚR).NA AK.AK.DA
- 4 *e-tel-lu DINGIR.MEŠ šá ina pu-ḫur šak-na šá DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ šit-lu-tu ši-it
pi-i-šú*
- 5 EN AGA KA.SILIM.MA U₆.BI.DI LA.LA SA₅.A
- 6 *be-lu a-gu-ú taš-ri-iḫ-tu₄ šá a-na tab-rat la-la-a ma-lu-ú*
- 7 U₅ UG.GAL.GAL.LA BÁRA NAM.LUGAL.LA.KE₄ NIR.GÁL.LA.BI.TA U₆.DI GUB.BA
- 8 *ra-kib u₄-mu rab-bu-tu šá ina pa-rak-ku šar-ru-tu a-na tab-rat e-tel-liš iz-za-a[z]*
- 9 KA.AB.BA.ZU.ŠÈ KA.KÙ.GA.TA ^dNUN.GAL.E.NE ZA.RA GEŠTUG^{II}.BI BAR.RA.A.NI
(1.10:) IGI Ì.MA.AL
- 10 *a-na e-piš pi-i-ka el-lu ^dÍ.GÌ.GÌ uz-na-ši-na ba-šá-a*
- 11 ^dA.NUN.NA.KE₄.E.NE NIGIN.NA.BI NÍ.BI ḪA.RA.AN.DÉ(!?).E
- 12 ^dA-nun-na-ki nap-ḫar-šú-nu pal-ḫi-iš i-ba-ú-ka
- 13 DÌM.ME.ER KÌLIB.BI.IR.RA DUG₄.GA.BI.ZU.ŠÈ GI U_x (GIŠGAL).LU. GIN_x (GIM)
MU.UN.SÌG.SÌG.GA.E.NE
- 14 *a-na qí-bit-ka DINGIR.MEŠ nap-ḫar-šú-nu ki-ma GI-né-e me-ḫe-e i-šu-ub-(bu)*
- 15 E.NE.ÈM.ZU IM.GIN_x(GIM) IR.RA.BI Ú NAG.GÁ ŠÁR.RA
- 16 *a-mat-ka ki-ma šá-a-ri i-zi-iq ri-ú-tu₄ u maš-qí-tu₄ ud-da-áš*
- 17 DUG₄.GA.BI.TA KA.È.A.ZU.TA DÌM.ME.ER ŠÀ.DAB.BA.MU KI.TUŠ
NAM.MU.UN.AN.GUR.RU
- 18 *ina qí-bit-ka DINGIR.MEŠ ze-nu-tu a-na šub-ti-šú-nu i-tur-ru*
- 19 DÌM.ME.ER AN.KI.A KÌLIB.BI.IR MÁŠ.DA.RA NÍG.ŠÀ.A IGI.ZU ḪÉ.EN.SI.SÁ.E.NE
- 20 DINGIR.MEŠ nap-ḫar-šú-nu šá AN-e u KI-ti ina ir-bi u kat-re-e li-iš-te-šir ma-ḫar-ka

Rev.

- 1 LUGAL KUR.KUR.E.NE GUN DUGUD.DA MU.UN.NA.AN.TÙM.MA.ZU
- 2 LUGAL.MEŠ šá KUR.KUR GUN-su-nu ka-bit-ti li-bi-il-ú-ka
- 3 A.ZA.LU.LU SÍSKUR KIR₄ ŠU MAR.RA UD.ŠÚ.UŠ ḪÉ.EN.LAḪ₄.LAḪ₄.GI.ZU
- 4 *te-né-še-e-ti ina ni-qa-a ut-ten-nen-ni u la-ban ap-pi u₄-mi-šam (1. 5:) li-iz-zu-ka*
- 5 ŠÀ.ḪUN.GÁ.ZU.ŠÈ DÌM.ME.ER GAL.GAL.E.NE NÍ.BI IN.TUR.TUR.RA
- 6 *a-na nu-uḫ lib-bi-ka DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ li-te-nu-ú-ú-ka*
- 7 BAR.ZU ḪÉ.EN.ŠED₇.DA.ZU.ŠÈ UN DA.MA.AL A.RA.ZU DÈ.RA. AB.B[A]
- 8 *a-na šu-up-šu-uḫ ka-bat-ti-ka UN.MEŠ da-ád-me tés-lit liq-bu-ú-k[a]*
- 9 DIMMER.GAL.GAL.E.NE UL A.RA.ZU.TA ŠÀ.ZU ḪÉ.EN.ḪUN.G[Á]
- 10 DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ina an-na u tés-lit lib-ba-ka li-ni-ḫ[i]*
- 11 KA.SÌ.SÌ.GA.TA KIR₄ ŠU MAR.R[A.TA] BAR.'ZU' ḪÉ.EN.ŠED₇.E[.NE]

¹¹ Cf. *RAcc.*, 70–71, 108–111.

Appendix

- 12 *ina te-me-eq u la-ban ap-pi* [ka-bat-t]a-ka l[i-šap-ši]-ih
 13 UNUG.KI URU.ZU NIGIN.NA.TA [...] 'x x' [...]
 14 a-na Ū-ruk a-lu-ka ni-is[...] 'x' [...] 'x' ma ki [...]
 15 AN.GU.LA KI.BAL.ŠÈ ŠU URU.ZU MU.UN.[GI...]
 16 ^dA-nù GAL-ù ina KUR nu-kúr-tu₄ gi-mil a-lu-k[a te-er]
-
- 17 ŠU.ÍL.LÁ AN.NA.KE₄ šá ina ^{iti}BÁR UD.10.KAM a-na ^dA'-[nù i-na-aš-šu-ú]
-
- 18 ^{iti}BÁR UD.11.KAM ki-ma šá ^dA-nù ina muḫ-ḫi BÁRA ^dLX šá BÁRA
 [NAM.LUGAL.LA(?) DÚR(-bu)]
 19 [úG]ALA GUB-az-ma AN.NA Á.GÁL.LA MÍ.DUG₄.GA IM.R[A.BI.ŠÈ AN.KI.A]
 20 [AŠ.E].NE NIR.GÁL.LA ŠU.ÍL.LÁ.KAM ina muḫ-ḫi pa-la-ag-g[i ÍL(-ši)]
-
- 21 [AN.NA Á.GÁL].^rLA MÍ.DUG₄.GA IM.R'A.BI.ŠÈ AN.KI.A AŠ.E.NE [NIR.GÁL.LA]
 22 [...] 'x' šá e-diš-ši-šu ina AN-^re'
 23 [...] 'u' KI-ti e-tel-lu

Obv.

- 1–2 (You) (Anu) who holds the scepter, the loop, and the bala-symbol, who decrees kingship,
 3–4 lord of the gods, whose utterance prevails in the established assembly of the great gods,
 5–6 master of the crown of splendor, which is full of amazing decoration,
 7–8 who rides the great storms, who stands on the Dais of Kingship in amazing lordly splendor,
 9–10 the Igigi heed any command coming from your pure mouth;
 11–12 all the Anunnaki gods come to meet you respectfully;
 13–14 at your command all the gods tremble like reeds in a violent storm;
 15–16 your word, when it blows like a wind, creates abundance in pasture and watering place;
 17–18 the angry gods return at your command to their dwelling place;
 19–20 may all the gods of Heaven and Earth proceed into your presence with gifts and presents!

Rev.

- 1–2 May the kings of all (foreign) lands bring you their substantial tribute!
 3–4 May mankind stand by you every day through offering, prayer, and supplication!
 5–6 May the great gods pray to you to calm your heart!
 7–8 May the people of (all) inhabited regions address (their) invocation to you to appease your mind!
 9–10 May the great gods make your heart relent through approval and invocation!
 11–12 M[ay they appea]se your [min]d by intense prayer and supplication!
 13–14 for/to Uruk, your city, ...[...] ...[...]
 15–16 O, great Anu, [avenge] your city in enemy land!

-
- 17 Hand-raising prayer of Anu, which [they will recite] in the (first) month Nisannu, day 10, to A[nu].
-

- 18 The (first) month Nisannu, day 11, when Anu [sits] on the Dais of Anu, on the Dais [of Kingship(?)],

- 19 [the la]mentation priest will stand and [will recite] the hand-raising prayer (l. 20)
‘Strong Anu, revered by [himself(?)], who [alo]ne is Lord (l. 20) [in Heaven and on
Earth’],
20 to the accompaniment of a lyr[e].

21–22–23 [‘Strong Anu], revered by himself(?), who alone is Lord in Heaven and on Earth’.

Comments

obv.

l. 1–2, GAM.MA // *kip-pat* ‘loop’ (cf. *CAD*, K, 398, c), or perhaps better ‘ring’, as one of the royal insignia (cf. *AHw*, 483a, 4, b)? Cf. also *RAcc.*, 137, 302; 144, 415; 145, 448.

l. 1–2, BAL.E // *pa-la-a*, cf. *AHw*, 817a, 3, a. Or mantle(?), cf. *CAD*, N/I, 32b lex. section.

l. 6 and 8, *a-na tab-rat* ‘amazing’, see *AHw*, 1299b, 3: ‘zum Staunen’, but cf. also *CAD*, L, 49a lex. section: ‘pleasing to look at’.

l. 9–10, following *CAD*, B, 145a lex. section. See also *AHw*, 113a, G, 1, c and 2, c.

l. 11, 𒀠A.RA.AN.DÉ.E, we transliterate DÉ, following *CAD*, B, 179a lex. section (see also *CAD*, N/I, 292b lex. section): the copy has MÚRU, which is not *bâ’u*, nor any other verb. For *bâ’u* one would expect DIB (see for example *RAcc.*, 144, 413). Because MÚRU is a sign very similar to DÉ, *CAD* probably interpreted MÚRU as a mistake for DÉ (which is usually *šasû* and *abālu*), being an variant spelling of DIB elsewhere not attested.

l. 13–14, see *CAD*, Š/I, 18a, 1, b; however, the copy does not read KILIB (= LAGAB) but KÌLIB (= NIGIN) (see also l. 19).

l. 15–16, the translation of the first part follows the Sumerian. The Akkadian line reads: ‘your word, when it blew like a wind’ (preterite *zâqu*). Cf. *CAD*, Z, 64a lex. section.

l. 18–19, IGI.ZU 𒀠É.EN.SI.SÁ.E.NE // *li-iš-te-šir ma-ḥar-ka* ‘may ... proceed into your presence’, not *li-iš-te-’u* (contra *RAcc.*, 109; *CAD*, I-J, 174a lex. section; ib., K, 32b lex. section; ib., Š/II, 355b lex. section). The copy clearly reads *šir*, not *’u*. Furthermore, SI.SÁ is *ešēru*, not *še’û*. An identical writing is attested in the conjuration *CT* 17, 26, rev. 82–83 (𒀠É.EN.SI.SÁ.E // *liš-te-šir*). See also the incantation *KAR* 223, obv. 12 (*lu-uš-te-šir ma-ḥar-ka* ‘may I prosper in your presence’) and the Neo-Assyrian ritual text IV R², 23, no. 1 +, III, 15–22 (SI.SÁ.BI // *šu-te-šir*) (damaged; see below in this Appendix). A problem is that the Sumerian verb is plural, while the Akkadian verb is singular, but this is a mistake which is also attested elsewhere in this text (cf. obv. 13–14: MU.UN.SĪG.SĪG.GA.E.NE // *i-šu-ub* and probably also, if restored correctly, in rev.11–12: 𒀠É.EN.ŠED₇.E[.NE] // *l[i-šap-ši]-iḥ*).

rev.

l. 3–4, for KIR₄ ŠU MAR.RA // *la-ban ap-pi* see also l. 11–12.

l. 4, *ut-ten-nen-ni* ‘prayer’ is missing in the Sumerian line. Cf. *AHw*, 1444, *utnēnu* I, 2, a. For the verb *utnēnu* see l. 6.

l. 4, *li-iz-zu-ka* for *lizziz(z)ūka* (cf. *RAcc.*, 109, n.2). See my comment on *TU* 39, obv. 18.

l. 5–6, for *li-te-nu-’ú-ka* (or *li-te-(nen(?))-nu-’ú-ka*), see *RAcc.*, 109, n. 3; *AHw*, 1444b, *utnēnu* II, 2, a; W. von Soden *GAG*, § 107, v; id., *ZA* 50 (1952), 181.

l. 8 and 10, *tés-lit* ‘invocation / prayer’, or perhaps *taš-lit* (see *RAcc.*, 109), because the cognate verb *sullû* ‘to pray’ and the noun *sullû* ‘prayer’ are also attested with the variant *šullû*.

l. 12, *l[i-šap-ši]-iḫ*, probably a Š-stem has to be restored, see rev. 8: *šu-up-šu-uḫ* (but cf. *RAcc.*, 109: *l[i-pa-saš-ši]-iḫ*). It is singular, although the subject of the verb is clearly ‘the great gods’, mentioned in l. 9–10. See my comment on obv. 18–19.

l. 18–21, also translated by M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 436.

l. 18, *BÁRA* [NAM.LUGAL.LA(?)], following A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 19 (contra *RAcc.*, 109: *BÁRA* [NAM.MEŠ]). See my comment on *TU* 40, rev. 7.

This text from Hellenistic Uruk describes the route for the procession of Anu's statue to the *akītu*-temple outside the city during the New Year festival (*akītu*) of the first month Nisannu.

The text is discussed in II.4.5.1.

I.

Obv.

- 1 [...] 'x x na¹³-šap-pi GUŠKIN(?)¹ [...]
- 2 [pa-ni dLX a-na pa-ni dEN.L]ÍL ù DINGIR.MEŠ ma-la ina KISAL.MAḤ ú-še-ti-iq
- 3 [na-šap-pi] GUŠKIN pa-ni An-tu₄ a-na pa-ni dINNIN.MEŠ šá ina KISAL ú-še-ti-iq
- 4 [na-šap-pi] GUŠKIN pa-ni dINNIN a-na pa-ni DINGIR.MEŠ ma-la ina
UB.ŠU.UKKIN.NA.KE₄ ú-še-ti-iq
- 5 [dEN.LÍL dÉ]-a dIM dXXX dUTU DINGIR.MEŠ DÙ.A.BI gišTUKUL.MEŠ dUTU.MEŠ
- 6 [ù] gišGIGIR.MEŠ 'TA' šub-ti-šú-nu ina ma-ak-ki¹⁴-tu₄ šá na-mur-tu₄ LUGAL ZI.MEŠ-
nim-ma
- 7 [a-n]a KISAL.MAḤ E₁₁.MEŠ-ma a-na dA-nù LAL-aš.MEŠ dEN.LÍL KU₄-ma
- 8 [i-na mu]ḥ-ḥi KI.AGA.ZI.DA a-na XV dA-nù DÚR-ab dÉ-a KU₄-ma
- 9 [ina mu]ḥ-ḥi KI.AGA.KÙ.GA a-na 2,30 dA-nù DÚR-ab dXXX dŠUL.PA.È.A
- 10 [d]MAŠ dMi-šar-ri dNUSKU dINNIN.LÁL ù dNIN.GUBLAGA
- 11 [ina X]V KÁ pa-pa-ḥa ina DA dIM GUB-zu.MEŠ dUTU dBu-ne-ne
- 12 [d]GIŠ.BAR dZa-ba₄-ba₄ dU.GUR dLUGAL.GÍR.RA dDINGIR.MAR.TU(?) dKÙ.SÙ
- 13 [ù] dARA ina 2,30 KÁ pa-pa-ḥa GUB-zu.MEŠ LUGAL a-na pa-pa-ḥa An-tu₄ GIN-ma
- 14 [uš]-kin-ni dBe-let-DINGIR.MEŠ dŠA.LA dDUMU.SAL.MEŠ-dLX dA-a dGu-la
- 15 [dN]IN.ÈŠ.GAL dAMA.SÁG.NU.DU₇ dSA.DÀR.NUN.NA dAš-rat
- 16 [ù] dŠar-rat-AN-e TA šub-ti-ši-na ina ma-ak-ki-tu₄ šá na-mur-tú LUGAL
- 17 [ZI].MEŠ-nim-ma a-na An-tu₄ LAL-aš.MEŠ LUGAL ma-aq-qu-ú GUŠKIN a-na An-tu₄
- 18 [i-r]ed-de-e-ma ŠU¹¹ An-tu₄ ina lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ lúGALA.MEŠ lúNAR.MEŠ šid-di GADA
- 19 [ù] ma-aq-qu GUŠKIN DAB-bat-am-ma An-tu₄ GIN-ak-ma ina man-za-zi-šú
- 20 [ina K]ISAL.MAḤ ina muḥ-ḥi šu-bat GUŠKIN pa-ni-šú a-na dUTU.È.A GAR-an-ma
DÚR-ab
- 21 [dINNIN].MEŠ nap-ḥar-ši-na a-na tar-ši An-tu₄ GUB-zi.MEŠ
- 22 [lúMAŠ.MA]Š.MEŠ lúGALA.(MEŠ) ù lúNAR.MEŠ ina pa-ni-šú i-par-ra-su
- 23 [LUGAL] ù lúKU₄-É a-na ÈŠ.GAL.LA ÚRU.GAL (UNU.GAL) GIN-ak.MEŠ-ma
- 24 [lúK]U₄-É A.MEŠ ŠU¹¹ a-na dINNIN ÍL-ši-ma LUGAL ma-ak-ki-tu₄ šá na-mur-tú
- 25 [a-n]a pa-ni dINNIN DAB-bat-ma ŠU¹¹ dINNIN ù šu-bat dLX šá É pa-pa-ḥa dINNIN
- 26 [ina lúMAŠ.MA]Š.MEŠ lúGALA.MEŠ lúNAR.MEŠ šid-di GADA [ù] ma-aq-qu GUŠKIN
- 27 [DAB-ba]t-am-ma dNa-na-a dNIN.SI₄.AN.NA dNIN.IGI¹¹.ZI.BAR.RA
- 28 [dI-š]ar-tu₄ dNIN.ME.UR.UR d¹⁵ÁB.É.TÙR.RA dŠÀ.GE.PÀ.D[A]
- 29 [dDUMU.SAL.MEŠ]-UNUG^{ki} dDUMU.SAL.MEŠ-É.AN.NA dNIN.SÚN ù dŠar-rat-
[BÁRA]
- 30 [a-na dINNIN] 'LAL.MEŠ'-ša-nim-ma dINNIN a-na KISAL.MAḤ E₁₁-ma ina man-za-zi-
šú [DÚR-ab]

¹² Cf. *RAcc.* 99–108; E. Ebeling, in: H. Gressmann, *ATAT*², 314 ff.; H. Zimmern, *Neujahrsfest* 2, 20 ff.; G. Čağiran, *Festivals*, 50–63; M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 434–36. See also R. Borger, *HKL* 1, 99.

¹³ Copy: *ab*.

¹⁴ Copy: *ni*.

¹⁵ Copy: *ni*.

II

Obv.

- 1 ^dXXX ^d[ŠUL.PA.È.A ^dMAŠ ^dMi-šar-ri ^dNUSKU ^dINNIN.LÀL ù ^dNIN.GUBLAGA]
- 2 *ina* DA ^dIM [GUB-zu ^dUTU ^dBu-ne-ne ^dGIŠ.BAR ^dZa-ba₄-ba₄ ^dU.GUR]
- 3 ^dLUGAL.GÌR.RA ^dDINGIR.M[AR.TU(?) ^dKÙ.SÙ ù ^dARA ...]
- 4 *ina* DA ^dIDIM GUB-zu ^dBe-^rlet-DINGIR^r.MEŠ ^dŠA.LA ^d[DUMU.SAL.MEŠ-^dLX ^dA-a]
- 5 ^dME.ME ^dBA.BA₆ ^dNIN.ÈŠ.GAL ^dAMA.SÁG.NU.D[U₇ ^dSA.DÀR.NUN.NA]
- 6 ^dAš-rat ù ^dŠar-rat-AN-e EGIR *An-tu₄* GUB-[za ^dNa-na-a ^dNIN.SI₄.AN.NA]
- 7 ^dNIN.IGI^{II}.ZI.BAR.RA ^dI-šar-^rtu₄ ^dNIN.ME.UR^r.[UR ^dÁB.É.TÙR.RA]
- 8 ù ^dŠÀ.GE.PÀ.DA ^dDUMU.SAL.[MEŠ-UNUG^{ki} ^dDUMU.SAL.MEŠ-É.AN.NA ^dNIN.SÚN]
- 9 ù ^dŠar-rat-BÁRA GIN-ak-a-[ma EGIR ^dINNIN GUB-za ...]
- 10 GIN-ak-ma a-na XV ^dNa-na-a GUB-za ^d[...]
- 11 ^dLUGAL.BÀN.DA ^dIMIN.BI ^dIGI.DU ^dMEŠ.LAM.T[A.È.A ...]
- 12 ^dĤENDUR.SAG.GÁ ù ^dŠU.BULÁ *ina mah-ri pa-ni-šú* [...]
- 13 *iš-šak-kan-nu-ma* GUB-zi-zu-^r ^dURÛ-INIM-su ^d[...]
- 14 ^dNIN.ÚR.BU ^dNIN.IMMÀ ^dŠILAM.KUR.RA [...]
- 15 EGIR ^dNIN.SI₄.AN.NA GUB-za ^d[...]
- 16 *šá KÁ ÈŠ.MAĤ* GUB-zi-zu ^d[...]
- 17 *bi-^r šá ÈŠ.MAĤ* *ina pa-ni-šú* [...]
- 18 *rak-su* ^{lu}GÌR.LÁ [...]
- 19 *ip-par-su a-na* [...]
- 20 *šá* DUG [...]
- 21 KÁ x[...].

III

Rev.

- 1 EGIR-šú 2 [...]
- 2 EGIR-šú 4 [...]
- 3 EGIR-šú 2 ^{lu}mu-^rban(?)^r-nu(?)^r-ú(?)^r[...]
- 4 EGIR-šú ^{mul}GIGIR ^{giš}GIGIR-su [...]
- 5 EGIR-šú ^{giš}GIGIR ^dMAŠ ^{giš}G[IGIR ...]
- 6 EGIR-šú ^{giš}GIGIR ^dUTU ù ^{giš}GIGI[R ...]
- 7 *an-na-a* ^{giš}GIGIR.MEŠ ^{lu}ÉRIN-ni [...]
- 8 *iš-pat*.MEŠ GUŠKIN *šá* ^dLX ù *An-t*[u₄ ...]
- 9 *it-ti* ^{giš}GIGIR ^dLX GIN-ak.MEŠ EGI[R-šú ...]
- 10 ù ^dLUGAL.BÀN.DA EGIR-šú ^dIMIN.BI ^dIGI.[DU ... ^dĤENDUR.SAG.GÁ]
- 11 ù ^dŠU.BULÁ EGIR-šú ^dLUGAL.GÌR.RA ^dMES.LA[M.TA.È.A ...]
- 12 ^dINNIN.LÀL ù ^dNIN.GUBLAGA ^dMAŠ.TAB.BA ^dTu-ma-mu[...] ^rME(?)^r [...]
- 13 EGIR-šú ^dMAŠ ^dBu-ne-ne ù ^dZa-ba₄-ba₄ EGIR-šú ^dUTU u ^dI[M ...]
- 14 EGIR-šú ^dPAP.SUKKAL ^dNUSKU ^dGIŠ.BAR ^{lu}NAR.MEŠ ù ^{lu}GALA.MEŠ
- 15 EGIR-šú ^{lu}EN.NA ^dDINGIR.MAR.TU(?) ^dKÙ.SÙ ^dSIRSIR(?) ù ^{lu}MAŠ.MAŠ.[MEŠ]
- 16 XV u 2,30 *šá* ^{lu}MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ 2 ^{lu}mu-ban-nu-ú ^{giš}.GÌR ZA.GÌN.NA GAR.RA GÍD ^{giš}ERE[N]
- 17 *ina* ^{dug}NÍG.TAB.TUR.RA *ina pa-ni-šú* È.MEŠ-nim-ma EGIR-šú A.MEŠ ŠU^{II} *a-na* ^dLX
- 18 ù *An-tu₄* ÍL-ši LUGAL ù UN.MEŠ *ú-lap-pat* ^dPAP.SUKKAL
- 19 ^dNUSKU ù ^dARA *a-na* ^dA-nù LAL-aš.MEŠ-ma LUGAL *ma-aq-qu-ú* GUŠKI[N]
- 20 *a-na pa-ni* ^dA-nù *i-red-de-e-ma* ^dPAP.SUKKAL ^dNUSKU ^dARA ù LUGAL
- 21 ŠU^{II} ^dA-nù TA BÁRA NAM.MEŠ DAB-bat.MEŠ-ma ^dEN.LÍL *ina* XV-šú ù ^d[É-a]
- 22 *ina* 2,30-šú GIN-ak.MEŠ-ma 2-ú-ta *a-na na-mis-su* EGIR-šú *An*-[tu₄ ^dINNIN]
- 23 ù ^dNa-na-a EGIR-šú ^dNIN.SI₄.AN.NA ^dŠA.LA ù ^d[DUMU.SAL.MEŠ-^dLX]

- 24 EGIR-šú^d A-a^d ME.ME^d BA.BA₆ ù^d NIN.È[Š.GAL]
 25 EGIR-šú^d AMA.SÁG.NU.DU₇ SA.DÀR.NUN.NA^d Aš-rat [ù^d Šar-rat-AN-e]
 26 'EGIR-šú(?)^d x.x.AN.NA u(?)^d UTU(?) x' [...] 'x x' [...] 'x x' [...]

IV

Rev.

- 1 [...] k]i-ma šá^d A-nù ina muḫ-ḫi a-ra-am
 2 [e-lu-ú šá KAR KÙ.GA ik-tal-du(?)^d x-ù DINGIR.MEŠ gab-bi a-na pa-ni-šú LAL-aš
 3 [...] g^{is}qa-ru-ú ir-rak-kas-ma
 4 [...] LUG]AL ma-aq-qu-ú GUŠKIN a-na pa-ni^d A-nù
 5 [i-red-de-e-ma^d P]AP.SUKKAL ù LUGAL a-na^d A-nù LAL-aš.MEŠ-ma
 6 [ŠU^{II}] 'dLX DAB'.MEŠ-ma a-na KISAL É á-ki-tu₄ KU₄-ma ina muḫ-ḫi
 7 [BÁR]A.GAL ina KISAL É á-ki-tu₄ pa-ni-šú ana^d UTU.È.A GAR-an-ma DÚR-ab
 8 [dE]N.LÍL ù^d É-a KU₄.MEŠ-ma XV u 2,30 DÚR-ab An-tu₄ dINNIN
 9 ù^d Na-na-a ina muḫ-ḫi šu-bat.MEŠ EGIR dLX DÚR-ab dIM ina DA
 10 dEN.LÍL ana XV dLX DÚR-ab DINGIR.MEŠ nap-ḫar-šú-nu KU₄.MEŠ-ma ina KISAL É
 á-ki-tu₄
 11 ina pa-ni-šú GUB-zi.MEŠ A.MEŠ ŠU^{II} a-na^d LX ù An-tu₄ ÍL-ma LUGAL u UN.MEŠ
 12 ú-lap-pat LUGAL ma-aq-qu-ú GUŠKIN a-na^d LX u An-tu₄ i-red-de-e-ma
 13 'dPAP.SUKKAL ù LUGAL ŠU^{II} d(A)-nù TA BÁRA.GAL DAB-bat.MEŠ-ma KU₄-ma ina
 pa-pa-ḫa-šú
 14 [DÚR]-ab EGIR-šú^d EN.LÍL ù^d É-a KU₄.MEŠ-ma XV u 2,30 DÚR-ab
 15 [An]-tu₄ KU₄-ma ina muḫ-ḫi šub-ti-šú DÚR-ab dŠA.LA ù^d DUMU.SAL.MEŠ-dLX
 16 [X]V u 2,30 šá An-tu₄ DÚR-ab dINNIN KU₄-ma ina muḫ-ḫi šub-ti-šú DÚR-ab
 17 [d]Na-na-a ù^d NIN.SI₄.AN.NA XV ù 2,30 šá dINNIN DÚR-ab
 18 [d]IM KU₄-ma ina DA dEN.LÍL a-na XV^d A-nù DÚR-ab
 19 [d]UTU KU₄-ma ina DA dÉ-a a-na 2,30^d A-nù DÚR-ab
 20 [d]PAP.SUKKAL ina ku-bur-ru-ú KÁ pa-pa-ḫa GUB-za g^{is}tal-lu GUŠKIN [dA]-nù^d
 21 ú-še-el-lu-ú šá^d EN.LÍL dIDIM dAn-tu₄ dINNIN dIM u^d UTU KI.MIN-ma
 22 [ki-m]a šá g^{is}tal-lu ik¹⁶-tal-du dPAP.SUKKAL GIN-ak-ma ina muḫ-ḫi šub-ti-šú DÚR-ab
 23 [l^uGAL]A 'ina DA' GUB-za-ma AN.GAL.E ŠU.ÍL.LÁ.KÁM a-na^d LX ÍL-ši
 24 [...] GIN-ak].MEŠ-ma ina šub-ti-šú-nu šá KISAL DÚR-ab dI-šum GIN-ak-ma
 25 [ina D]A(?) LUGAL a-na XV DÚR-ab dMES.SAG.UNUG^{ki} GIN-ak-ma
 26 [ina D]'A' (?) dLX a-na 2,30 DÚR-ab
 27 [...] 'x' dLX ina pa-ni-šú-nu i-sal-li-'
 28 [...] -šú(?)]-nu it-ta-^r šab x x GUŠKIN^r

I.

Obv.

- 1 [...] ... a golden dish(?) [...]
 2 [(from) before Anu], he will pass to Enlil, and whatever gods are in the Grand Courtyard.
 3 He will pass a golden [dish], (from) before Antu, to the (other) goddesses who are in the courtyard.
 4 He will pass a golden [dish], (from) before Ištar, to whatever gods are in the Ubšukkinaku.
 5 [Enlil, E]a, Adad, Šîn, Šamaš (and) all of the (other) gods, the symbols, the sun disks,
 6 [a]nd the chariots will rise from their seats in the towboat, which is a gift of the king, and

¹⁶ Copy: *it*.

- 7 they will come down to the Grand Courtyard and take up position towards Anu. Enlil will enter and
- 8 sit on (the dais called) Kiagazida to the right side of Anu. Ea will enter and
- 9 sit on (the dais called) Kiagakuga to the left side of Anu. Šîn, Šulpaea,
- 10 Ninurta, Mīšaru, Nusku, ^dINNIN.LÀL and Ningublaga
- 11 will stand at the right side of the gate of the cella next to Adad. Šamaš, Bunene,
- 12 Girra, Zababa, Nergal, Lugalgirra, Il-Amurri(?), Kusu
- 13 [and] Usmû will stand at the left side of the gate of the cella. The king will go to the cella of Antu and
- 14 will [pro]strate himself. Bēlet-ilī, Šala, Mārāt-Anu, Aja, Gula,
- 15 NinEšgal, Amasagnudu, Sadarnunna, Ašrat
- 16 [and] Šarrat-šamē [will rise (l. 17)] from their seats in the towboat, which is a gift of the king,
- 17 and take up position towards Antu. The king [will make] a libation with the golden libation bowl to Antu
- 18 and he will lead (l. 19) Antu, accompanied by the exorcists, the lamentation priests, the singers, the linen curtain
- 19 and the golden libation bowl, and Antu will go (from the cella) and, at her station
- 20 in the Grand Courtyard, on the golden seat she will place her face towards the West and sit.
- 21 All [the goddess]es will stand in the direction of Antu.
- 22 [The exorcis]ts, the lamentation priests and the singers will stop (their procession) in front of her.
- 23 [The king] and the temple enterers will go to the great temple Urugal and
- 24 [a te]mpel enterer will lift up the water (basin) for (washing of) the hands to Ištar. Then the king will take (l. 25) the towboat, which is a gift,
- 25 [be]fore Ištar. He will [lea]d (l. 27) Ištar and Anu's seat, which is in the cella of Ištar,
- 26 [accompanied by the exorc]ists, the lamentation priests, the singers, the linen curtain and the golden libation bowl.
- 27 Nanāja, Ninsianna, Ninigizibarra,
- 28 [Iš]artu, Ninmeurur, Abeturra, Šagepada,
- 29 Mārāt-Uruk, Mārāt-Eanna, Ninsun, and Šarrat-[parakki]
- 30 will take up position [towards Ištar] and Ištar will come down to the Grand Courtyard and [sit] at her station.

II.

Obv.

- 1 Šîn, [Šulpaea, Ninurta, Mīšaru, Nusku, INNIN.LÀL and Ningublaga]
- 2 [will stand] next to Adad. [Šamaš, Bunene, Girra, Zababa, Nergal,]
- 3 Lugalgirra, Il-Amur[ri(?), Kusu and Usmû ...]
- 4 will stand next to Ea. Bēlet-ilī, Šala, [Mārāt-Anu, Aja,]
- 5 Gula, Baba, NinEšgal, Amasagnud[u, Sadarnunna,]
- 6 Ašrat and Šarrat-šamē will sta[nd] behind Antu. [Nanāja, Ninsianna,]
- 7 Ninigizibarra, Išar'tu, Ninmeur'[ur, Abeturra,]
- 8 and Šagepada, Mār[āt-Uruk, Mārāt-Eanna, Ninsun,]
- 9 and Šarrat-parakki will go [and stand behind Ištar. ...]
- 10 will go and stand by the right side of Nanāja. [...]
- 11 Lugalbanda, Sebetu, Palil, Meslamt[aea ...]
- 12 Ĥendursagga and Šubula before her [...]
- 13 will be placed and stand (there). Ušur-amassu, [...]
- 14 Ninurbu, Ninimma, Šilamkurra [...]

b. The New Year ritual

- 15 will stand behind Ninsianna. [...]
16 will stand by the gate of the Ešmah. [...]
17 the (wall) opening of the Ešmah, in front of him/her [...]
18 is/are bound. The (ritual) butcher [...]
19 they stayed away, to [...]
20 of a [...] -container [...]
21 the gate [...]

(In the following break the procession of Anu from the Grand Courtyard to the Dais of Destinies in Ubšukkinaku was probably described.)

III.

Rev.

- 1 Next, 2 [...]
2 Next, 4 [...]
3 Next, 2 arrangers(?) (of the offering table) [...]
4 Next, (the constellation) Auriga, its chariot [...]
5 Next, the chariot of Ninurta (and) the cha[riot of ...]
6 Next, the chariot of Šamaš and the chari[ot of ...]
7 These are the chariots (and) the personnel [...]
8 The golden quiver(s) of Anu and Ant[u ...]
9 They will go alongside the chariot of Anu. Nex[t ...]
10 and Lugalbanda. Next Sebettu, Pal[il ... Hendursagga]
11 and Šubula. Next Lugalgirra, Mesla[mtea ...]
12 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶.LĀL and Ningublaga, 𐎶Māšu, Tu'āmu [...]
13 Next Ninurta, Bunene and Zababa. Next Šamaš and Ad[ad]
14 Next Papsukkal, Nusku, Girra, the singers and the lamentation priests.
15 Next the En-priest, Il-Amurri(?), Kusu, Sirsir(?) and the exorcist[s].
16 To the right and left of the exorcists, 2 arrangers (of the offering table) will 'pull (out?)' a footstool, mounted in lapis-lazuli.
17 They will bring out cedar (shavings, burning) (l. 16) in a *huluppaqu*-brazier in front of him (Anu). Next (the priest) will lift up a water (basin) for (the washing of) the hands to Anu and Antu; he will sprinkle(?) the king and the (other) persons. Papsukkal,
18 Nusku and Usmû will take up position towards Anu and the king will make a libation (l. 20) with a golden libation bowl
20 before Anu. Then Papsukkal, Nusku, Usmû and the king
21 will lead Anu from the Dais of Destinies. Enlil will go at his right and [Ea]
22 will go at his left, and for a second time ... Next An[tu, Ištar]
23 and Nanāja. Next Ninsianna, Šala and [Mārāt-Anu.]
24 Next Aja, Gula, Baba and Nine[šgal]
25 Next Amasagnudu, Sadarnunna, Ašrat [and Šarrat-šamê.]

IV.

Rev.

- 1 [... As soon] as Anu [has reached (l. 2)] the [upper] wharf
2 [of the Pure Quay(?)] ... all the gods will take up position before him.
3 [...] The *karû*-stand will be put together and
4 [...] the ki]ng will make a libation (l. 5) with a golden libation bowl befor Anu.
5 [Then P]apsukkal and the king will take up position towards Anu, and

- 6 they will lead Anu. Then (Anu) will enter the courtyard of the *akītu*-temple and on
- 7 the Great [Dai]s in the courtyard of the *akītu*-temple, he will place his face towards the East and sit.
- 8 [E]n lil and Ea will enter and sit at the right and the left side. Antu, Ištar
- 9 and Nanāja will sit on the seat behind Anu. Adad
- 10 will sit next to (l. 9) En lil at the right side of Anu. All the gods will enter and stand in front of him (l. 11) in the courtyard of the *akītu*-temple.
- 11 (The priest) will lift up a water (basin) for (the washing of) the hands to Anu and sprinkle(?) (l. 12) the king and the (other) persons.
- 12 The king will make a libation (l. 20) with a golden libation bowl for Anu and Antu and
- 13 Papsukkal and the king will lead Anu from the Great Dais. Then he will enter his cella and
- 14 sit. En lil and Ea will enter and sit at the right and left side.
- 15 [An]tu will enter and sit on her seat. Šala and Mārāt-Anu
- 16 will sit at the right and left side of Antu. Ištar will enter and sit on the seat.
- 17 Nanāja and Ninsianna will sit at the right and left side of Ištar.
- 18 Adad will enter and sit at the right side of Anu next to En lil.
- 19 Šamaš will enter and sit at the left side of Anu next to Ea.
- 20 Papsukkal will stand by the *kuburrū*-doorframe of the cella. They will bring up (l. 21) the gold(-plated) carrying pole of [A]nu.
- 21 As far as (the carrying poles of) En lil, Ea, Antu, Ištar, Adad and Šamaš are concerned, ditto. Then,
- 22 [as soon a]s the carrying pole has arrived, Papsukkal will go and sit on his seat.
- 23 [The lamentation priest] will stand to the side and recite the hand-raising prayer ‘O, Great Anu’ to Anu.
- 24 [... will com]e and sit on their seats in the courtyard. Išum will come and
- 25 will sit [at the side of] the king on the right. Messagunug will go and
- 26 will sit [at the side of] Anu on the left.
- 27 [...] ... Anu he will ... in front of them.
- 28 [...] on the]ir [...] he sat ... gold

Comments

I.
Obv.

l. 1–4, the restoration follows *TU* 39, obv. 24–25 and *TU* 42 +, obv. 19'–23'.

l. 8, KI.AGA.ZI.DA ‘Place of the True Crown’, socle of En lil in the Grand Courtyard of the Rēš-temple, cf. A.R. George, *House Most High*, no. 584.

l. 9, KI.AGA.KÙ.GA ‘Place of the Pure Crown’, socle of Ea in the Grand Courtyard of the Rēš-temple, cf. A.R. George, *House Most High*, no. 583.

l. 10, for ḏINNIN.LÀL see A. Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, Romae, 1914, 225, no. 2762. For Ningublaga see my comment on *TU* 38, rev. 41.

l. 12 (see also II, 3; III, 15), we know that AN.AN.MAR.TU (or ḏDINGIR.MAR.TU?) and ḏMAR.TU i.e. the god Amurru, are identical, cf. M. Stol, *JCS* 31 (1979), 178, but the reading remains uncertain; perhaps Il-Amurri, following *RAcc.*, 100? Cf. also J.-R. Kupper, *L'iconographie du dieu Amurru dans la glyptique de la I^{re} dynastie babylonienne*, Bruxelles, 1961, 69 f.; F. Thureau-Dangin, *TCL* I, 59 f.

l. 15, Amasagnudu, this goddess, already known from the Old Babylonian period on, is also attested twice in private contracts from Hellenistic Uruk: *TCL* 13, 242, obv. 5 (dAMA.SÀG.NU.DU₇); *BRM* 2, 29, obv. 4 and rev. 22 (dAma-saq-qa-nu-úl). See P.-A. Beaulieu, *ASJ* 14 (1992), 47–53.

l. 22, ‘the priests) will stop (*i-par-ra-su*) (their procession)’, cf. *AHw*, 831a, 6, g.

l. 23, ÈŠ.GAL.LA ÚRU.GAL (UNU.GAL) ‘the great temple Urugal’, i.e. the Ešgal-temple. See my comment on *TU* 38, rev. 2.

l. 24, *ma-ak-ki-tu₄* ‘towboat’, or, with B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, 59b: *ma-aq-qí-tu₄* ‘Opfergefäß’? Pongratz-Leisten argues that, since a libation bowl (written *ma-aq-qu-ú*) is already mentioned in l. 26, the reading *maqqu₄* is more probable. However, the different spelling makes it more likely that *makkītu* was intended.

l. 25–27, ŠU^{II} dINNIN ... [DAB-ba]*t-am-ma*. See my comment on *TU* 39, obv. 27.

II.

Obv.

l. 4–8 (see also III, 22–25), the gods mentioned here are also enumerated in another small fragment from Hellenistic Uruk, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 13:

x +

1' [...] x [...] UŠ 'x x' [...]

2' [...] dNa-na-a [...]

3' [...] 'd'ŠA.LA ù 'd'DUMU.SAL'.MEŠ-dLX [...]

4' [...] [d]BA.BA₆ ù dNIN.ÈŠ.GAL [...]

5' [...] [d]SA.DÀR.NUN.NA dAš-rat u dŠar-[rat-AN-e ...]

6' [...] 'd'NIN.IGI^{II}. 'ZI.BA'R.RA ù [d]I]-'šar-tu₄'(?) [...]

7' [...dÁ]B.É.TUR. 'RA(?)' u dŠÁ. 'GE'.P[À.DA ...]

l. 6, GUB-[za] (cf. also l. 9; 15), with a feminine plural ending (see also GIN-*ak-a*-[ma in l. 9), because the subjects of the verb are all goddesses (cf. GUB-*zu* in l. 4, referring to masculine gods; see also l. 2). Difficult is GUB-*za* in l. 10, because the subject or subjects at the end of l. 9 is/are lost. However, since GIN-*ak-ma* at the beginning of l. 10 is singular, and furthermore there does not seem to be much space left at the end of l. 9 for more than one god(dess), GUB-*za* here appears to be singular, as in IV, 20 and 23. See also my comment on *TU* 39, obv. 18 and *TU* 42 +, obv. 32'.

l. 16 (see also 17), ÈŠ.MAH, also attested in *TU* 40, obv. 11; see my comment on this line.

III.

Rev.

l. 3 (see also 16), for the *mubannû* see III.4.3.

l. 15, dSirsir: the sign looks more like SIRSIR (cf. R. Borger, *ABZ*, no. 371a, but written with an extra A in it. See B. Landsberger, *WdO* 1 (1947–52), 362 ff.) than dASILAL₄

(EZENxA.LÁL, cf. R. Borger, *ABZ*, no. 160. See E. Ebeling, in *RIA* 1 (1932), 176b; Ch. Fossey, *Manuel* II, Paris, 1926, 391).

l. 16, GIŠ.GÌR, *kilzappu* ‘footstool’, usually written (GIŠ.)GÌR.GUB(.BU), but also GIŠ.GÌR is attested. See J.A. Knudtzon, *EA*, no. 241, 7; D.J. Wiseman, *Alalakh*, pl. XLI, no. 418, 1, 3 and 5 (3 GIŠ.GÌR). *Kilzappu* is also attested in the Late Babylonian cultic text AO 17662, obv. 3 (GIŠ.GÌR.GUB) and the Hellenistic ritual text *TU* 41, obv. 7 (GÌR.GUB.BU).

Another possibility is GIŠ.GÌR = *kuršû* ‘foot fetters’, links’ (*CAD*, K, 568b) (suggestion M. Stol), but this does not help to explain the specific meaning of the verb *šadādu* (GÍD) in this context.

IV.

Rev.

l. 1–2, cf. *BRM* 4, 7, obv. 12 ff., especially l. 20. The restoration was suggested by A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 48, n. 2. It seems to fit the context, since Anu has reached the other side of the river, and proceeds to the *akītu*-temple. But see also M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 435, who translates: ‘[They place the throne] of Anu on the ramp of [the ...-sanctuary].’

l. 2, LAL-aš, a singular, although a plural is intended, as in I, 7, 17, 30, III, 19 and IV, 5.

l. 3, for the *karû*-stand (^{giš}*qa-ru-û*), see *CAD*, K, 229a, a with commentary.

This tablet contains part of the ritual for probably the second New Year festival (*akītu*) in Uruk during the seventh month Tašritu. The text describes the route for the procession of Anu's statue from his cella in the Rēš-temple to the *akītu*-temple outside the city. The colophon informs us that the text was written by Anu-balāssu-iqbi, son of the owner of the tablet, Anu-aḥa-ušabši, son of Kidin-Anu, of the family Ekur-zakir. It is dated 24(?)–IV-61 S.E. (251 B.C.). This Anu-aḥa-ušabši is also attested elsewhere.¹⁸ The colophon also tells us that the tablet is a copy of an older original.

The text is discussed in II.4.5.1.

U.E. *ina a-mat* dLX *u An-tu₄ liš-lim*

Obv.

- 1 [... *ki-m*]a šá dA-nù TA É.NAM.EN.NA É *pa-pa-ḥa it-ta-ša-a*
- 2 [a-]r^{na} KÁ.MAḤ KUR-ád lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ *gab-bi ÉN LUGAL it-ta-ša-a 3-šú ŠID-nu-ú*
- 3 lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ *i-kal-lu-i-ma EGIR-šú lúŠEŠ.GAL-ú lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ*
- 4 lúKU₄-É.MEŠ *u lúLÚNGA.MEŠ šá gis^{tal}-lu ṣa-an-du*
- 5 dA-nù GAL-ú AN-e *u KI-ti lik-ru-bu-ka a-na dLX i-kar-rab*
- 6 EGIR *ka-ra-bi* lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ ÉN LUGAL *it-ta-ša-a a-di su-qa DINGIR.MEŠ 4-ši*
- 7 lúŠEŠ.GAL-ú lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ lúKU₄-É.MEŠ *u lúLÚNGA.MEŠ šá gis^{tal}-lu ṣa-an-du*
- 8 dA-nù GAL-ú AN-e *u KI-ti lik-ru-bu-ka a-na dA-nù i-kar-rab*
- 9 EGIR *ka-ra-bi ina su-qa DINGIR.MEŠ* lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ ÉN LUGAL.E AN.KI.A
- 10 LUGAL.TA È.A
- 11 4-šú ŠID-nu-ú ÉN *i-kal-lu-i-ma lúŠEŠ.GAL-ú lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ lúKU₄-É.MEŠ*
- 12 *ù na-še-e gis^{tal}-lu ki-ma maḥ-ri-im-ma a-na dA-nù i-kar-rab*
- 13 EGIR *ka-ra-bi* lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ ÉN LUGAL.E EZEN ŠI.IN.MU.UN.DU
- 14 *u ÉN A.GÚB.BA KÙ.GA.TA a-di KAR KÙ.GA a-ram-mu šá gis^{MÁ}.AN.NA*
- 15 *ma-la-ki DINGIR.MEŠ 7.TA.ÀM ŠID-nu-ú ÉN i-kal-lu-i-ma lúŠEŠ.GAL-i*
- 16 lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ lúKU₄-É.MEŠ *u na-še-e gis^{tal}-lu a-na dA-nù i-kar-rab*
- 17 *ki-ma šá dA-nù a-na muḥ-ḥi a-ram-mu šá gis^{MÁ}.AN.NA ik-tal-du*
- 18 lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ *u lúKU₄-É.MEŠ ÉN gis^{MÁ}.GUR₈ MU.UN.U₅ ŠU.ÍL.LÁ.KE₄*
- 19 *a-na dA-nù ÍL-ú EGIR-šú lúŠEŠ.GAL-ú lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ lúKU₄-É.MEŠ*
- 20 *ù na-še-e gis^{tal}-lu ka-ra-bi ki-ma maḥ-ri-im-ma ana dLX i-kar-rab*
- 21 TA *muḥ-ḥi a-ram-mu e-lu-ú šá KAR KÙ.GA a-di KÁ.GAL LUGAL*
- 22 lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ ÉN LUGAL.TA.È.A SIL.A KÙ.GA BA.DIB.A.TA 7-šú ŠID-nu-ú

¹⁷ Cf. E. Ebeling, in: H. Gressmann, *ATAT*², 313 f.; A.J. Sachs, in: J.B. Pritchard, *ANET*², 342 f.; F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 20 (1923), 107 ff.; A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 45 ff.; G. Çağırhan, *Festivals*, 64–71; M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 429–30. See also R. Borger, *HKL* 1, 57 and 2, 34.

¹⁸ As the owner of the tablets *BRM* 4, 8, dated 61 S.E., *UCP* 9 (1931), 399, rev. 30, not dated, W 18828, dated 62 S.E., and K 3753, dated 65 S.E. See also the chronicle text *ŠpTU* 1, no. 2 (dated 61 S.E.), and the astronomical text *TU* 19, 84 S.E. See furthermore the private documents *OECT* 9, 12 // 13, date lost, *BRM* 2, 17, dated 67 S.E. and no. 21, dated 75 S.E. Perhaps also *BiMes* 24, 42, date lost. See also I.2.

Appendix

22 ÉN *i-kal-lu-i-ma* ina KÁ.GAL LUGAL lúŠEŠ.GAL-ú lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ lúKU₄-É.MEŠ
23 *ù na-še-e* ^{giš}tal-lu ka-ra-bi ki-ma maḥ-ri-im-ma ana ^dLX *i-kar-rab*

24 TA KÁ.GAL LUGAL *a-di* É á-ki-tu₄ É *ik-rib* lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ
25 *ki-ma šá* ina šu-ú-qu DINGIR.MEŠ ÉN.MEŠ ŠID-nu-ú ÉN.MEŠ *i-kal-lu-i-ma*
26 lúŠEŠ.GAL-i lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ lúKU₄-É.MEŠ *u* lúLÚNGA.MEŠ *šá* ^{giš}tal-lu
27 *ša-an-du ka-ra-bi a-di* 7-šú ú-šal-la-mu-ma ana ^dLX *i-kar-rab*

Rev.

28 *ki-ma šá* ^dA-nù É á-ki-tu₄ *ik-tal-du* lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ
29 ÉN É KÙ.GA É DIMMER.RE.E.NE ÉN AN LUGAL.MU ŠÀ.DÙG.GA.ZU.ŠÈ
30 ÉN ÚNU(TE.UNUG) KIN.SIG AN.NA.KE₄ ÉN ME.TE BÁRA.MAḤ ÉN *ú-tal-lil* É
31 *ù* ÉN *šub-tu₄ šá* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ŠID-nu-ú

32 ^dA-nù *ra-bu-ú* AN-e *u* KI-tì *lik-ru-bu-ka*
33 ^dEN.LÍL ^dÉ-a *u* ^dBe-let-DINGIR.MEŠ *ḥa-diš* *lik-ru-bu-ka*
34 DINGIR.MEŠ *ki-lal-la-an* ^dXXX *u* ^dUTU ina IGI.DU₈.ÀM-šú-nu *lik-ru-bu-ka*
35 ^dU¹¹⁹.GUR *u* ^dIMIN.BI ina kun-nu lib-bi-šú-nu *lik-ru-bu-ka*
36 Í.GÌ.GÌ *šá* AN-e *u* ^dA-nun-na-ki *šá* KI-tì *lik-ru-bu-ka*
37 DINGIR.MEŠ *šá ap-si-i* *u* DINGIR.MEŠ *šá* DU₆.KÙ *lik-ru-bu-ka*
38 *u₄-mu* ITI *u* MU.AN.NA *u₄-mi-šam* *lik-ru-bu-ka*

39 *an-na-a ka-ra-bi* lúŠEŠ.GAL-i lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ lúKU₄-É.MEŠ
40 *ù* lúLÚNGA.MEŠ *šá* ^{giš}tal-lu *ša-an-du iš-tu* É *re-eš*
41 *a-di* É á-ki-tu₄ *a-na* ^dA-nù 7-šú *i-kar-rab*

42 ÉN LUGAL *it-ta-ša-a* LUGAL *it-ta-ša*¹²⁰-a
43 *ki-ma* SUMUN-šú SAR-ma *ba-rù* *ù up-puš₄ gaba-re* ^{giš}DA SUMUN-bar NÍG.GA ^dLX *u*
An-tu₄
44 IM ^dLX-ŠEŠ-GÁL-ši A *šá* ¹Ki-din-^dLX (lú)ŠÀ.BAL.BAL ¹É-kur-za-kir lúMAŠ.MAŠ ^dLX *u*
An-tu₄
45 lúŠEŠ.GAL-i *šá* É *re-eš* UNUG^{ki}-ú ŠU¹¹ ^dLX-DIN-su-E DUMU-šú *ana a-ḥa-a-zì-šú*
46 GÍD.DA UD.MEŠ-šú DIN ZI-tì-šú *u* kun-nu SUḤUS.MEŠ-šú SAR-ma ina UNUG^{ki} *u* É
re-eš
47 É EN-ú-ti-šú *ú-kin pa-liḥ* ^dLX *u* *An-tu₄* ina šur-qu NU TÙM-šú
48 ¹UNUG^{ki} ¹iš-ŠU UD.¹24¹(?).KAM MU.61.KAM ¹An-ti-¹ku-su LUGAL KUR.KUR

U.E. By the command of Anu and Antu may (this work) be successful!

Obv.

- 1 [... Afte]r Anu has gone out from the cella Enamenna,
- 2 and arrives at the Grand gate, all the exorcists will recite the incantation ‘The king has gone out’ three times.
- 3 The exorcists will stop and after this the high priest, the exorcists,

¹⁹ Copy: *eš*.

²⁰ Copy: *è*.

b. The New Year ritual

- 4 the temple enterers and the brewers, who are harnessed to the carrying pole,
5 will pronounce praise to Anu (saying) ‘Great Anu, may Heaven and Earth greet you’.
-
- 6 After the prayer the exorcists will recite the incantation ‘The king has gone out’, up to the
Street of the Gods four times.
7 The high priest, the exorcists, the temple enterers and the brewers, who are harnessed to the
carrying pole,
8 will pronounce praise to Anu (saying) ‘Great Anu, may Heaven and Earth greet you’.
-
- 9 After the prayer in the Street of the Gods the exorcists will recite (l. 10) the incantation ‘The
king, who in Heaven and Earth surpasses all (other) kings’
10 four times. They will stop the incantation and the high priest, the exorcists, the temple
enterers
11 and the bearers of the carrying pole will pronounce praise to Anu as before.
-
- 12 After the prayer the exorcists will recite (l. 14) the incantation ‘The king is coming to the
festival’,
13 and the incantation ‘From the pure holy water-basin’, up to the Pure Quay, the wharf of the
Boat of Anu,
14 (along) the procession of the gods, seven times. They will stop the incantation and the high
priest,
15 the exorcists, the temple enterers and the bearers of the carrying pole will pronounce praise
to Anu.
-
- 16 As soon as Anu has reached the wharf of the Boat of Anu,
17 the exorcists and the temple enterers will recite (l. 18) the incantation
‘He has boarded the *makurru*-boat’, a hand-raising prayer,
18 to Anu. After this the high priest, the exorcists, the temple enterers
19 and the bearers of the carrying pole will pronounce the (same) prayer to Anu as before.
-
- 20 From the upper wharf of the Pure Quay up to the Royal Gate
21 the exorcists will recite the incantation ‘He who surpasses all kings, after he has passed by
in the Pure Street’ seven times.
22 They will stop the incantation and at the Royal Gate the high priest, the exorcists, the
temple enterers
23 and the bearers of the carrying pole will pronounce the (same) prayer to Anu as before.
-
- 24 From the Royal Gate up to the *akītu*-temple (named) *Bīt ikribi*, the exorcists
25 will recite the (same) incantations as in the Street of the Gods. They will stop the
incantations and
26 the high priest, the exorcists, the temple enterers and the brewers, who are harnessed (l. 27)
to the carrying pole,
27 will pronounce the prayer to Anu seven times in its entirety.
-
- Rev.
28 When Anu has reached the *akītu*-temple, the exorcists
29 will recite (l. 31) the incantation ‘Pure house, house of the gods’, the incantation ‘Anu, my
king, your good heart’,

Appendix

- 30 the incantation ‘The evening meal of Anu’, the incantation ‘The proper Grand Dais’, the
incantation ‘The temple has been purified’
31 and the incantation ‘The dwelling of the great gods’.
-

- 32 ‘Great Anu, may Heaven and Earth greet you!
33 May Enlil, Ea and Bēlet-ilī greet you in joy!
34 May the pair of gods Sîn and Šamaš greet you in their appearances!
35 May Nergal and Sebettu greet you in their steadfast hearts!
36 May the Igigi of Heaven and the Anunnaki of Earth greet you!
37 May the gods of the Subterranean Water and the gods of the Pure Mound greet you!
38 May they greet you daily, (each) day, month and year!’
-

- 39 This is the prayer which the high priest, the exorcists, the temple enterers
40 and the brewers, who are harnessed to the carrying pole, will pronounce to Anu (l. 41) from
the Rēš-temple
41 up to the *akītu*-temple, seven times.
-

(Catchline:)

- 42 Incantation: ‘The king has gone out, the king has gone out’.

(Colophon:)

- 43 Copied, collated and ‘made’ in accordance with its original. A copy of an older tablet,
property of Anu and Antu.
44 Tablet of Anu-aḥa-ušabši, son of Kidin-Anu, descendant of Ekur-zakir, the exorcist of Anu
and Antu,
45 the high priest of the Rēš-temple in Uruk. (Written by) the hand of Anu-balāssu-iqbi, his
son. He has written (the tablet) (l. 46) for his (own) instruction,
46 his long days, his well-being and the permanence of his position and set (it) up (l. 47) in
Uruk and in the Rēš-temple,
47 the temple of his lordship. He who honors Anu and Antu, will not take it away by means of
theft.
48 Uruk, the (fourth) month Du’ūzu, day 24(?), year 61, Antiochos, king of the lands.

Comments

Obv.

l. 1, the Enamenna is the cella of Anu in the Rēš-temple in Uruk. It is also attested in the building inscription YOS 1, 52, 17. Cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 18–20; A.R. George, *House Most High*, no. 837.

l. 3, the unusual spelling *i-kal-lu-i-ma*, also attested in l. obv. 10; 14; 22; 25, does not occur elsewhere, although the verb *kalû* is attested often in Hellenistic ritual texts: *TU* 45, obv. 14; *TU* 46, obv. 13; 28; rev. 12; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 20; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, obv. fragment 1, 3'; *BRM* 4, 6, obv. 7 // *CLBT*, pl. 1, col. II, 5'. See also F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 14.

l. 4 (see also 7, 26, rev. 40), ‘the brewers, who are harnessed to the carrying pole’, referred to only indirectly in obv. 11, 15, 19, and 23, as ‘the bearers of the carrying pole’.

l. 5 (see also 8), the prayer is given in full in rev. 32–38.

l. 5, *i-kar-rab*, a singular, although a plural is intended; see also l. 8, 11, 15, 19, 23, 27 (cf. *ú-šal-la-mu-ma* in this line), rev. 41.

l. 9, ‘The king of Heaven and Earth, who surpasses all (other) kings’, similar in l. 21.

l. 13, the passage in which Anu, on his way to the *akītu*-temple, sets foot on the boat, is not described. Also the part from ‘the Pure Quay, the wharf of the Boat of Anu’, up to ‘the upper wharf of the Pure Quay’ is not mentioned (see *KAR* 132, IV, 1–2; *TU* 42 +, rev. 19’). Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 20 (1923), 110, n. 3 and A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 48.

l. 20 (see also 22; 24), *KÁ.GAL LUGAL*, the ‘Royal Gate’, see F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 31 (1934), 145 f., where he suggests that the royal gate is the gate of the *akītu*-temple. Against this A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 48 argues that the procession had to be long enough to recite a number of incantations; so the gate in question must have been one of the gates in the city wall.

l. 21, ‘He who surpasses all kings, after he has passed by in the Pure Street’, the second part of the incipit probably belongs to the incipit of this incantation, although it looks like a reference to the route which the procession had to take. See F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 20 (1923), 110 and A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 47. See also the incipit in l. obv. 9, which is very similar to the first part of the incipit here.

l. 24, *É ik-rib* (usually written *É.SÍSKUR*) ‘House of Blessing’, an epithet of the *akītu*-temple of Anu in Uruk. It is also the name of the *akītu*-temple in Babylon, see the Hellenistic *akītu*-ritual, *RAcc.*, 143, 401: [ina *É.SÍŠ*]KUR *É ik-ri-bi*. See also the ritual calendar text from Hellenistic Babylon, *SBH* VIII, II, 4 and 7. Cf. A.R. George, *House Most High*, no. 993.

Rev.

l. 30, ‘The evening (*līlātu*, KIN.SIG) meal (*mākālū*, ÚNU) of Anu’. Or, with M.E. Cohen (*Cultic Calendars*, 430): ‘(In) the Banquet Hall (ÚNU), at the Evening Meal (KIN.SIG) of Anu’?

l. 35, *ina kun-nu lib-bi-šú-nu* ‘in their steadfast hearts’, cf. *CAD*, K, 543, 2.

l. 37, the *DU₆.KÙ* ‘Pure Mound’ is the cosmic seat of the king of the gods of Heaven and Earth (Lugaldimmerankia) in the divine assembly, cf. B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, 56; A.R. George, *House Most High*, no. 178; E.J. Wilson, ‘Holiness’ and ‘Purity’ in Mesopotamia (*AOAT*, Band 237), Kevelaer, 1994, 19–20, who suggests *KÙ* to be translated ‘holy’ rather than ‘pure’. *DU₆.KÙ* is also another name for the Dais of Destinies (*parak šīmāti*), where the destinies were determined during the New Year festival. The *DU₆.KÙ* is known especially from Nippur, Babylon and Girsu (Lagaš), cf. A.R. George, *House Most High*, nos. 179, 180 and 181. See also II.4.5.2.

l. 43–49, for the colophon, see H. Hunger, *AOAT* 2, 37–38, no. 87.

Appendix

l. 43, *up-puš₄* ‘made’, see H. Hunger, *AOAT* 2, 3b, with *AHw*, 227b, D, 3, b (‘richtig b(ehandeln) od mit Kolophon abschließen?’), but contra *CAD*, E, 232b, 5’ (‘to copy’). *uppušu* usually follows *šaṭāru*, so the translation ‘to copy’ is less likely.

l. 48, UD.‘24’, or ‘25’?

The ritual texts contain parts of the twenty-second and twenty-third tablets of the ritual series concerned with the New Year festival (*akītu*) of the month Nisannu in Hellenistic Babylon. The ritual instructions for the first of Nisannu are lost; for the second to the fifth day we have several large fragments; the sixth to the eleventh day are also lost. For the date and composition of the text see I.2.

The text is discussed in II.4.5.2.

- 1 [DIŠ] ina ^{iti}BÁR UD.2.KAM 1 DANNA GE₆
 - 2 ^{lu}ŠEŠ.GAL ZI-*ma* A.MEŠ ÍD TU₅
 - 3 [ana] IGI ^dEN KU₄-*ma* ^{túg}GADA.LAL ina IGI ^dEN
 - 4 [*i-d*]e-ek-ku ana ^dEN ŠÚD.BI DUG₄.GA
-
- 5 UMUN.MU NU.ZA.PA.ÁG.BI GIŠ.BU E.NE
 - 6 ^dEN *šá* ina uz-zi-šú *ma-ḫi-ir* NU TUK-ú
 - 7 UMUN.MU BÁRA.SIG₅.GA UMUN.MU KUR.KUR.RA
 - 8 ^dEN LUGAL *dam-qa* ^dEN KUR.KUR.MEŠ
 - 9 KÁR.KÁR Á.DÚRU.NA KI.A.A NU.ZU
 - 10 *mu-tir* SILIM.ME *šá* DINGIR.DINGIR GAL.GAL
 - 11 EN.A.NI UMUN.MU A.NA UMUN.MU AN ḪUN.GÁ
 - 12 ^dEN *šá* ina né-*kel-mi-šú ú-šam-qit* dan-nu-tú
 - 13 ^dBÁRA LÚ.LÚ ^dBÁRA LÚ.TUK.A
 - 14 ^dEN LUGAL.MEŠ ZÁLAG LÚ-tú *mu-za-’iz is-qé-e-tú*
 - 15 UMUN.MU TUŠ.MU.ŠU GIŠ.GÁL.LA Ú.AGA KI.IN.NIR
 - 16 ^dEN *šub-ta-ku* E^{ki} *Bar-sip a-gu-ku*
 - 17 [A]N.AN.MU AN.AN.ŠÁ.BÍ PEŠ.E
 - 18 AN-*e rap-šu-tú gi-mir ka-bat-ti-ku*
 - 19 [^dEN ina IGI^{II}-ku ta-bar-ri gim-re-e-tú
 - 20 [ina] UR₅.ÚŠ.MEŠ-*ka ta-ḫa-tu* UR₅.ÚŠ.MEŠ
 - 21 [ina] *né-^{ki}kel-me-ku ta-nam-din* ur-tu₄
 - 22 [*in*]a la-pa-(*ti*)-ka ta-qam(?)¹-mu dan-nu-tú
 - 23 [*l*]a GI-ka ta-kam-mu ina ŠU^{II}
 - 24 [ina] *nap-lu-si-ka ta-ra-áš-šá-šú-nu-tú* ARḪUŠ
 - 25 [*i*]u-kal-lam-šú-nu-tú ZÁLAG *i-dab-bu-bu qur-di-ku*
 - 26 ^dEN KUR.KUR ZÁLAG ^dÍ.GÌ.GÌ *qa-bu-u* SIG₅.MEŠ
 - 27 *man-nu šá ka-a-šú la i-dab-bu-bu qur-di-ku*
 - 28 *la i-qab-bi ta-nit-ku la ú-šá-pa-a* ^dEN-ut-ku
 - 29 ^dEN KUR.KUR *a-šib* É.U₄.UL *ša-bit* ŠU^{II} *na-as-ku*
 - 30 ana URU-ku E^{ki} *re-še-e* ARḪUŠ
 - 31 ana É.SAG.ÍL É-ku *suḫ-ḫir* IGI-ku
 - 32 *šá* DUMU.MEŠ E^{ki} ^{lu}ÉRIN *ki-din-nu šu-kun šu-bar-ru-šú-nu*

²¹ This unpublished fragment (see Plate I) covers lines 235–8 (almost entirely lost) and 463–471.

²² For the concordance, see RAcc., 128–9. DT 15, 109 and 114 are collated. A photo of MNB 1848 is to be found in B. André-Leicknam, *Naissance de l'écriture*, Paris 1982, 223, no. 165. Cf. also: E. Ebeling, in: H. Gressmann, *ATAT*², 295 ff.; A.J. Sachs, in: J.B. Pritchard, *ANET*², 331 ff.; G. Çağırhan, *Festivals*, 2–39; W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 212 ff.; M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 441–47. See also R. Borger, *HKL* 1, 567 and 2, 297.

33 21 MU.ŠID.BI URÙ-tú É.SAG.ÍL
 34 [pa-li]ḥ ^dEN al-la lúŠEŠ.GAL É.TUŠ.A
 35 [l]a ú-kal-lam

36 [TA] naq-bit an-na-a DUG₄.GA-ú
 37 [gišIG.MEŠ BAD]-te lúKU₄-É.MEŠ
 38 [ZI]-ú ME-šú-nu GIM šá gi-na-a
 39 [ina IGI] ^dEN u ^dGAŠAN-ia DÙ.MEŠ
 40 [lúGALA.MEŠ u lú]NAR.MEŠ KI.MIN

Now a very damaged part follows.

41 [...]
 42 [...]
 43 [...]
 44 [...]
 45 [...]
 46 GIŠ [...]
 47 KI.TUŠ x [...]
 48 TA LU MA [...]
 49 GAR-an ^{na}KIŠIB x [...]
 50 ina AGA šá ^dL[X ...]
 51 šá UD.2.KAM ina mu[ḥ-ḥi/UGU ...]
 52 ina IGI-šú-nu GAR-an ^rx^r [...]
 53 3-šú DUG₄.GA [...]

54 za-ma-nu lem-nu-tú [...]
 55 šá ina dan-nu-ti-šú-[nu ...]
 56 an-na-a šá ina E^{ki}...]
 57 šá NAM.BÚR.BI [...]
 58 áš-šú lúKÚR u ḥab-b[i-lu ...]
 59 ^dEN GAL-ú ^dŠÚ [...]
 60 ÁŠ NU BÚR i-r[u-ur ...]
 61 NAM NU GUR i-[šim ...]
 62 šá ^dEN EN-ia [...]
 63 šá EN KUR.KUR [...]
 64 šá E^{ki} [...]
 65 ina qé-reb KI-t[i ...]
 66 šá É.U₄.UL [...]
 67 ub-bu-ub [...]
 68 GIM AN-e u [KI-ti ...]
 69 UNUG^{ki} u E[N.LÍL^{ki} qa-ma-a u ka-ma-a]
 70 na-si-iḥ t[e-me-en-ši-na na-di ana A.MEŠ]
 71 É.KUR.MEŠ šá q[er-(bi)-ši-na Ú.TU-šu-nu x ...]
 72 ma-áš ME-šú-nu [ana u₄-mu.(MEŠ SUD.MEŠ)]
 72a [ul i-kan-nu SÁ.DUG₄-šu-(nu) x ...]
 73 sa-pi-iḥ GI[Š.ḤUR-šu-(nu) ...]
 74 UN.MEŠ a-šib [... iḥ-x ...]

75 GÉME.GÉME *si*-[...]
 76 *šá* E^{ki} [... *dan-x* ...]
 77 *šá* É.U₄.U[L ... *dan-x* ...]
 78 *ik-me-ku-nu*-[*ti* ...*hi*(?)...]
 79 *ra-ma-tu*[-*nu* ...]

about 75 lines (2 columns) missing.

156 AL [...]

157 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁR UD.[3.KAM 1 1/3 DANNA GE₆ ^{lú}ŠEŠ.GAL]
 158 Z[*i-ma* A.MEŠ ÍD] TU[₅ ...]
 159 *ana* [^dE]N Š[ÚD.BI DUG₄.GA]

160 UMUN.MU ^dLÚ.LÚ [...] ¹
 161 'x x x x' [...] ¹
 162 'x x' [...] ¹
 163 AL. [...] ¹
 164 SAG [...] ¹
 165 [...] ¹
 166 'x' [...] 'x' [...] ¹
 167 'x' [...] 'x' [...] ¹
 168 UMUN.MU SIPA Á x [...] ¹
 169 [...] KUR [...] ¹
 170 'x' [...] 'x x' [...] ¹
 171 'x LU(?)' [...] 'x' [...] ¹
 172 *na-din* [...] ¹
 173 MU.LU ^dNISABA [...] ¹
 174 *šá* UN.(MEŠ) *šal-mat* SAG.DU [...] ¹
 175 *ta-ḥa-t*[*u*(?)] UD(?) 'a-na(?)' [...] ¹
 176 TA [...] 'x' UD(?) 'a-na(?)' [...] ¹
 177 'x' [...] 'x' UD DI(?) [...] ¹
 178 [...] BAD [...] 'x' [...] ¹
 179 [...] LUGAL UMUN GÌR.NÍTA [...] ¹
 180 *ina* KA *šal-mat* SAG.DU [...] ¹
 181 *šá* É.SAG.ÍL [É-*ku* ...] ¹
 182 *šá* E^{ki} URU-*ku* [...] ¹
 183 *ana qa-bu-u* SIG₅ [...] ¹

184 ^{giš}IG.MEŠ BAD-[*te* ^{lú}KU₄-É.MEŠ]
 185 KU₄.MEŠ-*m*[*a* ME-*šú-nu* GIM *šá gi-na-a*]
 186 DÛ.M[EŠ ^{lú}GALA.MEŠ *u* ^{lú}NAR.MEŠ KÍ.MIN]
 187 [...]

Possibly 2 lines missing.

190 [*e-nu-m*]*a* 1 1/2 DANNA ME NIM-*a* ^{lú}GUR.GUR
 191 [GÛ-*m*]*a* NA₄ *ni-siq-tú u* GUŠKIN

192 [TA] NÍ.GA ^dAMAR.UTU *ana* DÙ-*eš* šá 2 NU.MEŠ
 193 *ana* UD.6.KAM *i-na-an-din-šú* ^{lú}NAGAR GÙ-*ma*
 194 ^{giš}EREN *u* ŠINIG (GAD.ŠÚ.NAGA) SUM-*šú*
 195 ^{lú}KÙ.DIM GÙ-*ma* GUŠKIN SUM-*šú*
 196 TA UD.3.KAM EN UD.6.KAM TA *pa-ni* ^dEN
 197 *ana* ^{lú}GUR.GUR (GIŠ).KUN *ana* ^{lú}KÙ.DIM GABA
 198 *ana* ^{lú}NAGAR ZAG *ana* ^{lú}UŠ.BAR TI *an-na-a*
 199 TA IGI ^dEN *ana* ^{lú}ŠEŠ.GAL É.ʽTUŠ.Aʽ
 200 *ana* ^{lú}DUMU.MEŠ *um-man ú-šeb-b[i-lu]*

201 NU.MEŠ *šu-nu-tú* 7 SI *la-an-šú-nu*
 202 1-*en* šá ^{giš}EREN *u* 1-*en* šá ^{giš}ŠINIG
 203 ʽ4(?)ʽ GÍN GUŠKIN *iḫ-zu-us-su-nu*
 204 ʽ4(?)ʽ ^{na4}DUḪ.ŠI.A *ana muḫ-ḫi-šú-nu i-lu*
 205 [1-*en*] *ina* ŠU^{II} 2,30-*šú* MUŠ šá ^{giš}EREN *na-[ši]*
 206 [ŠU^{II}]-*šu* šá XV *ana* ^dAG *na-ši šá-nu-ú* [*ina* ŠU^{II}]
 207 [2,30]-*šú* GÍR.TAB *na-ši* ŠU^{II} XV-*šú*
 208 [*ana* ^dA]G *na-ši* TÚG SA₅ *lab-šu-ú*
 209 [*ina e*]-*ri* ^{giš}GIŠIMMAR *qab-li-šú-nu*
 210 [*rak-s*]*u* EN UD.6.KAM *ina* É ^dDI.[KUD]
 211 [GAR].MEŠ DUḪ ^{giš}BANŠUR šá ^dDI.K[UD]
 212 *i-qar-ru-ub-šú-nu-tú* UD.6.KAM [...]
 213 ^dAG É.ḪUR.SAG.TI.LA *ina* KUR-*[šú]*
 214 ^{lú}GÍR.LÁ *kar-ri* SAG.DU-*su-nu* SÌ[G-*a*]*š-ma*
 215 *ina* IGI ^dAG *tur-ru(?)* MÚ.MEŠ-*nim-ma*
 216 *ana* ŠÀ *tur-ru(?)* ŠUB.M[EŠ]

216a IM 22.KAM-*ma* EME.GIR₁₅.DU₇.ʽE NU TIʽ
 216b IM šá EGIR-*šú* *ina* ^{iti}BÁR UD.4.KAM

216c *ina a-mat* ^dEN *u* ^dGAŠAN-*ia* liš-*lim*
 217 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁR UD.4.KAM 1 2/3 DANNA GE₆
 218 ^{lú}ŠEŠ.GAL ZI-*ma* A.MEŠ ÍD TU₅ ^{túg}GADA.LAL
 219 *ina* IGI ^dEN *u* (^d)GAŠAN-*ia* *i-de-(ek)-ku*
 220 ŠU.ÍL.LÁ *an-na-a* *ana* ^dEN *i-na-áš-ši*
 221 *ana* ^dEN ŠÚD.BI DUG₄.GA

222 UMUN.MU UMUN.MU.NA UMUN.MU UMUN.MU.NA
 223 *be-lu gaš-ri* ^dÍ.GÌ.GÌ *ši-rì* šá DINGIR.DINGIR GAL.ME
 224 UMUN.MU SUM.SUM UMUN.MU NU.KEŠDA.MU.NA
 225 *be-lu kib-rat* LUGAL DINGIR.DINGIR (^d)ŠÚ *mu-kin* GIŠ.ḪUR
 226 ALIM NU.ZA.PA.ÁG.BI UMUN.E MU.NA
 227 *kab-tu ši-rì šá-qu-u e-tel-lu*
 228 LÁ.A.KE₄ UŠUMGAL(GAL+UŠUM) NU.RA A.RI.A
 229 *na-šu-u* LUGAL-*tú ta-mi-iḫ* UMUN-*tú*
 230 [ZÁL]AG.GA NU.NU ZÁLAG.GA NU É.U₄.UL TUŠ
 231 [*nu-u*]-*ri nam-ri* ^dAMAR.UTU *a-šib* É.MIN
 232 [...]x SAḪAR KUR.NU.TUK
 233 [...] *sa-pi-nu* KUR *a-a-bi*
 234 [...] x E.NE

Several lines missing.

- 237 [...] x x x RU UD [...]
 238 [...] x x x [...]
 239 'DINGIR(?)' x x x [...] x
 240 e-bir AN-e LÁ-ti' KI-ti
 241 ma-di-di A.MEŠ tam-tim mu-ur-riš APIN-tú
 242 a-šib É.U₄.UL EN E^{ki} dAMAR.UTU MAḤ
 243 mu-šim NAM.MEŠ šá DINGIR.MEŠ DÙ.A.BI
 244 na-din ^{giš}NÍG.PA KÙ-ti ana LUGAL pa-liḥ-ḥi-šú
 245 ana-ku ^{lu}ŠEŠ.GAL É.TUŠ.A E-u SIG₅-ku
 246 ana URU-ku E^{ki} nap-šir
 247 ana É.SAG.GÍL É-ku ri-še-e ARḤUŠ
 248 ina KA-ka šir-tú EN DINGIR.DINGIR GAL.GAL
 249 ana IGI ^{lu}DUMU.MEŠ E^{ki} liš-šá-kin ZÁLAG-tú
-
- 250 TA IGI dEN È-ma ana dGAŠAN-ia ŠÙD.BI DUG₄.GA
-
- 251 gaš-rat i-lat ši-rat dXV.MEŠ
 252 dZar-pa-ni-tu₄ na-bat MUL.(MEŠ) a-ši-bat É.U₄.UL
 253 kaz'-bat(?) i-lá-a-tú šá IZI.GAR lu-bu-ši-šú
 254 e-bi-rat AN-e LÁ-at' KI-ti
 255 dZar-pa-ni-tu₄ šá man-za-zu šá-qu-u
 256 nam-rat dGAŠAN-ia ši-rat u šá-qát
 257 ina dXV.MEŠ ul i-ba-ši GIM šá-a-šú
 258 a-ki-lat kar-šu ša-bi-tat a-bu-tú
 259 mu-lap-pi-nát ^{lu}NÍG.TUKU mu-šá-áš-rat ^{lu}ÚKU
 260 mu-šam-qí-tat ^{lu}KÚR la a-dir DINGIR-ti-šú
 261 e-ti-rat ka-mi-i ša-bi-tat ŠU^{II} na-as-ku
 262 šá ^{lu}ÌR E-u SIG₅ MU-ku qí-bi-i SIG₅-šú
 263 ana LUGAL pa-liḥ-ḥi-ku NAM-šú NAM
 264 ana ^{lu}DUMU.MEŠ E^{ki} ^{lu}ÉRIN ki-din-nu šú-ruk-šú-nu-tú DIN
 265 ina IGI LUGAL DINGIR.DINGIR dAMAR.UTU ša-bat a-bu-su-nu
 266 liq-bu-ú ta-nit-ku lu-šar-bu-u UMUN-ut-ku
 267 lid-bu-bu-ú qur-di-ku li-šá-pu-u zik-ri-ku
 268 ana ^{lu}ÌR qa-bu-u SIG₅-ku TUKU-e ARḤUŠ
 269 ina pu-uš-qa u dan-nát ša-bat ŠU^{II}-šú
 270 ina GIG u ta-ni-ḥu šu-ruk-šú DIN
 271 lit-tal-lak DIŠ-a ina ḥi-da-a-tú u ri-šat
 272 lid-bu-ub qur-di-ku ana UN.MEŠ kal DÙ.DÙ.A
-
- 273 ana KISAL.MAḤ È-ma IGI-šú ana IM-2 GAR-an-ma
 274 ^{mu}lAŠ.IKU É.SAG.ÍL tam-šil AN u KI
 275 3-šú ana É.SAG.ÍL i-kar-rab
 276 ^{giš}I[G].MEŠ BAD-te ^{lu}KU₄-É.MEŠ gab-bi
 277 K[U₄.M]EŠ-ma ME-šú-nu GIM šá DIŠ-a DÙ.MEŠ
 278 ^{lu}[GAL]A.MEŠ u ^{lu}NAR.MEŠ KI.MIN
-
- 279 [e-nu-m]a an-na-a i-te-ep-šú
 280 [EGIR tar]-den-nu šá ki-iš u₄-mu e-nu-ma e-liš

281 [TA *re-š*]*i*(?)-*šú* EN TIL-*šú* ^{lu}ŠEŠ.GAL É.TUŠ.A
 282 [*ana* ^dEN *i*]-*na-áš-ši ma-la šá* UD *e-liš*
 283 *ana* ^dEN [*i*]-*na-áš-šu-u* IGI *šá* AGA *šá* ^dLX
 284 *u* KI.TUŠ *šá* ^dEN.LÍL *ku-ut-tu-mu-u*

285 DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁR UD.5.KAM 2 DANNA GE₆ ^{lu}ŠEŠ.GAL
 286 ZI-*ma* [A.MEŠ] ÍD ^{id}IDIGNA *u* ^{id}BURANUN^{ki}
 (interlinear:) *i*-TU₅
 287 [*ana* IGI ^dEN KU₄-*ma*] ^{túg}GADA.LAL *ina* IGI ^dEN *u* ^dGAŠAN-*ia i-de-(ek)-ku*
 288 [*ana* ^dEN] ŠÜD.BI DUG₄.GA

289 UMUN.MU E.[N]E UMUN.MU E.NU.NU
 290 UMUN.MU NI [...] UMUN.MU NU.MU.NA
 291 UMUN.MU ŠU(?) [...] UMUN.MU BÁRA.KUR.KUR
 292 UMUN.MU GIŠ.[...] NA UMUN.MU GIŠ.EN.NA
 293 UMUN.MU NU [...] ÁG UMUN.MU NU.GÍD.EN
 294 UMUN.MU 'x' [...] ZAL UMUN.MU A.A.AL.NI
 295 UMUN.MU [...] UMUN.MU KÉŠDA.DA
 296 UMUN.MU [...] 'x' UMUN.MU TUŠ É.U₄.UL
 297 UMUN.MU [...] UMUN.MU NU.DIB.DIB
 298 UMUN.MU [...] 'x' UMUN.MU ZÉ.ÈM
 299 UMUN.M[U ...] 'x' UMUN.MU BÁRA.TUŠ.A
 300 UMUN.M[U ...] 'x' UMUN.MU UMUN.MU E.NE
 301 ^dDÌM.ME.ER.AN.KI.A *mu-šim* NAM.MEŠ UMUN.MU UMUN.MU HUN
 302 ^{múl}MU.BU.KÉŠ.DA *šá* ^{giš}GIDRI *u* ^{giš}GÚR *na-šu-(u)* UMUN.MU UMUN.MU HUN
 303 ^{múl}ERIDU(NUN)^{ki} *šá er-šu-tú aḥ-zu* UMUN.MU UMUN.MU HUN
 304 ^dASAR.RI *šá-ri-ik* APIN-*tú* UMUN.MU UMUN.MU HUN
 305 ^{múl}BABBAR *na-áš ša-ad-du ana DÙ.DÙ.A* UMUN.MU UMUN.MU HUN
 306 ^{múl}GU₄.UD *mu-šá-az-nin* ŠÈG UMUN.MU UMUN.MU HUN
 307 ^{múl}GENNA MUL *kit-tú u mi-šar* UMUN.MU UMUN.MU HUN
 308 ^{múl}AN ^dGIBIL₆ *ez-zu* UMUN.MU UMUN.MU HUN
 309 ^{múl}KAK.SI.[ŠÁ] *ma-di-di* A.MEŠ *tam-ti* UMUN.MU UMUN.MU HUN
 310 ^{múl}ŠU.PA EN ^dEN.LÍL.MEŠ UMUN.MU UMUN.MU HUN
 311 ^{múl}NE.NE.GAR *šá ina NÍ-šú DÙ-u* UMUN.MU UMUN.MU HUN
 312 ^{múl}NU.MUŠ.DA *muš-tab-ru-u* ŠÈG UMUN.MU UMUN.MU HUN
 313 ^{múl}GABA.GÍR.TAB *ka-bi-is* GAB *tam-ti* UMUN.MU UMUN.MU HUN
 314 ^dUTU ZÁLAG *kib-rat* UMUN.MU UMUN.MU HUN
 315 ^dXXX *mu-nam-mir {mir} ik-let* UMUN.MU UMUN.MU HUN
 316 UMUN.MU DIMMER.MU UMUN.MU EN.MU UMUN BAR.RA.NA

317 *ana* ^dGAŠAN-*ia* ŠÜD.BI DUG₄.GA

318 GAŠAN.MU GI₄.GI₄ GAŠAN.MU HUN.A
 319 GAŠAN.MU NU.KÉŠ.DA GAŠAN.MU HUN.A
 320 GAŠAN.MU SÌ.SÌ GAŠAN.MU DÙG.DÙG
 321 GAŠAN.MU LAL.E.EN GAŠAN.MU DÙG.DÙG
 322 GAŠAN.(MU) HUN.NU.KÉŠ.DA GAŠAN.MU ŠUB.A.KE₄
 323 GAŠAN.MU A.RA.ZU GAŠAN.MU ŠUB.A.KE₄
 324 ^dDAM.KI.AN.NA *bé-lat* AN *u* KI GAŠAN.MU MU.NE

325 m^{ul}DIL.BAD *na-bat* MUL.⟨MEŠ⟩ GAŠAN.MU MU.NE
 326 m^{ul}BAN ŠUB-át *dan-nu-tú* GAŠAN.MU MU.NE
 327 m^{ul}ŪZ *ba-rat* AN-*e* GAŠAN.MU MU.NE
 328 m^{ul}HÉ.GÁL.A MUL *nu-uḥ-šú* GAŠAN.MU MU.NE
 329 m^{ul}BAL.TÉŠ.A MUL *bal-tú* GAŠAN.MU MU.NE
 330 m^{ul}MAR.GÍD.DA *mar-kàs* AN-*e* GAŠAN.MU MU.NE
 331 m^{ul}E₄.RU₆ *ba-nát re-ḥu*²³-*tú* GAŠAN.MU MU.NE
 332 m^{ul}NIN.MAḤ BA-át DIN GAŠAN.MU MU.NE
 333 GAŠAN.MU GAŠAN.MU.NA GAŠAN.MU NU.MU.NE

334 TA *naq-bit iq-bu-ú* g^{iš}IG.MEŠ BAD-*te*
 335 l^uKU₄-É.MEŠ *gab-bi* KU₄.MEŠ-*ma*
 336 ME-šú-*nu* GIM šá DIŠ-*a* DÙ.MEŠ
 337 l^uGALA.MEŠ *u* l^uNAR.MEŠ KI.MIN

338 *e-nu-ma* 1 DANNA ME NIM-*a* TA rik-*su*
 339 šá g^{iš}BANŠUR šá dEN *u* dGAŠAN-*ia* šal-*mu*
 340 l^uMAŠ.MAŠ GŪ-*ma* É *i-ḥab-ma*
 341 A.MEŠ PÚ idĴ-*diq-lat* *u* PÚ idBURANUN^{ki}
 342 É *i-sal-làḥ* NÍG.KALA.GA URUDU *ina* ŠÀ É
 343 *ú-ḥal-lal* NÍG.NA GI.IZI.LÁ *ina* ŠÀ É *uš-ba-'*
 344 [... *ina lib(?)*]-*bi* TŪR BA(?) *ana pa-pa-ḥi* šá dEN
 345 *u* dGAŠAN-*ia* NU KU₄ *e-nu-ma ḥu-up* É
 346 *šal-mu ana* É.ZI.DA *ana pa-pa-ḥi* dAG
 347 KU₄-*ma ina* NÍG.NA GI.IZI.LÁ A.GÚB.BA
 348 É *i-ḥap-ma* É *pa-pa-ḥi* A.⟨MEŠ⟩ PÚ Ĵ-*diq-lat*
 349 *u* PÚ idPu-*ra-at*²⁴-*tú i-sal-làḥ*
 350 g^{iš}IG.MEŠ šá *pa-pa-ḥi gab-bi* Ĵ.GIŠ EREN TAG
 351 *ina* MÚRU KISAL šá *pa-pa-ḥi* NÍG.NA KÙ.BABBAR GAR-*ma*
 352 ŠIM^{bá} *u bu-ra-šú ina muḥ-ḥi i-sár'-raq'*
 353 l^uGÍR.LÁ GŪ-*ma* SAG.DU UDU.NÍTA *i-bat-taq-ma*
 354 *ina pag-ri* UDU.NÍTA l^uMAŠ.MAŠ É *ú-kap-par*
 355 ÉN.MEŠ šá *tùm-mu* É *i-man-nu*
 356 *pa-paḥ gab-bi* EN NIGIN-*ti-šú i-ḥab-ma* NÍG.NA DUḤ
 357 *pag-ri* UDU.NÍTA šú-*a-ti* l^uMAŠ.MAŠ *i-na-áš-ši-ma*
 358 *ana* ÍD GIN-*ak* IGI-šú *ana* dUTU.ŠÚ.A GAR-*an*
 359 *pag-ri* UDU.NÍTA šú-*a-tú ana* ÍD ŠUB-*di*
 360 *ana* EDEN È l^uGÍR.LÁ SAG.DU UDU.NÍTA KI.MIN
 361 l^uMAŠ.MAŠ *u* l^uGÍR.LÁ *ana* EDEN È.MEŠ *ma-la*
 362 šá dAG *ina* E^{ki} *ana* E^{ki} NU KU₄.MEŠ
 363 TA UD.5.KAM EN UD.12 *ina* EDEN DÚR.MEŠ
 364 *ḥu-ub-bu* šá É l^uŠEŠ.GAL É.TUŠ.A NU IGI-*mar*
 365 BAD-*ma i-mu-ru* NU KÙ
 366 EGIR *ḥu-ub* šá É *e-nu-ma* 1 2/3 DANNA
 367 ME NIM-*a* l^uŠEŠ.GAL É.TUŠ.A È-*ma*
 368 DUMU.MEŠ l^uum-*man-nu* DÙ.A.BI-šú-*nu* GŪ-*si*
 369 AN-*e* GUŠKIN TA NÍG.GA dAMAR.UTU

²³ Copy: *ri*.

²⁴ Copy: *ri*.

- 370 È-ma É.ZI.DA *pa-pa-ḫi* ^dAG TA ^rgiš⁷tal-lu
 371 a-di iš-di É *ir-ri-mu-ú*
 372 lúŠEŠ.GAL É.TUŠ.A u lúDUMU.MEŠ *um-man-nu*
 373 ik-kil-lu₄ *an-na-a i-qab-bu-u*
 374 É *ul-la-lu-ú*
 375 ^dASAL.LÚ.⟨ḪI⟩ DUMU ERIDU(NUN)^{ki}.KE₄ É.U₄.UL DÚR.DÚR
 376 ^dKÙ.SÙ GIŠ.ŠÚ.A.NA ^dKÙ.SÙ
 377 ^dNIN.GÌRIM(A.ḪA.⟨KUD⟩.DU) A.RA.⟨ZU⟩ GIŠ.TUK.TUK
 378 ^dAMAR.UTU *ul-lal* É
 379 ^dKÙ.SÙ *uṣ-ṣir* GIŠ.ḪUR
 380 ^dNIN.GÌRIM *i-nam-di* ÉN
 381 *mim-ma lem-nu šá ina* É *e-ṣu*
 382 *gal-lu-ú* GAL-ú *li-nar-ku* ^dEN
 383 KI.TUŠ GAR.RA.AŠ ḪU.NI.IB.DA.TAR.AM₆
-
- 384 lúDUMU.MEŠ *um-man-nu* DÙ.A.BI-šú-nu *ana* KÁ È
-
- 385 [...] u₄-mu lúŠEŠ.GAL *ana* IGI ^dEN
 386 [KU₄-ma(?) ...] ^ršú(?)¹ *i-de-⟨ek⟩-ku(?)* ^{giš}BANŠUR GUŠKIN
 387 [*i-rak-kas(?)* ^{uz}]^uKA.NE.MEŠ *ina* UGU GAR-an
 388 [...] *ina* UGU GAR-an 12 *gi-nu-ú* *ina* UGU GAR-an
 389 [...] GUŠ]KIN MUN SA₅-ma *ina* UGU GAR-an
 390 [...] GUŠ]IN LÁL SA₅-ma *ina* UGU GAR-an
 391 [...] *ina muḫ-ḫi* GAR-an 4 *šap-pi* GUŠKIN
 392 [...] *ina muḫ-ḫi* ^{giš}BANŠUR GAR-an NÍG.NA GUŠKIN
 393 [...] *ina(?)*] IGI ^{giš}BANŠUR GAR-an ŠIM u LI
 394 [*ina muḫ-ḫi i-sar-raq*] GEŠTIN *i-na-aq-qí*
 395 [ŠÚD an-n]a-a *i-qab-bi*
 396 [^dAMAR.UTU EN].MAḪ *šá* DINGIR.MEŠ-a-nu
 397 [DÚR É.SAG.Í]L *ba-nu-ú ki-na-a-tú*
 398 [...] *ana* DINGIR.DINGIR GAL.MEŠ
 399 [...] x-ku *ra me-dil ka-a-ri*
 400 [*li-iḫ-du(?)*] lib-bi-ku *ana* ṣa-bat ŠU^{II}-ku
 401 [*ina* É.SÍ]KUR É *ik-ri-bi*
 402 [*ina(?)* ...]x *aš-ri-ku li-iš-šú* SAG-su
 403 [TA na]q-bit E-u ^{giš}BANŠUR DUḪ-ár
 404 [lúDUMU.MEŠ] *um-man-nu* DÙ.A'.BI-šú-nu GÙ-si
 405 ^{giš}BANŠUR *gab-bi* *ana* lúDUMU.MEŠ *um-man-nu*
 406 [SUM-i]n-ma *ana* ^dAG ú-šeb-bil-šú
 407 [lúDUMU.ME]Š *um-man-nu* TI.MEŠ-ma *ina* KI KAB ŠAB/PI(?) GAG
 408 [*ina* GÚ i]^dku-nát *a-mat-su(?)* GIN.MEŠ *e-nu-ma* ^dAG
 409 [*ina* KI KAB ŠA]B/PI(?) GAG *ina ka-ša-di-šú* *ana* ^dAG ú-bar-ru-šú
 410 [*ana* IGI(?)] ^{giš}BANŠUR *ina* IGI ^dAG GAR.MEŠ-šú DUḪ ^{giš}BANŠUR
 411 [*ki-ma*] šá ^dAG TA ^{giš}MÁ ÍD.DA.ḪÉ.DU₇
 412 [È i]-na-áš-šu-nim-ma *ina* UGU ^{giš}BANŠUR
 413 [GAR.MEŠ] A.MEŠ ŠU^{II} LUGAL DIB-'²-nim-ma
 414 [*ana* É.SAG].ÍL KU₄.MEŠ-šú DUMU.MEŠ *um-man-nu* *ana* KÁ È.MEŠ
 415 [*ana* IGI ^dEN *ina* KUR-šú lúŠEŠ.GAL È-ma ^{giš}NÍG.GIDRU ^{giš}GÚR
 416 [^{giš}]TUKUL.DINGIR
 417 [šá ŠU^{II} LUGAL(?)] ÍL-ši AGA LUGAL-ú-ti-šú *i-na-áš-ši*

418 [ana IGI ^dE]N ú-še-rib-šú-nu-tú ina IGI ^dEN
 419 [ina UGU] KI.TUŠ GAR-an-šú-nu-tú È-ma TE LUGAL ŠIG-aš
 420 [LUGAL(?)] EGIR-šú GAR-an ana IGI ^dEN ú-še-rib-šú
 421 [EGIR-šú(?)] GEŠTUG^{II}-šú i-šad-dad ina KI ú-šá-kam-su
 422 [adi/KI(?)] LUGAL 1-šú an-na-a DUG₄.GA
 423 [ul aḥ]-ṭu EN KUR.KUR ul e-gi ana DINGIR-ti-ku
 424 [ul ú-ḥa-a]l-liq E^{ki} ul aq-ṭa-bi BIR-šú
 425 [ul ú-ri]b-bi È.SAG.GÍL ul ú-ma-áš-⟨šī⟩ ME-šú
 426 [ul am-da]ḥ-ḥa-aš TE ^lušab-bi ki-din-nu
 427 [... ul] áš-kun qa-lal-šú-nu
 428 [ú-pa-a]q ana E^{ki} ul a-bu-ut šal-ḥu-šú
 429 IM šá EGIR-šú
 430 [...] ^rDIŠ(?)^r ina ⁱūBÁR UD.5.KAM

About 5 lines missing.

434 ^rla ta-pal-lāḥ^r [...]
 435 šá ^dEN iq-ta-bi [...]
 436 ^dEN ik-ri-ib-ka [i-šem-me(?)]
 437 ú-šar-bi UMUN-ut-ka [...]
 438 ú-šaq-qa LUGAL-ut-ka [...]
 439 ina UD ÈŠ.ÈŠ e-pu-u[š ...]
 440 ina BAD KÁ ub-bi-ib ŠU[^{II}-ka ...]
 441 ur-ri u GE₆ lu-^rx^r [...]
 442 šá E^{ki} URU-šú [...] E [...]
 443 šá È.SAG.GÍL È-su [...] BI [...]
 444 šá DUMU.MEŠ E^{ki} ^lūÉRIN ki-din-[ni ...] AŠ [...]
 445 ^dEN i-kar-rab-ku KI [... a-n]a da-ri-[iš]
 446 ú-ḥal-laḥ ^lūKÚR-ku ú-šam-qát za-ma-an-^rku^r
 447 e-nu-ma E-u LUGAL ka-bat KIR₄ DIŠ-ú-šú i-[...]
 448 ^{gi}šNÍG.GIDRU ^{gi}šGÚR ^{gi}šTUKUL.DINGIR AGA È-ma ana LUGAL [SUM-in]
 449 TE LUGAL i-maḥ-ḥa-aš e-nu-ma TE-su [im-ḥa-šu]
 450 šum₄-ma di-ma-tu-šú il-lik ^dEN sa-l[im]
 451 šum₄-ma di-ma-tu-šú NU GIN.MEŠ ^dEN e-zi-i[z]
 452 ^lūKÚR ZI-am-ma i-šak-kan ŠUB-su

453 e-nu-ma an-na-a i-pu-šú KI XX ŠÚ MAN(?) ^lūŠEŠ.GAL
 454 40 GI.MEŠ šá 3 KÚŠ.ÀM NU BAR.MEŠ
 455 NU ḤAŠ.MEŠ GIŠ.MEŠ-ma šá rik-su ina e-ri GIŠIMMAR
 456 i-rak-ka-as-šú-nu-tú ina KISAL.MAḤ PÚ BAD.MEŠ-^rma^r
 457 ina PÚ ú-kan LÁL Ì.NUN Ì.GIŠ [SAG(?) ina UGU i-naq-qa(?)]
 458 PA ina^r IGI^r nag-be GAR-an GU₄ BABBAR ana I[GI PÚ(?) ...]
 459 LUGAL IZI.GAR ina GI ana lib-bi-šú ú-[šá-aš-bat(?)]
 460 naq-bit an-na-a LUGAL u [^lūŠEŠ.GAL i-qab-bu-u]
 461 ^dGU₄ ZÁLAG nam-ri mu-n[am-mir ik-le-ti]
 462 qa-mu-ú šá ^dA-nū [...] ^dA-nū [...]
 463 ^dGIBIL₆.MEŠ ^rx x^r GAR-nu
 464 TA u-mi-šú-nu-ti-ma x [...]
 465 i-nu-ú ana di-na-ni x [...]

Appendix

466 *a-di-na-ni-šú i-nu-ú* x [...]
 467 ^dGU₄ DÙ.A.BI-šú LUGAL [...]
 468 *ana* ^dEN ÚR *i-kal* x [...]
 469 *e-nu-ma* ^dGU₄ x [...]
 470 LUGAL *ana šu-tù*m 'DINGIR(?) x x' [...]
 471 *mí-x* x [...]

472 imDUB 23 EME. 'GIR₁₅.DU₇.E' [NU TI]
 473 imDUB šá EGIR-'šú'

474 DIŠ *ina* ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA UD.5.KAM IGI.TAB *u* IGI.KÁR

475 *pa-liḥ* ^dAMAR.UTU *u* ^dZar-pa-ni-tu₄
 476 *ana* ŠU^{II} NU È šá *ana* ŠU^{II} È-u
 477 DINGIR.DINGIR *ma-la ina qé-reb* ^{uru}Eki
 478 *ba-šu-u li-ru-ru-šú*

The rest is lost.

1 In the (first) month Nisannu, day 2, at the last double hour of the night,
 2 [the h]igh priest will rise and wash (himself) with river water.
 3 He will enter [be]fore Bēl and remove (l. 4) the *gadalû*-curtain in front of Bēl.
 4 He will say the following prayer to Bēl:

5–6 Bēl, who in his anger has no rival,
 7–8 Bēl, good king, lord of the lands,
 9–10 who returns the favour of the great gods,
 11–12 Bēl, who overthrows the strong ones by his angry look (alone),
 13–14 lord of kings, the light of mankind, who allotted the portions:
 15–16 Bēl, Babylon is your seat, Borsippa is your crown,
 17–18 the whole of your mind is (like) the vast Heaven.
 19 Bēl, you watch over everything with your (own) eyes:
 20 you explore (the implications of all) omīna [through] the omīna you (give),
 21 [with] your angry look you give orders,
 22 [with] your touch you burn(?) the strong ones,
 23 you capture the [u]nsubmissive(?) with (your) hands,
 24 [with] your glance you grant mercy to them,
 25 you show them the light, they talk of your heroism.
 26 Lord of the lands, light of Igigi, who speaks favourably,
 27 who, (when speaking) of you, will not talk of your heroism,
 28 will not speak of your praise, will not proclaim your lordship?
 29 Lord of the lands, who resides in Eu(d)ul, who helps the fallen,
 30 to your city Babylon, grant mercy!
 31 To Esagila, your temple, turn your face!
 32 Establish freedom from service for the citizens of Babylon, (your) privileged subjects!

33 21 lines, secret of Esagila.
 34–35 [He who revere]s Bēl will [n]ot show it (l. 35) (to anyone) but the high priest of Etuša.

36 [After] he has said this blessing,
 37 [he will op]en [the gates]. The temple enterers
 38 [will ris]e, (and) perform (l. 39) their rites as usual
 39 [in front] of Bēl and Bēltija.
 40 [The lamentation priests and the] singers ditto.

41 [...]
 42 [...]
 43 [...]
 44 [...]
 45 [...]
 46 ... [...]
 47 seat [...]
 48 ... [...]
 49 He will place, the seal [...]
 50 on the tiara of An[u ...]
 51 of the second day, u[pon ...]
 52 he will place in front of them ... [...]
 53 he will say three times [...]

54 The wicked enemies [...]
 55 who, in their strength [...]
 56 this, which is in Babylo[n ...]
 57 of a *namburbū*-ritual [...]
 58 because the enemy and lawless [persons ...]
 59 The great lord, Marduk [...]
 60 has utte[red] a irremovable curse [...]
 61 has decreed a irrevocable fate [...]
 62 of Bēl, my lord [...]
 63 of the lord of the lands [...]
 64 of Babylon [...]
 65 on Earth [...]
 66 of Eu(d)ul [...]
 67 is cleansed [...]
 68 like Heaven and [Earth ...]
 69 Uruk and Ni[ppur are burnt and captured],
 70 th[eir foundation] is removed [and thrown into the water],
 71 the temples in [their midst, their ...]
 72 their rites are forgotten [to distant days ...]
 72a [their regular offerings do not take place ...]
 73 [their] div[ine decrees] are scattered [...]
 74 the people who reside [...] ... [...] ... [...]
 75 the servant girls ... [...]
 76 of Babylon [...]
 77 of Eu(d)u[l ...]
 78 he captured you [...]
 79 you sit down [...]

Approximately 76 lines (2 columns), with the rest of the ceremonies for the second day of Nisannu, are missing.

156 ... [...]

157 In the (first) month Nisannu, day 3, [at 1 1/3 double hours of the night, the high priest]
 158 will ri[se and] wash (himself) [with river water].
 159 [He will say the following pray]er to [Bē]:

160 My lord, Lulu [...]
 161 ... [...]
 162 ... [...]
 163 ... [...]
 164 ... [...]
 165 [...]
 166 ... [...] ... [...]
 167 ... [...] ... [...]
 168 My lord, the shepherd ... [...]
 169 [...] ... [...]
 170 ... [...] ... [...]
 171 ... [...] ... [...]
 172 who gives [...]
 173 ... Nisaba [...]
 174 of the dark-headed people [...]
 175 you watch over(?) ... [...]
 176 ... [...] ... [...]
 177 ... [...] ... [...]
 178 [...] ... [...] ... [...]
 179 [...] king, lord, governor [...]
 180 in the mouth of the dark-headed [...]
 181 of Esagila [your temple ...]
 182 of Babylon your city [...]
 183 to speak well [...]

184 (The high priest) will ope[n] the gates. [The temple enterers]
 185 will enter [and] perform (l. 186) [their rites as usual].
 186 [The lamentation priests and the singers ditto].
 187 [...]

3 lines lost.

190 [Whe]n 1 1/2 double hours of daytime have passed,
 191 he will call for the metalworker (l. 190) and give him (l. 193) precious stones and gold
 192 from the treasury of Marduk to make 2 figurines
 193 for (the ceremony of) the sixth day. He will call for the carpenter and
 194 give him cedar and tamarisk.
 195 He will call for the goldsmith and give him (some) gold.
 196 From the third day to the sixth day, from (the offering table) before Bēl (the meat has to be distributed as follows):

197 the thigh piece to the metalworker, the breast to the goldsmith [...],
 198 the shoulder piece to the carpenter, the rib(s) to the weaver. This
 199 they will bring (l. 200) from (the offering table) before Bēl to the high priest of Etuša
 200 (and?) to the craftsmen.

201 The size of these figurines is 7 fingers.
 202 One (has to be made) of cedar and one of tamarisk.
 203 4(?) shekels of gold (will be) their mountings.
 204 4(?) *dušû*-stones will go up on them.
 205 [One] will lift [up] a snake of cedar in its left hand
 206 (and) it will lift up its right [hand] to Nabû. The second
 207 will lift up a scorpion [in] its [left hand] (l. 206), (and) it will lift up (l. 208) its right
 hand
 208 [to N]abû. They will be robed in red garment(s),
 209 their hips [will be gir]t (l. 210) with (a belt of) palm leaves.
 210 [They will be plac]ed (l. 211) in the temple of Ma[dānu] until the sixth day.
 211 The leftovers of the offering table of Mad[ānu]
 212 will be served to them. On the sixth day [...],
 213 when Nabû reaches Eḫursagtila,
 214 the slaughterer and seller (of prepared meat dishes) will strike their heads. Then
 215 they will kindle the ashes(?) in front of Nabû and
 216 thro[w] (the figurines) into the ashes(?).

(Colophon and catchline:)

216a The twenty-second tablet. Perfect Sumerian. Not finished.

216b Tablet, that follows: in the (first) month Nisannu, day 4.

216c By the command of Bēl and Bēltija may (this work) be successful.
 217 In the (first) month Nisannu, day 4, at 1 2/3 double hours of the night,
 218 the high priest will rise and wash (himself) with river water.
 219 He will remove the *gadalû*-curtain (l. 218) in front of Bēl and Bēltija.
 220 He will recite this hand-raising prayer to Bēl,
 221 he will say the following prayer to Bēl:

222–3 Powerful lord of the Igigi, most exalted of the great gods,
 224–5 lord of the world regions, the king of the gods, Marduk, who establishes the divine
 decrees,
 226–7 honorable, exalted, sublime, lordly,
 228–9 who carries kingship, who holds lordship,
 230–1 bright light, Marduk, who resides in Eu(d)ul,
 232–3 [...] who overwhelms the lands of the enemies.

Several lines missing

237 [...] ... [...]
 238 [...] ... [...]
 239 ... [...] ...
 240 who crosses the Heaven, who watches over the Earth,
 241 who measures out the water of the sea, who plants (every) cultivated field,

Appendix

242 who resides in Eu(d)ul, the lord of Babylon, exalted Marduk,
243 who decrees the destinies of all the gods,
244 who gives the pure scepter to the king who reveres him.
245 I am the high priest of Etuša, who speaks well of you:
246 be forgiving to your city, Babylon,
247 grant mercy to your temple, Esagila,
248 with your exalted word, lord of the great gods,
249 may light be set (again) before the citizens of Babylon.

250 He will go out (from) before (the statue of) Bēl and will say the following prayer to Bēltīja:

251 Most powerful of the female deities, most exalted of the goddesses,
252 Zarpanītu, most brilliant of the stars, who resides in Eu(d)ul,
253 most attractive(?) of the female deities, whose garment is light,
254 who crosses the Heaven, who watches over the Earth,
255 Zarpanītu, whose (heavenly) station is sublime,
256 bright is Bēltīja, exalted and sublime!
257 There is none like her among the goddesses,
258 who denounces, who intercedes,
259 who impoverishes the rich, who makes the poor rich,
260 who overthrows the enemy, who does not fear her divinity,
261 who saves the captive, who helps the fallen:
262 speak well of the servant who speaks well of your name,
263 decree the fate of the king who reveres you,
264 prolong the life of the citizens of Babylon, (your) privileged subjects,
265 intercede for them in front of the king of the gods, Marduk,
266 may they speak of your praise, may they magnify your lordship,
267 may they talk of your heroism, may they proclaim your fame,
268 grant mercy to the servant who speaks well of you,
269 help in distress and hardship,
270 prolong his life from sickness and suffering,
271 may he always walk amongst rejoicings and jubilation,
272 may he talk of your heroism to all people.

273 (Then) he will go out to the Grand Courtyard and he will place his face towards the
North, and (with the words)
274 ‘ikû-star, Esagila, image of Heaven and Earth’
275 he will pronounce praise to Esagila three times.
276 (Then) he will open the ga[te]s. All the temple enterers
277 w[ill en]ter and perform their rites as usual.
278 The [lam]entation priests and the singer ditto.

279 [Whe]n they have done this,
280 [after the] second meal in the late afternoon,
281 the high priest of Etuša will ‘raise’ (l. 282)(?) *Enūma eliš* (l. 280) [from its beg]inning
to its end
282 [to Bēl]. While he ‘raises’ (l. 283) *Enūma eliš*
283 to Bēl, the front part of Anu’s tiara
284 and Enlil’s seat will remain covered.

-
- 285 In the (first) month Nisannu, day 5, at 2 double hours of the night, the high priest
 286 will rise and wash (himself) (interlinear) with river water from the Tigris and the
 Euphrates.
 287 [He will enter before Bēl and] remove the *gadalû*-curtain in front of Bēl and Bēltīja.
 288 He will say the following prayer [to Bēl]:
-
- 289 My lord is he! Is he not my lord?
 290 My lord ... Is his name not 'My lord'?
 291 My lord ..., my lord is king of the lands,
 292 My lord ..., my lord ...,
 293 My lord ..., my lord ...,
 294 My lord ..., my lord ...,
 295 My lord [...], my lord ...,
 296 My lord [...], my lord who resides in Eu(d)ul,
 297 My lord [...], my lord ...,
 298 My lord [...], my lord ...,
 299 M[y] lord [...], my lord who sits on a throne,
 300 M[y] lord [...], my lord, he is my lord!
 301 Dimmerankia, who decrees the destinies, my lord, my lord, be calm.
 302 Mubukešda-star, who carries scepter and loop, my lord, my lord, be calm.
 303 Eridu-star, who possesses wisdom, my lord, my lord, be calm.
 304 Asari, who bestows cultivated land, my lord, my lord, be calm.
 305 Jupiter, who carries a sign for all, my lord, my lord, be calm.
 306 Mercury, who brings rain, my lord, my lord, be calm.
 307 Saturn, star of truth and justice, my lord, my lord, be calm.
 308 Mars, fierce fire (god), my lord, my lord, be calm.
 309 Siri[us], who measures the water of the sea, my lord, my lord, be calm.
 310 Šupa-star, the lord of the highest-ranking gods, my lord, my lord, be calm.
 311 Nenegar-star, who was created by himself, my lord, my lord, be calm.
 312 Numušda-star, who makes the rain last long, my lord, my lord, be calm.
 313 'Breast of Scorpion'-star, who walks upon the 'breast' of the sea, my lord, my lord, be
 calm.
 314 Sun, light of the world regions, my lord, my lord, be calm.
 315 Moon, who illuminates the darkness, my lord, my lord, be calm.
 316 My lord is my god, my lord is my lord, (is there) a lord without him?
-
- 317 He will say the following prayer to Bēltīja:
-
- 318 My lady ..., my lady, be calm.
 319 My lady ..., my lady, be calm.
 320 My lady, who gives, my lady, who is very good.
 321 My lady, ..., my lady, who is very good.
 322 My lady, ..., my lady, ...
 323 My lady, ..., my lady, ...
 324 Damkianna, lady of Heaven and Earth, whose name is 'My lady'.
 325 Venus, most brilliant of the stars, whose name is 'My lady'.
 326 Bow-star, who fells the strong ones, whose name is 'My lady'.
 327 Goat-star, who watches over Heaven, whose name is 'My lady'.

Appendix

328 Hegalla-star, the star of abundance, whose name is 'My lady'.
329 Balteša-star, the star of dignity, whose name is 'My lady'.
330 Wagon-star, the center of Heaven, whose name is 'My lady'.
331 Erū(a)-star, who creates progeny, whose name is 'My lady'.
332 Ninmaḥ-star, who gives life, whose name is 'My lady'.
333 My lady is indeed 'My lady'! Is her name not 'My lady'?

334 After he has said the blessing, he will open the gates.
335 All the temple enterers will enter and
336 they will perform their rites as usual.
337 The lamentation priests and singers ditto.

338 When the first double hour of daytime has passed, after the offering accoutrements
339 of the offering table of Bēl and Bēltija are completed,
340 he will call for the exorcist and he will consecrate the temple. Then,
341 with the water from a well along the Tigris and from a well along the Euphrates,
342 he will sprinkle the temple. He will sound (l. 343) the copper *nigkalagū*-drum inside the temple.
343 He will move the censer (and) the torch inside the temple.
344 [... i]n the courtyard(?) ... He will not enter (l. 345) the cella of Bēl
345 and Bēltija. When the consecration of the temple
346 is completed, he will enter (l. 347) Ezida, the cella of Nabû,
347 and consecrate the temple (l. 348) with censer, torch (and) holy water-basin
348 and sprinkle (l. 349) the cella with the water from a well along the Tigris
349 and from a well along the Euphrates.
350 He will smear all the doors of the cella (with) cedar oil.
351 He will place the silver censer in the middle of the courtyard of the cella and
352 scatter aromatics and the juniper on it.
353 (The high priest) will call for the slaughterer and he will cut off the head of the sheep
and
354 the exorcist will purify the temple with the carcass of the sheep.
355 He will recite incantations (of the type): 'The house is conjured'.
356 He will consecrate the whole cella to its full extent, and clear away the censer.
357 The exorcist will lift up the carcass of that sheep and
358 go to the river. He will place his face towards the West.
359 He will throw the carcass of that sheep into the river.
360 He will go out to the open country. The slaughterer with the head of the sheep ditto.
361 The exorcist and the slaughterer will go out to the open country; as long as
362 Nabû is in Babylon, they will not (re)enter Babylon.
363 From the fifth day until the twelfth day they will stay in the open country.
364 The high priest of Etuša will not observe the consecration of the temple.
365 If he observes (it) he is not pure.
366 After the consecration of the temple, when 1 2/3 double hours
367 of daytime have passed, the high priest of Etuša will go out and
368 call for all the craftsmen.
369 They will bring out (l. 370) the golden canopy from the treasury of Marduk
370 and they will cover (l. 371) Ezida, the cella of Nabû, from (its) crossbeam
371 to the foundation of the temple.
372 The high priest of Etuša and the craftsmen
373 will utter this cry of distress:

b. The New Year ritual

- 374 'They will purify the temple.
375 Asalluhi, the son of Eridu, who resides in Eu(d)ul,
376 Kusu, who is on his stool(?), Kusu,
377 Ningirim, who listens to the invocation,
378 Marduk purifies the temple,
379 Kusu establishes the divine decrees,
380 Ningirim casts the spell:
381 Any evil, which is in the temple, go forth!
382 Great demon, may Bēl kill you!
383 May he expel you to your abode!'
-
- 384 All craftsmen will go out to the gate.
-
- 385 [...] the (same) day(?), the high priest [will enter (l. 386)(?)] before Bēl.
386 [and] he will remove(?) his [...]. [He will arrange (l. 387)(?)] the golden offering table.
387 He will place [r]oasted meat on (it).
388 He will place [...] on (it). He will place 12 regular offerings on (it).
389 He will fill the golden [...] with salt and he will place on (it).
390 He will fill the golden [...] with honey and he will place on (it).
391 He will place [...] on (it). 4 golden *šappu*-containers
392 [...] he will place [o]n the offering table. The golden censer
393 [...] he will place [in(?)] front of the offering table. Aromatics and juniper
394 [he will scatter on it]. He will make a libation of wine.
395 He will say [th]is [prayer]:
396 [Marduk], exalted [lord] of the gods,
397 [who resides in Esagi]la, who is the creator of orderliness,
398 [...] to the great gods,
399 [...] ... the bolt of the quay,
400 [May] your heart [rejoice(?)] for the one whom you take by the hand,
401 [in E]sizkur, the (*akītu*-temple named) *Bīt ikribi*,
402 [in...], your place, may he raise his head!
403 [After] he has said the [bles]sing he will clear the offering table.
404 He will call for all the [crafts]men.
405 [He will give (l. 406)] all of the offering table to the craftsmen
406 and he will make them bring it to Nabû.
407 [The crafts]men will take (it) and they will go (l. 408) to the ...-place,
408 [on the bank of the] Kunat-amassu-[c]anal. When Nabû
409 arrives [at the...] ... [place], they will usher him (the king) in for Nabû.
410 They will place him [before(?)] the offering table in front of Nabû. They will lift up (l.
412) the leftovers of the offering table,
411 [as soon as] Nabû [goes out] from (l. 412) the ship Iddahedu, and
412 [place (them)] (l. 413) on the offering table.
413 They will move a [wa]ter (basin) for (the washing of) hands (in front of) the king and
414 make him enter [Esag]ila. The craftsmen will go out to the gate.
415 When (the king) has arrived [before] Bēl, the high priest will go out (of the cella) and
416 lift up (l. 417) the scepter, the loop, the mace
417 [of the king(?)]. He will (also) lift up the Crown of Kingship.
418 He will make them enter [before Bēl] (and), in front of Bēl,
419 he will place them [on] a seat. He will go out and strike the cheek of the king.
420 He will place [the king(?)] behind him. He will make him enter before Bēl.

Appendix

421 [After this(?)] he will pull his ears, make him kneel on the ground.
422 [Together w]ith(?) the king he will say this once:
423 [I have not] sinned, lord of the lands, I have not neglected your divinity,
424 [I have not] ruined Babylon, I have not ordered its dissolution,
425 [I have not] made Esagila tremble, I have not forgotten its rites,
426 [I have not] struck the cheek of any privileged subject,
427 [...] I have [not] brought about their humiliation,
428 [I have been taking ca]re of Babylon, I have not destroyed its outer walls!
(Catchline:)
429 Tablet, that follows:
430 [...] In the (first) month Nisannu, day 5.

About 5 lines are missing, which must have contained an instruction to the king to leave the cella again, and the beginning of a speech of the high priest to the king.

434 Do not fear [...]
435 What Bēl has ordered [...]
436 Bēl [will listen(?)] to your prayer [...]
437 He will magnify your lordship [...]
438 He will extol your kingship.
439 At the *eššešū*-day, do [...]
440 At the opening of the gate ceremony, cleanse [your] hands [...]!
441 Day and night may [...]
442 Concerning Babylon, his city [...] ... [...]
443 Concerning Esagila, his temple [...] ... [...]
444 Concerning the citizens of Babylon, his privileged subjec[ts ...] ... [...]
445 Bēl will bless you with(?) [...] f]orev[er].
446 He will ruin your enemy (and) overthrow your adversary.
447 When he has spoken (this), the king [will rediscover(?)] his normal dignity.
448 (The high priest) will bring out the scepter, the loop, the mace (and) the crown and [will give] (them) to the king.
449 He will strike the king's cheek (again). When [he has struck] his cheek,
450 if his tears flow, Bēl is well disposed,
451 if his tears do not flow, Bēl is angry,
452 the enemy will rise and bring about his downfall.

453 When he has done this, as soon as it is one-third (of the double hour) of sunset(?) the high priest will tie together (l. 456)
454 40 reeds, of 3 cubits each, peeled,
455 unbroken, straight, which (are suitable for) a belt, with palm leaves.
456 They will dig a hole in the Grand Courtyard and
457 set up (the belt) into the hole. [He will make a libation of] honey, ghee, [fine(?)] oil [over it(?)].
458 He will place a branch in front of the bundle. A white bull in [front of the hole(?) ...]
459 The king [will light(?)] a fire by means of a reed to it.
460 The king and [the high priest will say] this blessing:
461 O divine bull, the bright light, which [illuminates the darkness],
462 the burning one of Anu [...] ...
463 Divine fires ... are placed.

464 At that time(?) ... [...]
 465 When for the sake of ... [...]
 466 On account of him, when ... [...]
 467 The divine bull, all of it, the king [...]
 468 For Bēl he will eat (its) thigh ... [...]
 469 When the divine bull ... [...]
 470 The king to the storehouse of the god(?) ... [...]
 471 ... [...]

(Colophon and catchline:)

472 The twenty-third tablet. Perfect Sumerian. [Not finished]
 473 Tablet, that follow[s:]

474 in the (first) month Nisannu, day 5. Collated and checked(?)

475 He who reveres Marduk and Zarpanītu,
 476 will ensure that (this tablet) does not leave the hands; he who makes (this tablet) leave
 the hands,
 477 may all the gods, who are (l. 470) in Babylon,
 478 curse him.

Comments

l. 15–16, see *CAD*, A/I, 154a, lex. section. The Sumerian is obscure.

l. 16, *šub-ta-ku* and *a-gu-ku*, the possessive pronominal suffix *-ku* (passim in this text) in Late Babylonian often stands for *-ka* (see l. 20: UR₅.ÚŠ.MEŠ-*ka*). Cf. W. von Soden *GAG*, § 42, j and k.

l. 17–18, *ka-bat-ti-ku* ‘your mind’ (cf. also W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 213) rather than ‘your inside’ (see *CAD*, K, 12a, 1).

l. 19, *gim-re-e-tú* ‘everything’, or: ‘the universe’?

l. 20, ‘you explore (the implications of all) omīna [through] the omīna you (give)’, see *CAD*, H, 160a, 2.

l. 22, [*in*]a *la-pa-(ti)-ka ta-qam(?) -mu*, for this reading see *RAcc.*, 130 and W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 213, n. 22a.

l. 23, [*l*]a *GI-ka* ‘the [u]nsubmissive(?)’ (see *CAD*, K, 130a), or: ‘those who are [no]t loyal to you’.

l. 29, É.U₄.UL (or UD.UL) the temple of Marduk (here Bēl-mātāti) in Esagila, is also attested in 66, 77, 230–1, 242, 252, 296 and 375, and furthermore in BM 41577 (A.R. George, *Studies W.G. Lambert*, no. 1, 260 ff.), col. III, 27. See A.R. George, *House Most High*, no. 1141.

l. 29, *ša-bit* ŠU^{II} ‘who helps’, lit. ‘taking the hands of’, cf. also l. 261, 269 and 400.

l. 33, UR_U-*tú* É.SAG.ÍL ‘secret of Esagila’, cf. P.-A. Beaulieu, *ZA* 82 (1992), 108, with n. 37.

L. 37–9 (see also 184–86, 276–77, 335–36), this phrase is also attested in BM 41577 (A.R. George, *Studies W.G. Lambert*, no. 1, 260 ff.), col. II, 12'–13'.

l. 69–79, these lines are duplicated by the fragment BM 32654 + 38193, rev. col. III, 18–30. This mythical text, which goes back to an older original, will be published by W.G. Lambert. BM 32654 was published by T.G. Pinches, *PSBA* 30 (1908), 53 ff. and 77 ff. BM 38193 is unpublished.

l. 74, UN.MEŠ *a-šib* [... *iḫ-x* ...], BM 32654 + reads: UN.MEŠ *šá qer-^rbi* [...].

l. 157, 1 1/3 DANNA GE₆, because the second day started with the last double hour of the night (l. 1), the fourth day with 1 2/3 double hours of the night (l. 217), and the fifth day with two double hours of the night (l. 285), it is most likely that the third day started with 1 1/3 double hours of the night.

l. 175, *ta-ḫa-t[u(?)]*, as in l. 20?

l. 179, LUGAL UMUN ĠİR.NÍTA, or perhaps LUGAL u ĠİR.NÍTA 'king and governor'?

l. 190 (see also 338 and 367), [*e-nu-m*]*a* 1 1/2 DANNA ME NIM-*a* "[Whe]n 1 1/2 double hours of daytime (read *ūmu išqâ*) have passed", following *CAD*, Š/II, 20a, 2', *a*'.

l. 201, *ubānu* (SI), usually written ŠU.SI, see *RAcc.*, 133, n. 1.

l. 203 and 204, '4', contra *RAcc.*, 133, who reads: *šá*.

l. 207, *aqrabu* (ĠÍR) is usually written ĠÍR.TAB.

l. 209, '(a belt of) palm leaves', see also l. 455.

l. 211 (see also 410), in DUḪ ^{giš}BANŠUR 'the leftovers of the offering table', DUḪ probably has to be read *piṭru*, see the parallel K 9876, obv. 18 (*pi-ṭir* ^{giš}BANŠUR). Cf. *AHw*, 871b, 3: 'Abräumung, Abgeräumtes'. Less likely candidates are *tuhḫu* (cf. *AHw*, 1366b, 3; M. Stol, *BiOr* 28 [1971], 170 f.) and *kupsu* (var. *kuspu*), despite *Ugaritica* 5, no. 168, 17 (*ku-su-up* ^{giš}BANŠUR), which must have a similar meaning, but this literary text stands far away from Hellenistic Babylonian ritual texts and cannot be used as parallel.

The reading DUḪ = *piṭru* is also supported by the fact that the cognate verb *paṭāru* (DUḪ[-*ár*]) is used several times in the ritual texts in similar context:

- 'to clear away (the offering table)', *TU* 41, obv. 32; *RAcc.*, 143, 403.
- 'to clear away (the meal)', cf. *TU* 39, obv. 14; *TU* 40, obv. 15; *TU* 39, rev. 3; 5; 7; 9; 13; 14; 21; *TU* 41, obv. 13; rev. 30.

For a discussion of *paṭāru* and *piṭru* see also III.4.1.

l. 214, ^{lu}ĠÍR.LÁ *kar-ri* 'slaughterer and seller (of prepared meat dishes)', see *CAD*, K, 222a.

l. 214, ŠÌ[G-*a*]*ṣ-ma* 'strike', i.e. 'cut off', see also l. 353.

l. 215–216, *tur-ru* probably stands for *tumru*, see *CAD*, N/I, 265a, c and W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 215 with n. 26a, contra *AHw*, 1397a, 1.

l. 216a (see also 464), EME.GIR₁₅.DU₇.E, this reading was suggested by G. Çağırhan, *Festivals*, 13 and 39 (with GIR₁₄ for GIR₁₅). H. Hunger, *AOAT* 2, 65, no.182 reads: EME.KU.UL.E, but he does not give a translation.

l. 216c, this invocational formula is also attested in the astronomical diaries from Babylon, e.g. A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -158, A, obv. 1; no. -142, B, U.E. 1; no. -137, E, obv. 0. See also the beginning of my comments on *TU* 39 +, U.E.

l. 240 (see also 254), LAL-*ti* KI-*tì* ‘who watches over the Earth’ (*hâtu*), following W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 216 with n. 24a and 217 with n. 38a, contra *Racc.*, 134, 135 and *CAD*, Š/I, 414b, 6’: LÁ-*ku* KI-*tì* ‘who heaps up the earth’ (*šapāku*).

l. 253, *kaz¹-bat(?)*, following W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 216 with n. 37a.

l. 265, LUGAL DINGIR.DINGIR, in DT 114, obv. II, 1 (*Racc.*, 135, 265), but DINGIR DINGIR.DINGIR in the duplicate MNB. 1848, obv. III, 7 (*Racc.*, 153, 265), cf. *Racc.*, 135, n. 4.

l. 280, *šá ki-iš u₄-mu* ‘in the late afternoon’, lit. ‘that of the cool of the day’, i.e. the evening.

l. 282 (see also 283), *i-na-áš-ši*, ‘raise’, i.e. ‘recite’? Cf. W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 217, n. 66–67a. A similar use perhaps as in *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 45. Usually the verb *našû* can have the meaning ‘to recite’ only when referring to a hand-raising prayer (*šuilakku*), cf. *CAD*, N/II, 109a. Or should we interpret *našû* here as ‘to enact’?

l. 289–300 is written in difficult Sumerian and for the most part is not clear. M.E. Cohen attempted a translation, cf. *Cultic Calendars*, 444.

l. 301, ^dDÌM.ME.ER.AN.KI.A, ‘god of Heaven and Earth’, one of the 50 names of Marduk in *Enūma eliš*, usually: ^dLUGAL.DÌM.ME.ER.AN.KI.A. We also know the *taqribtu*-lamentation LUGAL.E DÌM.ME.ER.AN.KI.A, see *TU* 44, III, 28, presented in full in *BRM* 4, 8, a bilingual hymn to Anu.

l. 302–332 mention several stars or constellations. Most of them are discussed in F. Gössmann, *Planetarium Babylonicum*, Rom, 1950: Mubukešda ‘the hitched Yoke’ = a Draconis? Cf. H. Hunger–D. Pingree, *MUL.APIN*, 137 (cf. 24: I, i, 19); see F. Gössmann, no. 282; for Eridu, an unknown star (or constellation), see no. 306; for the Šupa-star, Boötes, see no. 385; for the Nenegar-star (Aldebaran?), see no. 301; for Numušda, an unknown star (or constellation), see no. 305, cf. D.O. Edzard, *WM* I, 116; for the ‘Breast of Scorpion’-star, part of the constellation Scorpius, see no. 60; for the Bow-star, Canis major or Sirius, see no. 47; for the Goat-star, Lyra, see no. 145; Hegalla and Balteša are unknown stars; for Erūa, also a surname of Zarpanītu (see l. 252, 255, 467), see D.O. Edzard, *WM* I, 119; W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 219, n. 115a; for the Ninmah-star, see no. 324, for the mother goddess Ninmah see D.O. Edzard, *WM* I, 105. For the stars see also E. Reiner, *Astral Magic in Babylonia*, Philadelphia, 1995, 138–9.

The Akkadian epithets, which follow the Sumerian names of stars and constellations, mentioned in this section of the text, are based on explanations of the ancient philologists. Several were analyzed by M. Stol in *NABU* 1989, no. 60.

- l. 304, Asari is one of the fifty names of Marduk in *Enūma eliš*, VII, 1, cf. F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl, *AfO* 11 (1936/1937), 201; J. Bottéro, in: *Finkelstein Mem. Vol.*, 5.
- l. 309, for Sirius see J. Koch, *Neue Untersuchungen zur Topographie des babylonischen Fixsternhimmels*, Wiesbaden, 1989, 74.
- l. 318–323 is written in difficult Sumerian and for the most part is not clear. M.E. Cohen attempted a translation, cf. *Cultic Calendars*, 444.
- l. 324, Damki(an)na, also known as Damgalnunna, see E. Ebeling, in *RIA* 2 (1938), 105–6; D.O. Edzard, *WM* I, 50.
- l. 331, *ba-nát*, following *RAcc.*, 139 with n. 5. See M. Stol, *NABU* 1989, no. 60, n. 1. *ba-nit* according to *CAD*, B, 87b, 3, a, 1'.
- l. 351, KISAL *šá pa-pa-ḫi* 'the courtyard of the cella', see A.R. George, *BiOr* 53 (1996), 371.
- l. 370, ^{giš}*tal-lu* 'crossbeam' rather than ^{ku}*-tal-lu* 'rear' (contra *CAD*, A/II, 229b, f; see also W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 220 with n. 154a): because *išdu* 'foundation' refers to the lowest part of the temple, the 'crossbeam' in top of Ezida seems more appropriate than the 'rear'.
- l. 376, ^dKÙ.SÙ GIŠ.ŠÚ.A.NA ^dKÙ.SÙ 'Kusu, who is on his stool, Kusu', but M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 446 translates different: 'Kusu, who adorns the clear sky from his (Chapel-of)-the-Darkening Sky', perhaps interpreting GIŠ.ŠÚ as GISSU 'shadow'?
- l. 379, 'Kusu establishes the divine decrees', or perhaps better 'Kusu makes the drawing/plan (of the temple)', following W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 220?
- l. 382, 'Great demon, may Bēl kill you!', but see W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 221, who translated differently: 'Der große Dämon Bel möge dich umbringen!'.
- l. 383, 'to', because of the terminative in GAR.RA.AŠ, contra W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 221, who translated: 'Von deinem Sitzplatz'.
- l. 394, [*ina muḫ-ḫi i-sar-raq*], for the restoration see l. 352.
- l. 396, [^dAMAR.UTU EN].MAḪ, the restoration follows *RAcc.*, 143; see 134, 242.
- l. 399, *me-dil ka-a-ri*, following *CAD*, M/2, 3.
- l. 407 (see also l. 409), *ina KI KAB ŠAB/PI(?) GAG* 'on the ...-place', not clear to me, but see M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 446: 'the place of the heroic one'.
- l. 408, [*ina GÚ i*]^d *ku-nát a-mat-su(?)*, following W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 221, but this restoration is not certain.
- l. 410, GAR.MEŠ-šú 'They will place him', -šú referring to the king (as in l. 409: *ú-bar-ra-šú*) rather than the offering gifts on the offering table (see l. 405), contra *RAcc.*, 143, and W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 221. [LUGAL] *šakānu* is probably also attested in l. 420.
- l. 421, *ú-šá-kam-su* for *ušakmassu*.
- l. 422, '[Together w]ith', this restoration was suggested by W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 222.

- l. 423–5, see P. Michalowski, in: *Studies W. Moran*, Atlanta, 1990, 393.
- l. 428, '[I have been taking ca]re of Babylon', see *AHw*, 879b (*puqu*). M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 447 different.
- l. 442, 'Concerning Babylon, his city [...] ... [.]'. For the second damaged part of the sentence W. Farber, *TUAT II/2*, 222, suggested: 'spr[ich] nicht [...]'. Although the copy appears to read E (= *qabû*), the rest of the traces remain unclear to me.
- l. 445, 'Bēl will bless you with(?) [...] f]orev[er]'; W. Farber, *TUAT II/2*, 222, suggested: 'Bel wird dich *mit einem Segen auf ewig* segnen', perhaps reading ŠUD in the break, although the copy does not leave enough space for this.
- l. 450, *il-lik*, a singular, although a plural (*illika*) is intended, see l. 451 (GIN.MEŠ).
- l. 453, KI XX ŠÚ MAN = as soon as it is one-third (of the double hour) of sunset (= forty minutes after sunset)?, following *CAD*, Š/III, 384b. See also *CAD*, E, 258b and G. Çağiran, *Festivals*, 36–37. Different in W. Farber, *TUAT II/2*, 223: *ki Šamaš (XX) irbû (ŠÚ-u) <<u>>* "sobald die Sonne untergegangen ist". Perhaps similar phrase in BM 41577 (A.R. George, *Studies W.G. Lambert*, no. 1, 260 ff.), col. III, 23: GIM 1 DANNA DIŠ x x AN UD lúŠEŠ.GAL.
- l. 455, GIŠ.MEŠ-*ma* 'straight'. M. Stol suggested to me: GIŠ = *našû*, G or Gtn, thus translating 'he will carry and', since one would expect a verbal form before -*ma*.
- l. 456, BAD.MEŠ-*ma* 'They will dig', lit. 'They will open' (*ipettûma*).
- l. 458, PA *ina*¹ IGI¹ *nag-be* GAR-*an*, following W. Farber, *TUAT II/2*, 223, n. 239a.
- l. 459, IZI.GAR ... *ú-[šá-aš-bat(?)]*, the restoration is not certain, but perhaps similar to *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 39 (*nu-ur ú-šá-aš-bat*).
- l. 463–471 are attested in the unpublished BM 32485, reverse. See Plate I.
- l. 472–478, these lines, attested in DT 114, rev., VI (*RAcc.*, 152), contain the colophon and the catchline of day 5-I (not given at the end of the description of day 4-I, after l. 284). Cf. H. Hunger, *AOAT* 2, 65–6, no. 182.
- l. 474, IGI.TAB *u* IGI.KÁR, both ideograms have the meaning *barû* 'to collate', so here one of them has to be translated differently, perhaps *sanāqu* 'to check', cf. H. Hunger, *AOAT* 2, 3, with other examples.

c. A festival for Ištar

TU 42 (AO 7439) + AO 8648 + AO 8649²⁵

The text describes a special festival for Ištar, and was written in Uruk. In what month this festival was celebrated is not clear. The obverse contains the same ceremonies as those, which for the eighth and ninth day of the New Year festival (*akītu*) of Anu, during the seventh month Tašrītu, have been handed down to us (see *TU* 39–40). The end of the obverse and the reverse describe the procession of Ištar from the Ešgal to the *akītu*-temple, which resembles the Anu-procession described in *KAR* 132.

The text is discussed in II.8.5.

Obv.

- 1' [...] *ina* KISAL [...]
 2' [...] *a-na*] KISAL.MAḪ ʿE₁₁ʿ[...]
 3' [...] ʰA.DA.PÀ [...]
 4' [...] É.UL.MAŠ [...]
 5' [...] ʰKUR].GAR.RA(?) TA É.SAG [...]
 6' ʰŠÀ.GE.PÀ.DA ʰÁš-ka-[...]
 7' [...]ʳʰGALGA.MU.NA.SUM.MU ʰIGI.DU ʰ[...]
 8' ʰURÙ].INIM-*su* 2 ʰŠEŠ.GAL ù 3 ʰAḪ-[LA-MAT(?)...]
 9' ʰBe-ḷi-li ù ʰBa-ri-ri-i-tu₄ TA É.LÍL[.LÁ(?) ...]
 10' [...] 4 UR.MAḪ LÚ.U₁₈.LU TA É ʰLÀMA.EDEN ʰDUMU.SAL.MEŠ É.AN.NA ù
 ʰDUMU.SAL.MEŠ UNUG^{ki}]
 11' [ù] ʰLÀMA.SIG₅.GA ZI.MEŠ-*nim-ma a-na* KISAL.ŠÀ.BA E₁₁.MEŠ-*ma i*[*na*(?)...]
 12' ʰIGI.LA.BÀD ʰIGI.BAR.LÚ.TI ʰKA.BI.LÚ.SIG₅ ʰA.DA ʰ[É.SA.PÀR...]
 13' ʰNIN.ḪÉ.NUN.NA ʰEN.UR.AN.NA ù ʰŠEŠ.AN.TU[R] ʰNIN.É.AN.NA *šá* U₄-[*dan-nu*...]
 14' ʰŠar-rat-AN-e ù ʰSA.DÀR.NUN.NA ʰNIN.ÌMMA ʰŠar-rat-BÁRA ʰMi-[*šar-ri*(?) ...]
 15' ù ʰI-šar-tu₄ TA *šub-ti-šú-nu* ZI.MEŠ-*nim-ma ki-ma* ʰUTU KUR-ḫa DINGIR.MEŠ
 nap-ḫar-šú-[nu]
 16' *a-na pa-ni* ʰINNIN LAL-aš LUGAL ÍL-ut EN.NA DÙ-uš *til-le-e-šú eb-bu-tu il-lab-b*[*iš*]
 17' [...] ʳʰšá-ra-ḫi-iʳ-tu₄ ĠIN-ak-ma uš-ken ʰšá-ra-ḫi-i-tu₄ ZI-am it-t[i ...]
 18' [...^{giš}]tal-lu GUŠKIN É-a-ni a-na ʰINNIN SUM-inʳ [...]
 19' [...KU₄.MEŠ(?)*-m*]a GUB-zi-zu ʳ*nap-tan* ù UZU *šu-me-e ḫaʳ*[-(*an-tu-tu* ...)]
 20' [*ina muḫ-ḫi na-šap-pi* GUŠKIN(?) *a-*]na ʰINNIN *ú-qar-rab nap-tan* ù UZU *šu-me-e*
 ḫa-an-tu[-tu]
 21' [*ina muḫ-ḫi na-šap-pi* GUŠKIN(?) *a-*]na ʰNa-na-a ù ʰGAŠAN-šá-SAG *ú-qar-r*[*ab* ...]
 22' [*na-šap-pi* GUŠKIN *pa-ni* ʰINNIN(?) *a-*]na IGI DINGIR.MEŠ *ma-la ina* KISAL
 ú-še-ti-iʳqʳ
 23' [*na-šap-pi* GUŠKIN *pa-ni* ʰ... *a-*]na IGI ʰINNIN.MEŠ *šá ina* KISAL *ú-še-ti-iʳqʳ*
 24' [... *ma-aq-qu-ú* GUŠKIN(?) *a-na* ʰ]Na-na-a ù ʰGAŠAN-šá-SAG *i-red-de-e*
 25' ʳʰNIN.IGI^{II}(?).ZI.BAR.RAʳ [...]ŠU^{II}] ʰINNIN DAB-bat-ú-ma ʰMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ
 ʰGALA.MEŠ *u* ʰNAR.MEŠ
 26' *ú-šar-ru-ú* ʰINNIN *ina muḫ-ḫi šubʳ-ti šá bi-rit šid-di šá ina* KÁ *pa-pa-ha DÚR-ab*

²⁵ Obv. 1'–18': AO 7439; obv. 19'–36': AO 8648 + AO 8649; rev. 1'–18': AO 8648 + AO 8649; rev. 19'–20': AO 7439 + AO 8648 + AO 8649; rev. 21'–36': AO 7439.

For TU 42 see *RAcc.*, 73, 111–118; M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 436–37. AO 8648 + 8649 were published by S. Lackenbacher, *RA* 71 (1977), 39–50. See also R. Borger, *HKL* 1, 567.

- 27' DINGIR.MEŠ *nap-ḥar-šú-nu šá* KISAL *a-na pa-ni-šú* LAL-ša *ma-aq-qu-ú* GUŠKIN
i-red-de-e-ma
28' A.MEŠ ŠU^{II} ÍL-ši *ina muḥ-ḥi* KI SÍSKUR GABA.RI *i-sar-raq-ma*
29' SÍSKUR *mer-de-e-ti* GU₄ ù UDU.NÍTA *ina pa-ni-šú i-red-de* UZU *lib-bi šá* GU₄ ù
SAG.DU *šá* UDU.NÍTA
30' *ina muḥ-ḥi* KI SÍSKUR GABA.RI *i-šak-kan[-ma]* *ma-lit* GUŠKIN *šá* ZÌ.MAD.GÁ *a-na*
muḥ-ḥi lib-bi
31' *i-saḥ-ḥap ma-aq-q^r u-ú* GEŠTIN^r *a-na mu[h-ḥi* SAG.DU] *'UDU.NÍTA' i-red-de* A.MEŠ
ŠU^{II} *a-na* dINNIN
32' ÍL-ma LUGAL UN.MES *ú-lap-pat* gišÚ[.LUḤ NAM.LUGAL.LA(?) ...] *ina* DA BÁRA
NAM.MEŠ GUB[-za(?)]
33' LUGAL *ma-aq-qu-ú* GUŠKIN *a-na pa-ni* dINN[IN *i-red-de ...š*]U^{II} dINNIN
34' DAB-bat.MEŠ-ma dNa-na-a ù dGAŠAN[-šá-SAG ...]^rx^r
35' dINNIN GIN-ak-ma *ina muḥ-ḥi* BÁRA NAM.MEŠ š[á(?) ...]
36' [...]-^rma(?)^r šá È(?) *a-na lib-bi* AB[...]

Rev.

- 1' d[...]
2' EGIR-šú 2 dŠEŠ.GAL 3 dAH-LA-MAT(?) d^rx^r[...]
3' dKA.BI.LÚ.SIG₅ dA.DA u dĒ.SA.PÀR ^rx^r[...]
4' EGIR-šú MUNUS šá SAG KAL-tú dURÙ.INIM-su d[...]
5' EGIR-šú dPAPSUKKAL dNUSKU dARA ù dME[S.SAG.UNUG^{ki}(?) ...]
6' lúNAR.MEŠ lúGALA.MEŠ ù lúMAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ dINNIN x[...]
7' a-di gišGIGIR dLX 1-en lúKU₄-É šá ^ugiB.LÁ *rak-s*[u ...] ^rx x^r ù(?) d(?)[...]
8' *ina* GABA(?)^r-šú GAR-an-ma *ina bi-rit* giš^{tal}-lu šá dINNIN[N ...] EGIR-šú dNa-na-a u
d[GAŠAN-šá-SAG]
9' EGIR-šú gišGU.ZA šá dLX šá *né-me-du* dDUMU.SAL.MEŠ UNUG^{ki} ù DUMU.SAL.MEŠ
É[.AN.N]A
10' EGIR-šú dNIN.SI.GAR.AN.NA dNIN.IGI^{II}.ZI.BAR.RA dÁB.^rÉ.TÙR.RA^r ù
dŠÀ.GE.^rPÀ^r.DA
11' EGIR-šú dNIN.ME.UR.UR ù dNIN.SÚN EGIR-šú dNIN.É.AN.NA šá U₄-dan-nu
12' [EGIR-šú dGAŠA]N(?)^r-AN-e dKA.NI.SUR.RA ù dŠa[r-r]at-BÁRA EGIR-šú dA(?)^r-
nun(?)^r-ni(?)^r-tu₄ dNIN.ÌMMA
13' [... dSA.DÀ]R.NUN.NA dŠEŠ.AN.TUR ù dEN.ME.UR.AN.NA
14' [...] DINGIR.MEŠ *ki-ma* GÌR^{II}-šú-nu *ina* IGI-šú u EGIR-šú *il-lak*
15' [...]x šá (?) gišMÁ.GUR₈ TE(?)^r-ḥi(?)^r-ma *a-na* gišGIGIR EREN(?).NA
16' [...]x *it-ti-šú* E₁₁-ma gišÚ.^rLUḤ.NAM.LUGAL.LA^r [...] (edge:)
[...u]r-rad-ma *it-ti-šú* E₁₁(?)
17' [...]tu₄ dDUMU.SAL.MEŠ.UNUG.KI ù dDUMU.SAL.MEŠ.É.AN.N[A]
18' [...]x a-di gišGIGIR.MEŠ *it-ti ma-ši-ri* *ina pa-n*[i-šú-(nu)(?)]
19' [...] giš^{tal}-lu [GUŠKIN ...ki-ma] šá dINNIN *ina muḥ-ḥi a-ra-a*[m-mi]
20' [...]i(?)^r-te(?)^r-lu^r-ú DINGIR.MEŠ *gab-bi* ù ^rgišGIGIR^r.M[EŠ] [KU₄.MEŠ-ma] ^ra-na
pa-ni-šú^r LAL-a[š...]
21' [lúD]UMU bu-^rx^r-ú *a-ma-ši-ri a-na* ŠU^{II} LUGAL GAR-an-ma *ru-ku-bu i-ki-^rli^r* dARA [ù
LUGAL]
22' [š]U^{II} gišÚ.LUḤ NAM.LUGAL.LA ù dINNIN DAB-bat.MEŠ-ma *a-na* KISAL É *a-ki-i-tu₄*
KU₄-[ma]
23' [ina] *muḥ-ḥi* BÁRA.GAL *ina* KISAL É *a-ki-tu₄* DÚR-ab gišÚ.LUḤ NAM.LUGAL.LA *ina*
DA-šú GUB-z[a(?) ...]

- 24' DINGIR.MEŠ *gab-bi* KU₄.MEŠ-*ma ina* KISAL É *a-ki-tu₄ ina pa-ni-šú* GUB-*za šid-di*
GADA NIGIN.MEŠ-šú-[(*nu*(?))]
25' [^{lu}]KUR.GAR.RA [^{lu}]UR.MUNUS šá *til-le-e* ^d*Na-ru-du rak-su ki-ma maḥ-ri-i* TA '2, 30'
26' [*a-na* XV NIGIN-šú-*nu-tú* A.MEŠ ŠU^{II} *a-na* ^dINNIN ÍL-*ši-ma* LUGAL ù UN.MEŠ
ú-lap-p[*at*]
27' [*m*]a-aq-qu-ú GUŠKIN *i-red-de-ma* ^dARA ù LUGAL ŠU^{II} ^dINNIN DAB-*bat-ma* KU₄-*ma*
ina pa-pa-ḥa-šú DÚR-[*ab*]
28' [^{gi}]ŠU.LUḤ NAM.LUGAL.LA *a-na* DA-šú GUB-*za* ^dGAŠAN-šá-SAG KU₄-*ma ina*
pa-pa-ḥa ^dINNIN *a-na* 2,30 [DÚR-*ab*]
29' [^{gi}]ŠGU.ZA šá ^dLX šá *né-me-du* ù ^dNa-na-a KU₄.MEŠ-*ma ina* É *pa-pa-ḥa-šú-nu* DÚR-*ab*
DINGIR.MEŠ *gab-b[i]*
30' ù ^{gi}ŠGIGIR.MEŠ KU₄.MEŠ-*ma ina* šub-ti-šú-*nu* šá KISAL DÚR-*ab* [^{lu}]MAŠ.MAŠ šá
kap-pu a-na ^dINNIN *u* DINGIR.MEŠ 'DÚ.A.BI'
31' [ÍL]-š*i* A.MEŠ ŠUB.ŠUB-*am* LI.LI.ÌZ ZABAR *ina muḥ-ḥi šu-uḥ-ḥi* G[UB-*za ...*]
32' [...DA]B-*bat* LI.LI.ÌZ ZABAR ZI-*ma* ^{gi}štal-lu GUŠKIN šá ^dINNIN [...]
33' [^{gi}ŠBANŠUR(?)] GUŠKIN *ina pa-ni* ^dINNIN *uk-tan-nu* ^{gi}šBANŠUR KÙ.BABBAR *ina*
pa-ni DINGIR.MEŠ DÚ.A.BI [*uk-tan-nu*]
34' [...]'x' *nig-na-qa* GUŠKIN *ina pa-ni* ^dINNIN *ú-mál-le-e*-[*ma ...*]
35' [*nig-na-qa* GUŠ]KIN *ina pa-ni* ^dNa-na-a *u* ^dGAŠAN-šá-SAG *ú-mál-l[e-e-ma ...]*
36' [...] 'x' DINGIR [...]

Obv.

- 1' [...] in the courtyard [...]
2' [...] will come down [to] the Grand Courtyard [...]
3' [...] Adapa [...]
4' [...] the Eulmaš temple [...]
5' [...] the *kur*[*garrû*-actor(?)] from the Rēš-temple [...]
6' Šagepada, Aška- [...]
7' [...] Galgamunasummu, Palil [...]
8' [Ušur]-amassu, 2 divine high priests, and 3 ... [...]
9' [Bel]ili and Barirītu from the Elil[la(?)]-temple [...]
10' [...] 4 'lion-men' from the temple of Lama-eden, Mārāt-Eanna and [Mārāt-Uruk]
11' [a]nd Lamasiga will rise and come down to the Inner Courtyard and i[n(?)]...
12' Iḡilabad, Iḡibarluti, Kabilusig, Ada, [Esapar(?)]
13' Ninḡenunna, Enuranna and Šešantur, Nineanna of (the city) U[dannu]
14' Šarrat-šamê and Sadarnunna, Ninimma, Šarrat-parakki, Mī[šaru ...]
15' and Išartu will rise from their seats and, as the sun rises, all the gods
16' will take up position before Ištar. The king will perform the ceremony of the installation
of the *ēnu*-priest(?), he will be robed in his clean *tillû*-uniform.
17' [...] Šarraḡītu will come and prostrate herself. Šarraḡītu will rise, and wi[th...]
18' [...] a gold(-plated) [car]rying pole (for use) inside (the temple) will be given to Ištar [...]
19' [...] they will enter(?) a]nd stand. He will serve (l. 20) the meal and ho[t] roasted meat
[...]
20' [on golden(?) dishes t]o Ištar. He will serv[e] (l. 21) the meal and ho[t] roasted meat
21' [on golden(?) dishes t]o Nanāja and Bēlet-ša-Rēš. [...]
22' [Golden dishes, (from) before Ištar], he will pass [t]o all the gods, who are in the
courtyard.
23' [Golden dishes, (from) before ...,] he will pass [t]o the goddesses, who are in the
courtyard.
24' [...] with a golden libation bowl] he will make a libation [to] Nanāja and Bēlet-ša-Rēš.

- 25' Ninigizibarra [...] will lead Ištar, and the exorcists, the lamentation priests and the singers
 26' will go down. Ištar will sit on the seat in (the room) between the curtains, which is near the gate of the cella.
 27' All the gods, who are in the courtyard, will take position before her. (The priest) will make a libation with a golden libation bowl and
 28' will lift up a water (basin) for (the washing of) the hands. On the place where (the god) is made to accept the offering, he will scatter (aromatics) and
 29' he will make a *merdītu*-offering of ox and sheep in front of him. He will place (l. 30') the heart of the ox and the head of the sheep
 30' on the place, where (the god) is made to accept the offering. [Then] he will overturn (l. 31) a golden *malītu*-bowl of *mašḫatu*-flour over the heart.
 31' He will make a libation with the libation bowl on [to the head] of the sheep. He will lift up (l. 32') the water (basin) for (the washing of) the hands to Ištar
 32' and sprinkle(?) the king (and) the (other) persons. The Sc[epter of kingship] will stan[d] next to the Dais of Destinies.
 33' The king [will make a libation] with a golden libation bowl befor Išt[ar. ...] will lead (l. 34') Ištar
 34' and Nanāja and Bēlet-[ša-Rēš ...]
 35' Ištar will go and on Dais of Destinies o[f(?) ...]
 36' [...] and(?) he will go out(?) inside ... [...]

Rev.

- 1' The god [...]
 2' Next, 2 divine high priests, 3 ... [...]
 3' Kabilusig, Ada and Esapar [...]
 4' Next, 'the mighty woman of the Rēš-temple'(?), Ušur-amassu, [...]
 5' Next, Papsukkal, Nusku, Usmû and Me[ssagunug(?) ...]
 6' The singers, the lamentation priests and the exorcists [...] Ištar [...]
 7' up to the chariot of Anu. A temple enterer, who is gir[t] with a girdle [...]
 8' will place on his chest, and between the carrying poles of Ištar[r ...] Next, Nanāja and [Bēlet-ša-Rēš].
 9' Next Anu's armchair, Mārāt-Uruk and Mārāt-E[ann]a.
 10' Next Ninsigaranna, Ninigizibarra, Abeturra and Šagi'pa'da.
 11' Next Ninmeurur and Ninsun. Next Nineanna of (the city) Udannu.
 12' [Next Šarra]t-šamê, Kanisurra and Ša[rr]at-parakki. Next Anunītu(?), Ninimma
 13' [... Sada]munna, Šešantur and Enmeuranna
 14' [and the rest of(?)] the gods will go according to their ranks in front of her/him or behind her/him.
 15' [...] of the procession-boat he will bring near(?) and for the chariot of cedar(?)[...]
 16' [...] he will come down with him/her, and the Scepter of Kingship [...] he will come down(?) and with him/her he will come [down(?).]
 17' [...] Mārāt-Uruk and Mārāt-Eann[a]
 18' up to the chariot with ... in front of [him/her/them]
 19' [... a gold(-plated) c]arrying pole [...] When] Ištar [has arr]ived(?) (l. 20') at the wharf
 20' [...], all the gods and chariot[s will enter and] will take up position before him. [...]
 21' [...].. will place ... in the hands of the king and ... a chariot ... Usmû [and the king]
 22' will lead the Scepter of Kingship and Ištar, and (Ištar) will enter the courtyard of the *akītu*-temple. [Then]
 23' she will sit [on] the Great Dais in the courtyard of the *akītu*-temple. The Scepter of Kingship will sta[nd] at her side.

- 24' All the (other) gods will enter and stand before her in the courtyard of the *akītu*-temple. A linen curtain will encircle th[em].
- 25' The *kurgarrū*-actor and the *assinnu*-singer, who are girt with the *tillū*-uniform of Narudu, will circle around them (l. 26'), as before, from le[ft]
- 26' to right. (The priest) will lift up a water (basin) for (the washing of) the hands to Ištar and he will sprink[le(?)] the king and the (other) persons.
- 27' He will make a libation with a golden libation bowl. Then Usmû and the king will lead Ištar and she will enter and si[t] in her cella.
- 28' The Scepter of Kingship will stand at her side. Bēlet-ša-Rēš will enter and [sit] in the cella of Ištar on the left side.
- 29' Anu's armchair and Nanāja will enter and they will sit in their cella. All the gods
- 30' and the chariots will enter and sit on their seats in the courtyard. The exorcist, who [lifts] up (l. 31') the *kappu*-bowl to Ištar and all the (other) gods,
- 31' will repeatedly make a libation of water. The bronze kettledrum w[ill stand] on a *šuhhu*-stand [...]
- 32' [...he will s]eize(?). The bronze kettledrum will rise and the gold(-plated) carrying pole of Ištar [...]
- 33' A golden [offering table(?)] will be set up before Ištar. A silver offering table [will be set up] before all the gods.
- 34' [...] (the priest) will fill the golden censer in front of Ištar [and ...]
- 35' he will fill [the gold]en [censer] in front of Nanāja and Bēlet-ša-Rēš [and ...]
- 36' [...] the god [...]

Comments

Obv.

l. 6', ^d*Āš-ka* [...], perhaps to be restored ^d*Āš-ka*-[*a-a-i-tu*], *Aška'itu*, as in the Late Babylonian ritual *LKU*, no. 51, obv. [1], 2, 5 and passim in this text, cf. A. Falkenstein, *LKU*, p. 17, n. 3, but see S. Lackenbacher, *RA* 71 (1977), 40, n. 2. ^d*Āš-du* according to M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 437.

l. 8' (see also rev. 2), 3 ^d*Aḫ*-[*LA-MAT*...], S. Lackenbacher (*RA* 71 [1977], 41, n. 4) suggested that perhaps we should read ^d*Aḫ-la-mat*, to be identified with *Aḫlamītu* (^d*Āḫ-la-mi-tu*), attested in Neo-Babylonian administrative texts from Sippar, *Nbn* 117, 3 and *VS* 6, 77, 5. Cf. *AHw*, *aḫlamû*, 21a. See also F. Joannès, *RA* 86 (1992), 161.

l. 9', *Be-li-li*, or *Ki-li-li*? See E. Reiner, *Šurpu*, 56, sub 75.

l. 10', 'lion-men' (*urmaḫlullû*), cf. W.G. Lambert, *Afo* 18 (1957–58), 112; A. Falkenstein, *LKU*, 20, n. 5; G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 14. For the latest discussion see F.A.M. Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits. The ritual texts*, Groningen, 1992, 181–2 and id., in *RLA* 8 (1994), 243, no. 20.

l. 10', the temple of Lama-eden, cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 36; 52e (perhaps in the Ešgal-temple).

l. 13', ^dEN.UR.AN.NA, also mentioned in l. rev. 13', here written: ^dEN.ME.UR.AN.NA. See also *CT* 24, 50, coll. II, 4: ^dEN.ME.UR₄.AN.NA. Because it is difficult (if not impossible) to distinguish UR from UR₄ in Late Babylonian texts, we transliterate UR in this book.

l. 13' (see also rev. 11'), ^dNIN.É.AN.NA šá U₄-[dan-nu], cf. P.-A. Beaulieu, *OrNS* 61 (1992), 402–3.

l. 16' (see also rev. 20'), LAL-aš, a singular, although a plural is intended. See also l. 27 (LAL-ša).

l. 16', 'The king will perform the ceremony of the installation (*nišūt*) of the *ēnu*-priest (EN.NA)(?)', following *CAD*, E, 179a, 3', ib., N/II, 299a and *AHw*, 220b, 2, b. Another translation was suggested by M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 437: 'The king performs the prayer "Ud-en-na"'. For the *ēnu*-priest see also *KAR* 132, III, 15 (^{lú}EN.NA).

l. 16' (see also rev. 25'), a similar reference of *tillū* is also attested in the eclipse text BM 134701, obv. 21; see also 17 and 19. For a discussion of *tillū*, see F.A.M. Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits*, 53–4, 55, 56.

l. 17', Šarraḫītu is also attested in the Kislīmu-ritual from Hellenistic Babylon, BM 32206 +, I, 16.

l. 20'–24', these lines are partially paralleled in *TU* 39, obv. 24 ff. (cf. S. Lackenbacher, *RA* 71 (1977), 40 with n. 7). See also *KAR* 132, I, 1–4. These lines are also discussed in III.7.1.

l. 28 (see also 30'), for GABA.RI, see my comment on *TU* 39, obv. 30.

l. 32 (see also rev. 26'), for *ú-lap-pat* see my comment on *TU* 39, obv. 23.

l. 32' (see also rev. 23'), the singular GUB-za is restored after l. rev. 28'. This singular is also attested in *KAR* 132, II, 10 and IV, 20, 23. However, GUB-za in l. rev. 24' seems to be a mistake for GUB-zu, because the subject of the verb (DINGIR.MEŠ) is masculine. See my comment on *TU* 39, obv. 18.

For ^{giš}Ú[.LUḪ.NAM.LUGAL.LA(?) ...], see also l. rev. 16', 22'–23', 28', and furthermore *TU* 39, obv. 28 and *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 14, 4'.

Rev.

l. 4, 'the mighty woman of the Rēš-temple'(?), following S. Lackenbacher, *RA* 71 (1977), 49 with n. 1.

l. 10', for Ninsigaranna and Ninigizibarra, see S. Lackenbacher, *RA* 71 (1977), 49, n. 2 with further literature. Perhaps Ninsigaranna has to be identified with ^dNinsianna (= Inanna) in *KAR* 132, I, 27, who is mentioned here also together with Ninigizibarra. The latter is also mentioned in *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 13, 6'.

l. 12', for Kanisurra, see D.O. Edzard, in *RIA* 5 (1980), 389 with literature.

l. 14, *il-lak*, a singular although a plural is intended.

l. 15', TE(?)*-hi*(?)-ma, he will bring near(?); see also the Neo-Assyrian ritual *KAR* 50, rev. 5, and the Hellenistic building ritual *TU* 45, rev. 1.

l. 15', a 'chariot (model) of cedar' is paralleled with a 'boat (model) of cedar', cf. *CAD*, E, 276b, 2' with examples.

Appendix

- l. 18' and 21', *ma-ši-ri* and *a-ma-ši-ri* not clear, cf. *AHw*, 42a; *CAD*, A/II, 27b. See S. Lackenbacher, *RA* 71 (1977), 45, n. 7 and 49 with n. 6.
- l. 20', DINGIR.MEŠ *gab-bi* ù ^rgišGIGIR¹.M[EŠ] [KU₄.MEŠ-*ma*], paralleled in l. rev. 29'–30'.
- l. 21', *i-ki-li* is not clear. See S. Lackenbacher, *RA* 71 (1977), 50, n. 1.
- l. 23', BÁRA.GAL 'Great Dais', cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 43–4. See also *KAR* 132, IV, 7 and 13.
- l. 24, GUB-*za* is a mistake for GUB-*zu*. See my comment on l. obv. 32' and on *TU* 39, obv. 18.
- l. 25', for the cultic performers *kurgarrû* (see also obv. 5') and *assinnu* in the Hellenistic period, see I.3 and II.8.5.
- l. 27', DAB-*bat-ma*, a singular, although a plural is intended. See my comment on *TU* 39, obv. 27.
- l. 29 (see also 30'), DÚR-*ab* is a singular, although a plural is intended.
- l. 31', [ÍL]-*ši*, although we would expect a subjunctive ending -*u*.
- l. 31', ŠUB.ŠUB-*am*, mistake for ŠUB.ŠUB-*ma*?
- l. 31', for the *šuhḫu*-stand, see also the Late Babylonian ritual *LKU*, no. 51, obv. 25 (cf. A. Falkenstein, *LKU*, p. 18 with n. 12), and the Hellenistic calendar text *TU* 48, obv. 3, 12, 13.

d. A nocturnal festival in the Rēš-temple

TU 41 (AO 6460)²⁶

The text contains part of a ritual for the sixteenth and seventeenth days of an unknown month, perhaps the tenth month Țebētu (see I.2), probably belonging to the same collection of instructions as TU 39–40. The text describes special ceremonies held during the vigil (*bajjātu*) in the Anu-temple in Uruk. The tablet belongs to an archive from Uruk, written in the Hellenistic period. The beginning and end of the text are not preserved.

The text is discussed in II.8.6.

Obv.

- 1 *ina muḫ-ḫi* 'x' [...] 'x' *pa-ni* ^{giš}NÍG.GIDRU *i-dag-gal ki-^rma [...]]*
- 2 ^{giš}NÍG.GIDRU *ù še-e-nu* ZI.MEŠ-nim-ma DINGIR.MEŠ *ù* ^dINNIN.MEŠ *ki-ma maḫ-ri-[im-ma]*
- 3 *ina pa-ni-šú* *ù* EGIR-šú GIN-ak a-na KISAL.MAḪ E₁₁.MEŠ-ma a-na ^dLX LAL-^raš^r
- 4 ^{lu}MAŠ.MAŠ ^{giš}NÍG.GIDRU *ù-ḫab^{ab}-ma* KU₄-ma *ina šub-ti-šú* DÚR-ab ^dPAP.SUKKAL ^dNUSKU
- 5 *ù* ^dARA *ina* KISAL ^dLX *ina muḫ-ḫi šu-bat*.MEŠ DÚR-ab *ù* *še-e-nu* ^dDUMU.SAL.MEŠ-^dL[X]
- 6 *ù* ^dDUMU.SAL.MEŠ UNUG^{ki} GUR-ru.MEŠ-nim-ma *še-e-nu a-na* É.NIR É ^{giš}NÚ GUŠKIN
- 7 *šá An-tu₄* KU₄-ma *ina muḫ-ḫi* GÌR.GUB.BU *iš-šak-kan* ^dDUMU.SAL.MEŠ-^dL[X]
- 8 *ù* ^dDUMU.SAL.MEŠ UNUG^{ki} *ina* KISAL *An-tu₄* *ina muḫ-ḫi šu-bat*.MEŠ DÚR-ab GEŠTIN *ù* ^ì.GIŠ DÙG.GA
- 9 *iš-te-niš* HE.ḪE-ma *ina* KÁ É *pa-pa-ḫa a-na* ^dLX *An-tu₄* *ù* DINGIR.MEŠ DÙ.A.BI *i-naq-qa*
- 10 *sip-pi*.MEŠ *šá* KÁ É *pa-pa-ḫa* ^{giš}IG.MEŠ *ù* KÁ.MEŠ *ù-lap-pat níg-na-qa*.MEŠ GUŠKIN
- 11 *ù-mál-le-e-ma* SÍSKUR GU₄ *ù* UDU.NÍTA *a-na* ^dLX *An-tu₄* *ù* DINGIR.MEŠ DÙ.A.BI BAL-[qí]
- 12 KIN.SIG *šá li-lat a-na* ^dLX *An-tu₄* *ù* DINGIR.MEŠ DÙ.A.BI *i-qar-rub*
- 13 [u]l DUḪ-ár *ba-a-a-at i-ba-at* KÁ *ul ut-ta-dal a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ *ma-la* *ina* KISAL
- 14 [aš-b]a(?) *nap-tan i-qar-rub* *ina* EN.NUN.USAN *ina* *ù-ru* BÁRA.MAḪ *ziq-qur-ra*[t]
- 15 *šá* É *re-eš ki-ma* *šá* ^{mul} ^dLX GAL-ú *šá* AN-e *it-tap-ḫa* *An-tu₄* GAL-tu₄ *šá* AN-e
- 16 *ina* ^{mul}MAR.GÍD.DA *it-tap-ḫa a-na tam-šil zi-i-mu bu-un-né-e* MUL *šá-ma-mi*
- 17 ^dA-nù LUGAL *it-ta-ša-a* *ša-lam ba-nu-ú* ^{giš}BANŠUR GUŠKIN *a-na* ^dLX *u An-tu₄*
- 18 *šá* AN-e *tu-kan-nu* A.MEŠ ŠU^{II} *a-na* ^dLX *ù An-tu₄* *šá* AN-e ÍL-šⁱ-ma
- 19 ^{giš}BANŠUR *ta-rak-kás* UZU GU₄ UZU UDU.NÍTA *ù* MUŠEN^{bá} *ta-rak-kás* KAŠ *reš-tu-ú*
- 20 *a-di* GEŠTIN ŠUR.RA *tu-kan-nu* GURUN ^{giš}KIRI₆ DÙ.A.BI *tu-šar-ra-aḫ*
- 21 ^{giš}ERIN.SÍG *ù* ZÍ.MAD.GÁ *ina muḫ-ḫi níg-na-qa* GUŠKIN *ta-sar-raq-ma*
- 22 *ma-aq-qu-ú* GUŠKIN GEŠTIN ŠUR.RA *ta-naq-qa* *ina muḫ-ḫi* 7 ^{giš}BANŠUR.MAḪ GUŠKIN
- 23 *a-na* ^dSAG.ME.GAR ^dDil-bad ^dGU₄.UD ^dGENNA *ù* ^dŠal-bat-a-nu ^dXXX
- 24 *ù* ^dUTU *ki-ma* *šá in-nam-mar* A.MEŠ ŠU^{II} ÍL-šⁱ-ma ^{giš}BANŠUR *ta-rak-kás*
- 25 UZU GU₄ UZU UDU.NÍTA *ù* MUŠEN^{bá} *ta-rak-kás* KAŠ *reš-tu-ú a-di* GEŠTIN ŠUR.RA

²⁶ Cf. *RAcc.*, 68–69, 118–125; E. Ebeling, in: H. Gressmann, *ATAT*², 317 ff.; A.J. Sachs, in: J.B. Pritchard, *ANET*², 338–339.

- 26 *tu-kan-nu* GURUN ^{giš}KIRI₆ DÙ.A.BI *tu-šar-ra-aḥ ina muḥ-ḥi 7 níg-na-qa* GUŠKIN
 27 ZÌ.MAD.GÁ ù *lu-uk-šú ta-sar-ra-q-ma ma-aq-qu-ú* GUŠKIN GEŠTIN ŠUR.RA
 28 *ta-naq-qa* LÚ.MAḤ *šá* ^{tùg}IB.LÁ *rak-su* GI.IZI.LÁ GAL-ú *šá* ŠIM^{bá}
 29 *su-un-nu-uš* Ī.GIŠ DÙG.GA *sal-ḥu* ù KA.LUḤ.Ú UD.DA *šu-pu-uš*
 30 *ina* IZI KI.A-^dÍD *i-qa-dam-ma a-na tar-ši* ^{giš}BANŠUR *i-tar-ra-aš-ma*
 31 ŠU^{II}-*su a-na* ^dA-nù GAL-ú *šá* AN-e ĪL-*ši-ma* ^{mul} ^dLX *e-tel-lu šá-ma-mi*
 32 *naq-bit i-qab-bi* ^{giš}BANŠUR.MAḤ DUḤ-*ár-ma* A.MEŠ ŠU^{III} ĪL-*ši*
 33 ^{lù}KU₄-É GAL-ú ŠU^{III} GI.IZI.LÁ *ina* ^{lù}MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ ^{lù}GALA.MEŠ ù ^{lù}NAR.MEŠ
 34 TA *ziq-qur-rat* DAB-bat-am-ma KÁ.SIKIL.LA *šá ku-tal pa-pa-ḥa a-na* KISAL.MAḤ
 KU₄-*ma*

Rev.

- 1 *it-ti* KI.ZÁLAG.GA *a-na* ^dLX LAL-aš ^{duḡ}ḥa-ru-ú *ina* IGI-šú *ib-bat-ta-qa*
 2 *naq-bit i-qab-bi* ^{lù}KU₄-É ŠU^{III} GI.IZI.LÁ ^dPAP.SUKKAL ^dNUSKU ^dARA
 3 ù ^dMES.SAG.UNUG^{ki} DAB-bat-ma *a-na* É *pa-pa-ḥa An-tu₄ GIN-ak.MEŠ-ma*
 4 *a-na An-tu₄ LAL-aš* ^{duḡ}ḥa-ru-ú *ina pa-ni-šú ib-bat-ta-qa* ^dPAP.SUKKAL
 5 ^dNUSKU ^dARA ù ^dMES.SAG.UNUG^{ki} *it-ti* GI.IZI.LÁ *ana* UB.ŠU.UKKIN. NA.KI
 6 É.MEŠ-nim-ma *ina* DA BÁRA NAM.MEŠ GU₄ *ina pa-ni-šú-nu im-ma-ḥa-aš*
 IZI.ḤA.MUN
 7 TA GI.IZI.LÁ *ina* UB.ŠU.UKKIN. NA.KI *in-nap-pa-aḥ* ^{wzu}ZAG.LU GU₄ *a-di* KUŠ-šú
 8 *it-ti-ir-ma* XV u 2,30 *šá ab-ri i-lap-pat* ^dPAP.SUKKAL ^dNUSKU ^dARA
 9 ù ^dMES.SAG.UNUG^{ki} *it-ti* GI.IZI.LÁ TA UB.ŠU.UKKIN. NA.KI KÁ.MAḤ
 10 *a-na su-ú-qa* É.MEŠ-nim-ma ^dMES.SAG.UNUG^{ki} *ina pa-ni-šú* ^dPAP.SUKKAL ^dNUSKU
 11 ù ^dARA *it-ti-šú* GIN-ak.MEŠ-ma É NIGIN-ú GUR-ru.MEŠ-nim-ma
 12 ^dPAP.SUKKAL *ina* KÁ.MAḤ ^dNUSKU *ina* KÁ.GAL ù ^dARA *ina* KÁ.SAG
 13 ^{lù}KU₄-É TA GI.IZI.LÁ IZI.ḤA.MUN *ina pa-ni-šú-nu ú-šá-aš-ba-at-ma*
 14 *a-di* ZÁLAG DÚR-ab ^{lù}SANGA.MEŠ *šá* É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ TIR.AN.NA^{ki} *šá-niš*
^{lù}KU₄-É DINGIR.MEŠ DÙ.A.BI
 15 *nu-úr* TA GI.IZI.LÁ *i-qád-du-ú-ma a-na* É DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu ĪL-*ši-ma*
 16 *šá-lam* É *ip-pu-uš* IZI.ḤA.MUN *ina* KÁ É DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu *i-nap²⁷-pa-aḥ*
 17 ^dLX *uš-ta-pa-a* *ina nap-ḥar* KUR.KUR ù *it-ta-ša-a ša-lam ba-nu-ú naq-bit i-qab-bu-ú*
 18 GI.IZI.LÁ ù ^dMES.SAG.UNUG^{ki} GUR-ru-nim-ma *a-na* KISAL *An-tu₄ KU₄-ma*
 19 *a-na An-tu₄ LAL-aš* ^{lù}MAŠ.MAŠ *ina* A.MEŠ ^{duḡ}A.GÚB.BA KAŠ SAG GA GEŠTIN u
 Ī.GIŠ
 20 GI.IZI.LÁ *ú-na{-an}-aḥ* ^dMES.SAG.UNUG^{ki} GIN-ak-ma *ina* UB.ŠU.UKKIN. NA.KI
 21 *a-di na-ma-ri* DÚR-ab ^dIM ^dXXX ^dUTU ù *Be-let-DINGIR.MEŠ* *ina* KISAL
 22 *a-di na-ma-ri* DÚR-ab UN.MEŠ KUR *ina* É.MEŠ-šú-nu IZI.ḤA.MUN *i-nap-pa-aḥ*
 23 SÍSKUR *qé-re-e-ti a-na* ^dLX *An-tu₄ ù* DINGIR.MEŠ DÙ.A.BI *i-naq-qu-ú*
 24 *naq-bit ki-ma maḥ-ri-im-ma i-qab-bu-ú* ^{lù}EN.NUN URU *ina su-ú-qa.MEŠ*
 25 ù SILA.LÍM.MA IZI.ḤA.MUN *i-nap-pa-aḥ* KÁ.GAL.MEŠ UNUG^{ki} *a-di na-ma-ri*
 26 *ul uḥ-ḥe-er(?)* ^{lù}EN.NUN KÁ.GAL.MEŠ ^{gi}URÌ.GAL.MEŠ XV ù 2,30
 27 *šá* KÁ.GAL.MEŠ *ú-zaq-qa-pu ab²⁸-ri a-na na-ma-ri* *ina* KÁ.GAL.MEŠ *i-nap-pa-ḥa¹*

28 UD.17.KAM 10 UŠ *u₄-mu* EGIR KUR-ḥa ^dUTU KÁ *ina pa-ni* ^dLX u *An-tu₄ BAD-te-ma*
ba-a-a-a[t]

29 DUḤ-*ár nap-tan* GAL-ú *šá še-ri a-na* ^dLX *An-tu₄ ù* DINGIR.MEŠ DÙ.A.BI *i-qar-ru-ub*

²⁷ Copy: *šab*; cf. *RAcc.*, 120, n. 2.

²⁸ Copy: *nap*.

d. A nocturnal festival in the Rēš-temple

- 30 GAL-ú DUH-ma tar-den-nu i-qar-ru-ub nig-na-qa.MEŠ GUŠKIN ú-mál-le-e-ma
 'SÍSKUR'
 31 GU₄ ù UDU.NÍTA BAL-*qí* ^{lu}NAR.MEŠ i-za-am-mu-ru E.LUM GU₄ SÚN.NA na[*q^l-bit*
i-qab-bu-ú(?)]
 32 ina IGI DINGIR.MEŠ DÙ.A.BI nig-na-qa.MEŠ ú-mál-le-e-ma SÍSKUR GU₄ ù UDU.NÍTA
 BA[L-*qí*]
 33 ŠU^{III} dIM dXXX dUTU dMES.SAG.UNUG^{ki} ù dBe-let-DINGIR.MEŠ ina šid-di 'GADA'
 [...]
 34 [DAB-bat]-^ram-ma^l(?) [...]

Obv.

- 1 on [...] he (the Shoe?) will wait for the Scepter, just as [...]
 2 The Scepter and the Shoe will rise and the gods and goddesses, will, exactly as before,
 3 go in front of him and behind him. They will come down to the Grand Courtyard and take
 up position towards Anu.
 4 The exorcist will consecrate the Scepter. Then (the Scepter) will enter and sit on his seat.
 Papsukkal, Nusku
 5 and Usmû will sit in the courtyard of Anu. Then the Shoe, Mārāt-Anu
 6 and Mārāt-Uruk will return and the Shoe will enter (l. 7) the bed-chamber, the 'House with
 the golden bed'
 7 of Antu and will be placed on a footstool. Mārāt-Anu
 8 and Mārāt-Uruk will sit in the courtyard of Anu on the seats. (The priest) will mix (l. 9)
 wine and good oil
 9 and will make a libation (with it) at the gate of the cella of Anu, Antu and all the (other)
 gods.
 10 He will smear the doorframes of the gate of the cella, the doors and gates (with the wine
 and good oil). He will fill (l. 11) the golden censers
 11 and he will make an offering of ox and sheep to Anu, Antu and all the (other) gods.
 12 The evening meal will be served to Anu, Antu and all the (other) gods.
 13 (The meal) will not be cleared. The vigil will continue the entire night. The gate will not be
 closed. To all the gods, who sit(?) (l. 14) in the courtyard,
 14 the meal will be served. In the first watch of the night on the roof of the (topmost) sanctuary
 of the temple tower
 15 of the Rēš-temple, when the star 'Great Anu of Heaven' rises (and the star) 'Great Antu of
 Heaven'
 16 rises in the constellation Ursa maior, (he will recite) 'Rivaling the glow of the most
 beautiful of the stars of the sky' (and)
 17 'Anu, the king, has risen, the beautiful constellation'. You will set up (l. 18) a golden
 offering table for Anu and Antu
 18 of Heaven. You will lift up a water (basin) for (the washing of) the hands to Anu and Antu.
 Then
 19 you will arrange the offering table. You will arrange beef, mutton and fowl. You will (also)
 set up (l. 20) fine beer
 20 together with drawn wine. You will provide all (kinds of) garden fruits in abundance.
 21 You will scatter cedar needles(?) and *maṣḥatu*-flour on a golden censer. Then
 22 you will make a libation of drawn wine with a golden libation bowl. On 7 large golden
 offering tables you will lift up (l. 24),
 23 for Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Saturn and Mars, Moon
 24 and Sun, as soon as they appear, a water (basin) for (the washing of) the hands, and you will
 arrange the offering table.

Appendix

- 25 You will arrange beef, mutton and fowl. You will (also) set up (l. 26) fine beer together with drawn wine.
- 26 You will provide all (kinds of) garden fruits in abundance. On 7 golden censers
- 27 you will scatter *maṣḥatu*-flour and cedar needles(?). Then you will make a libation (l. 28) of drawn wine with a golden libation bowl.
- 28 The *lumahḥu*-priest, who is girt with a girdle, will light with sulphur fire (l. 30) the large Torch, studded (l. 29) with aromatics,
- 29 which has been sprinkled with good oil and on which the washing of the mouth ceremony has been performed.
- 30 Then he will take up position in the direction of the offering table and
- 31 he will raise his hands for 'Great Anu of Heaven' and he will say the blessing (l. 32) 'Anu, Lord of Heaven'.
- 32 You will then clear the large offering table and lift up a water (basin) for (the washing of) the hands.
- 33 The chief temple enterer will lead (l. 34) the Torch accompanied by the exorcists, the lamentation priests and the singers
- 34 from the temple tower and (then) he will enter (through) the Holy Gate, which is behind the cella, to the Grand Courtyard. Then

Rev.

- 1 at the side of the Kizalagga he will take up position towards Anu. In front of him a *ḥarû*-container will be broken(?).
- 2 He will say a blessing. The (head) temple enterer will (then) lead (l. 3) the Torch of Papsukkal, Nusku, Usmû,
- 3 and Messagunug and they will go to the cella of Antu. Then
- 4 (the Torch) will take up position towards Antu. In front of her a *ḥarû*-container will be broken(?). Papsukkal,
- 5 Nusku, Usmû and Messagunug will go out (l. 6) (from the Antu-cella) with the Torch to the Ubšukkinaku.
- 6 Next, near the Dais of Destinies an ox will be killed in front of them.
A brushwood pile
- 7 will be kindled from the Torch in the Ubšukkinaku. (The priest) will take away (l. 8) the shoulder of the ox, together with its hide,
- 8 and (with it) he will touch the right and left of the brushwood pile. Papsukkal, Nusku, Usmû,
- 9 and Messagunug will go out (l. 10) with the Torch from the Ubšukkinaku, (through) the Grand Gate,
- 10 into the street. Then, with Messagunug at the head, Papsukkal, Nusku
- 11 and Usmû will go with him circling the temple. (Then) they will return and
- 12 Papsukkal (will enter) by the Grand Gate, Nusku by the Great Gate and Usmû by the Main Gate.
- 13 A temple enterer will light a brushwood pile from the Torch in front of them and
- 14 they will sit until dawn. The *šangû*-priests of the temples of Tiranna (and) secondly the temple enterers of all the temples
- 15 will light a fire from the Torch and they will carry (it) to their temple. Then
- 16 they will perform the good-functioning of the temple ceremony. They will kindle a brushwood pile at the gates of their temple.
- 17 They will say the blessing 'Anu will shine forth in all the lands' and 'He (Anu, the king) has risen, the beautiful constellation'.
- 18 The Torch and Messagunug will return and enter the courtyard of Antu. Then

19 they will stand before Antu. The exorcist will extinguish the Torch (l. 20) with water from the holy water-basin, fine beer, milk, wine and oil.
 20 Messagunug will (again) go and sit (l. 21) in the Ubšukkinaku,
 21 until daybreak. Adad, Šin, Šamaš and Bēlet-ilī will sit (l.22) in the courtyard,
 22 until daybreak. The people of the land will kindle the brushwood piles in their homes.
 23 They will make offerings for the banquet for Anu, Antu and all the (other) gods.
 24 They will say the (same) blessing, as before. The city guardians will kindle brushwood piles (l. 25) in the streets
 25 and crossroads. The city gates of Uruk until daybreak
 26 will not ... The guardians of the city gates will plant (l. 27) standards on the right and left side
 27 of the city gates (and) will kindle brushwood piles in the gates until dawn.

28 On the seventeenth day (of the month), 40 minutes after sunrise, in front of Anu and Antu the gate will be opened, and the vigil
 29 will be ended. The main meal of the morning will be served to Anu, Antu and all the (other) gods.
 30 The main (meal) will be cleared and the second (meal) will be served. (The priest) will fill the golden censers and he will make (l. 31) 'offerings'
 31 of ox and sheep. The singers will sing. The b[lessing(?)] 'Honored one, wild ox' [they will say].
 32 (The priest) will fill censers for all the gods and he will mak[e] offerings of ox and sheep.
 33 [(The priest) will le]ad(l. 34)(?) Adad, Šin, Šamaš, Messagunug and Bēlet-ilī to (the room between) the curtains [...].
 34 [...]

Comments

Obv.

l. 2, a lamp in the shape of a shoe is the symbol of Nusku as god of light and fire. See D.O. Edzard, *WM* I, 116f. For the shoe see A. Livingstone, *Mystical*, 219, 83 (Marduk's Ordeal). It is also attested in a ritual from Babylon, BM 35019 (A.R. George, *BTT*, no. 45), obv. 1'.

l. 3, GIN-*ak*, a singular where a plural is intended (as in rev. 3 and 11). This kind of mistake has been made several times in this text:

- obv. 3, rev. 19, LAL-*aš*.
- obv. 5, 8, rev. 14, 22, DÚR-*ab*.
- obv. 24, *in-nam-mar*.
- rev. 15, ÍL-*ši-ma*.
- rev. 16, *ip-pu-uš*.
- rev. 16, 22, and 25, 27, *i-nap-pa-aḫ* (the subject of this verb in the last two cases, ^{lu}EN.NUN in 24 and 26, must be interpreted here as a plural, see *ú-zaq-qa-pu*, rev. 27).
- for *tu-kan-nu* in obv. 18, 20 and 26 see my comment on *TU* 39, obv. 6.

l. 6, GUR-*ru*.MEŠ-*nim-ma*, a masculine plural, although the subjects of this verb (*šēnu*, Mārāt-Anu, Mārāt-Uruk) are all feminine.

l. 10, ‘he will smear’ rather than ‘he will sprinkle’, for which in this text *salāḫū* is used (obv. 29), the translation follows *CAD*, D, 53–4, 1, a. To smear objects is also attested in *RAcc.*, 140, 350; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 30; BM 93046 (A.R. George, *BTT*, no. 44), rev. 3’ff. For *lapātu* ‘to sprinkle’ see my comment on *TU* 39, obv. 23.

l. 14, [*aš-b*]a(?), according to *RAcc.*, 119. Perhaps a ventive? Or a mistake for *aš-bu*?

l. 16, ^{mul}MAR.GÍD.DA, *eriqqu*, see *CAD*, E, 297b, 3.

l. 16, ‘Rivaling the glow of the most beautiful of the stars of the sky’, the translation of this incipit follows *CAD*, Z, 121b, 2.

l. 17, ‘Anu, the king has risen, the beautiful constellation’, the translation of this incipit follows *CAD*, Š, 84b, c. The same incipit, but without ^dA-nù LUGAL, in rev. 17.

l. 21, ^{gis}ERIN.SÍG, *lukšu* ‘needles of the cedar(?)’, see *CAD*, 240b. Cf. *RAcc.*, 119, n. 2; *AHw*, 562a, *luk/gšu*, ‘Holzspäne?’. See also below l. 27 (*lu-uk-šu*).

l. 34, KÁ.SIKIL.LA ‘Holy Gate’, cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 12; A.R. George, *BTT*, 420 ff.

Rev.

l. 1, KI.ZÁLAG.GA, cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 24, and A.R. George, *House Most High*, no. 643.

l. 1 (see also 4), ^{dug}ḫa-ru-ú ina IGI-šú ib-bat-ta-qa ‘a ḫarû-container will be broken(?)’, cf. *AHw*, 114b, N, 4 (‘durchgeschlagen(?)’); see also A.J. Sachs in J.B. Pritchard, *ANET*², 338b. *CAD*, B, 165a, 10 and ib., H, 117a, 1, b translate ‘will be/is opened’, but this is not specific enough because for ‘to open’ the verb *petû* was usually used, as for example in *CT* 15, 44, 17 (see *CAD*, H, 117a, 1, b with more examples). For the religious ceremony called *ḫarû* see II.8.3.

l. 12, the KÁ.GAL ‘Great Gate’, is the station of Nusku. Cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 11. It is also mentioned in the building inscription *YOS* 1, 52, 5. Compare the KÁ.GAL with the KÁ.MAḪ, the station of Papsukkal, see my comment on *TU* 40, obv. 9.

l. 12, the KÁ.SAG ‘Main Gate’, is the station of Usmû. Cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 11–12.

l. 23, this is the only place where *qerītu* is attested in combination with *nīqu* (SÍSKUR). Or should we interpret SÍSKUR *qé-re-e-ti* here as a specific sort of offering? (see *CAD*, Q, 241a, b; B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, 45, n. 32).

l. 26, *ul uḫ-ḫe-er*, one expects a verb ‘to close’, cf. *TU* 39, rev. 9: after the vigil the gate was closed and at dawn after the *dīk bīti*-ceremony, it was opened again for a new cultic day. ‘to close the gate’ is not only *abullam/bābam edēlu* (in G-, D- and Dt-stem) (see *TU* 39, rev. 9; 14; *TU* 41, obv. 13; cf. *CAD*, E, 25–6; *AHw*, 185–6), but also *turru* (cf. *AHw*, 1335a, 16, b). Perhaps *uḫ-ḫe-er* is a mistake for *ú-te¹-er* (suggestion of M. Stol)? B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, 45 suggests a D stative of *aḫāru* ‘ließ er (der *maššar ili*) nicht aus den Augen?’.

d. A nocturnal festival in the Rēš-temple

l. 28 10 UŠ ‘40 minutes’, cf. *AHw*, 1289a and R. Borger, *ABZ*, no. 211.

l. 31, the *taqribtu*-lamentation ‘Honored one, wild ox’ is mentioned here, after which the text perhaps reads: *na[q-bit i-qab-bu-ú]*, although one would expect *taqrībtu* (ÉR). According to F. Thureau-Dangin in *RAcc.*, 121, n. 2, the traces exclude such a restoration, but the sign before the break may very well be *naq-*. The lamentation is also mentioned in the Babylon Kislīmu ritual BM 32206 +, IV, 162 and in the Uruk cultic calendar text *TU* 48, obv. 8, see II.2.2.

l. 34, [DAB-*bat*]-^r*am-ma*(?), ‘[(The priest) will le]ad(?)’. See my comment on *TU* 39, obv. 27.

e. The kettledrum ritual

TU 44 (AO 6479)²⁹

This text contains the most elaborate version of the kettledrum ceremony (*lilissu*). Although written in Hellenistic Uruk, the text is a copy of an older original, as the colophon specifically states. The owner of the tablet is Anu-aḥa-ittannu, son of Riḥat-Anu, probably, as Wallenfels suggested, of the family Sin-lēqe-unnīni (known from several private contracts dated ca. 68–73 S.E.), because the Anu-aḥa-ittannu of TU 44 is a chief singer of dirges (*galamāḥu*) and all attested lamentation priests (*kalū*) and chief singers of dirges are descendants of the family Sin-lēqe-unnīni.³⁰ The text is partially a duplicate of KAR 60 and *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5.

The text is discussed in II.5.

I

- 1 *e-nu-ma* LI.LI.ĪZ ZABAR *a-na a-[ra-mi IGI-k]a*
 - 2 GU₄ *šuk-lu-lu* GE₆ *ša* SI.MEŠ ù ^{giš}U[MBIN].MEŠ *ša-l-mu* TA SAG.DU.šú
 - 3 EN *ap-pi* KUN-šú ^{lu}UM.ME.A *m[u-d]u-ú it-ta-^{nap}-la-as-su-ma*
 - 4 *šum-ma zu-mur-šú* GIM ESIR (A.ÉSIR) GE₆ *a-na par-ši u* KI.DU.DU-*de-e*
 - 5 *il-leq-qu šum-ma* 7 SÍG BABBAR-*tu₄* GIM MUL *ta-^{kip}-ina* ^{giš}NÍG.GIDRU
 - 6 *ma-^{hi}-iš ina qin-na-zi la-pit ana par-ši u ki-du-de-e ul il-leq-qé*
-
- 7 *e-nu-ma* GU₄ *a-na É mu-um-mu tu-šèr-ri-bu ina* UD ŠE.GA
 - 8 *ina Á* GU₄ ZI.GA KI SAR A KÙ SÙ É *mu-um-mu tu-ta-am-(ma)*
 - 9 *2-ta* SIG₄ XV *u* GÙB *ša KÁ É mu-um-mu ŠUB-di*
 - 10 *sìr-qí a-na* DÌM.ME.ER AN.NA DÌM.ME.ER AN.KI.A DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ta-sar-
raq*
 - 11 KAŠ SAG BAL-*qí* GU₄ *a-na É mu-um-mu tu-še-rib*
 - 12 ^{giš}KID.MÁ.ŠÚ.A ŠUB-di KI.TA ^{giš}KID.MÁ.ŠÚ.A *ba-aš-ša*
 - 13 [DUB]-*ak Á*.MEŠ ^{giš}KID.MÁ.ŠÚ.A *ba-aš-ša* NIGIN-*mí* GU₄ *ša-a-šú*
 - 14 [*ina mu*]*h-^rhⁱ* ^{giš}KID.MÁ.ŠÚ.A *tuš-za-za-ma ina ÉŠ.LÁ šá* SÍG ÛZ
 - 15 [*ina kin*]-*ši tar-kás* KAŠ.Ú.SA SIG₅¹ *ina ÛB ZABAR ina IGI* GU₄ GAR-*an*
 - 16 [2 ^{dug}]^rA¹.GÚB.BA *a-na* ^dKÙ.SÚ *u* ^dNIN.GIRIM (A.ḤA.KUD.DU) GUB-*an*
 - 17 [2 GÍ.D]U₈ GUB-*an* 7.TA.ÀM NINDA^{ba} ŠE.BAR 7.TA.ÀM NINDA ZÍZ.ÀM
 - 18 [NINDA.Ì.D]É.ÀM LÁL Ì.NUN.NA ZÚ.LUM.MA ^{zi}ÉŠA (A.TIR) GAR-*an*
 - 19 [KAŠ GEŠTIN] GA GUB-*an* ^{dug}a-da-kur-ru GUB[-*an ...*]-*a*
 - 20 [...]^x ^{šim}LI
 - 21 [...]^{dug}*maš-qu-ú* GUB-*an*
 - 22 [...]^{1/3} MA.NA SÍG BABBAR.BABBAR
 - 23 [...]^rx¹-*na* 7 ^{1/2} SÍG ÛZ GAR-*an*
 - 24 [...]-*an* KAŠ.Ú.SA SIG₅¹
 - 25 [...-*m*]*a* *hur-da-at šá* ŠINIG (GAD.ŠÚ.NAGA)
 - 26 [...^{giš}GIŠIM]MAR GI.ŠUL.ḤI
 - 27 [...]-*ga* ^{giš}KIŠI₁₆ (Ú.GÍR)

²⁹ Cf. *RAcc.*, 3–6, 10–20; E. Ebeling, in: H. Gressmann, *ATAT*², 303 ff.; A.J. Sachs, in: J.B. Prichard, *ANET*², 334 ff. See also R. Borger, *HKL* 1, 567 and 2, 297.

³⁰ R. Wallenfels, *Uruk. Hellenistic Seal Impressions in the Yale Babylonian Collection. I. Cuneiform Tablets*, Mainz am Rhein, 1994 (AUWE 19), 19–20, and 146. See also G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 13.

- 28 [...^{du}]gA.GÚB.BA ŠUB-di
 29 [...] Í^{gi}SEREN LÁL Ì.NUN.NA
 30 [...ŠU]B-di ina NÍG.NA u GI.IZI.LÁ
 31 [tu-ḥab-bi-šú...^{uz}]uZAG.LU ^{uzu}ME.ĤÉ
 32 [u^{uzu}KA.NE tu-ṭaḥ-ḥi KAŠ SAG GEŠTI]N GA BAL-qí
 33 [... ŠU]B-di
 34 [...] ^{du}gA.GÚB.BA
 35 [...S]Ū šu-šu-rat
 36 [... 1]2 SIG₄ ŠUB-di

II

- 1 12 GADA ina muḥ-ḥi ŠUB-di DINGIR.MEŠ 12-šú-nu ina muḥ-ḥi tu-še-šeb
 2 A.MEŠ TA ^{du}gA.GÚB.BA šá^dNIN.GÌRIM ÍL-ma KEŠDA.MEŠ tu-ul-lal 12 GI.DU₈ GUB
 3 12 ^{udu}SÍSKUR BAL-qí ^{uzu}ZAG.LU ^{uzu}ME.ĤÉ u ^{uzu}KA.NE
 4 tu-ṭaḥ-ḥi KAŠ GEŠTIN GA BAL-qí ŠE.NUMUN DUB-aq LI.LI.ÌZ GUB-an
 5 1 SIG₄ a-na^dLum-ḥa ŠUB-di 1 GI.DU₈ GUB-an ^{udu}.nitaSÍSKUR
 6 BAL-qí ^{uzu}ZAG.LU ^{uzu}ME.ĤÉ u ^{uzu}KA.NE tu-ṭaḥ-ḥi
 7 KAŠ SAG GEŠTIN GA BAL-qí A.MEŠ ina maḥ-ri-šú-nu GUB-an
 8 šid-di GÍD.DA GU₄ šá-a-šú LUḤ KA tu-še-pis-su
 9 ÉN GU₄.GAL GU₄.MAḤ Ú KI.ÚS KÙ.GA ina^{gi}SAG.KUD GI DÙG.GA
 10 ana lib-bi GEŠTUG^{II} XV-šú tu-làḥ-ḥaš ÉN GU₄ i-lit-tu₄ An-zi-i at-ta-ma
 11 ina^{gi}SAG.KUD GI DÙG.GA a-na lib-bi GEŠTUG^{II} GUB-šú
 12 tu-làḥ-ḥaš ŪŠ^{gi}SEREN SÙ-šú ina NÍG.NA u GI.IZI.LÁ
 13 tu-ḥa-bi-šú ZÌ.SUR.RA-a ta-lam-miš ina SAG GU₄
 14 GUB-ma DILMUN^{ki} NIGIN.NA ina ŠEM₄ ZABAR ta-za-am-mur
 15 EGIR-šú^r DÌM.ME.ER GAL.GAL.E.NE AN.KI.A MU.UN.DÌM.MA^r
 16^r 'ŠID-nu^r GU₄ šá-a-šú ta-pal-laq-ma^r 'gišŪŠ(?)^{gi}SEREN MÚ^r lib-ba-šu
 17 ina^{gi}SEREN^{šim}LI ZÌ.MAD.GÁ ina IGI LI.LI.ÌZ
 18 ta-qal-la SA^r ^{uzu}GIŠ^r.KUN GUB-šú ÍL-ma
 19 AD₆ (LÚ.BAD) GU₄ šá-a-šú ina 1-en TÚG.KUR.RA SA₅ ta-qeb-bir
 20 Ì.GIŠ gu-un-nu a-na muḥ-ḥi-šú ŠUB-di IGI-šú ana^dUTU.ŠÚ.A
 21 GAR-an KUŠ GU₄ šá-a-šú ta-leq-qé-e-ma ina ZÌ KUM
 22^dNISABA KÙ.GA ina A.MEŠ KAŠ SAG GEŠTIN te-re-es-si-in
 23 ina Ì.NUN.NA GU₄(ÁB) KÙ.GA u ŠIM.MEŠ lib-bu^uSAR-šú-nu it-ti 4 SÌLA ZÌ MUNU₄ 4
 SÌLA
 24 ZÌ bit-qa ana sad-ru ŠUB-di ina^{gi}ḤAB u NA₄.KUR.RA šá^{kur}Ḥat-ti
 25 ta-šar-ra-pu LI.LI.ÌZ ZABAR tar-rim
 26 1-en ÉŠ.LÁ šá GADA ana muḥ-ḥi GÍD.DA^{gi}GAG.MEŠ
 27 šá^{gi}MES.MÁ.KAN.NA^{gi}TASKARIN^{gi}SEREN^{gi}ESI
 28 u re-eḥ-tu₄ sik-kat.MEŠ gab-bi^{gi}maš-tu-ú
 29 a-na LI.LI.ÌZ ZABAR ina ŠE.GÍN KÙ.GA {...}
 30 ina SA^{uzu}GIŠ.KUN GUB-šú ba-ab-šu ta-šap-pi
 31 ÉŠ.LÁ DUḤ-ma a-na muḥ-ḥi nap-du-ú ŠUB-di
 32 DIRI-rat KUŠ.TAB.BA ta-qeb-bir
 33 1 KEŠDA a-na^dLum-ḥa KEŠDA-as^{udu}.nitaSÍSKUR
 34 BAL-qí ^{uzu}ZAG.LU ^{uzu}ME.ĤÉ ^{uzu}KA.NE
 35 tu-ṭaḥ-ḥi KAŠ SAG GEŠTIN u GA BAL-qí

III

- 1 ^dA-nù ^dEN.LÍL *u* ^dÉ-a DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
-
- 2 ^dLUGAL.GÌR.RA *u* ^dMES.LAM.TA.È.A
-
- 3 ^dZI.SUM.MU NIBRU^{ki} ŠÀ.GA.KE₄
 4 ^dNIN.IMMA_x *šá qé-reb Ni-ip-pú-ru*
 5 ^dBI.GÌR.ĤUŠ (ENGUR).RA.KE₄
 6 ^dŠU.ZI.AN.NA *šá ap-si-i*
 7 ^dŠENBAR.RA.GIM₄.GIM₄.ME A.ŠÀ MAR.RA.KE₄
 8 ^dEN.NU.GI *šá-kin eq-li*
 9 ^dÛR.BÀD.DA EN SUKUD.DA.KE₄; ^dKÙ.SÙ *be-lu šá-qu-u*
 10 ^dÛR.BÀD.ĤUM.ĤUM DUMU É.ŠÀ.BA.KE₄; ^dNIN.ŠAR DUMU É.ŠÀ.BA
 11 ^dGUB.BA.GA.RA.RA.È DUMU URU.GIBIL₄.LA.KE₄
 12 ^dNIN.KA.SI DUMU URU *eš-ši*
 13 ^dA.BAR.RA.LAĤ₅ DUMU UD.30.KAM UD.NÁ.ÀM
 14 ^dNUSKU DUMU *še-la-še-e bu-um-bu-li*
-
- 15 *a-na* UD.15.KAM LI.LI.ÌZ ZABAR *ana* IGI
 16 ^dUTU *tu-še-eš-ši* 5 KEŠDA *a-na* ^dÉ-a
 17 ^dUTU ^dASAL.LÚ.ĤI ^dLum-*ha* *u* ^dLILIZ
 18 KEŠDA-*as* ^{udu}.nita⁵ SÍSKUR BAL-*qí*
 19 ^{uzu}ZAG.LU ^{uzu}ME.ĤÉ ^{uzu}KA.NE *tu-taĥ-ĥi*
 20 KAŠ SAG GEŠT[IN GA] BAL-*qí* *ina* NÍG.NA *u* GI.IZI.LÁ
 21 *tu-ĥa-ba* [*ina*(?) A.MEŠ ^{du}GA].GÚB.BA *tul-lal*
 22 ^dEN.KI ^dUTU ^{dx}[...] ZA DÉ DÉ
 23 3-šú ŠID-nu LUĤ KA [...] *tu-še-pis-su* Ì.NUN.NA *u* Ì.GIŠ BÁR.GÉ ŠÉŠ-s[*u* ^u] 'GALA.MAĤ' [...] *ana* UGU LI.LI.ÌZ ZABAR ŠUB-di KEŠDA.MEŠ DUĤ
 25 *ina* NÍG.NA *u* GI.IZI.LÁ *tu-ĥab-bi-šú* ŠU^{II} LILIZ *ana* IGI DINGIR.ME
 26 DAB-*ma* *ina* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ GUB-*an*
 27 LUGAL.E DÌM.ME.ER AN.KI.A ÉR GAR-*an*
 28 DÌM.DÌM.MA *an-na-a* *šá te-ep-pu-uš* Á.È
 29 IGI *a-ĥu-ú* *la* DUMU EN GARZA NU IGI-*mar*
 30 UD.MEŠ-šú LÚGUD.DA.MEŠ ZU-ú *a-na* ZU-ú
 31 *li-kal-lim* *la* ZU-ú NU IGI *ina* NÍG.GIG ^dLX ^dEN.LÍL
 32 *u* ^dIDIM DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ

IV

- 1 [...UD.MEŠ]-šú GÍD.DA.MEŠ
-
- 2 [...LI.]LI.ÌZ ZABAR
 3 [...^{gi}]ŠŠUR.MÌN 1/2 MA.NA ^{šim}GÍR
 4 [...ŠI]M.ŠAL 1/2 MA.NA GI DŪG.GA
 5 [...] *lad-nu* 10 GÍN ^{šim}*qu-an-na-bu*
 6 [...] ^{šim}*ka-ši-ši-ĥa-tu*₄
 7 [...] GÍN ^{šim}GIG
 8 [...^{ši}]mMAN.DU 2 SÌLA Ì.GIŠ *ĥal-ša*
 9 [...] *-na* 2 SÌLA GEŠTIN
 10 [...] ^rx¹ ZÌ *bit-qa* 4 SÌLA ZÌ MUNU₄

- 11 [...] -nu 1/2 SÌLA ÚŠ^{giš}EREN
 12 [...] ^úa-]su-še-e-tú ŠE.GÍN
 13 [...] lap-pi šá^{giš}GAG.MEŠ

- 14 [...] TÚG.KUR.RA BABBAR-ú 1 TÚG.KUR.RA SA₅
 15 [...] MA.NA SÍG^{bá} 7 MA.NA
 16 [...] 7 MA.NA ^{sig}ZA.GÍN.NA
 17 [...] SÍG ÛZ 2 GUR 4 NIGIDA ŠE.BAR 1 ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ
 18 [...] ZÍ]Z.ÀM MUN u ^{sim}LI 1 gi-nu-ú
 19 [...] LAL ú-de-e
 20 'AN.BAR' [...] 1/2 MA.NA
 21 IM.SAĦAR.NA₄.KUR.RA šá^{kur}Ħat-ti 1 MA.NA ŠE.GÍN ZÁLAG-tu₄
 22 ^{giš}GAG.MEŠ 3-ta šá^{giš}MES.MÁ.KAN.NA 3-ta
 23 šá^{giš}TASKARIN 3-ta šá^{giš}EREN 3-ta šá^{giš}ESI
 24 3-ta šá ŠINIG re-eĥ-tu₄ sik-kat.MEŠ gab-bi maš-tu-u
 25 10 ÉŠ.LÁ šá GADA šá 1-en ÉŠ.LÁ 10 KÙŠ GÍD.DA
 26 1 ÉŠ.LÁ šá GADA šá 1 ME KÙŠ GÍD.DA 10 ÉŠ.LÁ
 27 šá SÍG ÛZ šá 4 KÙŠ GÍD.DA 1 ÉŠ.LÁ šá GU₄
 28 ina lib-bi KEŠDA 1-en ^{tú}su-ĥat-tu 1 ku-tu-um-mu

- 29 ú-de-e lúBÁĦAR 4 dugA.GÚB.BA 4 dugkan-du-ru-u
 30 4 dugsaĥ-ĥa-ri 24 duga-da-kur-ru 24 dugĥa-bu-u
 31 1 ME 20 dugma-lit-tu₄ 3 ME dugba-gur-ru 60 NÍG.NA
 32 5 ša-bit 6 ag-gan-nu 6 ni-sip 2 ši-in-du-u 2 nam-ĥa-ri
 33 ú-de-e lúNAGAR 1 ^{giš}ku-um-mu 4 ^{giš}GAG AN.BAR iṣ-ši ana ^{giš}GAG.MEŠ
 34 ú-de-e lúAD.KID 24 GI.DU₈ 24 ^{gi}sel-li 5-ta
 35 [e]i^{gi}sel-la ŠU^{II} 3 ^{gi}KID.MÁ.ŠÚ.A 3 ^{gi}ku-tu-um-mu

- 36 [né-pe]-šú šá ŠU^{II} lúGALA: IM ^{ld}LX-ŠEŠ-MU-nu A šá ^lRi-ĥat-^dLX
 37 lúGALA.MAĦ ^dLX u An-tu₄ UNUG^{ki}-ú GIM SUMUN-bar-šú SAR-ma ba-rù u up-puṣ

I

- 1 When y[ou] want [to cover] the kettledrum (proceed as follows).
 2 A knowledgeable expert will carefully inspect (l. 3) an ungelded black bull, whose horns and hooves are intact, from its head
 3 to the tip of its tail;
 4 if its body is black as pitch, it will be taken (l. 5) for the rites and rituals.
 5 If it is spotted with 7 white tufts (which look) like stars, (or if) it has been struck (l. 6) with a stick
 6 (or) touched with a whip, it will not be taken for the rites and rituals.
- 7 When you want to make the bull enter the workshop, on a favourable day
 8 you will step up to the side of the bull, you will sweep the ground, you will sprinkle pure water, (and) you will conjure the workshop.
 9 You will lay down 2 bricks on the right and left side of the door of the workshop.
 10 You will scatter a *serqu*-offering for the gods of Heaven (and) the gods of Heaven and Earth, (i.e.) the great gods.
 11 You will make a libation of first-quality beer. You will make the bull enter the workshop.
 12 You will lay down a reed mat. Underneath the reed mat you will [heap] up (l. 13) sand.

Appendix

- 13 You will surround the sides of the reed mat with sand. You will make that bull stand (l. 14)
- 14 [o]n the reed mat and (then), with a rope of goat hair,
- 15 you will tie (its) [le]gs. You will place fine mixed beer in a bronze *uppu*-drum in front of the bull.
- 16 You will set up [2 holy water]-basins for Kusu and Ningirim.
- 17 You will set up [2 offering tabl]es; you will place (l. 18) 7 loaves of barley bread, 7 loaves of emmer bread each,
- 18 (together with) a [*mir*]*su*-confection (made with) honey, ghee, dates (and) *sasqû*-flour.
- 19 You will set up [beer, wine] (and) milk. You will se[t up] an *adakurru*-container. [...] ...
- 20 [...] juniper
- 21 [...] you will set up a *mašqû*-vessel.
- 22 [...] 1/3 mina of white wool
- 23 [...] ... you will place 7 1/2 of goat's hair.
- 24 [...] ... fine mixed beer
- 25 [...] a]nd a *hurdatu*-pole (made of) of tamarisk
- 26 [...] young date]-palm, *šalālu*-reed,
- 27 [...] acacia,
- 28 [...] you will set up a holy water-basin.
- 29 [...] cedar oil, honey, ghee,
- 30 [...] you will po]ur. With censer and torch
- 31 [you will consecrate it (the bull). ...] Shoulder, *himšu*-omentum,
- 32 [and roasted meat you will bring near]. You will make a libation [of first-quality beer, wi]ne (and) milk.
- 33 [...] you will] pour.
- 34 [...] a holy water-basin
- 35 [...] you will sprink]le(?). The sweepings
- 36 [...] you will lay down [1]2 bricks.

II

- 1 On (the 12 bricks) you will lay down 12 linen (cloths). On them you will make the 12 gods sit.
- 2 You will lift up the water (basin filled) from the holy water-basins of Ningirim and (then) you will purify the offering accoutrements (with it). You will set up 12 offering tables.
- 3 You will make 12 sheep offerings. You will bring near (l. 4) shoulder, *himšu*-omentum and roasted meat.
- 4 You will make a libation of beer, wine (and) milk. You will scatter barley seed. You will set up the kettledrum.
- 5 You will lay down 1 brick for Lumḥa. You will set up 1 offering table. You will make (l. 6) a sheep offering.
- 6 You will bring shoulder, *himšu*-omentum and roasted meat near.
- 7 You will make a libation of first-quality beer, wine (and) milk. You will set up a water (basin) before them (the gods).
- 8 You will draw the curtains shut. On the aforementioned bull you will perform the washing of the mouth ceremony.
- 9 Into its right ear you will whisper (l. 10), by means of a tube (made of) sweet reed, the incantation 'Great bull, choice bull, which treads on the pure meadow'.
- 10 You will whisper (l. 12) the incantation 'O bull, you are a descendant of Anzu'
- 11 into its left ear, by means of a tube (made of) sweet reed.
- 12 You will sprinkle it with cedar balsam. With censer and torch

- 13 you will consecrate it. (With) a magic circle of flour you will surround it. You will stand (l. 14) at the head of the bull
- 14 and you will sing (the *eršemakku*-lamentation) 'Important one, who wanders about' to the accompaniment of a bronze *ḫalḫallatu*-drum.
- 15 After that, you will recite (l. 16) (the *šullakku*-prayer) 'Great gods, who have created Heaven and Earth'.
- 16 (Then) you will cut open that bull and you will kindle cedar balsam(?). You will burn (l. 18) its heart,
- 17 (together) with cedar, juniper, *maṣḫatu*-flour in front of the kettledrum.
- 18 You will remove the sinew from its left thigh and
- 19 you will bury the carcass of that bull in a red ... cloth.
- 20 You will pour ordinary oil on it. You will place (l. 21) its face towards the West.
- 21 You will take the hide of that bull and soak (it) (l. 22) in *isqūqu*-flour
- 22 of pure grain, in water, first-quality beer (and) wine.
- 23 You will (then) lay (it) (l. 24) in the ghee from a pure cow and aromatics from their vegetables, (together) with 4 litres malt flour, (and) 4 litres of
- 24 *bitqu*-flour of standard quality. You will steep (it) (l. 25) with madder, and alum from the land of Ḫattu.
- 25 (Then) you will cover the bronze kettledrum (with it).
- 26 On (the kettledrum) you will pull (it) taut by means of a linen rope. (You will paint (l. 29)(?) pegs
- 27 of sissoowood, boxwood, cedar, ebony
- 28 and the rest of the pegs, all of *martū*-wood
- 29 for the bronze kettledrum with pure paint.
- 30 With the sinew from its left thigh you will fasten its opening.
- 31 You will loosen the rope and you will lay (it) on the tie.
- 32 You will bury the remainder of the bulls hide.
- 33 You will arrange 1 offering accoutrement for Lumḫa. You will make (l. 34) a sheep offering.
- 34 You will bring (l. 35) shoulder, *ḫimṣu*-omentum and roasted meat
- 35 near. You will make a libation of first-quality beer, wine and milk.

III

- 1 Anu, Enlil and Ea, the great gods.
-

- 2 Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea
-

- 3-4 Zisummu nibruki šagake = Ninimma, who is in Nippur.
 - 5-6 Bigirḫuš (engur)rake = Šuzianna, of the Subterranean Water.
 - 7-8 Šenbarragimgimme ašamarrake = Ennugi who cultivates the fields.
 - 9 Urbadda en sukuddake = Kusu, the exalted lord.
 - 10 Urbadḫumḫum dumu ešabake = Ninšar, the son of Ešaba
 - 11-12 Gubbagararae dumu urugibillake = Ninkasi, the son of the New City.
 - 13-14 Abarralaḫ dumu ud.30.kam udnaam = Nusku, the son of the thirtieth day (of the month), the day of non-appearance of the moon.
-

- 15 On the fifteenth day you will bring out (l. 16) the bronze kettledrum before
- 16 Šamaš. You will arrange (l. 18) 5 offering accoutrements in front of Ea,
- 17 Šamaš, Marduk, Lumḫa and the divine kettledrum.
- 18 You will make a sheep offering.
- 19 You will bring shoulder, *ḫimṣu*-omentum (and) roasted meat near.

Appendix

- 20 You will make a libation of first-quality beer, wi[ne and milk]. With censer and torch
21 you will consecrate (the kettledrum). [With water from the holy] water-basin you will purify
(the kettledrum).
22 Enki, Šamaš, ... [...] ...
23 you will recite three times. You will perform (l. 24) the washing of the mouth ceremony
[...]
24 (on the kettledrum). (With) ghee and pressed oil you will anoint it. The chief singer of
dirges will lay down (l. 25) [...]
25 on the bronze kettledrum. You will clear away the offering accoutrements.
26 With censer and torch you will consecrate it (the kettledrum). You will lead (l. 27) the
kettledrum before the gods
27 and set (it) up in (a bed of) barley seeds.
28 You will perform the *taqribtu*-lamentation 'The king, god of Heaven and Earth'.
29 This ritual procedure, which you perform, only the novice
30 may see (it); an outsider, someone who is not responsible for the rites, may not see (it),
31 (because if this happens) his days will be short. The one who is competent may show (l. 32)
(the tablet only) to one who is (also) competent;
32 he who is not competent may not see (it). Taboo of Anu, Enlil
33 and Ea, the great gods.

IV

- 1 [...] his day]s will be long.
-
- 2 [...] the bron]ze kettledrum
3 [...] cypress, 1/2 mina myrtle,
4 [...]box]tree, 1/2 mina sweet reed,
5 [...] *ladnu*-aromatics, 10 shekel *gunnabu*-aromatics,
6 [...] *cassia*,
7 [...] shekel *kanaktu*-tree,
8 [...] elder(?), 2 litres pressed oil,
9 [...] 2 litres wine,
10 [...] *bitqu*-flour, 4 litres malt flour,
11 [...] 1/2 litre cedar balsam,
12 [...] *ašušimtu*-plant, *šindu*-colouring matter,
13 [...] the wrappings of the pegs.
-
- 14 [...] white ... cloth, 1 red ... cloth,
15 [...] mina wool, 7 mina
16 [...] 7 mina of blue wool,
17 [...] goat's hair, 2 kor 4 *pānu* of barley, 1 (*pānu*) of barley seeds,
18 [...] em]mer, salt and juniper, 1 regular offering,
19 [...] utensils,
20 of iron [...] 1/2 mina
21 alum from the land of Ḫattu, 1 mina of white paint,
22 3 pegs of the sissoowood, 3
23 of boxwood, 3 of cedar, 3 of ebony,
24 3 of tamarisk, the rest of the pegs, all of *martû*-wood,
25 10 linen ropes, of which each rope is 10 cubits long,
26 1 linen rope of 100 cubits long, 10 ropes
27 of goat hair 4 cubits long, among them 1 rope with which the bull

28 was tied, 1 *suḫattu*-cloth, 1 cover.

29 The utensils of the potter: 4 holy water-basins, 4 *kandurû*-containers,

30 4 *sahḫarru*-bowls, 24 *adakurru*-containers, 24 *ḫabû*-jugs,

31 120 *malîtu*-bows, 300 *bagurru*-scoops, 60 censers,

32 5 gazelle (shaped) vessels(?), 6 *agannu*-bowls, 6 *nēsepu*-containers, 2 *ṣindu*-containers, 2 *namḫaru*-vats.

33 The utensils of the carpenter: 1 *kummu*(?), 4 iron nails, pieces of wood for pegs.

34 The utensils of the reed-worker: 24 offering tables, 24 reed baskets, 5

35 hand-baskets, 3 reed mats, 3 reed covers.

(Colophon:)

36 [Ri]tual of the lamentation priest. Tablet of Anu-aḫa-ittannu, son of Riḫat-Anu,

37 the chief singer of dirges of Anu and Antu, citizen of Uruk.

Written in accordance with its original, collated and ‘closed with a colophon’(?).

Comments

I

l. 2, for the use of *ṣuklulu* in Neo-Babylonian administration see G. van Driel, *BSA* 8 (1995), 220 f.

l. 5, *il-leq-qu* is apparently a mistake for *il-leq-qé* (see I, l. 6).

l. 7, see *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 7; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 7, rev. 7; IV R², 23, no. 1 +, IV, 25.

l. 8, *qaqqara tašabbiṭ mē ellūti tasallaḫ* (KI SAR A KÙ SÙ), a well-known phrase, see *RAcc.*, 48, n. 3, *BBR* 2, 196–7, n. b, *CAD*, Š/I, 9b, b, and *AHw*, 1119b, 3, with more examples.

We have several other examples from Uruk: see *LKU*, no. 48, obv. 2 (late Neo Babylonian or early Achaemenid period); the most important example from Hellenistic Uruk is *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 9, paralleled by *TU* 45, obv. 6–7 (partly lost) and *TU* 46, obv. 7–8 (partly lost). And finally, perhaps the phrase is attested in a small fragment, which contains part of a ritual, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 14 (cf. G.J.P. McEwan, *BiOr* 38 (1981), 640):

1' [...] 'x' [...]

2' [... KI *ta-šab*]-*biṭ* A.MEŠ K[Ù *ta-sal-làḫ*(?) ...]

3' [... *muḫ*]-*ḫi a-gur-ru* KÙ [...]

4' [...^{giš}]^U.LUḪ NAM.LUGAL.LA *u*(?)[...]

5' [... *t*]*uṣ-za-za ṣi-di-i-t*[*u*₄ DINGIR.MEŠ(?) ...]

6' [...] U BA(?) 'x' [...]

l. 3', *a-gur-ru* KÙ ‘the pure brick’, or: *a-gur-ru* KÙ.[BABBAR ‘the silver (coloured) brick’ (cf. *VAB* 4, 158, VI, 36; *PBS* 15, 79, I, 61; *AnOr* 8, 25, 12)?

Similar to the phrase *qaqqara tašabbiṭ mē ellūti tasallaḫ* is also *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2,

no. 5, obv. 8: KI *tu-^rqád^r-da-áš* A KÙ SÛ-*uḥ*. See also my comment on *TU* 45, rev. 8.

l. 13, [DUB]-*ak* ‘you will heap up’ (*tašappak*), and probably not *tasarraq* (DUB-*aq*) (cf. *RAcc.*, 10). See *BRM* 4, 6, obv. 7, where *bašṣu* is also attested with *šapāku*, in: *ba-aš it-taš-pak* ‘sand is heaped up’ (lamentation incipit). See the duplicates *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 16 and *KAR* 60, obv. [4]. See also my comment on l. 18.

l. 15 (see also 24), KAŠ.Ú.SA SIG₅¹ is probably ‘fine mixed beer’ (*billatu*) (reading suggestion M. Stol), well attested in ritual texts; see for example *TU* 39, obv. 9; cf. also the dictionaries. Not: KAŠ ^ú*sa-pi-e* (see *RAcc.*, 10), which is otherwise unknown.

l. 16, here and in II, 2 the holy water-basin and Ningirim are mentioned together, a connection which is confirmed by A. Livingstone, *Mystical*, 176, 1.

l. 18, ‘you will place’ (GAR-*an*), this verb is also used in the parallels *KAR* 50, rev. 4, *TU* 45, obv. 8 and *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 11–12. Other parallels have the verb *sarāqu* (DUB-*aq*): IV R², 23, no. 1 +, III, 26–27; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 13–14. One has to ask whether in some cases instead of *sarāqu* the verb *tabāku* (DUB) is intended, see R. Borger, *BiOr* 30 (1973), 178, 27: ZÚ.L[U]M(.MA) ^ziEŠA *ta-tab-bak-ma* (cf. *CAD*, S, 173b).

l. 19, based on the syllabic writing *dug^a-da-kur-ru* (see also IV, 30) it is preferable to read *dugA.DA.GUR₅* in Late Babylonian/Hellenistic ritual texts (see *TU* 45, obv. 9; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 13; F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 9) as *adakurru* rather than *adagurru*.

l. 31, [*tu-ḥa-bi-šú*], the restoration is based on II, 13. See also III, 26 (*tu-ḥab-bi-šú*). One would of course expect *tu-ḥa-ab/ḥab-šú*. Cf. III, 21 (*tu-ḥa-ba*); *TU* 41, obv. 4 (*ú-ḥab^{ab}-ma*); *TU* 45, rev. 24 and *TU* 46, rev. 13 (*tu-ḥa-ab*).

l. 31, *ḥimṣu*-omentum, see D.A. Foxvog, in Å.W. Sjöberg, *AV*, 171b.

II

l. 9 ff., several recitations are referred to here, which are also attested elsewhere. First two incantations in II, 9 and 10: ‘Great bull, choice bull, which treads on the pure meadow’, also attested in the parallels *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 19, and *KAR* 60, obv. 10, and ‘O bull, you are a descendant of Anzû’, also in *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 21, and *KAR* 60, obv. 12. The incantation are recited in full in IV R², 23, no. 1 +, I, 9 ff. and 19 ff.

Then follows an *eršemma* in II, 14: ‘Important one, who wanders abound’, cf. M.E. Cohen, *Eršemma*, 110 ff.; also in the building ritual text *TU* 45, obv. 13 and parallels *TU* 46, obv. 11; rev. 9; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, 18, and no. 11, obv. fragment 1, 2'; F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. [11]; also in the Uruk *mīs pī*-ritual *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 24; 26.

After this in II, 15 a hand-raising prayer (*šuillakku*) is recited: ‘Great gods, who have created Heaven and Earth’, recited in full in *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 6, see W.R. Mayer, *OrNS* 47 (1978), 432–437.

l. 16, ^rgiŠÚŠ(?) ^{gi}ŠEREN MÚ ‘you will kindle cedar balsam’(?) (*dam erēni*), as in l.

12? Compare also the parallel *KAR* 60, obv. 14 and *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 22: cedar balsam is kindled (ḡisūš EREN MU-ah) shortly before the slaughtering of the bull, while here in *TU* 44, II, 16, if the restoration is correct, the cedar balsam is kindled directly after the slaughtering of the bull.

l. 19 (see also IV, 14), the reading of TUG.KUR.RA is not clear, see *CAD*, S, 130, 2'. Cf. A. Ungnad, *NRV Glossar*, 140; A.L. Oppenheim, *JCS* 4 (1950), 191 ff.; R. Borger, *OrNS* 26 (1957), 7; R.H. Sack, *Amēl-Marduk 562–560 B.C.*, Kevelaer + Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1972, 111; R. Borger, *ABZ*, no. 536, contra *CAD*, S, 225b (*sad-ru*).

l. 23, GU₄(ÁB) KÙ.GA 'pure cow', see the parallel *KAR* 60, rev. 7.

l. 23–24, 'You will (then) lay it in the ghee from a pure cow and aromatics from their vegetables, (together) with 4 litres malt flour, (and) 4 litres of *bitqu*-flour of standard quality', so this is another mixture in which the hide is laid to soak. We should not translate (with *CAD*, S, 19b, 2, b): 'you will pour 4 litres *bitqu*-flour into (*ana*) the ordinary flour (*sadru*) with 4 litres malt flour', because then we have the problem that this mixture is apparently not used for the soaking or for anything else, since the text continues (l. 24–25) to tell us that the hide is steeped (*šarāpu*) in madder and alum. See the parallels *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 28 and *KAR* 60, rev. 7–8, where no mention is made of this mixture with *bitqu*-flour, but the hide is directly steeped in ghee, alum and madder.

For *hūratu* 'madder' (*Rubia tinctorum*), cf. M. Stol, in *RIA* 6 (1980–1983), 534 f.

l. 25, *ta-šar-ra-pu* 'You will steep (it)' (with *-u* ending, although a singular is intended, see I, l. 5). Cf. *CAD*, S, 105a, c.

l. 26–28 and IV, 22–24, *maš-tu-ú* 'pegs', necessary to stretch the hide over the kettledrum. See *BE* VIII, 154 (list of objects used in a ritual), obv. 12: 10 *sik-kat šá mar-tu-ú* '10 pegs of *martu*-wood'.

l. 32, KUŠ.TAB.BA 'bulls hide', see M. Stol, in *RIA* 6 (1980–1983), 528; K. Radner, *SAA Studies* VI (1997), 192–3.

III

l. 1–14, for the beginning of column III, see A. Livingstone, *Mystical*, 200 ff. It is partially duplicated by or related to several other texts, which are discussed by A. Livingstone, *Mystical*, 187–204: 187–204: AO 17626, rev.(!) 1–6; IV R², 23, no. 1 +, I, 1–6; *CT* 24, pl. 4–5, 29–36 (series AN = *Anum*); *TU* 47, obv. 10 ff.

See also *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 8. The obv. 1'ff. is a partial duplicate of *TU* 47, obv. 6–11(?) (see W.R. Mayer, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, p. 16 sub no. 8); for the reverse, horizontal, 1'–4', see *TU* 47, reverse, lower right side and AO 17626, rev. (! see A. Livingstone, *Mystical*, 198–9) 1–6:

Obv.

- 1' [...] 'x' DI(?) 'x x' [...]
- 2' [...] *ip-qi* *d-da-á* [*š-šú*]
- 3' [...] ^dME]Š.LAM.TA.Ē.A
- 4' [...] TUŠ] KI¹-tì

5' [...]ʿxʿ

6' [...]ʿxʿ

Rev.

horizontal:

1' [dÛR.BÀD.DA dGUB.BA.GA.RA.]RA.È

2' [dDUMU.ZI dA-nù dKI]N.GU.GU dEN.ME.ʿŠARʿ. RA

3' [dMU.UM.MU dPAP.SUKKAL/dIl-lab-rat d]AL.LA AN.ŠÁR

4' [dÁ.SÀG An-tu₄ dUB-n]a d[LUGAL.DU₆.KÙ]

vertical:

1' [šá (...) dŠ]U.ZI.AN.NA

2' [IGI-šú(-nu) ana IM.MA]ʿR.TUʿ GAR-nu

For a discussion of these lines see II.5.2.

l. 17, dLumḥa also written dBALAG ‘the divine harp’ in the duplicate KAR 60, obv. 14. See RAcc., 49, n. 13; D.O. Edzard M. Krebernik, in: RIA 7 (1987–90), s.v. Lumḥa = BALAG = harp; also the god of the lamentation priests in An = Anum, II, 307.

l. 24, ḥalṣu (BÁR.GÉ) ‘pressed’, is usually written BÁR.GA.

l. 29, te-ep-pu-uš is mistakenly written without the subjunctive ending -u.

l. 31–33, cf. P.-A. Beaulieu, ZA 82 (1992), 98–111.

IV

l. 3 ff., here the enumeration of all the products and instruments which are needed for the above described ceremonies begins.

l. 6, šimka-ši-ši-ḥa-tu₄ ‘cassia’, see M. Jursa, NABU 1997, no. 34: kašīʿatu / kašīḥātu? ‘Kassia, Zimtblüten’.

l. 18, ‘1 regular offering’ (gi-nu-ú), not qanû (GI-nu-ú), see AHW, 290a, 4, b, contra RAcc., 18.

l. 32, 5 ṣa-bit ‘5 gazelle (shaped) vessels (ṣabītu)(?), see CAD, Š, 43b, d. Perhaps similar to nam-ḥa-ri.MEŠ a-ri-bi ‘namḥaru-vats (shaped like) raven’(?), in TU 39, obv. 10 (but also not certain)?

l. 37, see H. Hunger, AOAT 2, 47. For uppuš, see my comment on BRM 4, 7, rev. 43.

KAR 60 (VAT 8022)³¹

This text, found in Assur, and copied in the seventh century B.C., from an older Babylonian tablet for the library of Assurbanipal, describes the kettledrum ceremony (*lilissu*). It appears to be a shortened version of *TU* 44.

The text is discussed in II.5.

Obv.

- 1 BAD x [...]
- 2 A.MEŠ *ina maḥ-ri-šú-nu* [GUB-*an*]
- 3 lúGALA *ina ÛB ZABAR NI* [...]
- 4 ʒiKID.MÁ.ŠÚ.A ŠUB-*di* *ina KI.TA* ʒiK[ID.MÁ.ŠÚ.A *ba-aš-ša* DUB-*ak*]
- 5 Á.MEŠ ʒiKID.MÁ.ŠÚ.A 'ba-aš'-*ša* NIGIN-*mi* GU₄ šá-a-š[*u*]
- 6 *ina* UGU ʒiKID.MÁ.MAḤ *tuš-za-za-a-ma*
- 7 A.MEŠ A.GÚB.BA SÙ-*šu* KA-*šu* *te-me-es-si*
- 8 ZÌ.SUR.RA-*a* *ta-lam-me-šú* SIG₄ *ina* IGI-šú LAL-*aš*
- 9 NÍG.NA šimLI *ta-sár-raq* KAŠ SAG BAL-*qí*
- 10 ÉN GU₄.GAL GU₄.MAḤ Ú KI.ÚS KÙ.GA *ina* ʒiSAG.KUD GI DÙG.GA
- 11 *ana* ŠÀ GEŠTUG^{II} ZAG-šú *tu-làḥ-ḥaš*
- 12 ÉN GU₄ *i-lit-ti* An-*zi-i* *at-ta-ma*
- 13 *ina* ʒiSAG.KUD GI DÙG.GA *ina* ŠÀ GEŠTUG^{II} GÙB-šú *tu-làḥ-ḥaš*
- 14 'ina IGI' ʒBALAG LAL-*ma* ʒiŠÚŠ EREN MÚ-*aḥ*
- 15 [G]U₄ šá-a-šú *ta-pal-laq-ma* ŠÀ-*šu* *ina* IGI ʒBALAG
- 16 [*i*]na šimLI *ta-sár-raq* KAŠ BAL-*qí*
- 17 lúGALA SAG.DU-*su* *i-paṭ-ṭar-ma*
- 18 [*ina ki*]m-*ši* *i-kam-me-es-ma* *ina* re-šì-šú GUB-*az-ma*

Rev.

- 1 MU.LU NÁ.A KI.MIN 3-šú ŠID-*nu*
- 2 ù EGIR-šú *ki-a-am* 3-šú *i-qab-bi*
- 3 [*e*]p-še-*e-ti* an-na-*a-ti* DÌM.ME.ER KÌLIB.BA *i-tep-pu-uš*
- 4 a-na-*ku* *ul e-pu-uš* A.MEŠ ÍL-*ma* šid-*da* *tu-na-ḥi*
- 5 KUŠ šá-a-šú *te-leq-qé-e-ma* *i-na* ZÌ KUM NISABA KÙ-*tì*
- 6 *ina* A.MEŠ KAŠ *u* GEŠTIN *reš-ti-i* *te-re-es-si-in*
- 7 *ina* Ì.NUN.NA ʒuÁB KÙ.GA IM.SAḤAR.NA₄.KUR.RA šá kurḤat-*ti*
- 8 *u* ʒiŠHAB *ta-šar-rap-ma* LI.LI.ÌZ ZABAR *ta-rim*
- 9 *ina* SA GÙB šá uzuGIŠ.KUN *ba-ab-šú* *ta-šap-pi*
- 10 *ina* ʒiGGA.ZUM.AK.A ʒiGAG.MEŠ LI.LI.ÌZ ZABAR *tál-pap*
- 11 ŠE.GÍN ZÁLAG.GA *ta-šap-pi-ma* *tu-ta-ri*
- 12 *ina* ITI ŠE.GA UD ŠE.GA *tam-mar-ma*
- 13 NÍG.DÍM.DÍM.MA an-na-*a-ti* *tep-pu-uš*
- 14 UZU GU[₄] šá-a-šú ŠÚ.MAḤ NU GU₇
- 15 Á.È bà-^rri'(??) [...] 'EN(?)' RU(?) NU ZU NU IGI-*mar*

Obv.

- 1 ... [...]
- 2 [You will set up] a water (basin) before them [...]

³¹ Cf. *RAcc.*, 20–23; A.J. Sachs, in: J.B. Pritchard, *ANET*², 336. See also R. Borger, *HKL* 1, 98.

- 3 the lamentation priest in a bronze drum [...]
- 4 You will lay down a reed mat. Underneath the r[eed mat you will heap up sand].
- 5 You will surround the sides of the reed mat with sand. You will make that bull
- 6 stand on the reed mat and you will sprinkle it (l. 7)
- 7 with water from the holy water-basin. You will wash its mouth.
- 8 You will surround it with a magic circle of flour. You will set in place a brick in front of it.
- 9 (On) a censer you will scatter juniper. You will make a libation of first-quality beer.
- 10 You will whisper (l. 11), by means of a tube (made of) sweet reed, the incantation ‘Great bull, choice bull, which treads on the pure meadow’
- 11 into its right ear.
- 12 You will whisper (l. 13) the incantation ‘O bull, you are a descendant of Anzu’
- 13 into its left ear, by means of a tube (made of) sweet reed.
- 14 You will set in place (the bull) in front of Lumḥa and you will kindle cedar balsam.
- 15 You will cut open that [b]ull and you will scatter (l. 16) its heart in front of Lumḥa
- 16 with juniper. You will make a libation of beer.
- 17 The lamentation priest will uncover his head,
- 18 kneel down and stand at its head. Then

Rev.

- 1 he will recite three times ‘He, who lies asleep’
 - 2 and after this he will say three times thus:
 - 3 ‘these ritual acts the totality-of-the-gods has performed,
 - 4 I did not perform (them)’. (Then) you will lift up the water (basin) and loosen the curtains.
 - 5 You will take the aforementioned hide and soak (it) (l. 6) with *isqūqu*-flour of pure grain
 - 6 in water, beer and first-quality wine.
 - 7 You will steep (it) (l. 8) in ghee from a pure cow, alum from the land of Ḫattu
 - 8 and madder and you will cover the kettledrum (with it).
 - 9 With the sinew left from (its) thigh you will fasten its opening.
 - 10 You will wrap the pegs of the bronze kettledrum with carded wool.
 - 11 You will dip (them) in white paint and place (them) back (in the kettledrum).
 - 12 In an auspicious month you will look for a favourable day and
 - 13 you will perform these ritual acts.
 - 14 The chief singer of dirges will not eat from the meat of that bull.
- (Colophon:)
- 15 Collated by(??) the novice [...] ... the person who is not competent may not see (it).

Comments

Obv.

l. 2, A.MEŠ *ina maḥ-ri-šú-nu* [GUB-an], as in *TU* 44, II, 7?

l. 4, the reconstruction follows *TU* 44, I, 12–13.

l. 14, MÚ-*aḥ* “you will kindle”, or perhaps, with Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc.*, 20 f., a mistake for SÛ-*aḥ* “you will sprinkle”, as in the parallel *TU* 44, II, 12 (cf. *CAD*, S, 86b, 2’).

l. 15–16, F. Thureau-Dangin (*RAcc.*, 53, n. 61) suggested that the scribe mistakenly omitted several words, and, based on *TU* 44, II, 17–18 and *KAR* 60, obv. 9, he restored: [G]U₄ šá-a-šú *ta-pal-laq-ma* ŠÀ-šu *ina* IGI dBALAG [i]na^{šim}LI (gišEREN ZÌ.MAD.GÁ *ta-qal-la* NÍG.NA^{šim}LI) *ta-sár-raq*.

See also *CAD*, S, 173a: *ina* ^{šim}LI ⟨*ta-qal-la* NÍG.NA ^{šim}LI⟩ *ta-sár-raq*. However, one must ask whether a restoration is necessary, since the short version in *KAR* 60 can also be found in the Hellenistic parallel text *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 22–3:

GU₄ *šá-a-šú* *ina* IGI LI.LI.ÌZ *t[a-pal-la]q-ma lib-bi-šu* *ina* IGI LI.LI.ÌZ ^{šim}LI DUB-*aq*.

Also, the restoration by Thureau-Dangin includes the scattering of the censer, which, incidentally, does not occur in *TU* 44. However, in *KAR* 60 (obv. 9) and *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5 (rev. 19) this scattering had already taken place, long before the relevant passage with the heart of the bull is described.

If we assume correctly that the restoration is not necessary, then we have, with the passage discussed here, an indication for two separate versions. In the Uruk version *TU* 44 the heart is burned (*qalû*) together with juniper, cedar and *mašhatu*-flour, while in the Assur version *KAR* 60 and the other Uruk parallel *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5 the heart is scattered (*sarāqu*) with juniper. For an analysis and comparison of these texts see II.5.2.

l. 17, ‘The lamentation priest will uncover his head’, see *AHw*, 849b, 5, a and *CAD*, Q, 103a, 6’. See also *CAD*, K, 93a, 3’: ‘The lamentation priest makes his hair disheveled’.

Rev.

l. 1, MU.LU NÁ.A ‘He, who lies asleep’, the text is recited in full in IV R², 23, no. 1 +, I, 27–32. Cf. J. Krecher, *Kultlyrik*, 25, n.39.

l. 8, LI.LI.ÌZ ZABAR *ta-rim*, as in the parallel *TU* 44, II, 25 (*tar-rim*). Cf. *CAD*, A/II, 228b, 1, a, and *AHw*, 64b; not *ta-ḥap*, as in *CAD*, H, 20a, 1 and *AHw*, 306a. See also *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 28 (restored) and IV R², 23, no. 1 +, I, 8 (*te-rim*).

l. 9, *ina* SA GÜB *šá* ^{uzu}GIŠ.KUN ‘With the sinew left from its thigh’, as in the parallel *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 29. Different in *TU* 44, II, 30: *ina* SA ^{uzu}GIŠ.KUN GÜB-*šú* ‘With the sinew from its left thigh’. See W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 236, l. 29.

l. 10–15, these lines are partially duplicated by *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 29–31, and also by another fragment from Hellenistic Uruk, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 7, obv. 2–9:

Obv.

1’ [...] x [...]

2’ [*ina* ^{sig}]GA.ZUM.AK.[A ^{giš}GAG.MEŠ LI.LI.ÌZ ZABAR *tál-pap*]

3’ [...] x NA Û ŠÁ UD x [...]

4’ [...] LI.LI.ÌZ ZA[BAR ...]

5’ [... *ina* ITI ŠE.GA UD] ŠE.GA *tam-mar-ma* NÍG.[DÍM.DÍM.MA *an-na-a-ti tep-pu-uš*]

6’ [... UZU] GU₄ *šá-a-šú* [ŠÚ.MAḤ NU GU₇]

7’ [...] NU ZU-ú N[U IGI ...]

8’ [...L]I.LI.Ì[Z ZABAR(?)...]

9’ [...] GU₄ [...]

l. 14, ŠÚ.MAḤ the ‘chief singer of dirges’ (*galamāḫu*) is lost in the duplicate *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 7, obv. 6, but is also attested many times in Hellenistic rituals, although usually written ^(lū)GALA (UŠ.KU).MAḤ, see *AHw*, 273–4 and *CAD*, G, 19–20 (here

our reference *KAR* 60, rev. 14 is mistakenly transliterated LÚ.UŠ.KU.MAḪ). Cf. also *CAD*, Š/III, 120b, c. See also H. Hunger, *AOAT* 2, nos. 499, 5 and 524, 2, with two more examples of ŠÚ.MAḪ.

This Neo-Assyrian text, found in Assur, was copied from an older Babylonian text in the seventh century for the library of Assurbanipal. It is apparently a shortened version of the kettledrum ritual (*lilissu*). On the obverse we find a bilingual incantation for ‘the choice bull, the creation of the great gods’. The reverse describes the actual ritual.

The text is discussed in II.5.

Obv.

- 1 ÉN GU₄.MAḪ ZA DÍM.MA DIMMER.GAL.[GAL.E.NE]
- 2 *at-ta gu-um-m[a-h]u bi-nu-ut* [DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ]
- 3 DÍM.ME.BI KIM_x.MA DIMMER.GA[L].GAL.E.N[E ...]
- 4 *tab-ba-ni-ma ana š[i-pir DING]IR.MEŠ GAL.[MEŠ ...]*
- 5 AN ALAM GARZA ^dA.NU.TA.KE₄ [...]
- 6 *ina AN-e ša-lam-ka a-na pa-ra-aš ^dA-nu-[ti ...]*
- 7 UD AN ^dEN.LÍL.LÁ ^dEN.KI ^dNIN.MAḪ NAM DIMMER.GAL.[GAL.E.NE ...]
- 8 *i-nu ^dMIN ^dMIN ^dMIN u ^dMIN ši-mit* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ [*i-ši-mu*]
- 9 KUŠ.ZU SA ḪAL.GA DIMMER.GAL.GAL.E.NE NAM TAR.TAR [...]
- 10 *ma-šak-ka ši-ir-an-ka ana pi-riš-ti* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *iš-^ršá¹-a-mu*
- 11 UD.ḪAL.DIMMER.BI UD DA.IR.E[Š] ZA.GI.NA
- 12 *ina pi-riš-ti* DINGIR.BI *ana* UD.MEŠ *da-ru-ú-tú ku-ú-ni*
- 13 ALAM DIMMER KI.ŠEŠ.BI NAM TAR.TAR.E.NE
- 14 *ša-lam šu-ú it-ti* DINGIR.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú *ši-mit ši-mu*
- 15 DIMMER.BI ^rZAG.GU¹.LA.BI MU.UN.SIKIL MU.UN.DADAG
- 16 DINGIR *šu-ú e-šer-ti-šú li-lil li-bi-ib*
- 17 EME.ḪUL.GÁL BAR.ŠÈ ḪÉ.EN.TA.GUB

Rev.

- 1 DÙ.DÙ.BI *ina* ITI SI.SÁ *ina* u₄-mi DÙG.GA *ina* šer-ti
- 2 *la-am* ^dUTU KUR-ḫa 3 GI.DU₈ *ana* ^dÉ-a ^dUTU
- 3 *u* ^dASAL.LÚ.ḪI *tar-kás* ZÚ.LUM.MA ²EŠA DUB-aq
- 4 NINDA.Ì.DÉ.A LÁL.Ì.NUN.NA GAR-an 3 UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ BABBAR.MEŠ
- 5 BAL-qí ^{uzu}ZAG.LU *ḫi-in-ša u šu-me-e* TE-ḫi
- 6 NÍG.NA ^{šim}LI GAR-an ZÌ.MAD.GÁ *ta-sár-raq*
- 7 *šid-du* GÍD.DA-ad ZÌ.DUB.DUB.BU ŠUB.ŠUB-di
- 8 GU₄.MAḪ *ana* KI *par-si tuš-za-az-ma ana* ŠÁ GEŠTUG¹¹ XV-šú (*u* 2,30-šú)
- 9 3.TA.ÀM *tu-làḫ-ḫàš gu-ma-ḫu* KUD-is-ma
- 10 ^r*ma-áš-ku¹ u šir-a-nu ana šip-ri šá-a-šú* [T]I-qí
- 11 ÉN KAR.ZA.GÌN.NA ^rKAR x¹ [...]

Obv.

- 1–2 Incantation: You are the choice bull, the creation of [the great gods].
- 3–4 You were created for the wo[rk of the great go]ds.
- 5–6 In heaven your statue ... for the rites of the Anu-worship.

³² Cf. *RAcc.*, 22–25; A.J. Sachs, in: J.B. Pritchard, *ANET*², 336 f. See also R. Borger, *HKL* 1, 98. The text is partly duplicated by K 6060 (*BBR* 2, no. 56) + K 10820 (unpublished), see Plate II. For details see my comments on the text.

Appendix

- 7–8 When Anu, Enlil, Enki and Ninmah [decreed] the fate of the great gods,
9–10 your hide and your sinew have been assigned to the mystery of the great gods.
11–12 Abide for eternity in the mystery of that god!
13–14 The fate of that statue has been decreed (together) with its fellow gods.
15–16 May the sanctuary of that god become pure, become clean!
17 May the evil tongue stand aside!

Rev.

- 1 The pertinent ritual: in a proper month, on a good day, in the morning,
2 before sunrise, you will arrange (l. 3) 3 offering tables for Ea, Šamaš,
3 and Marduk. (On these tables) you will scatter dates (and) *sasqu*-flour.
4 You will place a *mirsu*-confection (made with) honey (and) ghee. You will offer (l. 5) 3
white sheep.
5 You will bring shoulder, *himšu*-omentum and roasted meat near.
6 You will place a censer (with) juniper; you will scatter *maṣḥatu*-flour.
7 You will draw the curtains shut. You will repeatedly pour heaps of flour.
8 You will make the choice bull stand in a secluded place and you will whisper (l. 9) in its
right (and left) ear
9 three times (the 2 pertinent incantations). Then you will slaughter the choice bull and
10 you will [ta]ke (its) hide and sinew for that work.
11 Incantation: ‘The Pure Quay’ ... [...].’

Comments

Obv.

l. 1–2, GU₄.MAḤ NÍG(!? Copy: ZA).DÍM.MA // *at-ta gu-um-m[a-h]u bi-nu-ut*, see 4R 25, III, 58 f.: NÍG.DÍM.DÍM.MA // *bi-nu-ut* DINGIR ‘divine creation’.

l. 3, the Sumerian differs from the Akkadian version: ‘Whose creation is the work of the great gods’.

DÍM.ME.BI, for ME, which stands for MA, see A. Poebel, *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik*, Rostock, 1923, p.12, § 16. Or simply a mistake as in obv. 8, 9, 11, 14?

l. 8 and 14, *ši-mit* perhaps a scribal error for *ši-mat*? The scribe made more mistakes, see my comments on obv. 9 and 11.

l. 9, ḪAL.GA // *pi-riš-ti*, normally written AD.ḪAL, or ḪAL. See also obv. 11.

l. 11 - rev. 10, these lines are duplicate of the Nineveh text K 6060 (*BBR* 2, no. 56) + K 10820 (unpublished), but obv. 11–12 and 13–14 appear to be interchanged in the duplicate. See plate II.

l. 11, or perhaps better: “*Be faithful* forever to that divine secret”. UD stands for AD in AD.ḪAL // *pi-riš-ti*. IR in DA.IR stands for RÍ, as is clear from the duplicate K 10820, obv. x + 3: DA.R[Í.EŠ].

l. 13–14, *ši-mit ši-mu* “has been decreed”, following *CAD*, Š, 84, c, rather than *CAD*, Š, 361, 2', a', where an imperative is assumed.

l. 15–16 = K 10820, obv. x + 5–6, the Sumerian differs from the Akkadian version, the precativ prefix is missing: ‘his sanctuary will become pure, become clean’. See also obv. 17.

l. 17, ‘May the evil tong stand aside’, i.e. ‘leave’. The duplicate K 6060 + 10820 reads obv. x + 8: [...] *li-šá-nu le-mut-tú ina a-ḥa-t[i GUB]*. See *RAcc.*, 24, n. a, and *CAD*, L, 211b, c with more parallels.

Rev.

l. 1, *ina ITI SI.SÁ ina u₄-mi DÙG.GA*, usually written *ina ITI šal-mu/-me/ŠE.GA (ina u₄-mu/UD ŠE.GA*, cf. *KAR* 60, rev. 12, and *KAR* 50, rev. 1; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 7; no. 7, obv. 5'; no. 10, obv. 2; *TU* 45, obv. 2; *TU* 46, obv. 2, 23, rev. 2; F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no.12, obv. 3; *SpTU* 4, no. 141, rev. 15.

l. 8, *ana KI par-si* ‘in a secluded place’, see my comment to *TU* 45, obv. 6.

l. 8, (*u* 2,30-šú) is written only in K 6060 + 10820, rev. 4.

l. 9, ‘(the 2 pertinent incantations)’, namely: *GU₄.GAL GU₄.MAḤ Ú KI.ÚS KÙ.GA* (cf. *TU* 44, II, 9; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 19; *KAR* 60, obv. 10) and *GU₄ i-lit-tu₄ An-zi-i at-ta-ma* (cf. *TU* 44, II, 10; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 21; *KAR* 60, obv. 12).

l. 11, *KAR.ZA.GÌN.NA* ‘The Pure Quay’ or ‘The Quay of Lapis Lazuli’, a sacred quay located at Eridu, Nippur, Ur and Lagaš, see A.R. George, *House Most High*, no. 568. See also Å.W. Sjöberg, *Mondgott*, 103; A.J. Ferrara, *Nanna-Suen's Journey*, Rome, 1973, 128–9; M.W. Green, *Eridu in Sumerian Literature*, Chicago, 1975, 185 (who, incidentally, reads the traces before the break as ‘dEn-[ki]’, but the copy does not allow this reading). For the É.KAR.ZA.GÌN.NA, the temple of Ea within Esagila at Babylon, see A.R. George, *House Most High*, no. 569. Also two É.ZA.GÌN.(NA)-temples are known, see A.R. George, *House Most High*, nos. 1219 and 1220.

This text from Hellenistic Uruk is a shortened version of the kettledrum ritual (*lilissu*). The owner of the tablet is Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nidintu-Anu, of the Sîn-lēqe-unnīni family, and is dated 10(?)–VII–150 S.E. (8–X–162 B.C.) He is also attested in *Bagh. Mitt. Beih. 2*, no. 89, dated 147 S.E. (165/4 B.C.) He is the grandson of Anu-bēlšunu who wrote *Bagh. Mitt. Beih. 2*, no. 12, dated 112 S.E., *TU 45*, with an incomplete date, and *TU 46*, dated 81 S.E. (see the introductions of these texts, below).³⁴ The text is partially duplicated by *TU 44*, I–II and *KAR 60*.

The text is discussed in II.5.

U.E.

[...] x x [...]

u šu-ul(?) [...]

Obv.

- 1 *e-nu-ma* 'LI'.[LI.ÌZ ZABAR *a-na a-ra-mi IGI-k*]a
- 2 GU₄¹ ŠU.DU₇ GE₆ 'šá^{gi}ŠUMBIN'.MEŠ *u SI.MEŠ-šú šal-'me*^{1'}
- 3 TA SAG.DU-šú EN *ap-pi KUN-šu* ^{lu}UM.ME.A *mu-du-ú it-ta-nap-la-su-ma*
- 4 *šum-ma KUŠ-šú SÍG GE₆ a-na GARZA u ki-du-de-e il-leq-qé*
- 5 *šum-ma 7 SÍG BABBAR ki-ma MUL ta-kip ina* ^{gi}ŠNÍG.GIDRU *ma-ḫi-iš ina qin-na-zu*
la-pit
- 6 'a-na' GARZA 'u' *ki-du-de-e ul TI-qé*
- 7 [*e-nu-m*]a GU₄ *a-na É mu-um-mu tu-šèr-ri-ba ina ITI šal-me ina UD ŠE.GA*
- 8 [*ina Á GU₄*] 'ZI.GA' KI *tu-'qád'-da-áš A KÙ SÙ-uḫ 12 SIG₄ LAL-aš*
- 9 [12 GADA] *ina muḫ-ḫi ŠUB-di DINGIR.MEŠ 12-šú-nu ina muḫ-ḫi tu-še-šeb*
- 10 [...] 'x.MEŠ' *tuš-za-zi 2 DINGIR.MEŠ DINGIR GÍD.DA ŠU 'GÍD(?)'.DA 'GÍD(?)'.DA*
- 11 [7 DINGIR.MEŠ DUMU 'E]N.ME.ŠÁR.RA ZÌ.DUB.DUB.BU.MEŠ *tu-sar-raq*
- 12 [12] G[I.DU₈ GUB-an] 7.TA.A.⟨AN⟩ *šá ŠE.BAR 7.TA.ÀM NINDA ZÍZ.ÀM*
NINDA.Ì.DÉ.ÀM
- 13 'LÀL Ì.NUN.NA ZÚ.LUM.MA ^{zi}EŠA' DUB-aq KAŠ *u GEŠTIN GUB-an*
- 12 ^{udu}SÍSKUR BAL-qi
- 14 ^{uzu}ZAG.LU ^{uzu}ME.ḪÉ *u* ^{uzu}K[A.NE *tu-ṭaḫ-ḫa* ŠE.BAR ŠE.MUNU₄(?) ZÍZ.ÀM GAR-an
- 15 SÍG S[A₅(?) SÍ]G ZA.GÌN.NA x x x [...]x SIG₄.MEŠ DUB-aq A.MEŠ *maḫ-ri-šú-nu*
tu-kan-nu
- 16 ^{gi}KID.MÁ.ŠÚ.A ŠUB-di *ina KI.TA* ^{gi}KID.MÁ.ŠÚ.A [*ba-a*]-š-ša DUB-ak Á.MEŠ
- ^{gi}KID.MÁ.ŠÚ.A ŠUB-di
- 17 [*ba-aš*]-ša *ta-lam-mi GU₄¹ šá-a-šú ina muḫ-ḫi* ^{gi}KID.MÁ.ŠÚ.A *tuš-za-as-su-ma*

Rev.

- 18 'A.MEŠ' ^{dug}A.GÚ[B.BA] 'ta-sal'-lāḫ-šú KA-[šú *te-me-es-si* ZÌ.SUR.R]A *ta-lam-mi-iš*
SIG₄ LAL-aš
- 19 NÍG.NA ^{šim}LI *ta-s[ár]-raq KAŠ S[AG BAL-q]i ÉN 'GU₄¹.GAL ⟨GU₄⟩.MAḫ Ú KI.⟨ÚS⟩*
KÙ.GA {UŠ KU}
- 20 *ina* ^{gi}SAG.KUD GI DÙG.GA *a-[na lib-bi GEŠTU]G¹¹ ZAG-šú tu-lāḫ-ḫaš EGIR-šú*

³³ Cf. W. Farber, *TUAT II*, 2, 234 ff.

³⁴ For both Anu-bēlšunu's see L. E. Pearce–L. T. Doty, in *Festschrift J. Oelsner*, AOAT, Bd. 252, Münster, 2000, 331–341.

- 21 ÉN GU₄¹ 'i-lit-tu₄ An-zi¹-[i at-t]a-ma ina ^{gi}SAG.KUD GI DÙG.GA a-na lib-bi GEŠTUG¹¹
GÜB-šú tu-làh-ḥaš
- 22 LI.LI.ÌZ [ZABA]R UŠ ^{giš}EREN SÜ-ah-šú GU₄¹ šá-a-šú ina IGI LI.LI.ÌZ
- 23 t[a-pal-la]q-ma lib-bi-šu ina IGI LI.LI.ÌZ ^{šim}LI DUB-aq KAŠ BAL-qí
- 24 [...]x¹ KU DU
- 25 [EGI]R(?) -šú ep-še-e-ti an-na-a-tú
- 26 'A¹.MEŠ ÍL-'ma¹ ŠID-'da¹ tu-'na-ḥu¹
- 27 [KUŠ šá]-'a¹-šú ta-leq¹-qé-e-ma ina ZÌ KUM ^dNISABA KÙ ina A.MEŠ KAŠ GEŠTIN
reš-tú¹-ú ta-re-es-si-'in¹
- 28 [ina Ì.NUN.NA ^{gu}ÁB] KÙ-ti IM.SAḪAR.NA₄.KUR.RA šá ^{kur}Ḥat-ti u ^{giš}ḪAB ta-šar-rap-
ma LI.LI.ÌZ ZA[BAR ('UD¹.[K]A.[BAR]) tar-rim]
- 29 'ina SA GÜB¹ šá ^{uzu}GIŠ.KUN KÁ-šú ta-'šap¹-pi 'giš¹NAGAR ^{giš}GAG.MEŠ LI.LI.ÌZ
[ZABAR tá-l-pap]
- 30 ŠE.'GÍN ta-šab-bi Ì.GIŠ(?) ZÁLAG.G¹A ta-lap-pat-ma a-na lib-bi LI.LI.ÌZ tu-ta-a-'ri¹
- 31 ina ITI [šal]-me UD ŠE.GA [ep-še-e]-ti an-na-a-ti tep-pu-uš UZU GU₄¹ šá-a-šú ina l-en
T[ÚG.KUR.RA SA₅ tá-l-pap(?)]
- 32 ta-[...] x x x [...] Ì.GIŠ gu-⟨un⟩-nu ana ŠÀ-šú 'ŠUB¹-di ta-qeb-[bir ...IGI-šú]
- 33 a-na IGI ^d[UTU.ŠÚ.A GAR-an DIRI-rat KUŠ.TA]B.BA(?) it-ti-šu ta-qeb-bir

R.E.

- 34 [I]M ^dLX-EN-šú-nu A šá 'NÍG.SUM.MU-^dLX¹ [A ^dXXX-TI-ÉR] 'UNUG^{ki}(?)¹ itiDU₆
(UD).10.KAM(?)
- 35 [MU].1 ME 50.KAM ¹An-t[i-i-ku-su LUGAL ...] 'x x x¹-šú

U.E.

[...] ... [...]
... [...]

Obv.

- 1 When y[ou want to cover the kettledrum (proceed as follows)].
- 2 A knowledgeable expert will carefully inspect (l. 3) an ungelded black bull, whose horns and hooves are intact,
- 3 from its head to the tip of its tail;
- 4 if its hide (consists only) of black hair, it will be taken for the rites and rituals.
- 5 If it is spotted with 7 white tufts (which look) like stars, (or if) it has been struck with a stick (or) touched with a whip,
- 6 it will not be taken for the rites and rituals.
- 7 [Whe]n you want to make the bull enter the workshop, in an auspicious month, on a favourable day,
- 8 you will step up [to the side of the bull], you will make the ground ritually clean, sprinkle it with pure water. You will set in place 12 bricks.
- 9 On (the 12 bricks) you will lay down [12 linen] (cloths). On them you will make the 12 gods sit.
- 10 [...] ... you will make stand. 2 gods ... you will make long(?) ...
- 11 You will scatter [the 7 gods, sons of E]nmešarra (represented by) heaps of flour.
- 12 [You will set up 12] offering ta[bles]. You will scatter (l. 13) 7 loaves of barley (and) emmer bread each, (together with) a *mirsu*-confection (made with)
- 13 honey, ghee, dates (and) *sasqu*-flour. You will set up beer and wine. You will make 12 sheep offerings.

Appendix

- 14 [Y]ou will bring shoulder, *himšu*-omentum and r[oasted meat] near. You will place barley (and) emmer malt.
- 15 (A piece of cloth of) r[ed(?)] and blue wool ... [...] you will scatter on the bricks. You will set up a water (basin) in front of them.
- 16 You will lay down a reed mat. Under the reed mat you will heap up [sa]nd. You will lay down the sides of the reed mat
- 17 (and) surround (it) with [sa]nd. You will make that bull stand on the reed mat and

Rev.

- 18 sprinkle it (with) water from the holy wat[er-basin]. You will [wash its] mouth. You will surround it with [a magic circle of flo]ur. You will set in place a brick (in front of it).
- 19 You will sc[at]ter a censer (with) juniper. [You will make a lib]ation of fir[st quality] beer. In[to its] right [ear] you will whisper, by means of a tube (made of) sweet reed (l. 20), the incantation ‘Great bull, choice bull, which treads upon the pure meadow’;
- 20 after this
- 21 you will whisper the incantation ‘O bull, [yo]u are a descendant of Anzu’ into its left ear, by means of a tube (made of) sweet reed.
- 22 You will sprinkle the [bronz]e kettledrum (with) cedar balsam. You will (then) c[ut ope]n (l. 23) that bull in front of the kettledrum
- 23 and you will scatter its heart in front of the kettledrum (with) juniper. You will make a libation of beer.
- 24 [...] ...
- 25 [After] this(?) (he will say three times thus)(?) ‘these ritual acts (...)’.
- 26 (Then) you will lift up the water (basin) and loosen the curtains.
- 27 You will take [th]at [hide] and soak (it) with *isqūqu*-flour of pure grain in water, beer and first-quality wine.
- 28 You will steep (it) [in ghee from a] pure [cow], alum from the land of Ḫattu (and) madder and [you will cover] the bro[nze] kettledrum (with it).
- 29 With the sinew left from (its) thigh you will fasten its opening. [You will wrap] the pegs [of the bronze] kettledrum in acorn-shape.
- 30 You will soak (them) in paint and smear (them) with ritually pure oil(?) and place them back in the kettledrum.
- 31 In an [ausp]icious month, on a favourable day you will perform these [ritual ac]ts. (Then) [you will wrap(?)] the meat of that bull in a [red ... cloth].
- 32 [...] You will pour ordinary oil over it (and then) you will bur[y] (it) [...].
- 33 [You will place its face(l. 32)] towards [the West. The remainder of the bulls hide(?)] you will bury with it.

R.E.

(Colophon:)

- 34 [Tab]let of Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nidintu-Anu, descendant of Sîn-lēqe-unnīni. Uruk, the (seventh) month Tašrītu, day 10(?),
- 35 year 150 of An[tiochus ...] ...

Comments

U.E.

u šu-ut, perhaps referring to the well known phrase *šātu u šūt pī* ‘explanatory words and comments’? Cf. *AHw*, 872b, B, m; ib., 1097a, B; *CAD*, Š, 119, 2; G. Meier, *Afo* 12 (1937–39), 237 ff.; H. Hunger, *AOAT* 2, 173a and 177b.

Obv.

l. 2, GU₄¹, the copy has GA (see also obv. 17; rev. 19; 21; 22; 31), but written correctly in obv. 7. The scribe made more mistakes, see for example obv. 12; rev. 19; 27; 32; R.E. 34.

l. 2, *šal-^rme¹*, the copy reads: *šal-^rIGI¹*. Cf. *TU* 44, I, 2.

l. 7, see *TU* 44, I, 7; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 7, rev. 7; IV R², 23, no. 1 +, IV, 25.

l. 8, [ina Á GU₄] *‘ZI.GA’*, cf. *TU* 44, I, 8. W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 234 apparently reads: [Á.GÚ].ZI.GA, ‘(gleich) morgens ...’

l. 8, *tu-^rqád^r-da-áš*, ‘you will make ritually clean’; the duplicate (*TU* 44, I, 8) reads *tašabbīṭ* (SAR), ‘you will sweep’.

l. 8, LAL-*aš*, a singular, although a plural is intended. See the correct singular in rev. 18 and the parallel *KAR* 60, obv. 8.

l. 11, this line, but without the verb, is also attested in IV R², 23, no. 1 +, I, 6. *Zidubdubbû* is often connected with the verb *nadû* ‘to pour’ (see *CAD*, N/I, 75; *AHw*, 707; see also *CAD*, Z, 107–108; St. M. Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, 56). Because this line has the phrase ZÌ.DUB.DUB.BU.MEŠ *sarāqu*, McEwan suggests that ZÌ.DUB.DUB.BU.MEŠ should be interpreted here, and perhaps also in some other references, as *qēm serqi* ‘flour offerings’ rather than *zidubdubbû* ‘heaps of flour’, since the phrase *serqa sarāqu* is well-known (*BiOr* 38 [1981], 639–40). However, *nadû* and *sarāqu* render similar meanings, and the context much more suggests ‘heaps of flour’ as representatives of the seven children of Enmešarra than ‘flour offerings’; this is confirmed by the seven circles on the reverse of *TU* 47, which stand for the seven children of Enmešarra (see obv. 10–15); these circles probably symbolize heaps of flour. So, in the case of *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 11 we prefer the reading *zidubdubbû* for ZÌ.DUB.DUB.BU.

Zidubdubbû is also attested in the eclipse of the moon ritual *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 45 (see also 46), connected with the verb *nadû*. See also *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ /), 23 (with *nadû*), and *KAR* 50, rev. 7 (with *nadû*).

For the mythological background of pouring these heaps of flour, see W.G. Lambert, *JSS* 13 (1968), 104–112, especially 109 ff.

l. 12–13, for *tasarraḡ* (DUB-*aḡ*), ‘you will scatter’, the duplicate (*TU* 44, I, 18) has *tašakkan* (GAR-*an*), ‘you will place’, which in this context with loaves seems better. See my comment on *TU* 44, I, 18.

Rev.

l. 22, *ina* IGI LI.LI.ĪZ, see the duplicate *KAR* 60, obv. 14: *ina* IGI ḏLumḥa (BALAG). Cf. also *TU* 47, rev., where ḏLILIZ is the representation of the kettledrum (*lilissu*).

l. 23, see my comment on *KAR* 60, obv. 15–16.

l. 24–25, these incomplete lines seem to contain a shorter version of the duplicate *KAR* 60, obv. 17–18, rev. 1–4: ‘The lamentation priest will uncover his head, kneel down and stand at its head. Then he will recite three times: ‘He, who lies down’ and after this he will say three times thus: “these ritual acts the totality-of-the-gods has performed, I did not perform (them)”’. Cf. W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 235 with n. 24–25a.

l. 26, *tu-^rna-ḥu^r*, although the parallel *KAR* 60, rev. 4 has *tu-naḥ-ḥi*, the sign here appears to be *-ḥu*.

l. 27, *ta-leq^l-qé-e-ma*, the copy reads: *di*.

l. 27, *reš-tú^l-ú*, the copy reads: *reš-te-ú*.

l. 28, ‘[you will co]ver the bro[nze] kettledrum (with it)’, see the duplicates *TU* 44, II, 25 and *KAR* 60, rev. 8.

l. 29, ṛgiš³NAGAR ‘in acorn-shape’ (*allānu*). See W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 236, who translates: ‘in Zäpfchenform’.

l. 30, ŠE.^rGÍN *ta^r-[ṣab-bi Ī.GIŠ(?) ZÁLAG.G]A ta-lap-pat-ma*, see W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 236: ‘[trägst sie] mit Farbe, schmierst (sie) [mit rei]nem [Öl]’. See also *KAR* 60, rev. 11: ŠE.^rGÍN^r [ZÁLAG.G]A *ta-ṣap-pi-ma* (in the Neo-Assyrian dialect *ṣapû* stands for *ṣabû*).

l. 31, *ina* ITI [šal]-me UD ŠE.GA [ep-še-e]-ti an-na-a-ti tep-pu-uš. There is not enough space for *tam-mar-ma* or IGI-*ma* as in the duplicate *KAR* 60, rev. 12–13:

ina ITI ŠE.GA UD ŠE.GA *tam-mar-ma* NÍG.DÍM.DÍM.MA *an-na-a-ti*
tep-pu-uš

‘In an auspicious month you will look for a favourable day and perform these ritual acts’.

See also *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 7, obv. 5': [... *ina* ITI *šal-me*/ŠE.GA UD] ŠE.GA *tam-mar-ma* NÍG.[DÍM.DÍM.MA *an-na-a-ti tep-pu-uš*].

l. 31–33, see the duplicate *TU* 44, II, 19–21. In l. 31 we have restored: *ina* 1-en T[ÚG.KUR.RA SA₅ *tál-pap(?)*], although the duplicate has *ta-qeb-bir* (l. 19), because the burying of the meat is described in the following line 32. See W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 236: ‘wicke[lst] du’ (*lapāpu*).

l. 33, DIRI-*rat* KUŠ.TAB.BA ‘the remainder of the bulls hide’(?), see the duplicate *TU* 44, II, 32.

This text is a partly bilingual ritual text from Nineveh and was copied from an older Babylonian tablet. Several recitations, known from the kettledrum ritual texts, are presented here in full.

The text is discussed in II.5.

I.³⁷

1 [dÙR.BÀD.ĤUM.ĤUM DUMU É.ŠÀ.BA.KE₄: dNIN.ŠAR DUMU É.ŠÀ.BA]

2 [dGUB.BA.GA.RA.R]A.È DU[^dMU URU.GIBIL₄.LA].KE₄

3 [dNIN].KA.[SI] DUMU URU *eš-ši*

4 dÉ.BAR.RA.LAĤ₅ DUMU UD.30.KAM UD.NÁ.ÀM

5 dNUSKU DUMU *še-la-še-e bu-ub-bu-lu₄*

6 7 DINGIR.MEŠ DUMU dEN.ME.ŠÁR.RA ZÌ.DUB.DUB.BU

7 12 DINGIR.MEŠ ZABAR *a-na ŠÀ LILIZ ZABAR ŠUB-ma*

8 LILIZ ZABAR *te-rim*

9 GU₄.GAL GU₄.MAĤ Ú KI.ÚS KÙ.GA

10 GU₄.GAL-*lu₄* GU₄.MAĤ-*ĥu ka-bi-is ri-te KÙ-tì*

11 ŠÀ.TÚM DIB.DIB.A ĤÉ.GÁL DAGAL.LA

12 *ib-ta-' qer-bé-ti mu-kil ĤÉ.GÁL-li*

13 dDU₇.ŠÁR.RA URU₄.A A.GÀR ĤI.LI.A

14 *e-ri-iš* dNISABA *mu-šáh-li-lu A.GÀR*

15 ŠU.MU DADAG.GA IGI.ZU BAL.BAL.E

16 *qa-ta-a-a KÙ.MEŠ iq-qa-a ma-ĥar-ka*

17 INIM ABZU *šá ŠÀ GEŠTUG*¹¹ GU₄ *šá ZAG šá LILIZ ZABAR a-ra-mi*

18 *i-na* dSAG.KUD GI DÙG.GA *tu-làĥ-ĥaš*

19 GU₄ *i-lit-ti An-zi-i at-ta-ma*

20 *a-na par-ši ki-du-de-e na-šu-ka*

21 *a-na da-riš* dNIN.GIZ.ZI.DA *ib-ri-ka*

22 *a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ GIŠ.ĤUR.MEŠ *ú-šu-ri*

23 *a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ *mu(?) -ši-im par-ši šá AN-e ù KI-tì*

24 [GU]₄ *an-nu-u ana* dBALAG *lip-pa-qid-ma*

25 [...]-šú ÛB-šú DA DIŠ ŠE *a-na* dEN *liq-da-'-iš*

26 [INIM A]BZU *šá ŠÀ GEŠTU*[G¹¹ G]_{U4} *šá GÙB šá LILIZ ZABAR a-ra-mi*

27 [MU.LU] NÁ.A E.LUM MU.LU NÁ.A ÈN.ŠÈ BA.AN.NÁ.A

28 [*šá*] *šal-lu be-lu₄ šá šal-lu₄ a-di ma-ti ša-lil*

³⁵ Collated. Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc.*, 24–33; A.J. Sachs, in: J.B. Pritchard, *ANET*² 337 f. See also R. Borger, *HKL* 1, 403.

³⁶ This is an unpublished fragment (cf. R. Borger, *BiOr* 30 [1973], 176a), covering lines I, 22–27, and IV, 6–15. See plate III.

³⁷ The copy does not show the first lost line; so col. I, 1 in the copy is here col. I, 2. See *RAcc.*, 24–5.

Appendix

29 KUR.GAL A.A ^dMU.UL.LÍL.LÁ MU.LU NÁ.A ÈN.ŠÈ
 30 KUR-ú GAL-ú *a-bu* ^dMIN šá šal-lu₄ *a-di mat*
 31 SIPA NA.ÁM.TAR.TAR.RA MU.LU NÁ.A ÈN.ŠÈ
 32 *re-’ú mu-šim ši-ma-a-ti šá šal-lu₄ a-di mat*

II.³⁸

1 [...]
 2 ^d[MU.UL.LÍL URÚ.ZU BA.AN.ZÉ.ÈM UR.RE.EŠ BA.AN.GU₇.E]
 3 ^d[*Mullil šá URU šá id-di-nu-ma iš-te-niš i-tak-ka-lu*]
 4 TÚG.GAL.GAL.[LA ŠED₇.DÈ BA.AN.GÚR]
 5 *la-biš šu-[ba-a-ti ra-bu-ú-ti]*
 ina ku-[ši uš-mi-it]
 6 GÁN.GAL.GAL.LA Š[À.MAR.RA.AŠ BA.AN.GÚR]
 7 *šá mi-riš-ti [ra-pa-áš-ti]*
 ina bu-[bu-ti uš-mi-it]

8 KI.ŠÚ.BI.IM [šá 12 DINGIR.MEŠ ZABAR]
 9 *a-na ŠÀ LILIZ ZABAR [na-de-e]*

10 SIPA ZI.DA SIPA [ZI.DA]
 11 *re-ú ki-nu re-ú [ki-nu]*
 12 ^dEN.LÍL.LA SIPA [ZI.DA]
 13 ^dEN.LÍL *re-ú [ki-nu]*
 14 UMUN GÚ KALAM.MA SIPA [ZI.DA]
 15 *be-el nap-ḫar ma-a-ti re-ú [ki-nu]*
 16 UMUN GÚ ^dI.GL₄.GL₄ SIPA ZI.[DA]
 17 *be-el nap-ḫar* ^dMIN *re-ú ki-[nu]*
 18 UMUN GÚ DIMGUL (MÁ.MUG) SIPA ZI.[DA]
 19 *be-el tar-kul-li re-[ú ki-nu]*
 20 UMUN MA.A.NI GIŠ.ḪUR.RA UMUN MA.[A.NI ...]
 21 *be-lu₄ mu-uš-šir KUR-[šú be-lu₄ ... KUR-šú]*
 22 UMUN MA.A.NI GIŠ.ḪUR.RA [...]
 23 *be-lu₄ mu-uš-šir [KUR-šú ...]*
 24 MU.UN.GA MA.AL.LA K[ÚR.RE BA.AN.ZÉ.ÈM]
 25 *ma-ak-ku-ri šak-na [ana nak-ri ta-ad-din]*
 26 GIL.SA.A MA.AL.LA [KÚR.RE BA.AN.ZÉ.ÈM]
 27 *šu-kut-ta šá-kīn-ta [ana nak-ri ta-ad-din]*
 28 TUŠ KÚ.GA [KÚR.RE BA.AN.DA.TUŠ]
 29 *šu-ub-ta KÚ-ti [nak-ri it-ta-šá-ab]*
 30 KI KÚ.GA [KÚR.RE BA.AN.DA.TUŠ]
 31 *áš-ru el-lu₄ [nak-ri it-ta-šá-ab]*
 32 KI.NÁ KÚ.GA [KÚR.RE BA.AN.DA.NÁ]
 33 *tap-šá-ḫa el-lu₄ [šá-nu-um-ma i-ni-il]*

III.

1 ÚRU.È.A [MU.LU KÚR.RA A.GIM MU.UN.NA.ZÉ.ÈM]
 2 *a-lu₄ šu-pu-u [ana nak-ri ki-i ta-ad-din]*

³⁸ As in col. I, the copy does not show the first lost line; so col. II, 1 in the copy is here col. II, 2. See *RAcc.*, 28–9.

- 3 UMUN ^dEN.KI LUGAL AB[ZU ŠÀ.ZU HÉ.EN.HUN.E(?)]
 4 *be-lu₄* ^dÉ-a LUGAL [ABZU *lib-ba-ka li-ni-iḫ*(?)]
 5 UMUN ^dASAL.LÚ.ḪI [BAR.ZU HÉ.EN.ŠED₇.DÈ(?)]
 6 *be-lu₄* ^dAMAR.UTU [*ka-bat-ta-ka li-pa-áš-ši-iḫ*(?)]
 7 UMUN A.A ^dIŠKUR.RA [ŠÀ.ZU(?)]
 8 *be-lu₄* *a-bu* ^dMIN [*lib-ba-ka*(?)]
 9 UMUN ŠUL ^dUTU [BAR.ZU(?)]
 10 *be-lu₄* *eṭ-lu* ^dUTU [*ka-bat-ta-ka*(?)]
 11 UMUN ^dURAŠ.A.KE₄ [ŠÀ.ZU(?)]
 12 *be-lu₄* ^dNIN.URTA [*lib-ba-ka*(?)]
 13 UMUN MAḪ ^dŠUL.PA.È.A [BAR.ZU(?)]
 14 *be-lu₄* *ši-ru* ^dMIN.A [*ka-bat-ta-ka*(?)]
 15 ŠU SI.SÁ.BI ŠU S[I.SÁ.BI]
 16 *qa-ta šu-te-šir qa-t*[*a šu-te-šir*]
 17 ŠU SI.SÁ.BI KI.ÚS.MU [SI.SÁ.BI]
 18 *qa-ta šu-te-šir kib-sa* [*šu-te-šir*]
 19 DUG₄.GA.BI SI.SÁ DUG₄.GA.[BI SI.SÁ]
 20 *qí-bi-ta šu-a-tu₄ šu-te-šir* [*qí-bi-ta šu-a-tu₄ šu-te-šir*]
 21 LI.LI.ÌZ ZABAR DUG₄.GA.BI [SI.SÁ]
 22 LI.LI.ÌZ *qí-bit-su šu-*[*te-šir*]

23 KI.ŠÚ.BI.IM KA.LUḪ LILIZ ZABA[R (DÙ)(?)]

- 24 *i-na* IGI ^dBALAG ù LILIZ Z[ABAR]
 25 GI.DU₈ GUB-*an* KEŠDA [KEŠDA]
 26 NINDA.Ì.DÉ.A LÁL Ì.NUN.NA Z[U.LUM.MA]
 27 ^{zi}EŠA DUB-*aq* ^{udu}SÍSKUR [BAL-*qí*]
 28 ^{uzu}ZAG ^{uzu}ME.HÉ *u* ^{uzu}K[A.NE *tu-ṭah-ḫa*]
 29 ^{ʿšim}LI(?)¹ [...]

IV.

- 1 [KI.ŠÚ.BI.Ì]M *ša* A.ME *kun-ni šid-du šá-da-di*
 2 [A.ME *ina kun-ni*] ^{ṛug}*šid-du* GÍD-*ad*
-

- 3 [ŠU LUḪ.ḪA ME.E]N ŠU LUḪ.ḪA ME.EN
 4 [*qa-ti-ka m*] *i-si qa-ti-ka mi-si*
 5 [ŠU LUḪ.ḪA ME].EN ^dEN.LÍL.LÁ ME.EN
 6 [^dEN.LÍL *at-ta qa-t*] *i-ka mi-si*
 7 [ŠU LUḪ.ḪA ME].EN ^dNIN.LÍL ME.EN
 8 [^dNIN.LÍL *at-ta qa-t*] *i-ka mi-s*[*i*]
 9 [ŠU LUḪ.ḪA ME.E]N ^dEN.KI ^dUTU ^dINNIN ME.EN
 10 [^dÉ-a ^dUTU] ^dIš-*tar* (*at-ta*) *qa-ti-ku-nu m*[*i*(?)]-*sa-a*
 11 [ŠU LUḪ.ḪA ME].EN ^dASAL.LÚ.ḪI ME.EN
 12 [^dASAL.LÚ.ḪI *at-ta*] *qa-ti-ka mi-si*
 13 [ŠU LUḪ.ḪA ME].EN ^dIM(?) x [...] ME.EN
 14 [^dIM(?)...*at-ta*] ^{ʿqa}*ʿ*-[*ti-ka*] *mi-si*
 15 [...] AD(?) ME.EN [...]x ME.EN
 16 [...] x-*ka* KI-*tí* MIN
 17 [...] ḪÚL.LA.ME.EN
 18 [DINGIR.MEŠ] *nap-ḫar-šú-nu li-iḫ-du-ka*

Appendix

- 19 [dASAL.LÚ.ĤI] LUGAL.ZU.ŠÈ Ĭ.DU₈ MA.RA.AB
 20 [dAMAR.UTU] *ana šar-ri-ka paṭ-ra-ta ri-ši-šú*
 21 d[ŠKUR.RA LUGAL.ZU.ŠÈ Ĭ.DU₈ MA.RA.AB
 22 dMIN *ana šar-ri-ka paṭ-ra-ta ri-ši-šú*
-

- 23 KI.ŠÚ.BI.IM šá A.ME *na-še-e* DUG₄.GA-*ma*
 24 A.ME *ina ĬL-ma šid-di tu-na-aḥ*
-

- 25 *e-nu-ma* GU₄ *a-na Ē mu-um-mu tu-še-ri-bu*
 26 *nè-pe-ši* NAM.GALA.KAM
 27 LIBIR.RA.BI GIM AB.SAR.ÀM BA.AN.È

I.

- 1 [Urbadḫumḫum dumu ešabake = Ninšar, son of Ešaba]
 2–3 Gubbagararae du[mu urugibilla]ke = Ninkasi, son of the New City.
 4–5 Abarralahḫ dumu ud.30.kam udnaam = Nusku, son of the thirtieth day (of the month), the day of non-appearance of the moon.
-
- 6 The 7 gods, sons of Enmešarra, are (represented by) heaps of flour.
-
- 7 You will lay down 12 bronze gods into the bronze kettledrum and
 8 (then) you will cover the kettledrum.
-
- 9–10 Great bull, choice bull, which treads upon the pure meadow,
 11–12 he walks across the pastures, bringing abundance.
 13–14 He, who sows the grain, who makes the fields thrive,
 15–16 my pure hands made an offering in your presence!
-
- 17 (This is) the word of the Subterranean Water which you will whisper (l. 18) into the
 right ear of the bull, which (will be used) for covering the bronze kettledrum,
 18 by means of a tube (made of) sweet reed.
-
- 19 O bull, you are a descendant of Anzu,
 20 for the rites and rituals they have lifted you up.
 21 Ningizzida is your friend for ever.
 22 For the great [god]s, guard the divine decrees!
 23 For the gods, who establish(?) the rites of Heaven and Earth,
 24 may this [bu]ll be entrusted to Lumḫa,
 25 may its [...], its *uppu*-drum ... be presented to Bēl!
-
- 26 [(This is) the word of the Sub]terranean Water, which (you will whisper) into the left
 ea[r of the b]ull, which (will be used) for covering the bronze kettledrum.
-
- 27–28 He, who lies asleep, the lord, who lies asleep, how long will he stay asleep?
 29–30 Great mountain, father, Mullil, who lies asleep, how long (will he stay asleep)?
 31–32 The shepherd, who decrees the fates, who lies asleep, how long (will he stay asleep)?

II.

- 1 [...]
 2–3 [Mullil of the city which he has given (away) so that they eat it at once].

e. The kettledrum ritual

- 4–5 [He killed] with co[ld] the one who wears [heavy] gar[ments].
6–7 [He killed] with hun[ger] the one who has [large], cultivated fields.
-
- 8 (End of) the stanza (which you will say when) [the 12 bronze gods (figurines)]
9 [are laid down] in the bronze kettledrum.
-

- 10–11 Loyal shepherd, [loyal] shepherd,
12–13 Enlil, [loyal] shepherd,
14–15 lord of all lands, [loyal] shepherd,
16–17 lord of all Igigi, lo[yal] shepherd,
18–19 lord of all mooring poles, lo[yal] shepherd],
20–21 the lord, who ‘draws’ [his] land, [the lord, who ... his land],
22–23 the lord, who ‘draws’ [his land ...],
24–25 [you gave] the stored treasures [to the enemy],
26–27 [you gave] the stored jewelry [to the enemy].
28–29 [An enemy has occupied] the Pure Dwelling.
30–31 [An enemy has occupied] the Pure Place.
32–33 [A stranger lies down] in the Pure Resting Place.

III.

- 1–2 [How could you give] the splendid city [to the enemy]?
3–4 [May] the lord, Ea, the king of the Subter[ranean water, calm your heart(?)!]
5–6 [May] the lord, Marduk, [appease your mind(?)!]
7–8 (May) the lord, the father, Adad, [(calm) your heart(?)!]
9–10 (May) the lord, the young man, Šamaš, [(appease) your mind(?)!]
11–12 (May) the lord, Ninurta, [(calm) your heart(?)!]
13–14 (May) the exalted lord, Šulpaea [(appease) your mind(?)!]
15–16 Make the hand right, [make] the ha[nd] right!
17–18 Make the hand right, [make] the step [right]!
19–20 Make those words right, [make those words right]!
21–22 Make the utterance of the bronze kettledrum [right]!
-

- 23 (End of) the stanza (which you will say when) the washing of the mouth ceremony of the bronze kettledrum [(has been performed)(?)].
-

- 24 In front of Lumḥa and the br[onze] kettledrum
25 you will set up an offering table (and) [you will arrange] the offering accoutrements.
26 You will scatter (l. 27) a *mirsu*-confection (made with) honey, ghee, da[tes (and)]
27 *sasqû*-flour. [You will make] a sheep offering.
28 [You will bring] shoulder, *ḥimṣu*-omentum and ro[asted meat] [near].
29 juniper(?) [...]

IV.

- 1 [(End of) the stan]za (which you will say when) the setting up of the water (basin) (and) the drawing shut of the curtains (has been performed).
2 [(After) the setting up of the water (basin)], you will draw the curtains shut.
-
- 3–4 [W]ash [your hands], wash your hands!
5–6 [You are Enlil], wash your h[ands]!
7–8 [You are Ninlil], was[h] your [han]ds!

- 9–10 You are [Ea, Šamaš], Ištar, wash your hands!
 11–12 [You are Asalluhi], wash your hands!
 13–14 [You are Adad(?) ...], wash [your hands]!
 15–16 [...] the Earth ditto.
 17–18 May all [the gods] rejoice over you!
 19–20 [O Marduk,] recite(?) for your king (the prayer) ‘You are released’.
 21–22 O Adad, recite(?) for your king (the prayer) ‘You are released’.
-
- 23 (End of) the stanza which you will say when the water (basin) is lifted up. Then,
 24 (after) the lifting up of the water (basin) you will loosen the curtains.
-
- (Catchline:)
 25 When you want to make the bull enter the workshop.
 (Colophon:)
 26 (This is) the ritual procedure for the lamentation priesthood.
 27 Copied and collated in accordance with an older tablet.

Comments

I.

- l. 1–5, see *TU* 44, III, 10–14, and my comments on these lines. See also II.5.2.
 l. 6, this line is duplicated by *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 11, but here *tu-sar-raq* ‘you will scatter’ is added at the end of the sentence.
 l. 7, ‘12 bronze gods’, apparently 12 small figurines. See also col. II, 8.
 l. 9–10, the incipit is also mentioned in *TU* 44, II, 9, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 19 and *KAR* 60, obv. 10.
 l. 13–14, see *CAD*, E, 287b, 12’; lit. ‘who causes the fields to resound with shouts of *alāla*’, cf. *CAD*, A/I, 331b lex. section. For *mu-šāḫ-li-lu* see also *AHW*, 680b.
 l. 17 (see also 26), for other occurrences of *amat apsi* see R. Borger, *BiOr* 30 (1973), 176a sub IV, 26. This line is perhaps duplicated by *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 9, 4’. This small fragment from Hellenistic Uruk perhaps also contains a part of the kettledrum ritual:

- 1’ [...] ‘x’ [...]
 2’ [...LI.LI.ĪZ(?)] ZABAR [...]
 3’ [...] ‘x’ *at-ta* [...]
 4’ [...LI.LI.ĪZ(?)] ZABAR *a-ra*[-*mi*(?)...]
 5’ [...] ‘x’ *re-’-ū ki-nu* [...]
 6’ [...] MEZE ZABAR [...]

- l. 19, see *TU* 44, II, 10, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 21 and *KAR* 60, obv. 12.
 l. 22–27, the beginning of these lines are partly preserved in the unpublished fragment K 9421, obverse. See Plate III.
 l. 22, *ú-šu-ri*, a corrupt form, perhaps for *uṣur*, the imperative of *naṣāru*? Cf. *RAcc.*, 27.

l. 23, perhaps *mu(?)-ši-im* (as in col. I, 31–32), an irregular participle G-stem of *šāmu* (cf. W. von Soden *GAG*, § 104, k). See *CAD*, Š/I, 360a, 1'.

l. 27–28, this prayer is referred to in *KAR* 60, rev. 1. While the Akkadian version has 'the lord' (*be-lu₄*), the Sumerian version reads 'the honored one' (E.LUM).

l. 29–30 (see also col. II, 2–3), Mullil is Emesal Sumerian for Enlil.

l. 31–32, NA.ÁM.TAR.TAR.RA // *mu-šim ši-ma-a-ti*, see also *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 6, obv. 5–6.

II.

l. 2–7, these three bilingual lines are also mentioned in the *taqribtu*-lamentation EN-MANI ILU ILU, cf. M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 189, 34 ff. (see also p. 24a and 26a with n. 65) = *SBH* 44, rev. 29 ff. The incipit of this lamentation is also attested in the Hellenistic calendar text *TU* 48, rev. 4. See II.2.2.

l. 2–3, '[Mullil of the city which he has given (away) so that (-ma) they eat it (*i-tak-ka-lu*) at once]', this line is problematic: the Akkadian apparently has a Gtn-stem preterite *ītakkalu*, but this is a problem because 'at once' (*ištēniš*) does not fit an iterative form. One would expect 'so that it is eaten at once' (*innakkalu*), because the Sumerian line has the passive form (B[A.AN].GU₇.E). Also, note that the copy *SBH* 44, rev. 30 has *it-tak-ka-lu* (not *i-tak-ka-lu*), an N-stem perfect. Cf. *CAD*, I-J, 280a lex. section (disregards -ma and subjunctive -u), *RAcc.*, 28 and 55, n. 73, and M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 189, 34 (translation follows the Sumerian).

l. 4–5 and 6–7, not only paralleled in *SBH* 44, rev. 33 ff. but also similar in *SBH* 58 (IMMAL GUDEDE), obv. 15 ff. (cf. M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 616, c + 214 f.): [UD.D]È TÚG.GAL.GAL.LA ŠED₇.DA BA.AN.[GÚR] // *u₄-mu la-biš šú-ba-ti GAL-ti i-na ku-ši [...]*, GÁN.NI GÁN.DA.MA.AL.LA ŠÀ.MAR.RA.AŠ [BA.AN.GÚR] // *ša me-reš-ti ra-pa-áš-ti ina bu-bu-ti uš-m[i-it]*.

l. 8 (see also col. III, 23; col. IV, 1 and 23), KI.ŠÚ.BI.IM: M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 31a, translates 'It is its *kišû*', *kišû* indicating the end of the lamentation. According to *CAD*, K, 464b *kišubû*, a Sumerian loan word of KI.ŠÚ.BI(.IM), is: 'final part of a hymn'. Whether KI.ŠÚ(.BI) = *kīlu*, LB *killu* (see *AHW*, 476 'Festhalten; Haft') is connected with this, is not clear to me; the cognate verb *kalû* can also mean 'to stop', see my comments on *TU* 45, obv. 14.

Related to *kišubû* is *kirugu*. *kirugu* (KI.RU.GÚ, cf. M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 29a with n. 80) is tuning up an instrument, *Kišubû* is tuning down an instrument; this happens each time between the ritual acts, after a song; in this way perhaps *kišubû* came to mean 'stanza' (suggestion Th.J.H. Krispijn, Leiden).

l. 20–21 and 22–23, 'the lord, who "draws" his land', GIŠ.ĤUR.RA // *uššuru*, in this context perhaps 'who establishes (the rules of) his land'? Cf. *CAD*, E, 348b, 2, a, 3', and 2, b.

l. 24–27, see *SBH*, p. 70, no. 39, obv.8 f. (similar in *SBH*, p. 84, no. 47, rev. 8 f. and 115, no. 60, rev. 6 f.). See also col. III, 2.

l. 32–33, similar in *SBH* p. 70, no. 39, obv. 13 f. (MU.NÁ.BI KÙ.GA KÚR.RE BA.AN.-DA.NÁ // *ina er-ši-šú el-lu₄ šá-nu-um-ma i-ni-il*).

III.

l. 1–2, similar in *SBH*, p. 70, no. 39, obv. 15 f.: É.ZU MU.LU KÚR.RA A.GIM MU.UN.NA.ZÉ.ÈM // É-ka ana¹ (copy: šá) *nak-ri ki-i ta-ad-din*. See my comment on col. II, 24–27.

l. 3–14, F. Thureau-Dangin gave a reconstruction of these lines based on F. Delitzsch, *AL³*, 136, 9 ff. (cf. *Racc.*, 55) // *SBH* 53, rev. 56 ff. // *BRM* 4, 10, rev. 31 ff., but the reconstruction is not certain.

l. 21–22, ‘bronze’ (ZABAR) only in the Sumerian version.

IV.

l. 6–15, partly preserved in the unpublished fragment K 9421, reverse. See Plate III.

l. 15–22, these lines are duplicated by *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 7, rev. 1’–5’ (cf. W.R. Mayer, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, p. 16 sub no. 7), but only the Sumerian version is given there. This fragment from Hellenistic Uruk contains a part of the kettledrum ritual. The obverse is partially a duplicate of *KAR* 60, rev. 10–15 (see my comments on these lines):

Rev.

1’ [...]x ME.EN x[...]

2’ [...]x ḪÚL.LA.M[E.EN]

3’ [...]x ME.EN: DINGIR [...]

4’ [...] ḪÚL.LA¹[ME.EN(?)]

5’ [d]ŠKUR.RA LUGAL.ZU.Š]È Ì.DU₈ ḪMA¹.[RA.AB]

6’ [...] ana ḪLI¹.LI.ḪZ ta¹-[na-ad-di(?)]

7’ [e-nu-ma(?) GU₄] ana É mu-um-mu Ḫtu¹-[še-ri-bu]

8’ [...] ina it¹ŠIG₄¹ [...]

9’ [...] Ḫx¹ [...]

l. 6’ appears to differ from IV R², 23, no. 1 +, IV, 23–24, but the traces are not clear. For l. 7’, see IV R², 23, no. 1 +, IV, 25; *TU* 44, I, 7; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 7.

l. 19–22, MA.RA.AB // *ri-ši-šú* ‘recite’, in the Sumerian version lit. ‘place it’; the use of the verb GAR (Emesal MAR) with the meaning ‘to recite’ is not uncommon, for example in the phrase *tagribta šakānu* (ÉR GAR) (see the dictionaries). However, the use of what appears to be the imperative of *rašû* (lit. ‘receive it’) in the Akkadian translation is unusual. Cf. the duplicate *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 7, rev. 5 (see my comments on col. IV, 15–22).

l. 25, see *TU* 44, I, 7; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, obv. 7; id., no. 7, rev. 7.

f. The building ritual

TU 45 (AO 6472)³⁹

This text was written in Uruk, and dates from the Hellenistic period. The owner and scribe of the tablet is Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nidintu-Anu, but the colophon contains an incomplete date; the scribe mistakenly omitted the year number. However, in other documents he is mentioned with his family name: Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nidintu-Anu, of the family Sin-lēqe-unnīni, is attested in the building ritual TU 46, dated 81 S.E. (231/0 B.C., see below), the *šuilakku*-prayer *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 12, dated 112 S.E. (200/199 B.C.), the kettledrum ritual *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, dated 150 S.E. (162/1 B.C., see above) and the list *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 89, dated 147 S.E. (165/4 B.C.).⁴⁰ The Anu-bēlšunu of *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5 and no. 89 is the grandson of Anu-bēlšunu, who wrote *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 12, TU 46 and TU 45.

The text describes the rituals which had to be performed for the rebuilding of a temple, after it had fallen into ruin. It is partially duplicated by TU 46, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, nos. 10 and 11 and F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12.

The text is discussed in II.6.

Obv.

- 1 *e-nu-ma* É.GAR₈ É^dLX *i-qa-p*[*u a-na na-qa-rim-ma uš-šu-ši šá É šu-a-tu*]
 - 2 *ina* ITI *šal-mu ina* UD ŠE.GA *ina* GE₆ 3 GI.D[U₈ *a-na* DINGIR É^dINNIN É *u* dLAMMA
É *tar-kás* uduSISKUR]
 - 3 BAL-*qí* uzuZAG.LU uzuME.ĤÉ *u* uzuKA[.NE *tu-ṭaḥ-ḥa* KAŠ GEŠTIN GA BAL-*qí*]
 - 4 *ab-ru a-na* dĒ-a *u* dASAL.LÚ.ĤI *tu-[nam-mar* uduSISKUR *a-na* dĒ-a *u* dASAL.LÚ.ĤI]
 - 5 BAL-*qí* KAŠ SAG GEŠTIN GA BAL-*qí* dUTU.GIN₇ 'Ē'.[TA ÉR]
 - 6 Û.Û' A.BA MU.ĤUL ÉR.ŠEM₄.MA ŠĪR *ina* še-ri [*ina* ÛR É DINGIR *šu-a-tu a-šar*
ta-šab-biṭ]
 - 7 A KÙ.MEŠ *ta-sal-làḥ* 3 GI.DU₈ *a-na* dĒ-a dUTU *u* dA[SAL.LÚ.ĤI GUB-an 3 GADA]
 - 8 *ina muḥ-ḥi* KI.TUŠ.MEŠ GAR-an NINDA.Ì.DÉ.ÀM LÁL Ì.NUN.NA [ZÚ.LUM.MA
ziEŠA]
 - 9 Ì.GIŠ BÁR.GA GAR-an 3 dugA.DA.GUR₅' KAŠ SAG GEŠTIN GA GUB-an [NÍG.NA
šimLI]
 - 10 GAR-an ŠE.NUMUN DÙ.A.BI DUB-aq 3 uduSISKUR BAL-*qí* uzuZAG.LU uz[ME.ĤÉ]
 - 11 *u* uzuKA.NE *tu-ṭaḥ-ḥa* KAŠ SAG GEŠTIN GA BAL-*qí* A.MEŠ GUB-an rúgšid-du
 - 12 GÍD.DA-ad É.ZI GUL.GUL.LU.DÈ NÍ.BI.ŠÈ ÉR IM.ŠE₈.ŠE₈ *ina ter-ši*
 - 13 É ŠĪR EGIR-šú DILMUN^{ki} NIGIN.NA dUTU LUGAL.ÀM É.ŠÁ.AB.ĤUN.GÁ.TA *ina*
ḥal-ḥal-la-tú
 - 14 *a-na* dĒ-a dUTU *u* dASAL.LÚ.ĤI ŠĪR *i-kal-la* A.MEŠ ÍL-ma rúgšid-du *tu-na-ḥa*
-
- 15 *né-pe-ši šá* ŠU^{II} luGALA

³⁹ Cf. *RAcc.*, 7–8, 34–40; A.J. Sachs, in: J.B. Pritchard, *ANET*², 339 f. See also R. Borger, *HKL* 1, 567 and 2, 297.

⁴⁰ Anu-bēlšunu is also known from other texts, in chronological order: in the Esagila tablet TU 32, dated 83 S.E.; in the astronomical text O. Neugebauer, *ACT*, 18, M, dated 118 S.E.; as the father of Anu-aba-utēr in the astronomical text TU 25, dated 130 S.E.; in the private documents *BRM* 2, 37 // *BiMes* 24, 23, dated 133 S.E., and *BRM* 2, 38, dated 139 S.E.; and finally in the astronomical texts O. Neugebauer, *ACT*, 16, D, and 20, Zd, but both are without a date.

16 DIŠ KI *i-nu-uš* ZI KÚR KI.TUŠ KUR *ul i-kan*: DIŠ KI BAL-*it* ina KUR DÙ.A.BI NU
GI.NA GÁL UŠ₄ KUR MAN-*ni*

17 *ina* UD ŠE.GA LUGAL *li-tu-lil li-te-bi-ib ši-gu-ú a-na* ^dLX ^dEN.LÍL *u* ^dIDIM GÜ-*si*
18 EGIR-šú 2 KEŠDA *a-na* DINGIR-šú *u* ^dINNIN-šú *tar-kás* ^{udu}SÍSKUR BAL-*qí* ÉR GAR-*an*
19 ÉR.ŠEM₄.ŠĀ.ḪUN.GÁ.MEŠ-šú-*nu a-na* LUGAL *tu-šad-bab*

20 *ina še-ri* '3' GI.DU₈.MEŠ *a-na* ^dA-nù ^dEN.LÍL *u* ^dÉ-a *tar-kás* ^{udu}SÍSKUR BAL-*qí*
21 ^{uzu}ZAG.LU ^{uzu}ME.ḪÉ *u* ^{uzu}KA.NE *tu-ṭaḫ-ḫa* KAŠ SAG GEŠTIN GA BAL-*qí* ÉR GAR-*an*
22 BAR.RA UMUN.E TA MA NÍGIN AN.NAM ÉR.ŠEM₄.ŠĀ.ḪUN.GÁ *a-na* ^dA-nù
23 ME.E U.MU.UN.MU.ŠI ŠIM *a-na* ^dEN.LÍL *a-na* ^dIDIM ME.E AN.ŠAR *a-na* ^dUTU
24 *a-na* LUGAL *tu-šad-bab uš-ken* ^{lú}ŠU.I-*su* DÙ-*uš* MÚNŠUB (SÍG.LAM.SUḪUR) SU-šú
ina ^{du}LA.ḫA.AN SÁḪAR
25 *ta-kam*(!)-*mis-ma a-na mi-šir* ^{lú}KÚR TAG₄-šú *a-na* É.GAL-šú SI.SÁ ^{udu}SÍSKUR GAL-ú
26 *ana* ^dA-nù BAL-*qí* ÉR GAR-*an* EGIR-šú ÉR.MEŠ *u* ÉR.ŠEM₄.ŠĀ.ḪUN.GÁ.MEŠ-šú-*nu*
ina TÚG.SÍG LUGAL (ŠID-*nu*)

Rev.

1 *ina kul-lat* KI.ŠU.PEŠ₅.MEŠ DÙ.DÙ-*uš an-nam*^{a-am} DÙ.DÙ-*uš-ma* ḪUL *ana* LUGAL NU
TE-ḫi

2 *né-pe-ši šá* ŠU^{II} ^{lú}GALA

3 DIŠ UR.GI₇ *ana* É DINGIR KU₄ DINGIR.ME *ana* KUR AMA' NU GAR.MEŠ
4 DIŠ *ú-ma-mu* EDEN BAR-ú *aq-ru ana* ŠĀ URU KU₄-*ma* IGI-*ir mim-ma ú-šal-pit* ŠUB-*e*
URU
(interlinear:)⁴¹ ZÁḪ UN.MEŠ-šú

5 *ina* UD ŠE.GA 3 GI.DU₈.MEŠ *a-na* DINGIR URU ^dINNIN URU¹⁴² ^dLAMMA URU
KEŠDA
6 ^{udu}SÍSKUR BAL-*qí* ^{uzu}ZAG.LU ^{uzu}ME.ḪÉ *u* ^{uzu}KA.NE *tu-ṭaḫ-ḫa* KAŠ SAG GEŠTIN GA
BAL-*qí*
7 *ab-ru* MÚ-*aḫ taq-rib-tu*₄ GAR-*an* ÉR.ŠEM₄.ŠĀ.ḪUN.GÁ.MEŠ-šú-*nu ina* TÚG.SÍG
LUGAL ŠID-*nu*

8 *ina še-ri ina* EDEN *lu-u ina* GÚ ÍD KI GÌR^{II} *pár-kat* KI SÙ A KÙ SÙ 3 GI.DU₈.MEŠ
9 *a-na* ^dA-nù ^dEN.LÍL *u* ^dIDIM *tar-kás* ^{udu}SÍSKUR BAL-*qí* ^{uzu}ZAG.LU ^{uzu}ME.ḪÉ *u*
^{uzu}KA.NE
10 *tu-ṭaḫ-ḫa* KAŠ SAG GEŠTIN GA BAL-*qí ab-ru* MÚ-*aḫ taq-rib-tu*₄ GAR-*an*
ÉR.ŠEM₄.ŠĀ.ḪUN.GÁ.MEŠ-šú-*nu*
11 *ina* TÚG.SÍG LUGAL ŠID-*nu* EGIR-šú *a-na* DINGIR EDEN ^dINNIN EDEN 2
GI.DU₈.MEŠ KEŠDA ^{udu}SÍSKUR
12 BAL-*qí* ^{uzu}ZAG.LU ^{uzu}ME.ḪÉ *u* ^{uzu}KA.NE *tu-ṭaḫ-ḫa* KAŠ SAG GEŠTIN GA BAL-*qí* ÉR
GAR-*an*
(interlinear:)⁴¹ ^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ *u* ^{lú}GALA URU.BI *ú-kap-ru-*'

⁴¹ The interlinear line between rev. 4 and 5 (see also between rev. 12–13 and 14–15) is marked by 3 successive separation signs (:).

⁴² Copy: É.

- 13 *an-nam^{a-am} te-ep-pu-uš-ma* 𒀭 LUGAL a-na LUGAL NU TE.ME
- 14 DIŠ ALAM LUGAL KUR.BI *lu-u* ALAM AD-šú *lu-u* ALAM AD AD-šú ŠUB-ut-ma
 𒀭AŠ-ir *lu-u bu-un-na-an-ni-šú uk'-kil*
 (interlinear:) LUGAL KUR.BI UD.MEŠ-šú LÚGUD.DA.MEŠ
- 15 DIŠ *ina* É.KUR *tab-lu* TÙM-ma I.^dUTU DINGIR NÍG.GA LUGAL a-na *ki-di* É
 16 DIŠ GISKIM 𒀭L-tu₄ GISKIM BAR-tu₄ *ina* É DINGIR IGI-ir *ina* É DINGIR.BI GÌR^{II}
 KUD-as: GIR UB
- 17 *ina* UD ŠE.GA(!?) *ina* GE₆ 3 GI.DU₈.MEŠ a-na DINGIR.BI ^dINNIN.BI ^dMAŠ.DÚB ^dUTU
 KEŠDA ^{udu}SÍSKUR
- 18 BAL-*qí* ^{uzu}ZAG.LU ^{uzu}ME.ĤÉ *u* ^{uzu}KA.NE *tu-ṭaḥ-ḥa* KAŠ SAG GEŠTIN *u* GA BAL-*qí*
 19 ÉR GAR-an ÉR.ŠEM₄.ŠÀ.ĤUN.GÁ.MEŠ-šú-nu a-na LUGAL *tu-šad-bab*
- 20 *ina* še-rì *ina* ÛR É DINGIR MU.MEŠ KI SÙ A KÙ SÙ 3 GI.DU₈.MEŠ a-na ^dIDIM ^dUTU
 21 *u* ^dASAL.LÚ.ĤI GUB-an 3 GADA *ina* UGU KI.TUŠ.MEŠ GAR-an ^{udu}SÍSKUR BAL-*qí*
 22 ^{uzu}ZAG.LU ^{uzu}ME.ĤÉ *u* ^{uzu}KA.NE *tu-ṭaḥ-ḥa* KAŠ SAG GEŠTIN GA BAL-*qí* *ab-ru*
 MÚ-[*ah*]
 23 ÉR GAR-an ÉR.ŠEM₄.ŠÀ.ĤUN.GÁ.MEŠ-šú-nu a-na LUGAL *tu-šad-bab tak-per'-tu₄* É
 DINGIR.B[I]
 24 *tu-ḥa-ab* EGIR-šú LUGAL *ši-gu-ú* GÛ-si NÍG.BA a-na DINGIR.BI B[A]
- 25 IM ^{ld}LX-EN-šú-nu A šá ^lNÍG.SUM-tu₄-^dLX ŠU^{II} NÍ-šú UNUG^{ki iti}ŠE UD.22.KAM
^lSe-l[*u-ku* LUGAL]

Obv.

- 1 When the wall of the temple of Anu buck[les, to demolish and renovate that temple],
- 2 [you will arrange] in an auspicious month, on a favourable day, in the night 3 offering
 [tables for the god of the temple, the goddess of the temple and the protective spirit
 (*lamassu*) of the temple]. You will make (l. 3) [a sheep offering].
- 3 [You will bring] shoulder, *ḥimšu*-omentum and roa[sted meat [near]. You will make a
 libation of beer, wine (and) milk].
- 4 You will set fir[e to] a brushwood pile for Ea and Marduk. You will make (l. 5) [a sheep
 offering for Ea and Marduk].
- 5 You will make a libation of first-quality beer, wine (and) milk. You will sing (l. 6) [the
taqribtu-lamentation] ‘Come out like the sun’
- 6 (and) the *eršemakku*-lamentation ‘Woe, who has destroyed (the temple)?’. In the morning,
 [on the roof of the temple, you will sweep (this) place],
- 7 you will sprinkle pure water. [You will set up] 3 offering tables in front of Ea, Šamaš and
 Ma[rduk]. You will place (l. 8) [3 linen (cloths)]
- 8 on the seats. You will place (l. 9) a *mirsu*-confection (made with) honey, ghee, dates,
sasqu-flour.
- 9 (and) pressed oil. You will set up 3 *adakurru*-containers (with) first-quality beer, wine (and)
 milk. You will place (l. 10) [a censer with juniper].
- 10 You will scatter all (kinds of) barley seed. You will make 3 sheep offerings. You will bring
 near (l. 11) shoulder, [*ḥimšu*-omentum]
- 11 and roasted meat. You will make a libation of first-quality beer, wine (and) milk. You will
 set up a water (basin). You will draw (l. 12) the curtains shut.

- 12 You will sing (l. 13) ‘Because of the destruction of the old house, they spontaneously utter a *taqribtu*-lamentation’, in the direction of
 13 the temple. After this you will sing (l. 14) (the *eršemakku*-lamentations) ‘Important one, who wanders around’, ‘Utu is king’ (and) ‘The heart of the temple will be calmed down’ to the accompaniment of a *halḫallatu*-drum
 14 for Ea, Šamaš and Marduk. He will (then) stop (singing). You will lift up the water (basin) (for the washing of the hands) and loosen the curtains.

15 (This is) the ritual procedure of the lamentation priest.

-
- 16 (An omen says:) if the earth quakes, (then) an enemy will rise and the dwellings of the land will not be secure. (Another omen says:) if the earth turns around, (then) there will be injustice in the whole land, the land will turn mad.

-
- 17 On a favourable day may the king purify and cleanse himself (and) cry a *šigû*-lamentation for Anu, Enlil and Ea.
 18 After this you will arrange 2 offering accoutrements in front of his god and his goddess. You will make a sheep offering (and) perform a *taqribtu*-lamentation.
 19 You will make the king recite their (the gods’) *eršemšahungû*-prayers.

-
- 20 In the morning you will arrange 3 offering tables for Anu, Enlil and Ea. You will make a sheep offering.
 21 You will bring shoulder, *ḫimšu*-omentum and roasted meat near. You will make a libation of first-quality beer, wine (and) milk. You will perform a *taqribtu*-lamentation.
 22 You will make the king recite (l. 24) the *eršemšahungû*-prayers ‘O lord, what turned about in my mind? It is Anu’(?) to Anu,
 23 ‘I want to offer my life to my lord’ to Enlil (and) Ea, (and) ‘I want to speak a prayer to Šamaš’ to Šamaš.
 24 He will (then) prostrate himself. He submits to treatment by the barber. (Then) you will gather (l. 25) the hair of his body into a porous(?) *laḫannu*-bottle
 25 and send it off to the enemy’s border. He will (then) go straightaway to his palace. You will make (l. 26) a large sheep offering
 26 for Anu. You will perform a *taqribtu*-lamentation. After this (you will recite)(?) the *taqribtu*-lamentations and their *eršemšahungû*-prayers over the king’s hem.

Rev.

- 1 In each (and) every sanctuary you will do (this). You will do this each time, and evil will not approach the king.

2 (This is) the ritual procedure of the lamentation priest.

-
- 3 (An omen says:) if a dog enters a temple, (then) the gods will show no mercy to the land.
 4 (Another omen says:) if a wild animal, strange and rare, enters the city and is seen and defiles something, (then) ruin of the city, dispersal of its inhabitants.

-
- 5 On a favourable day you will arrange 3 offering tables in front of the god of the city, the goddess of the city(!) and the protective spirit (*lamassu*) of the city.
 6 You will make a sheep offering. You will bring shoulder, *ḫimšu*-omentum and roasted meat near. You will make a libation of first-quality beer, wine, (and) milk.

f. The building ritual

- 7 You will kindle a brushwood pile. You will perform a *taqribtu*-lamentation. You will recite their *eršemšaḥungû*-prayers over the king's hem.
-
- 8 In the morning, in the open country or on the bank of a river, on a place where nobody sets foot, you will sprinkle the ground, you will sprinkle pure water. You will arrange (l. 9) 3 offering tables
- 9 for Anu, Enlil and Ea. You will make a sheep offering. You will bring (l. 10) shoulder, *ḥimšu*-omentum and roasted meat
- 10 near. You will make a libation of first-quality beer, wine (and) milk. You will kindle a brushwood pile. You will perform a *taqribtu*-lamentation. You will recite (l. 11) their *eršemšaḥungû*-prayers
- 11 over the king's hem. After this you will arrange 2 offering tables in front of the god of the open country (and) the goddess of the open country. You will make (l. 12) a sheep offering.
- 12 You will bring shoulder, *ḥimšu*-omentum and roasted meat near. You will make a libation of first-quality beer, wine (and) milk. You will perform a *taqribtu*-lamentation. The exorcist and the lamentation priest will purify that city.
-
- 13 You will do this, and evil will not approach the king.
-
- 14 (An omen says:) if a statue of the king of that land or a statue of his father or a statue of his grandfather falls over and breaks, or if its features become indistinct, (then) the days of the king of that land will be short.
-
- 15 (An omen says:) if (stolen) goods are taken away from the temple, and there is a complaint from the god, (then) the royal property will go out (from the city).
- 16 (Another omen says:) if an evil sign, a strange sign, is seen in the temple, (then) access to that temple will be blocked. ...
-
- 17 On a favourable(?) day, during the night, you will arrange 3 offering tables for that god, that goddess, Mašdub (and) Šamaš. You will make (l. 18) a sheep offering.
- 18 You will bring near shoulder, *ḥimšu*-omentum and roasted meat. You will make a libation of first-quality beer, wine and milk.
- 19 You will perform a *taqribtu*-lamentation (and) you will make the king recite their *eršemšaḥungû*-prayers.
-
- 20 In the morning, on the roof of that temple you will sprinkle the ground. You will sprinkle pure water. You will set up (l. 21) 3 offering tables in front of Ea, Šamaš
- 21 and Marduk. You will lay down 3 linen (cloths) on the seats. You will make a sheep offering.
- 22 You will bring shoulder, *ḥimšu*-omentum and roasted meat near. You will make a libation of first-quality beer, wine (and) milk. You will kindle a brushwood pile.
- 23 You will perform a *taqribtu*-lamentation (and) you will make the king recite their *eršemšaḥungû*-prayers. You will consecrate (l. 24) th[at] temple with *lakpertu*-purifications.
- 24 After this the king will cry a *šigû*-lamentation (and) he will ma[ke] a gift to that god.
-
- (Colophon:)
- 25 Tablet of Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nidintu-Anu, (written by) his own hand, Uruk, the (twelfth) month Addaru, day 22, Sel[eucus being king].

Comments

Obv.

l. 2, the reconstruction is based on *TU* 46, obv. 2–3 and rev. 6. See also my comments on *TU* 46, obv. 3.

l. 5–6, the *taqribtu* ‘Come out like the sun’ is also attested in the parallels *TU* 46, obv. 6; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, 7; also in the Uruk cultic calendar *TU* 48, obv. 19, see II.2.2; the accompanying *eršemakku*: ‘Woe, who has destroyed (the temple)?’ also in the parallel *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, 8.

l. 6–7, *ina še-ri* [*ina* ÛR É DINGIR *šu-a-tu a-šar ta-šab-bi*] A KÛ.MEŠ *ta-sal-làh*, this phrase is only partly preserved in the parallel *TU* 46, obv. 7 (see also F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 5); however, we now have a complete parallel in the duplicate *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 8–9: *ina še-ri ina* ÛR É DINGIR.MEŠ *šu-a-tu a-šar ta-ši-bi* (= *tašabbi*) A KÛ.MEŠ *ta-sal-^rlàh¹*. For the well-known phrase *qaqqara tašabbi me ellūti tasallaḥ* (KI SAR A KÛ SÛ) see my comments on l. rev. 8 below, and on *TU* 44, l. 8.

F. Thureau-Dangin’s reconstruction in *RAcc.*, 34 (*ina še-ri* [*ina* ÛR É DINGIR *šu-a-tu a-šar GÛR^{II} KUD-at* (= *parsat*)] ‘In the morning, [on the roof of the temple, a place to which access is blocked]’) is not based on parallels, but is only conjecture. Phrases similar to the latter are attested in *TU* 45, rev. 16 // *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, rev., fragment 2, 16’: GÛR^{II} KUD-as (= *ipparras*). See also *TU* 45, rev. 8 // *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, rev., fragment 2, 3’: KI GÛR^{II} *pār-kat* (see my comments on rev. 6–13, below). Compare also *TU* 46, obv. 15 (*ina* É *pār-si*) and *KAR* 50, rev. 8 (*ana* KI *par-si*). Cf. *RAcc.*, 55, n. 83 and 54, n. 68, *CAD*, Š/II, 304a and *AHw*, 830b, G,1, b, b, with more examples.

l. 7, for the restoration see rev. 21 and *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 11.

l. 9, GUR₅¹ (= URUxGU), the copy has BANŠUR (URUxURUDU). For the restoration of this line see *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 13.

l. 11–14, 15, 16, these lines are duplicated by a fragment from Hellenistic Uruk, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, obv. fragment 1, 1’–3’, 8’, 10’a and 11’a (for fragment 1, obv. 4’ and 7’, see also the duplicate F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 15–17, 22 f. Lines 2’–8’ of fragment 1 are duplicated in *TU* 46, obv. 11–20. Lines 9’ff. of fragment 1 contain several omen texts, of which two (10’a and 11’a) are also attested in *TU* 45, obv. 16):

Bagh. Mitt. Beih. 2, no. 11, obv. fragment 1:

1’ [... KAŠ] SAG GEŠTIN G[A BAL-*qí* ...]

2’ [... *ina te*]*r-si* É ŠÏR EGIR-šú DILMUN^{ki} N[IGIN.NA ...]

3’ [... ^dASAL.L]Ú.ḪI ŠÏR *i-kal-la* A.MEŠ ÍL-*ma* ^{túgš}*i*[*d-du tu-na-ḥa*]

4’ [... ḪAR AN.NA] *ina* ŠU^{II}-šú GAR-an *ḥa-ši-in* A.GAR₅ ÍL-*ma* SIG₄ ^r*maḥ¹*-*[ri-ti]*

5’ [... 1-en GI.DU₈] *a-na* IGI SIG₄ *a-na* DINGIR URU₄¹ KEŠDA ^{udu}SÍSKUR BAL-*qí* ^{uzu}[ZAG.LU]

6’ [... *uš-k*]*en a-di na-qa-ri u e-pe-ši-ka* A A AM SAR ^rKA(?) x¹ [...]

7’ [... *ina*] UGU *ú-naq-qu* ^{lú}GALA *e-nu-ma* ^dA-nu [*ib-nu-ú* AN-e ...]

- 8' [... ŠU^{II}] lûGALA
 9' [DIŠ ...] ši-si-it LUGAL *dan-nu ina* KUR GÁL-ši: DIŠ AN-ú.GÛ-ú-m[a...]
 10' [DIŠ KI i]-nu-uš ZI KÚR KI.TUŠ KUR *ul i-kan*: DIŠ KI 'GÛ¹-ma [...]
 11' [DIŠ K]I BAL-it *ina* KUR DÛ.A.BI NU GÌ.NA GÁL 'UŠ₄ MAN(?): DIŠ¹ KI
 [...]
 12' [DIŠ KI] 'i¹-nu-uš LU RU UD *lu-u* 'x x¹ SI KUR AN-ú [...]
 13' [DIŠ KI] *lu-u ú-pa-ṭa lu-u LÁL lu-u GA lu-u* [...i-ḫi-il(-ma)]
 14' [...]'-qu(?)¹ LUGAL *dan-nu LÚ ma-qit(?)* 'x x¹ [...]
 15' [...]'x x¹ KÁ 'x¹ [...]

For URU₄ in l. 5' the copy reads MAḪ.

For KEŠDA in l. 5' the duplicate *TU* 46, obv. 16 has *tar-kás*.

- L. 5'–6' differs from duplicate *TU* 46, obv. 16–17: for ŠE.NUMUN DÛ.A.BI DUB-[aq] the fragment at the end of l. 5 clearly reads UZU, so we must assume that here the three well-known meat portions, many times attested in *TU* 45 and *TU* 46, are brought near (^{uzu}[ZAG.LU ^{uzu}ME.ḪÉ *u* ^{uzu}KA.NE *tu-ṭaḫ-ḫa*]).
 L. 6, A A AM SAR 'KA(?) x¹ (lost in *TU* 46, obv. 17) is not clear to me. The duplicate *TU* 46, obv. 18 has additionally: [...]-ma *sír-qu* lûGALA *i-sar-raq*, but there does not seem to be enough room here.
 L. 7', ^dA-nu, the duplicate *TU* 46, obv. 19 has ^dLX.
 L. 11', 'UŠ₄(?)¹ [MAN(?)], the parallel *TU* 45, obv. 16 has UŠ₄ KUR MAN-*ni*, but there does not seem to be enough room here.

Although the omen texts in this fragment (9 ff.) and in *TU* 45 (obv. 16, rev. 3–4, 14–16) remind us of *šumma ālu*, as far as I know they are not attested elsewhere.

l. 12–13, four lamentations are recited to Ea, Šamaš and Marduk, which are also attested elsewhere:

'Because of the destruction of the old house, they spontaneously utter a wail', see also the parallels *TU* 46, obv. 10, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, 16–17, and F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 13); the interpretation of the incipit was suggested to me by Th.J.H. Krispijn (Leiden).

In obv. 13, the *eršemakku*'s:

'Important one, who wanders abroad', also in the parallels *TU* 46, obv. 11; rev. 9; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, 18; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, obv. fragment 1, 2'; F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. [11]. Furthermore it is attested the Uruk kettledrum ritual text *TU* 44, II, 14, and the Uruk *mīs pî*-ritual text *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 24; 26; cf. M.E. Cohen, *Eršemma*, 110 ff.;

'Utu is king', see *TU* 46, obv. 11; *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, 18, F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. [11]. Also as *taqribtu*, cf. M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 423 ff.;

'The heart of the temple will be calmed down', see *TU* 46, obv. 12, rev. 7, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 18, F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. [11]; and the Uruk *mīs pî*-ritual text *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 30. In the Neo-Assyrian calendar text K 2724 +, obv. 24, rev. 17 and in T.G Pinches, IV R², 53, III, 11, it is classified as an *eršemakku*.

l. 17–18, these lines are duplicated by *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, obv. fragment 2, 5'–6':

1' [...] 'x' [...]
 2' [...] 'x x x' [...]
 3' [...] 'MA(?)' DINGIR.RA.ÀM-šú dÉ-'a(?)' [...]
 4' [...] 'x' KI KUR BI IT AD [x] [...]

5' [... *li-te-bi*]-ib ši-gu-ú a-[na dLX ...]
 6' [... *tar-ká*]_s uduSÍSKUR BAL-[qí ...]

7' [...] 'x' [...]

l. 22, BAR.RA UMUN.E TA MA NÍGIN AN.NAM 'O lord, what turned about in my mind? It is Anu'(?), similar in *SBH*, p. 8, no. 4, 65, 67 (ŠÀ.GA ÀM.NIGIN.NÉ // *ina qer-bé-e-ti i-ša-ad*); *SBH*, p. 4, no. 2, 22, 24; J.A. Craig, *ZA* 10 (1895), 276, pl. II, 13, 14. The interpretation of the incipit was suggested to me by Th.J.H. Krispijn (Leiden). Cf. also St. M. Maul, *Herzberuhigungsklagen*, 73.

l. 23, ME.E U.MU.UN.MU.ŠI ŠIM (cf. St.M. Maul, *Herzberuhigungsklagen*, 82; 122) is probably the *eršahungû* no. 11: [ME.E UMUN (?) MU.RA ŠI.M]U DA.AN.NA.AB.DE₆ 'I want to offer my life to my lord' (St.M. Maul, *Herzberuhigungsklagen*, 127–30). ME.E AN.ŠAR is probably ME.E dUTU.RA A.RA.ZU GA.AN.NA.AB.DUG₄ 'I want to speak a prayer to Šamaš' (St. M. Maul, *Herzberuhigungsklagen*, 135–40); perhaps the first line was originally: ME.E AN.SAR.RA A.RA.ZU 'I want to bring my prayer to the shining heaven' (AN.ŠAR = AN+SAR = *napāhu* 'to shine')(?).

The interpretation of these incipits was suggested to me by Th.J.H. Krispijn (Leiden).

l. 24, SAR = SÁḪAR = *šaḫarru* 'porous'(?), cf. *AHw*, 1129a. *CAD*, Š/1, 80a does not translate *šaḫarru*.

l. 24–25, the ritual described here has received some attention, see II.6.1.

l. 24–26, rev. 1, these lines are duplicated by *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, obv. fragment 3:

1' [...] 'x' [...]
 2' [... *a-na* LUGAL *tu-šad*]-*bab uš-ke*[*n*(?) ...]
 3' [... *a-n*]*a É* 'GAL-šú' SI.SÁ [_{udu}SÍSKUR ...]
 4' [... *ina*] TÚG.SÍG LUGAL PAP(?) *kul-lat* KI.ŠU'.[PEŠ₅ ...]

1. 4', LUGAL PAP *kul-lat*, or badly written LUGAL *ina kul-lat* as in the duplicate *TU* 45, rev. 1?

l. 25, *ta-kam¹-mis-ma*, the copy looks more like *te*. See *RAcc.*, 56, n. 93.

l. 25, *a-na mi-šir* lúKÚR TAG₄-šú 'send it off to the enemy's border', this phrase has been discussed by W.R. Mayer, *OrNS* 57 (1988), 150, contra *CAD*, E, 417–18, 1, a, 3' ('leave it at the enemy's border').

l. 26, we would expect ŠID-*nu* at the end of this line (see rev. 7 and 11), although the duplicate *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, obv., fragment 3, 4' does not have the verb (*ina*) TÚG.SÍG LUGAL PAP *kul-lat* KI.ŠU'. [PEŠ₅].

Rev.

l. 1, *an-nam^{a-am}* DÙ.DÙ-*uš-ma* ̕UL *ana* LUGAL NU TE-*hi*, paralleled in rev. 13 and *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, rev. fragment 2, 7'. For the orthography of *an-nam^{a-am}* (cf. also rev. 13) see B. Lewis, *The Sargon Legend*, 1980, 14 with n. 11.

l. 3, AMA, or AR̕UŠ? The copy reads: KAL. See *RAcc.*, 57, n. 97.

l. 4, 5, these lines are duplicated by *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, rev. fragment 1, 2', 4':

1' [...] 'x': DIŠ 'x' [...]

2' [...*ana* ŠÀ] URU KU₄-*ma* IGI-*ir* mi[m-*ma* ...]

3' [...] x x: DIŠ ŠA̕ *ana* É.GAL [...]

4' [... *a-na* DING]IR URU ^dINNIN URU [^dLAMMA ...]

5' [...] 'x' [...]

l. 4, *ú-ma-mu* EDEN 'a wild animal', lit. 'an animal of the open country'.

l. 4, IGI-*ir* *mim-ma* *ú-šal-pit* 'is seen and defiles something', following *CAD*, L. 93a, c.

l. 6–13, these lines are duplicated by *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, rev. fragment 2, 1'–7':

1' [... ^{uzu}] 'KA'. [NE *tu-ṭaḥ-ḥa* ...]

2' [... MÚ-*aḥ*] *taq-rib-tu*₄ GAR-*an* ÉR.ŠEM₄.ŠÀ.̕UN.GÁ.MEŠ-šú-[*nu* ...]

3' [... KI GÌR¹¹] *pár¹-kat¹* KI SÙ A KÙ SÙ 3 GI.D[U₈.MEŠ ...]

4' [... BAL]-*qí* [^{uzu}ZAG.LU ^{uzu}ME].̕É *u* ^{uzu}KA.NE *tu-ṭaḥ-ḥa* *u* KAŠ SAG GEŠ[TIN ...]

5' [... GAR-*an*] ÉR.ŠEM₄.ŠÀ.̕UN.GÁ.MEŠ-¹šú-*nu* [*ina*] TÚG.SÍG LUGAL ŠID-*nu* 'EGIR-šú *a-na* DINGIR EDEN' ^dINNIN [EDEN ...]

6' [... ^{uz}]^uZAG.LU ^{uzu}ME.̕É *u* ^{uzu}KA.'NE *tu-ṭaḥ¹-ḥa* 'KAŠ' BAL-*qí* ÉR [GAR-*an*]

7' [... *te-*]ep-*pu-uš-ma* ̕UL *a-na* LUGAL NU TE.ME

The duplicate *TU* 45, rev. 12 has additionally KAŠ SAG GEŠTIN GA BAL-*qí*, and ^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ *u* ^{lú}GALA URU.BI *ú-kap-ru-*'.

l. 8, KI SÙ A KÙ SÙ, although we have an exact parallel in l. 20 and *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, rev. fragment 2, 3', we must ask whether the first *tasallaḥ* (SÙ) is not a mistake for *tašabbiṭ* (SAR) 'you will sweep', which would make much more sense. The phrase *qaqqara tašabbiṭ mê ellūti tasallaḥ* (KI SAR A KÙ SÙ) is well-known, see my comments on obv. 6–7 above, and on *TU* 44, I, 8.

Appendix

- l. 14, 15, 16, these lines, containing several omina, are duplicated by *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, rev. fragment 2, 13', 14', 15'a, 16'.
- l. 14, *uk¹-kil* stands for *uk-kul*, a stative D-stem of *ekēlu*.
- l. 15, for *TÙM-ma*, see *CAD*, E, 72b.
- l. 15, *tazzimtu* (I.^dUTU, see *MSL* XIII, 161, 23) rather than *i-il-tú* (*RAcc.*, 38).
- l. 16, GIR UB is not clear to me.
- l. 17, *ina* UD ŠE.GA(!?), the copy reads GAB, but perhaps the scribe erroneously wrote GA'.ŠE for ŠE.GA. A similar phrase is attested in *TU* 46, obv. 2. Or should we read: *ūmu* (UD) *rēqu* (DU₈) 'a free day' (suggestion M. Stol)?
- l. 17, ^dMAŠ.DÚB, cf. St. M. Maul, *Herzberuhigungsklagen*, 248, 19.
- l. 23, *tak-per¹-tu₄* (the copy reads RIB), similar in *TU* 46, rev. 13. This reading was already suggested by F. Thureau-Dangin (*RAcc.*, 57, n. 105).

This is a building ritual text from Hellenistic Uruk, written by Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nidintu-Anu and dated 28-III-81 S.E. (13-VII-231 B.C.) This Anu-bēlšunu is perhaps the same person who wrote TU 45 and *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 12, dated 112 S.E. (200/199 B.C.), and the grandfather of Anu-bēlšunu who is attested in *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5 and no. 89 (see the Introduction of these texts, above). The text is partially duplicated by TU 45, F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12 and *SpTU* 4, no. 141.

The text is discussed in II.6.

Obv.

- 1 [e-nu-ma] 'É'.GAR₈ É DINGIR i-qa-pu a-na na-qa-rim-ma uš-šu-ši šá É šu-a-tu
- 2 [áš-ri-šu lùH]AL uš-šar-ma ina ITI šal-me ina UD ŠE.GA ina GE₆ 3 GI.KU₈
- 3 [ana DING]IR É 'INNIN É u 'dLAMMA É' tar-kás 'udu'SÍSKUR BAL-qi uzuZAG
- 4 uzuME.HÉ u uzuKA.NE tu-[tah]-ha KAŠ GEŠTIN GA BAL-qi ab-ru a-na dIDIM
- 5 u dASAL.LÚ.HI tu-nam-mar uduSÍSKUR a-na dÉ-a u dASAL.LÚ.HI BAL-qi
- 6 KAŠ GEŠTIN GA BAL-qi dUTU.GIN₇ É.TA ÉR Û.LI.LI EN.ZU (SÁ).MA[R.MA]R
- 7 ÉR.ŠEM₄.MA ŠIR ina še-ri ina ÛR É DINGIR šu-a-tu a-šar [ta-šab-bi]
- 8 A.MEŠ KÙ SÙ-aḥ 3 GI.DU₈ a-na dÉ-a dUTU u dASAL.LÚ.HI
- 9 GUB-an 3 uduSÍSKUR BAL-qi ŠE.NUMUN DÙ.A.BI DUB-aq A.MEŠ GUB-[an]
- 10 ab-ru MÚ-aḥ É.ZI GUL.GUL.LU.DÈ NÍ.BI.ŠÉ ÉR IM.Š[E₈.ŠE₈]
- 11 ina ter-ši É ŠIR EGIR-šú DILMUN^{ki} NIGIN.NA dUTU LUGAL.À[M]
- 12 É.ŠÀ.AB.HUN.GÁ.TA ina ḥal-ḥal-la-ti a-na dIDIM dUTU u dASAL.LÚ.[HI]
- 13 ŠIR i-kal-la A.MEŠ ÍL-ma ṽḡšid-du tu-na-aḥ lùŠITIM šá [É]
- 14 šu-a-tu TÚG DADAG MU₄.MU₄-aš ḤAR AN.NA ina ŠU-šú GAR-an ḥa-ši-in A.G[AR₅]
- 15 ÍL-ma SIG₄ maḥ-ri-ti i-de-ek-ku ina É pár-si GAR-an 1-en GI.D[U₈]
- 16 a-na IGI SIG₄ ana DINGIR URU₄ tar-kás uduSÍSKUR BAL-qi ŠE.NUMUN DÙ.A.BI
- 17 DUB-[aq]
- 18 K[AŠ GEŠTIN G]A BAL-qi uš-ken a-di na-qa-ri u e-pe-ši-ka A [...]
- 19 [...]x-ma sír-qu lùGALA i-sar-raḡ LÀL Ì.NUN.NA GA KAŠ GEŠTIN u Ì.GIŠ [DÙG.GA]
- 19 [ina] muḥ-ḥi ú-naq-qu lùGALA e-nu-ma dLX ib-nu-ú AN-e ana IGI SI[G₄ ŠID-nu]

20 [n]é-pe-ši šá ŠU lùGALA

- 21 [DI]RI.GA(?) iš-tu É na-qa-ri u né-pe-ši i-te-né-ep-pu-š[ú]
- 22 [e-nu]-ma É.GAR₈ É DINGIR i-qa-pu a-na na-qa-rim-ma uš-šu-ši lùHA[L]
- 23 [ina IT]I šal-me ina u₄-me ŠE.GA ina UGU TÚG.SÍG LUGAL {LUGAL} SILA₄ ÍL-ma
- 24 ki[-ma]
- 24 [ta-mit] ba-ru-ti e-nu-ma É.GAR₈ É DINGIR i-qa-pu ŠI[D-nu-ma]
- 25 [ki-a-am] SILA₄ an-na-a ZAG e-pu-uš šum-ma ana ṽa-ab-ti in-né-pu-u[š]
- 26 [ina EGIR] na-qa-ri u e-pe-ši an-nu-ú ana LUGAL u KUR-šú ana SIG₅-t[i]
- 27 [GAR-an] a-di na-qa-ri u e-pe-ši mu-uḥ-ḥu-ru ÉR.MEŠ in-né-ep-pu-š[ú]
- 28 [sír]-qu ma-aq-qa-a-tú u mi-nu-tu₄ lùGALA ul i-kal-la

⁴³ Cf. *RAcc.*, 9, 40–45; A.J. Sachs, in: J.B. Pritchard, *ANET*², 340 f.

Rev.

1 *tup-pi ħi-šiĥ-ti šá ŠU^{II} lùGALA*2 *e-nu-ma URU₄ É DINGIR ŠUB-ú ina ITI šal-me ina u₄-me ŠE.GA URU₄ É DINGIR BAD
e-ma URU₄ É DINGIR*3 *ŠUB-ú ina GE₆ 5 KEŠDA.MEŠ a-na d^{EN}.ZU d^{AMAR}.UTU d^{NIN}.MAĤ d^{KULLA} u
d^N[IN.ŠUB]UR*4 *tar-kás^{udu} ŠISKUR BAL-qí ŠE.NUMUN DÙ.A.BI DUB-aq ab-ru MÚ-aĥ KAŠ GEŠTIN
GA*5 *BAL-qí UD.DAM KI.MU.UŠ ÉR UMUN BÁRA.KÙ.GA ÉR.ŠEM₄.MA ŠĪR*6 *EGIR-šú 3 KEŠDA a-na DINGIR É d^{INNIN} É d^{LAMMA} É tar-kás ab-ru MÚ-aĥ*7 *A.MEŠ GUB-an^{ru} gšid-du GÍD.DA-ad É.ŠÀ.AB.ĤUN.GÁ.E.TA ina tar-ši É*8 *ina ĥal-ĥal-la-ti ŠĪR EGIR-šú ina še-rì 3 KEŠDA a-na d^{LX} d^{EN}.LÍL u d^[É-a]*9 *tar-kás UMUN ŠE.ER.MA.AL.LA.ŠĒ AN.KI.A ÉR DILMUN^{ki} NIGIN.NA.À[M
ÉR].ŠEM₄.MA ŠĪR*10 *UD d^{LX} d^{EN}.LÍL.LÁ d^{EN}.KI AN.KI.A MU.UN.DÍM.DÍM.E.NE ŠĪ[R ...]*11 *KEŠDA.MEŠ DUĤ-ár-ma URU₄ ŠUB-di a-di É DINGIR.BI i-^rqat-tu¹-ú*12 *mu-úĥ-(ĥu)-ru ÉR.MEŠ e-pe-šú u[l t]a-kal-la-^rma¹*13 *ID URU₄ ŠUB-ú tak-per-tu₄ KI.BI tu-ĥa-ab*14 *né-pe-ši šá ŠU^{II} lùGALA*15 *e-nu-ma sip-[p]u ku-nu*16 *IM¹ Ni-din-tu₄-d^{LX} qàt¹ LX-UMUN-šú-nu DUMU.A.NI lùŠÚ TUR UNUG^{ki}*17 *ⁱⁱⁱSIG₄ UD.28.KAM MU.81.KAM¹ Se-lu-ku LUGAL*

Obv.

1 [When] the wall of the temple buckles, to demolish and renovate that temple,

2 [the di]viner will release [the emplacement] of that temple and in an auspicious month, on a
favourable day, during the night, you will arrange (l. 3) 3 offering tables3 [for the go]ld of the temple, the goddess of the temple and the protective spirit (*lamassu*) of
the temple. You will make a sheep offering. You will bring (l. 4) shoulder,4 *ĥimšu*-omentum and roasted meat near. You will make a libation of beer, wine (and) milk.
You will set fire to (l. 5) a brushwood pile for Ea

5 and Marduk. You will make a sheep offering for Ea and Marduk.

6 You will make a libation of beer, wine (and) milk. You will sing the *tagribtu*-lamentation
‘Come out like the sun’ (and) the *eršemakku*-lamentation (l. 7) ‘O, wise En, planner’.

7 In the morning, on the roof of the temple, [you will sweep] (this) place,

8 you will sprinkle pure water. You will set up (l. 9) 3 offering tables in front of Ea, Šamaš
and Marduk.9 You will make 3 sheep offerings. You will scatter all (kinds of) barley seed. You will set up
a water (basin).10 You will kindle a brushwood pile. You will sing (l. 11) ‘Because of the destruction of the
old house, they spontaneously utter a *tagribtu*-lamentation’,11 in the direction of the temple. After this you will sing (l. 13) (the *eršemakku*-lamentations)
‘Important one, who wanders about’, ‘Utu is king’12 (and) ‘The heart of the temple will be calmed down’ to the accompaniment of a *ĥalĥallatu*-
drum for Ea, Šamaš and Marduk.

f. The building ritual

- 13 He will (then) stop (singing). You will lift up the water (basin) and loosen the curtains. The building-master of that (l. 14) temple
14 will put on a clean garment. He will place a tin bracelet on his wrist. He will lift up (l. 15) an axe (made) of lead
15 and he will remove the first brick. He will place (this) in a secluded temple. You will arrange (l. 16) 1 offering table
16 before the brick for the god of the foundation. You will make a sheep offering. You will scatt[er] all (kinds of) barley seed.
17 You will make a libation of be[er, wine (and) m]ilk. He will prostrate himself. While you are demolishing and (re)building, [...],
18 [...] and the lamentation priest will scatter a *serqu*-offering. They will make a libation of (l. 19) honey, ghee, milk, beer, wine and [good] oil
19 before (the brick). The lamentation priest [will recite] ‘When Anu created Heaven’ in front of the bric[k].
-

- 20 (This is) the ritual procedure of the lamentation priest.
-

- 21 [Supple]ment(?), after the demolishing of the temple, and the repeated performing(?) of the ritual procedure:
22 [Wh]en the wall of the temple buckles, to demolish and renovate it,
23 [in] an [auspic]ious month, on a favourable day, the divin[er] (l. 22) will lift up a lamb over the king’s hem and in accor[dance with]
24 [the oracle answer] of divination he will reci[te] ‘When the wall of the temple buckles’ [and]
25 [thus] he will perform [the oracle question] (with/on) this lamb. If (this) is performe[d] with good (results),
26 [afterwards] this demolishing and renovating will be (l. 27) for the goo[d] of the king and his land.
27 During the demolishing and renovating *muhhuru*-offerings and *taqribtu*-lamentations will be performe[d].
28 The lamentation priest will not cease with [*ser*]qu-offerings, *maqqu*-libations and recitations.
-

Rev.

- 1 (This is) the tablet (listing) the necessities for the use of the lamentation priest.
-
- 2 When the foundation is laid, in an auspicious month, on a favourable day, you will open up the (old) foundation of the temple. When you are laying (l. 3) the foundation of the temple,
3 you will arrange (l. 4) during the night 5 offering accoutrements for Šin, Marduk, Ninmah, Kulla and N[inšub]ur.
4 You will make a sheep offering. You will scatter all (kinds of) barley seed. You will kindle a brushwood pile. You will make a libation of (l. 5) beer, wine (and) milk.
5 You will sing the *taqribtu*-lamentation ‘It touches the Earth like a storm’ and the *eršemakku*-lamentation ‘Lord of the Pure Dais’.
6 Next you will arrange 3 offering accoutrements for the god of the temple, the goddess of the temple (and) the protective spirit (*lamassu*) of the temple. You will kindle a brushwood pile.
7 You will set up a water (basin). You will draw the curtains shut. In the direction of the temple you will sing (l. 8) (the *eršemakku*-lamentation) ‘The heart of the temple will be calmed down’

- 8 to the accompaniment of a *halhallatu*-drum. After this you will arrange (l. 9) 3 offering accoutrements for Anu, Enlil and [Ea].
 9 You will sing the *taqribtu*-lamentation 'Lord, respected one of Heaven and Earth' (and) the *eršemakku*-lamentation 'Important one, who wanders about'.
 10 You will sin[g] 'When Anu, Enlil and Enki created Heaven and Earth' [...]
 11 You will clear away the offering accoutrements and lay the foundation of that temple. Until (the completion of) that temple comes to an end,
 12 you will not stop performing the *muhhuru*-offerings (and) *taqribtu*-lamentations.
 13 When(?) the foundation is laid, you will consecrate that emplacement with *takpertu*-purifications.

14 (This is) the ritual procedure of the lamentation priest.

(Catchline:)

15 When the doorframes are in place.

(Colophon:)

- 16 Tablet of Nidintu-Anu, (written by) the hand of Anu-bēlšunu, his son, the apprentice lamentation priest,
 17 the (third) month Simānu, day 28, year 81, Seleucus being king.

Comments

Obv.

l. 2, '[the di]viner will release (i.e. deconsecrate) [the emplacement (i.e. the building plot)] of that temple', namely from the status of holiness, compare rev. 13, where the emplacement is consecrated. Cf. *CAD*, A/II, 459a and *AHw*, 1486a, 8, d ('freigeben'). Obv. 1–2 is paralleled in F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 1–2. For *ašru* 'emplacement', see also W. Baumgartner, *ZA* 36 (1925), 30 ff. ('Baustelle').

l. 3 (see also rev. 6), 'the god of the temple, the goddess of the temple and the protective spirit (*lamassu*) of the temple' (DINGIR É dINNIN É u dLAMMA É) are anonymous protective spirits which have to be distinguished from the main gods of the temple, see K. van der Toorn, in: K.R. Veenhof (ed.), *Houses and Households in Ancient Mesopotamia*, 40e RAI Leiden 1993, Leiden, Istanbul, 1996, 70f. The line is paralleled in *TU* 45, obv. 2.

l. 4–5, *ab-ru a-na* dIDIM u dASAL.LÚ.ĤI *tu-nam-mar* uduSÍSKUR *a-na* dÉ-a u dASAL.-LÚ.ĤI BAL-*qí*, also in the parallel F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 3–4, but in the third person plural.

l. 6, instead of the lamentation 'Woe, who has destroyed (the temple)?' in *TU* 45, obv. 6, *TU* 46, obv. 6 has 'O, wise En, planner', cf. M.E. Cohen, *Eršemma*, 125–127.

l. 7, for [*ta-šab-bit*] see my comment on *TU* 45, obv. 6–7, and on *TU* 44, I, 8.

l. 11–20, these lines are duplicated by *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, obv. fragment 1, 2'–8'. For a transliteration of this fragment see my comments on *TU* 45, obv. 11–14, 15, 16.

f. The building ritual

l. 13, for the ‘building master’, wr. $\text{l}^{\text{u}}\text{ŠITIM}$ = *itinnu* (cf. F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. [14]; also attested in *BRM* 4, 6 (describing the eclipse of the moon ritual), obv. 30’), and not $\text{l}^{\text{u}}\text{DÍM}$ = *mubannû*, the ‘arranger (of the offering table)’, see III.4.3.

l. 15, *i-de-ek-ku*, a plural, although a singular is intended.

l. 15, SIG₄ *mah-ri-ti* ‘the first brick’, also in F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 17. See W. Baumgartner, *ZA* 36 (1925), 247 with n. 3 (‘Grundstein’); R. Borger, *Esarh.*, 5 (‘erster Ziegel’); R.S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia*, New Haven and London, 1968, 26 ff.

l. 17, the end of this line is duplicated by *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, obv. fragment 1, 6’, but not clear to me.

l. 18, [...]x-*ma sir-qu*, the duplicate F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 20 reads: [UGU] NÍG.NA *si-ir-qí*, but the copy does not allow this restoration here.

l. 18, Ì.GÍŠ [DÙG.GA] ‘[good] oil’, see F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 20.

l. 19, *e-nu-ma* dLX *ib-nu-ú* AN-*e*, recited in full in F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 24 ff. See my comments on these lines, below.

l. 21–28, see the parallel *SpTU* 4, no. 141, rev. 14–19.

l. 21, DI]RI.GA(?) ‘supplement’, this was suggested by F. Thureau-Dangin (*RAcc.*, 42), although the copy reads: [...] A GUD. The parallel *SpTU* 4, no. 141, rev. 14 cannot help, because the beginning of this line is damaged.

l. 21, *i-te-né-ep-pu-š[ú]* ‘the repeatedly performing(?)’ (see also the duplicate *SpTU* 4, no. 141, rev. 14), here perhaps as infinitive? See *AHw*, 227b.

l. 28, the parallel *SpTU* 4, no. 141, rev. 19 here includes: $\text{l}^{\text{u}}\text{NAR}$ *in-ḥa ul i-kal-la* ‘the singer will (then) stop (singing) the *inḥu*-song’. See also F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 5.

Rev.

l. 2–13, these lines are also translated in M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 26–27.

l. 5 ff., among the lamentations mentioned here but not in *TU* 45 are the *taqribtus*:

‘It touches the Earth like a storm’, also in the Uruk *mīs pī*-ritual text *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 9, and in the Kislīmu ritual from Babylon BM 32206 +, IV, 158. Also mentioned in the Uruk cultic calendar text *TU* 48, rev. 3, see II.2.2;

‘Lord, respected one of Heaven and Earth’, in rev. 9; see also *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 24; 25, and the Uruk New Year text *TU* 39, rev. 10.

and the eršemakku:

‘Lord of the pure Dais’, see also *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 1 (+ //), 9.

l. 10, this bilingual hand-raising prayer (*šuillakku*) is recited in full in *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 12, see W.R. Mayer, *OrNS* 47 (1978), 438–441.

l. 12, for *mu-úḥ-⟨ḥu⟩-ru*, see III.7.2.

Appendix

- l. 13, ID for UD = *enūma*? See *RAcc.*, 45: ‘lorsque(?)’.
- l. 16, for the scribe Anu-bēlšunu see my comments on *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 5, rev. 34.

This building ritual text from Hellenistic Uruk is partially a duplicate of *TU* 45, *TU* 46 and F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12.

The text is discussed in II.6.

U.E. [*ina* INIM ^dLX *u An-t*]_{u4} 'liš-lim'(?)

Obv.

- 1 [*e-nu-ma* É.GAR₈ É ^dLX *i-qa-pu a-na na-qa-rim-ma u*š-šu-ši 'šá' [É šu-a-tu]
- 2 [*ina*] ITI šal-mu *ina* [UD ŠE.GA] *ina* GE₆ 3 [GI.DU₈] 'a-na DINGIR' [É]
- 3 [^dINNIN] É *u* ^d[LAMMA É *tar-kás* ^{udu}]'SÍSKUR' BAL-*qí* ^u[zuZAG.LU]
- 4 ^{uzu}ME.ĤÉ *u* ^{uzu}[KA.NE *t*]_u-*taḥ-ḥa* KAŠ SAG GEŠTIN [GA]
- 5 BAL-*qí* *ab-ru a-na* 'É'-*a u* ^dASAL.LÚ.ĤI *tu-na*[*m-mar*]
- 6 ^{udu}SÍSKUR *a-na* ^dÉ'-*a u* ^dASAL.LÚ.ĤI BAL-*qí* [KAŠ SAG]
- 7 GEŠTIN GA BAL-*qí* ^dUTU.GIN₇ È.TA UB LA Ú(?) 'ÉR'
- 8 Û.BA MU.ĤUL ÉR.ŠEM₄.MA ŠĪR *ina še-rì ina* ÛR
- 9 É DINGIR.MEŠ *šu-a-tu a-šar ta-ši-bi* (sic) A KÙ.MEŠ *ta-sal-'lāḥ'*
- 10 3 GI.DU₈.MEŠ *a-na* ^dÉ'-*a u* ^dUTU *u* ^dASAL.LÚ.ĤI KEŠ[DA]
- 11 3 GADA *ina muḥ-ḥi* KI.TUŠ.MEŠ GAR-*an* NINDA.Ì.DÉ.ÀM 'LÀL'
- 12 Ì.NUN.NA ZÚ.LUM.MA ^{zi}EŠA Ì.GIŠ BÁR.GA GAR-*an* [3]
- 13 A.DA.GUR₅ KAŠ SAG GEŠTIN GA GUB-*an* NÍG.NA ^{šim}LI [GAR-*an*]
- 14 ŠE.NUMUN DÙ.A.BI DUB-*aq* 3 ^{udu}SÍSKUR BAL-*qí* [^{uzu}ZAG]
- 15 'LU' ^{uzu}ME.ĤÉ *u* ^{uzu}KA.NE *tu-taḥ-ḥa* KAŠ SA[G GEŠTIN GA]
- 16 BAL-*qí* A.MEŠ GUB-*an* 'úgšid-du' GÍD.DA-*ad* É.Z[I GUL.GUL.LU.DÈ NÍ.BI.ŠÈ]
- 17 ÉR IM.ŠE₈.ŠE₈ 'ina ter-ši' É ŠĪR [EGIR-šú]
- 18 DILMUN^{ki} NIGIN.NA ^d[UTU LUGAL].ÀM ÉR.[ŠEM₄.MA.MEŠ(?)]
- 19 *ina ḥal-ḥal-la-at a-na* 'd' [^dÉ'-*a u* ^dUTU *u* ^dASAL.LÚ.ĤI]
- 20 ŠĪR *i-kal-la* A.[MEŠ ÍL-*ma* 'úgšid-du tu-na-ḥa]

21 *né-pe-ši šá* ŠU^{II} [lúGALA]

The reverse is not written.

U.E.

[By the command of Anu and Ant]_u may (this work) be succesful(?).

Obv.

- 1 [When the wall of the temple of Anu buckles, to demolish and re]novate [that temple],
- 2 [you will arrange (l. 3) in] an auspicious month, on [a favourable day], in the night 3
- 3 [offering tables for the god of the temple],
- 3 [the goddess] of the temple and [the protective spirit (*lamassu*) of the temple]. You will
- 4 make [sheep o]fferings. [Y]ou will bring (l. 4) s[houlder],
- 4 *ḥimšu*-omentum and ro[asted meat] near. You will make a libation of (l. 5) first-quality beer,
- 4 wine (and) [milk].
- 5 You will set fire to a brushwood pile for Ea and Marduk.

⁴⁴ Cf. W.R. Mayer, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, p. 16.

- 6 You will make a sheep offering for Ea and Marduk. You will make a libation of (l. 7) [first-quality beer],
 7 wine (and) milk. You will sing (l. 8) the *taqribtu*-lamentation ‘Come out like the sun’ ...,
 8 (and) the *eršemakku*-lamentation ‘Woe, who has destroyed (the temple)?’. In the morning, on the roof
 9 of that temple, you will sweep (this) place, you will sprinkle pure water.
 10 You will arran[ge] 3 offering tables in front of Ea, Šamaš and Marduk.
 11 You will place 3 linen (cloths) on the seats. You will place (l. 12) a *mirsu*-confection (made with) honey,
 12 ghee, dates, *sasqu*-flour (and) pressed oil. You will set up (l. 13) [3]
 13 *adakurru*-containers (with) first-quality beer, wine (and) milk. [You will place] a censer with juniper.
 14 You will scatter all (kinds of) barley seed. You will make 3 sheep offerings. You will bring [shoul-]
 15 der, *himšu*-omentum and roasted meat near. You will make a libation (l. 16) of fir[st-quality] beer, [wine (and) milk].
 16 You will set up a water (basin). You will draw the curtains shut. You will sing (l. 17) [‘Because of the destruction of] the [o]ld house,
 17 they spontaneously utter a *taqribtu*-lamentation’, in the direction of the temple. [After this]
 18 you will sing (l. 20) the *er[š]emakku*-lamentations] ‘Important one, who wanders around’, (and) ‘[Utu] is [king]’
 19 to the accompaniment of a *halhallatu*-drum for [Ea, Šamaš and Marduk].
 20 He will (then) stop (singing). [You will lift up the] wat[er (basin) and loosen the curtains].
-
- 21 (This is) the ritual procedure of the lamentation priest.

Comments

Obv.

See the duplicates *TU* 45, obv. 1–15; *TU* 46, obv. 1–13. See also F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, no. 12, obv. 1–14.

l. 7, UB LA Ú(?), not attested in the duplicates *TU* 45, obv. 5, and *TU* 46, obv. 6. Since ÉR follows these three signs, apparently it belongs to the incipit.

l. 8, Û.BA MU.ĤUL, the duplicate *TU* 45, obv. 6 reads: Û.Û.A.BA MU.ĤUL.

l. 8–9, *ina še-ri ina ÛR É DINGIR.MEŠ šu-a-tu a-šar ta-ši-biṭ* (= *tašabbīṭ*) A KÙ.MEŠ *ta-sal-‘lāḥ’*, this phrase is partly preserved in the duplicates *TU* 45, obv. 6–7 and *TU* 46, obv. 7–8. Similar in *TU* 44, I, 8 and written syllabically perhaps in *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 14, 2'. However, the preceding status constructus *a-šar* is problematic. See also my comment on *TU* 44, I, 8 and *TU* 45, obv. 6–7.

l. 18, DILMUN^{ki} NIGIN.NA ḏ[UTU LUGAL].ĀM ÉR.[ŠEM₄.MA.MEŠ(?)], the duplicates *TU* 45, obv. 13 and *TU* 46, obv. 11–12 include a third incipit (É.ŠĀ.AB.ĤUN.-GÁ.TA), but there does not seem to be enough space here.

This tablet from the Late Babylonian period contains a building ritual text from Babylon. The reverse was left unpublished by Weissbach. The text with the reverse was also published by J.J.A. van Dijk, *Sumer* 11 (1955), 110, no. 7, pl. X–XII, however without the lost fourth fragment IM 11087, 59. The latter was published by van Dijk in *TIM* 9, no. 77. Partial duplicates of the text are: *TU* 46, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, nos. 10 and 11 and *SpTU* 4, no. 141.

The text is discussed in II.6.

Obv.

- 1 *e-nu-ma* É.GAR₈ É DINGIR *i-qa-a-ap a-na na-qá-rim-ma uš-šu-ši*
- 2 *ša* É *šu-a-tu áš-ri-šu* ^{lu}HAL *uš-šar-ma*
- 3 *ina* ITI *šal-me ina* UD ŠE.GA *ina* GE₆ *ab-ra ana* ^dÉ-a *u* ^dASAL.LÚ.ĪI *ú-nam-ma-ru-ma*
- 4 (^{udu})SÍSKUR *a-na* ^dÉ-a *u* ^dASAL.LÚ.ĪI *i-naq-qu-ú* GALA ÉR GAR-an
- 5 ^{lu}NAR *in-ḫa in-ni-iḫ ina* še-e-ri *ina* ÛR É *šu-a-tu*
- 6 3 *ri-ik-si ana* ^dÉ-a ^dUTU *u* ^dASAL.LÚ.ĪI *tar-k[ás]*
- 7 9 PAD NINDA ZÍZ.AN.NA ZÚ.LUM.MA ^{zi}EŠA *ta-sar-[raq-ma]*
- 8 NINDA.Ì.DÉ.ÀM LÀL Ì.NUN.NA *u* Ì.GIŠ BÁR.GA [GAR-an]
- 9 3 ^{du}gA.DA.GUR₅ GAR-an KAŠ SAG [GEŠTIN GA BAL-qi]
- 10 NÍG.NA ^{šim}LI GAR-an [ŠE.NUMUN DÙ.A.BI DUB-aq]
- 11 2 ^{udu}SÍSKUR BAL-q[í] DILMUN^{ki} NIGIN.NA ^dUTU LUGAL.ÀM É.ŠÀ.AB.ĪUN.GÁ.TA]
- 12 GALA *ina* ḫal-ḫal-la-[*ti a-na* ^dÉ-a] ^rdUTU^r ^dASAL.LÚ.ĪI *i-za-am-mur*
- 13 EGIR-šú É.ZI G[UL.GUL.LU.DÈ N]Í.BI.ŠÈ ÉR IM.ŠE₈.ŠE₈ *i-za-am-mur*
- 14 *i-kal-la* [^{lu}ŠITIM š]á É *šu-a-tu*
- 15 TÚG DADAG MU[₄.MU₄-aš] HAR AN.N]A *ina* ŠU-šú GAR-an
- 16 ^rḫa-ši^r-[*in* A.G]AR₅ ÍL-ma
- 17 [SIG₄ maḫ-ri-t]ú *i-de-ek-ki-ma*
- 18 [*ina* muḫ-ḫi] ^rÉ^r *i-sa-ap-pid ù-ù^r-i i-qab-bi-ma* SIG₄ *šu-a-tu₄*
- 19 [*ina* É] ^rpár^r-si *i-šak-ka-nu-ma*
- 20 [UGU] NÍG.NA *si-ir-qi* GALA *i-sar-raq*
- 21 [LÀL Ì].NUN.NA GA KAŠ GEŠTIN *u* Ì DÙG.GA
- 22 [*ina* muḫ-ḫ]i *ú-naq-qu-ú*
- 23 ^rù^r *e-nu-ma* ^dA-nu *ib-nu-ú* AN-e *ana* IGI SIG₄ ŠID-nu

-
- 24 *e-nu-ma* ^dA-nu *ib-nu-ú* AN-e
 - 25 ^dNU.DÍM.MUD *ib-nu-ú* ABZU *šu-bat-su*
 - 26 ^dÉ-a *ina* ABZU *ik-ru-ša ti-da-[am]*
 - 27 *ib-ni* ^dSIG₄ *ana* te-diš-ti [É DINGIR.MEŠ]
 - 28 *ib-ni* ^{giš}GI *u* ^{giš}TIR *ana* ši-pir *nab-ni-ti-[ki]*
 - 29 *ib-ni* ^dNIN.ÍLDU (IGI.NAGAR.BU) ^dNIN.SIMUG *u* ^dA.RA.ZU *ana* mu-šak-lil ši-pir
na[b-ni-ti-ki]
 - 30 *ib-ni* ša-di-i *ù* ta-ma-a-ti *ana* mim-ma ŠUM ^rTI(?)^r DU ^rx^r [...]
 - 31 *ib-ni* ^dGUŠKIN.BÀN.DA ^dNIN.Á.GAL ^dNIN.ZADIM *u* ^dNIN.KUR.RA *ana* ep-še-ti-[ki]
 - 32 *ù* ḫi-šib-šu-nu *du-uš-šá-a* *ana* nin-da-bi-ki *ra-bu-ti* ^ršu(?)^r [...]

⁴⁵ Cf. P. Jensen, *KB* VI/2, 46–51; *RAcc.*, 44–47; E. Ebeling, in: H. Gressmann, *ATAT*², 129 f.; A.J. Sachs, in: J.B. Pritchard, *ANET*², 341 f.

- 33 *ib-ni* ^dAŠ.NA.AN ^dLA.ḪAR ^dŠIM ^dNIN.GIZ.ZI.DA ^dNIN.MÚ ^dA.[...]
 34 *a-na mu-deš-šu-ú sa-at-*[*tuk-ki*]
 35 *ib-ni* ^dUMUN.MU.TA.ÀM.GU₇ ^dUMUN.MU.TA.ÀM.NAG *ana mu-kil nin-da-*[*bi-ki*]
 36 *ib-ni* ^dKÙ.SÙ GA.ÛZ.MAḪ DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ana mu-šak-lil par-ši-ki* [...]
 37 [*i*]*b-ni* LUGAL *ana za-ni-nu* [É DINGIR.MEŠ(?)]
 38 [*ib-n*]*i a-me-lu-ti ana i-pí-^ri(?)*-š*u*(?)^r [...]
 39 [...] *te-*^r*x x*^r [...] ^r*x*^r [...] ^r*d*^r*A-ni* ^dEN.LÍL ^dÉ-*a u* ^d[...]
 40 [...] ^r*x*^r [...] ^r*ú*^r-š*en-nu* ^rSAG(?)^r [...]

Rev.

- 1' [...] ^r*x*^r [...]
 2' ^dGUŠKIN.BÀN.DA ^dNIN.SIMUG [...]
 3' ^rDINGIR *x x*^r MA *ra-bu-ti* NU MA AN [...]
 4' ^rGIŠ.ḪUR^r.MEŠ *ši-ra-a-ti* [...]
 5' *ne-eb-še-e* ^r*šu*^r-*qu-ru*-[*ti*...]
 6' *ina ip-ti u ne-me-*^r*šá*(?) AN^r [...]
 7' *pu-ú* AN.ŠÁR ^dŠA.[LA(?)...]
 8' [...]
 9' *ù la gam-*^r*mu*(?)^r-*x*^r [...]
 10' *ina ḫi-ṭa a-na* [...]
 11' *a-a i-*^r*x*^r [...]
 12' *ki-ma* ^r*x*^r [...]
 13' [...]
 14' *i*-[...]
 15' AD [...]
 16' ^rDÙ^r [...]
 17' ^r*x*^r [...]

Obv.

- 1 When the wall of the temple buckles, to demolish and renovate it,
 2 the diviner will release the emplacement of that temple and
 3 in an auspicious month, on a favourable day, during the night, they will set fire to a
 brushwood pile for Ea and Marduk and
 4 they will make a (sheep) offering for Ea and Marduk. The lamentation priest will perform a
taqribtu-lamentation.
 5 The singer will sing the *inḫu*-song. In the morning, on the roof of that temple,
 6 You will arra[nge] 3 offering accoutrements for Ea, Šamaš and Marduk.
 7 You will sca[tter] 9 pieces of emmer-bread, dates and *sasqu*-flour [and]
 8 [you will place] a *mirsu*-confection (made with) honey, ghee and pressed oil.
 9 You will place 3 *adakurru*-containers. [You will make a libation of] first-quality beer, [wine
 (and) milk].
 10 You will place a censer (with) juniper. [You will scatter all (kinds of) barley seed].
 11 You will mak[e] 2 sheep offerings. The lamentation priest will sing (l. 12) (the *eršemakku*-
 lamentations) [^r‘Important one, who wanders about’, ‘Utu is king’ (and) ‘The heart of the
 temple will be calmed down’]
 12 to the accompaniment of a *ḫalḫalla*[*tu*-drum for Ea], Šamaš (and) Marduk.
 13 After this he will sing ‘Because of the des[truction] of the old house, they spontaneously
 utter a *taqribtu*-lamentation’.
 14 He will (then) stop (singing). [The building-master o]f that temple
 15 will p[ut on] a clean garment. He will place a [ti]n [bracelet] on his wrist.

f. The building ritual

16 He will lift up an ax[e] (made) of [le]ad,
17 remove the [fir]st [brick] and
18 he will mourn [for] the temple, say ‘woe!’ and they will place (l. 19) that brick
19 [in a] secluded [room].
20 He will scatter a *serqu*-offering on a censer.
21 They will make a libation of (l. 22) [honey, g]hee, milk, beer, wine and good oil
22 [o]n (the brick)
23 and he will recite ‘When Anu created Heaven’ before the brick.

24 When Anu created Heaven,
25 (and) Nudimmud created the Subterranean Water, his dwelling,
26 Ea pinched off cla[y] in the Subterranean Water,
27 he created the brick god for the renovation [of the temple(s)],
28 he created reed thicket and forest for the making of [your] shape,
29 he created Ninildu, Ninsimug and Arazu to complete the making of [your] sh[ape],
30 he created mountains and seas for whatever ... [...],
31 he created Guškinbanda, Ninagal, Ninzadim and Ninkurra for [your] ritual acts,
32 and their abundant produce for your large cereal offerings ... [...],
33 he created Ašnan, Laḥar, Siriš, Ningizzida, Ninmu, A[...],
34 for making abundant [your] regul[ar offerings],
35 he created Umunmutamgu (and) Umunmutamnag for presenting [your] regula[r offerings],
36 he created Kusu, the *šangammāhu*-exorcist of the great gods, for completing your rites,
37 [he c]reated the king for providing [the temple(s)(?)]
38 [he creat]ed mankind for doing(?) [...]
39 [...] ... [...] ... [...] Anu, Enlil, Ea and ... [...]
40 [...] ... [...] they repeated(?) ... [...]

Rev.

1' [...] ... [...]
2' Guškinbanda, Ninsimug [...]
3' the great [...]
4' exalted plans/decrees [...]
5' esteemed horizon(?) [...]
6' with tribute(?) and ... [...]
7' word of Aššur, Ša[la(?)...]
8' [...]
9' and not ... [...]
10' in sin for [...]
11' May not ... [...]
12' as soon as/like [...]
13' [...]
14' ... [...]
15' ... [...]
16' ... [...]
17' ... [...]

Comments

Obv.

l. 2, for *uš-šar-ma* ‘release’, see my comment on *TU* 46, obv. 2.

l. 3–4, *ab-ra ana* ^dÉ-a u ^dASAL.LÚ.Ī i-nam-ma-ru-ma (^{udu})SÍSKUR a-na ^dÉ-a u ^dASAL.LÚ.Ī i-naq-qu-ú, the parallels *TU* 45, obv. 4–5, *TU* 46, obv. 4–5 and *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 10, obv. 5–6 have the second person singular.

l. 4, *GALA*, although van Dijk’s copy reads *UŠ.ŠU*.

l. 5, É *šu-a-tu* lit. ‘that house’, the duplicate *TU* 46, obv. 7 has É DINGIR *šu-a-tu* ‘that temple’.

l. 7, ‘9’, as in *RAcc.*, 44, rather than ‘30’ (cf. F.H. Weissbach, *Misc.*, 32 and P. Jensen, *KB VI/2*, 48).

l. 11, this reconstruction was suggested by F. Thureau-Dangin (*RAcc.*, 44).

l. 14–38, these lines were also discussed by R. Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique*, Paris, 1970, 76–77.

l. 15–17, 22 f., these lines are also duplicated by *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, no. 11, obv. fragment 1, 4’ and 7’.

l. 17, [SIG₄ *maḥ-ri-t*]ú *i-de-ek-ki-ma*, see the parallel *TU* 46, obv. 15.

l. 24 ff., here the first lines of the prayer *Enūma Anu ibnū šamē* are presented. See also J.J.A. van Dijk, *TIM* 9, pl. LXI, no. 77, obverse. It is duplicated by *SpTU* 4, no. 141, obverse. These lines were also discussed by A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis, the story of creation*², Chicago, 1951, 65–66; J. Bottéro, *Mythes et rites de Babylone*, Paris, 1985, 294–95.

The incipit *e-nu-ma* ^dA-nu *ib-nu-ú* AN-e is mentioned in *TU* 46, obv. 19. The incipit is also attested in the astronomical diaries from Babylon, A.J. Sachs–H. Hunger, *Diaries*, no. -270, B, rev. 15’–17’, see my comments in II.6.2. Another part of *Enūma Anu ibnū šamē* is probably attested in the unpublished Rm 101 (published here, see Plate IV), as the mention of several deities (Umunmutamgu and Umunmutamnag in line x + 11, Kulla in line x + 15) indicate, but the reading is difficult because the beginning of the lines are lost. The fragment does not belong to the Weissbach tablet, but, based on the script, was probably written in the Late Neo-Assyrian period (see for example the sign LI in line 3 and passim). The text on the reverse is completely lost.

l. 27, ‘the brick god’, i.e. Kulla. Cf. R.S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, 18 ff.

l. 28, *nab-ni-ti-[ki]* ‘[your] shape’ (see also obv. 29: *na[b-ni-ti-ki]*), i.e. the shape of the first brick, as in obv. 32: *nin-da-bi-ki* and obv. 36: *par-ši-ki* (see *CAD*, K, 348a), rather than: *nab-ni-ti-[šú-nu]*, cf. *RAcc.*, 46 and other editions. For this reason we also restored in obv. 31: *ep-še-ti-[ki]* and in obv. 34: *sa-at-[tuk-ki]*. Cf. *CAD*, N/I, 29a, b and Š/III, 78a. So, the lines 28 ff. are first of all concerned with the first brick, rather than with the temples.

l. 30, TI(?), more clear on the copy of van Dijk than of Weissbach.

f. The building ritual

l. 32, *ra-bu-ti* (especially clear in van Dijk's copy), as in the duplicate *SpTU* 4, no. 141, obv. 10?

Rev.

l. 1'ff., the transliteration presented here is based on *TIM* 9, pl. LXI, no. 77, reverse, which is better preserved than the rest of the reverse (cf. J.J.A. van Dijk, *Sumer* 11 [1955], pl. XII). Nevertheless the translation remains tentative.

l. 2', ^dNIN.SIMUG is also attested in obv. 29. Or should we read ^dNIN.Á[!].[GAL ...], as in obv. 31, here also preceded by Guškinbanda?

g. The eclipse of the moon ritual

BRM 4, 6 (MLC 1872)⁴⁶ and *BM 134701*⁴⁷

The Uruk text *BRM 4, 6* describes the first part of a ritual which had to be performed during an eclipse of the moon. The last section of this text is duplicated by another Uruk text, *BM 134701*, which also contains the final part of the eclipse ritual.⁴⁸ For this reason the latter will be presented here again together with *BRM 4, 6*. Contents and script suggest strongly that both were written during the Hellenistic period. *BRM 4, 6* is also partially duplicated by *CLBT*, pl. 1.

BRM 4, 6 and *BM 134701* are discussed in II.7.

BRM 4, 6

Obv.

- 1' [...] ù RA [...]
- 2' [lùGALA DÚR-ab-ma] né-peš šá ŠU^{II} lùGALA šá DAR(?) [...]
- 3' [DÙ-uš(?)] 'it-ta(?)'-ši rim-tú TA bi-it dNIN.GAL sin-niš-tu₄ ša 'x' [...]
- 4' [sin-niš(?)]-tu₄ um-mu dNIN.GAL ina a-lu it-ta-ši
- 5' [lùEN(?)]-ka šá i-dul-lu-ma la i-ša-al-lal ana-ku
- 6' [šá ina ma]-na-aḥ-ti-šú a-kal la i-kul ana-ku šá ina ma-na-aḥ-ti-šú me-e la iš-tu-ú ana-ku
- 7' [ina Ê-i]a ba-aš it-taš-pak i-pi-ir it-ta-(at)-bak kab-tu šá di-im-ma-at da-ma-ma ul i-kal-lu
- 8' [ina šir]-ḥi URU-šú ru-bu-ú ina qaq-qar na-pal-si-iḥ¹ me-ḥu-ú it-ba-am i-pi-ir pa-ni ik-tu-mu
- 9' [u₄-m]u a-mat dLX u₄-mu a-mat dEN.LÍL u₄-mu ug-ga-at lib-bi šá dLX ra-bi-i
- 10' [Dī]l-mun-nu-ú šá ina šu-še-e e-lip-šú iṭ-bu-ú ana-ku
- 11' šá lib-bi i-šu-ú u e-mu-qu la i-šu-ú ana-ku: ú-a lib-bi ú-a ka-bat-ta
- 12' ma-kur-ru šá nin-da-bu-ú iz-bil ta-ni-iḥ iz-za-bil
- 13' šá nin-da-bé-e nin-da-bé-e ul ú-še-rib: šá ni-qa-a ni-qa-a ul ú-še-rib
- 14' an-na-a šá a-na dXXX ina AN.GI₆ iz-za-mi-ir: ina KÁ Ê DINGIR.MEŠ u SILA DAGAL.LA ga-rak-ku ŠUB-di
- 15' gišEREN gišŠUR.MĪN šimGÍR GI DÙG.GA gišŠINIG KUR.RA u lu-te-e gišMA.NU ina muḥ-ḥi ga-rak-ku te-še-en
- 16' ki-ma AN.GI₆ ú-šá-ru-ú lùKU₄-Ê GI.IZI.LÁ i-qa-da-ma it-ti ga¹⁴⁹-rak-ku ú-šá-aš-ba-at
- 17' lùGALA DÚR-ab-ma né-peš šá ŠU^{II} lùGALA a-di AN.GI₆ ú-nam-mir DÙ-uš
- 18' a-di AN.GI₆ ú-nam-mar IZI ina muḥ-ḥi ga-rak-ku la te-bel-(li)
- 19' ki¹⁵⁰-is-pi a-na A.GÀR ŠUB.MEŠ ta-kàs-sip₄ ki-is-pi a-na ÍD.MEŠ šá me-e la ub-bal KI.MIN
- 20' ki¹⁵¹-is-pi a-na dA-nun-na-ki ta-kàs-sip₄

⁴⁶ Cf. *BRM 4*, p. 12 ff.; *TuL*, no. 24, 91 ff.; W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 236 ff.

⁴⁷ This text is published by D. Brown and the present author in: *BM 134701* = 1965–10–14,1 and the Hellenistic period eclipse ritual from Uruk, *RA* 91 (1997), 147–166.

⁴⁸ For the date of these text see I.2 and the above mentioned *RA* article by David Brown and the present author.

⁴⁹ Copy: *ta*.

⁵⁰ Copy: *di*.

⁵¹ Copy: *di*.

g. The eclipse of the moon ritual

- 21' *a-di* AN.GI₆ *ú-nam-mar* UN.MEŠ KUR *šu-bat* SAG.DU-šú-nu *šá-aḫ*⁵²-tu *ina lu-bar-ra-šú-nu* SAG.DU-su-nu *kat-mu*
- 22' *me-sér ner-ti bar-tu₄ u* AN.GI₆ *a-a it-ḫu-ú a-na* UNUG^{ki} É *re-eš ÈŠ.GAL BÁRA.MAḪ É.AN.NA*
- 23' *ù É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ* dTIR.AN.NA^{ki} *i-šá-as-su-ú a-na ši-ri-iḫ-ti ri-gim-šú-nu i-nam-du-ú*
- 24' 7 ^{lu}ÉRIN-ni UN.MEŠ *ma-a-tú im₇te¹-ru-ut* ÍD IGI.MEŠ-šú-nu ŠU^{II}.MEŠ-šú-nu *u GÌR.MEŠ-šú-nu pa-áš-šú*
- 25' *GÌR ina kir-ri* XV-šú-nu *ta-al-lal*
- 26' *me-sér ner-ti bar-tu₄ u* AN.GI₆ *a-a it-ḫu-ú a-na* UNUG^{ki} É *re-eš ÈŠ.GAL BÁRA.MAḪ É.AN.NA*
- 27' *ù É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ* dTIR.AN.NA^{ki} *i-šá-as-su-ú a-na ši-ri-iḫ-ti ri-gim-šú-nu i-nam-du-ú*
- 28' *a-di* AN.GI₆ *i-zak-ku-ú i-šá-as-su-ú: ki-ma šá* dXXX AN.GI₆ *ú-nam-mar*
- 29' *IZI ina muḫ-ḫi ga-rak-ku ina* KURUN (KAŠ.DIN).NAM *tu-kab-bat*
- 30' *ina 2-i u₄-mu* ^{lu}ŠITIM *ga-rak-ku a-di ti-ik-me-en-šú ÍL-ši-ma a-na* ÍD ŠUB-di

Rev.

- 31' *ina 2-i u₄-mu la-am* dUTU KUR-ḫa KÁ.MEŠ š[á] *tu-kan-nik₅ BAD-te* gⁱURÌ.GAL ZÌ.SUR.RA-a
- 32' ^{túgú}li-in BABBAR-ú *u* GE₆ *tu-rab-ba a-na* ÍD ŠUB-di *tak-pe-ra-at* É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ DÜ.A.BI
- 33' *ù É DUMU.NUN.NA É* dXXX *tu-kap-par* dXXX MU₄.MU₄ ^{duḡ}A.GÚB.BA *uk-tan-nu*
- 34' *ZI* dLX dEN.LÍL.L[Á].BI *ḫÉ.PÀD.DA.EŠ: niš* dA-nù *u* dEN.LÍL *tùm-mu-šú-nu-ti*
- 35' *1-en* ^{lu}MAŠ.MAŠ XV *É ù šá-nu-ú GÚB É ÉN UD.UL.UL.A.MEŠ ŠID-nu-ú*
- 36' *ù šit-ti* ^{lu}MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ *ÉN UDUG.ḪUL.MEŠ ŠID-nu-ú zi-pa-de-e.MEŠ ú-ta-am-mu-ú-šú-nu-ti*
- 37' *ina 2-i u₄-mu* ZÌ.SUR.RA-a *tak-pe-rat ù ga-rak-ku ana* ÍD ŠUB-di
- 38' *šá-niš ina u₄-mu* AN.GI₆ dXXX ^{lu}SANGA.MEŠ *šá É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ TIR.AN.NA*^{ki} *ina KÁ É DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu ga-rak-ku ŠUB-di-ú* (sic)
- 39' *nu-ur ú-šá-aš-bat me-sér ner-ti bar-tu₄ u* AN.GI₆ *a-a it-ḫu-ú a-na* UNUG^{ki} É *re-eš ÈŠ.GAL*
- 40' *BÁRA.MAḪ É.AN.NA ù É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ TIR.AN.NA*^{ki} *i-šá-as-su-ú*
- 41' *a-na ši-ri-iḫ-ti ri-gim-šú-nu i-nam-du-ú a-di* AN.GI₆ *i-zak-ku-ú i-šá-as-su-ú*
- 42' *u₄-mu* AN.GI₆ dXXX *ḫal-ḫal-lat* ZABAR MEZE ZABAR LI.LI.ÌZ ZABAR TA *É am-mu-uš-mu ÍL-nim-ma*
- 43' *it-ti BÁRA.KI.BALAG GAR-an ki-ma šá* AN.GI₆ dXXX *TAB-ú* ^{lu}GALA.MEŠ *TÚG GADA MU₄.MU₄*
- 44' *ina lu-bar-šú-nu nu-uk-(ku)-su-tu* SAG.DU-su {šú}-nu *kát-mu ši-ri-iḫ-tú ni-is-sa-ti u bi-ki-ti*
- 45' *a-na* dXXX *ina* AN.GI₆ *na-šu-ú 3 ZÌ.DUB.DUB.BU a-na mi-iḫ-rat* LI'.LI'.ÌZ *ina ZÌ.SUR.RA-a ŠUB-di*
- 46' *1-en ku-uk-ku-bu di-im-ti šá ŠINIG qu-ud-du-uš ù me-e ina* ZAG ZÌ.DUB.DUB.BU *3-šú-nu*

⁵² Copy: *gud*.

- 47' *ina* ZÌ.SUR.RA-*a a-na kun-nu* ŠU^{II} *a-na* l^uGALA.MEŠ *a-na mi-iḫ-rat* dXXX *ina* AN.GI₆ GUB-*an*
 48' *ki-i šal-šú NÍGIN-rat ši-kin* AN.GI₆ AM AMAŠ.NA GAR-*an* ME.ER.ME.ER ZI GU₇^I.E *a-na lib-bi i-ru-bu*
 49' A ABZU.MU MU.UN.ḪUL.ÀM ÉR.ŠEM₄.MA: *ki-i 2-ta* 'ŠU^{III}' NÍGIN-rat *ši-kin* AN.GI₆ AM AMAŠ.NA
 50' Û'.Ú A.A ŠÀ.ZU GAR-*an* ù A ABZU.MU MU.UN.[ḪUL.ÀM ME.]ER.ME.ER ZI GU₇^I.E *ana ŠÀ KU₄-bu*
 51' *ki-i gam^I-mar-tu₄* GAL^{sic.}-^I *tu₄ ši-kin* AN^I.GI₆ AM.AM[AŠ.NA AN.NA E.LUM.MA] GAR-*an*
 52' Û'.Ú 'A.A ŠÀ'. [ZU ME.ER.ME.ER ZI GU₇.E *a-na lib-bi KU₄-bu ki-i gam-mar-tu₄* GAL-*tu₄ ši-kin* AN.GI₆ AM A]MAŠ.NA
 53' AN.NA [E.LUM.MA GAR-*an* É.TÙR.GIN₇ NIGIN.NA.A Û'.Ú A.A ŠÀ.ZU ME.ER.ME.ER ZI GU₇.E *a-na lib-bi KU₄-bu*]
 54' 'ki-ma' [AN.GI₆ *ut-ta-mi-ir* LI.LI.ÌZ ZABAR *i-šit-tam-ma*]
 55' [... ZÌ.DUB.DUB.BU ù *ku-uk-ku-bu di-im-tu₄ i-šit-tam-ma a-na* ÍD ŠUB-*dì*]

BM 134701

Obv.

- 1' 'u₄-mu AN.GI₆ d'XXX 'ḫal-ḫal-lat ZABAR MEZE ZABAR LI.LI.ÌZ ZABAR' TA É *am-mu-uš-mu* [ÍL-nim-ma]
 2' it-ti BÁRA.KI BALAG *i-šak-kan ki-ma* AN.GI₆ dXXX TAB-ú l^uGALA.MEŠ TÚG GADA MU₄.M[U₄]
 3' *ina lu-bar-ri-šú-nu-ti nu-uk-ku-su-tu* SAG.DU-šú-nu *kát-mu ši-ri-iḫ-tu₄ ni-is-sa-t*[u₄ u *bi-ki-ti*]
 4' *a-na* dXXX *ina* AN.GI₆ *na-šú-ú* 3 ZÌ.DUB.DUB.BU *ina mi-iḫ-rit* LI.LI.ÌZ *ina* Z[Ì.SUR.RA-*a ŠUB-dì*]
 5' *ina 1-en ku-uk-ku-bu di-im-ti šá ŠINIG qu-ud-du-uš* ù *me-e ma-l*[u-ú]
 6' *ina* ZAG ZÌ.DUB.DUB.BU 3-šú-nu *ina* ZÌ.SUR.RA-*a a-na kun-nu* ŠU^{II} *ana* l^uGALA.MEŠ *ana mi-i*[ḫ-rit dXXX *ina* AN.GI₆ GUB-*an*]
 7' *ki-i šal-šú* 'NÍGIN^I-rat *ši-kin* AN.GI₆ AM.ME AMAŠ.AN.NA *iš-šak-kan* ME.ER.ME.ER ZI GU₇. [E *ana lib-bi KU₄-bu*]
 8' A ABZU.MU MU.UN.ḪUL.ÀM ÉR.ŠEM₄.MA: *ki-i 2-ta* ŠU^{II} *ina*(?) NÍGIN-rat *ši-kin* AN.^IGI₆^I
 9' AM.ME.E AMAŠ.AN.NA Û'.Ú A.A ŠÀ.ZU *iš-šak-kan*
 10' ù A ABZU.MU MU.UN.ḪUL.ÀM ÉR.ŠEM₄.MA ME.ER.ME.ER ZI GU₇^I.E *ana lib-bi* [KU₄-*bu*]
 11' *ki-i gam-mar-tu₄* GAL^{sic.}-*tu₄ ši-kin* AN.GI₆ AM.ME.E AMAŠ.AN.NA AN.NA E.^ILUM.MA^I [GAR-*an/iš-šak-kan*]
 12' Û'.Ú A.A ŠÀ.ZU ME.ER.ME.ER ZI GU₇.E {x} *a-na lib-bi KU₄-[bu]*
 13' *ki-i gam-mar-tu₄* GAL-*tu₄ ši-kin* AN.GI₆ AM.ME.E AMAŠ.AN.NA AN.NA E.L[UM.MA GAR-*an/iš-šak-kan*]
 14' 'É.TÙR. {x} GIN₇ NIGIN.NA.A Û'.Ú A.A ŠÀ.ZU ME.ER.ME.ER ZI GU₇.E *ana lib-bi* K[U₄-*bu*]
 15' 'ki-ma' AN.GI₆ *ut-ta-mi-ir* LI.LI.ÌZ {x} ZABAR *i-šit-ta*[m-ma]
 16' [... ZÌ].DUB.DUB.BU ù *ku-uk-ku-bu di-im-tu₄ i-šit-tam-ma a-na* ÍD [ŠUB-*dì*]
 17' [ki-ma šá AN.GI₆ d]XXX *ú-šá-ru-ú* LUGAL *til-le-e-šú me-lam-mu* LUGAL-*ú-tú* *ina* É.GAL *ina šub-tu₄ el-[lam-me*(?)...]

- 18' [...] x BU ^{giš}ŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR *ta-lam-mu ú-li-in-ni bur-ru-mu-tú šá šá-rat* ^{sal}ÁŠ.[GÀR]
 19' [*la pe-ti-ti šá-rat* ^{sal}SILA₄ l]*a pe-ti-ti KÁ É MU.MEŠ a-šar til-le-e LUGAL šá 'IŠ' [...]*
 20' [...] É-a-ni u KÁ-a-ni *ta-lam-mi-i-ma ZÌ tap-pi-in ZÌ ši-[gu-šú ...]*
 21' [...]x É SÙ KÁ É *ta-kan-nak til-le-e la eb-bu-tu LUGAL MU₄.MU₄ [...]*
 22' [...] *ú-li-in-ni* bur-ru-mu-tu šá šá-rat ^{sal}ÁŠ.GÀR *la pe-ti-ti šá-rat* ^{sal}SI[LA₄ *la pe-ti-ti(?)*
 ...]
 23' [...] KEŠDA-as ^{giš}(^l)e-ri ^{giš}TUKUL *dan-nu ši-ri šá* ^dLX [...] ^dLX [...]
 24' [...] AN].GI₆ 'šá ina u₄'-mu AN.GI₆ LUGAL 'x x x' [...] ^dLX [...]
 25' [...]

Rev.

- 1' [...]
 2' [...] 'pa'-pa-ḥa ana 'x A x' [...] 'x ú' [...]
 3' [...] -a-tú šá ZÌ.DA ú-^rde-e^r 'u/ana(?) gi^r-nu-ú DÙ.A.BI [x] [...]
 4' [...] ZÌ tap-p[i-in ZÌ ši-gu-šú KÁ.MEŠ te-e[š-šir(?)]...]
 5' [...] 'x' IGI K[U(?) LU pa-ni KISAL šá É re-eš ÉŠ.GAL BÁRA.MAḤ É.AN.NA u
 'É'[.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ TIR.AN.NA^{ki} DÙ-uš]
 6' [...] É a-k[i-tu₄ KI.MIN DÙ-uš: É pi-riš-ti KI.MIN DÙ-uš: UB.ŠU.UKKIN. [NA.KI
 KI.MIN DÙ-uš]
 7' [DÙ.A.BI(?)] É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ ZÌ.SUR.RA-a šá ZÌ tap'-pi-in 'NIGIN' [...] ^dLX [...]
 8' [...]KÁ.]TÚL tu-kan-nak KÁ.GAL.MEŠ UNUG^{ki} KI.MIN 'DÙ'[-uš]
 9' [...] BAR šá UB 7 KI su-uš-šú šá DA 7 KI la ta-kan-nak 'x' [...] ^dLX [...]
 10' [...] DUMU] šip-ri 7 MEŠ-šú-nu šá ina AN-e rap-šu-tu ina šu-bat ^dLX šar-ri ra-biš 'x'
 [...]
 11' [...]tè-e-me šu-a-^rtu₄ a'-na bi-bil ŠÀ ^dLX ^dEN.LÍL u ^dÉ-a 'x x' [...] ^dLX [...]
 12' [ina ma]-ḥar ^dŠEŠ.KI-ri {x} ^dXXX ez-{x}zi-iš il-ta-n[am-mu-u...]
 13' [e]t-lu ^dUTU ^dIM qar-du a-na i-d[i-šú-nu ut-tir-ru]
 14' ^d'XXX ina qé^l-reb AN-e ú-šá-d[i-ru ...]
 15' [...] ú'-šá-dir ^dA-nù šar-ri a-bi DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ šá ina ba-li-šú šip-tu la
 [ú-gam-mir(?)]...]
 16' [l]ú(?)MAŠ.MAŠ-ú-tu a-na muḥ-ḥi DUMU.MEŠ šip-ri šá ^dA-nù 'x' [...] ^dLX [...]
 17' [e]-la-šú-nu ina AN-e DINGIR.MEŠ mam-am ul 'in'-nam-ba ^dA-nù ^dEN.LÍL u ^dÉ-a
 im-[bu-šú-nu-ti]
 18' [^d]XXX ina AN-e ú-šá-di-ir-' a-ga-šú iš-ḥu-tu^r ti-iq-ni-šú ú-paṭ-ṭi-ir-' [...] ^dLX [...]
 19' [z]i-mu-šú uk-ki-il [...] x BAL RAD Ú [...] ^dLX [...]
 20' [m]u-ši u ur-ra a-[dir ina šu-bat be-lu-ti]-šú ul a-šib 'x' [...] ^dLX [...]
 21' [...] šá ina u₄-mu AN.GI₆ 'šá(?)' ^dXXX 'x' [...] 'x GAB' ŠUD [...] ^dLX [...]
 22' [...] ^d'XXX [...] ^dLX [...]

L.E.

IM ^dLX-[...]

[...] ^rd(?)x' [...]

BRM 4, 6

Obv.

- 1' [...] ... [...]
 2' The lamentation priest will sit and [perform (l. 3')] the ritual procedure of the lamentation
 priest of ... [...]
 3' 'The wild cow [has l]eft(?) the temple. Ningal, the woman ... [...].

Appendix

- 4' [the woma]n(?), the mother, Ningal, has left the city'.
5' 'I am your [lord(?)], who wanders around in despair and cannot sleep.
6' I am [one, who] did not eat bread [during] his [ha]rdship, I am one, who did not drink water during his hardship'.
7' 'Sand is heaped up, earth piled up [in m]y [house]. O honored one, the moaner can not refrain from mourning.
8' [In mourn]ing about his city the prince squats on the ground; a storm arose, covered the face with dust'.
9' '[Sto]rm is the word of Anu, storm is the word of Enlil, storm is the wrath (in) the heart of the great Anu'.
10' 'I am (like) a man from [Di]lmun, whose boat has sunk in the marshes'.
11' 'I am one who does have a heart, but not strength'. 'Woe over my heart, woe over (my) mind!'
12' 'The *makurru*-boat, which (until now) carried cereal offerings, (now also) has brought suffering.
13' He who is responsible for the cereal offerings, did not make the cereal offerings enter, he who is responsible for the (meat) offerings, did not make the (meat) offerings enter'.
14' This is what was sung for Sîn at the time of an eclipse. In the gates of the temples and on the main street you will lay down a *garakku*-brazier.
15' You will heap cedar, cypress, myrtle, sweet reed, tamarisk of the mountains and twigs of the *ēru*-tree on the *garakku*-brazier.
16' As soon as the eclipse begins, a temple enterer will kindle a torch and light the *garakku*-brazier.
17' The lamentation priest will sit and perform the ritual procedure of the lamentation priest, until (the moon) has cleared up the eclipse (again).
18' Until he clears up the eclipse, the fire on the *garakku*-brazier must not go out.
19' You will make funerary offerings for the fields that lie fallow, you will make funerary offerings for the canals that bring no water,
20' you will make funerary offerings for the Anunnaki.
21' Until he clears up the eclipse, the people of the land will remain with their headdresses removed, (and) they will keep their heads covered with their *lubāru*-clothing.
22' They will cry (l. 23') 'May hardship, murder, rebellion and (the evil predicted by) the eclipse not reach Uruk, Rēš, Ešgal, Baramaḥ, Eanna
23' and the (other) temples of Tiranna', calling loudly in lamentation.
24' 7 soldiers, people of the land – their eyes, hands and feet are smeared with mud from the river –,
25' you will hang a sword on their right shoulder.
26' They will cry (l. 27') 'May hardship, murder, rebellion and (the evil predicted by) the eclipse not reach Uruk, Rēš, Ešgal, Baramaḥ, Eanna
27' and the (other) temples of Tiranna', calling loudly in lamentation.
28' Until the eclipse becomes (totally) clear, they will cry (this). As soon as the moon clears up the eclipse,
29' you will extinguish the fire on the *garakku*-brazier with *kurunnu*-beer.
30' On the next day the building master will lift up the *garakku*-brazier including its ashes and throw (everything) into the river.

Rev.

- 31' On the next day, before sunrise, you will open the gates which you have placed under seal. You will moisten (l. 32') the reed *urigallu*-standard, the magic circle of flour,

g. The eclipse of the moon ritual

- 32' (and) a white and black cord (and) throw (it) into the river. You will purify (l. 33') all the temples (with) *takpertu*-purifications
33' and (especially) Edumununna, the temple of Šin. (The statue of) Šin will be robed. The holy water-basin will be set up.
34' (You will say:) 'Verily, by the life of Anu and Enlil they are conjured'.
35' One exorcist on the right side of the temple and a second on the left side of the temple will recite the incantation 'Storm of jubilating water'
36' and the rest of the exorcists will recite the incantation 'Evil *utukku*-demons', they will conjure them with *zipadû*-incantation formulas.
37' On the next day you will throw the magic circle of flour, the *takpertu*-purification necessities and the *garakku*-brazier into the river.
-
- 38' Alternatively: on the day of the eclipse of the moon the *šangû*-priests of the temples of Tiranna will lay down a *garakku*-brazier in the gate of their temple (and)
39' light a fire. They will cry (l. 40') 'May hardship, murder, rebellion and (the evil predicted by) the eclipse not reach Uruk, Rēš, Ešgal,
40' Baramaḥ, Eanna and the temple of Tiranna',
41' calling loudly in lamentation. Until the eclipse becomes (totally) clear they will cry (this).
-
- 42' On the day of the eclipse of the moon they will carry the bronze *ḫalḫallatu*-drum, the bronze *manzû*-drum, (and) the bronze kettledrum back here from the storehouse(?) and
43' place (them) next to(?) the 'Dais, place (of) the Harp'. As soon as the eclipse of the moon begins, the lamentation priests will put on a linen garment.
44' With their torn *lubāru*-clothing their heads will remain covered. They 'raise' (l. 45') lamentations, wailings and mourning
45' for the eclipsed moon. You will pour 3 heaps of flour facing the kettledrum in the magic circle of flour.
46' You will set up (l. 47') 1 *kukkubbu*-jar (filled) with 'tears of the holy tamarisk' and water at the right side of the 3 aforementioned heaps of flour
47' in the magic circle of flour, for the procedures of the lamentation priests, facing the eclipsed moon.
48' When the extent of the eclipse is one-third of (the area of) the moon-disc, (the lamentation) 'The bull in his fold' will be performed. (The lamentation priests) will join in with 'A storm, which eats life'
49' (and) the *eršemakku* is 'Woe, he is the one who has destroyed my Subterranean Water'. When (however) the extent of the eclipse is two-third of (the area of) the moon-disc, 'The bull in his fold' (and),
50' 'Alas and woe! your heart' will be performed and (the lamentation priests) will join in with 'Woe, he is the one who has destroyed my Subterranean Water', (and) 'A storm, which eats life'.
51' As soon as the extent of the eclipse is the 'small(!) completion', 'The bull in his fo[ld] (and) 'The honored one of Heaven'] will be performed.
52' (The lamentation priests) [will join in with] 'Alas and woe! [your] heart' [(and) 'A storm, which eats life']. As soon as the extent of the eclipse is the 'large completion', 'The bull in his f]old' (and),
53' '[The honored one] of Heaven' [will be performed. (The lamentation priests) will join in with 'The house is encircled like a cattle pen', 'Alas and woe! your heart' (and) 'A storm, which eats life'].
54' As soon as [(the moon) has cleared up the elipse, he will ... the bronze kettledrum and].

Appendix

55' [he will (also) ... the heaps of flour and the *kukkubbu*-jar (filled) with 'tears (of the holy tamarisk)', and throw it into the river].

BM 134701⁵³

Obv.

- 17' [As soon as the eclipse of the m]oon begins, [you(?) will make(?)] the king [wear(?) (l. 18?)] his *tillû*-uniform, the royal sheen, in the palace, in the dwelling wh[ose rites are pure(?) ...]
 18' [...] ... which you will wrap in palm leaf. A multicolored cord from the hair of an [unmated] (l. 19') k[id],
 19' [(and) the hair of an] unmated [lamb] [you will use to tie closed(?)] the gate of this temple, the place of the *tillû*-uniform of the king, of ... [...]
 20' [...] inside and outside you will wrap and *tappinnu*-flour (and) *še[guššu]*-flour [...]
 21' [...] ... you will sprinkle the temple, seal the gate of the temple. The king will be robed in an unclean *tillû*-uniform [...]
 22' [...] a m]ulticolored [cord] from the hair of an unmated kid, (and) the hair of an [unmated] la[mb]
 23' [...] you will bind, a (stick of) *ēru*-wood, the strong (and) sublime weapon of Anu [you will take?]
 24' [...]the ec]lipse, which on the day of the eclipse the king ... [...]
 25' [...]

Rev.

- 1' [...]
 2' [...] the cella for ... [...] and [...]
 3' [...] ... of flour, utensils and/for(?) all the regular offerings [...]
 4' [...]with(?) *tapp*]innu-flour (and) *šeguššu*-flour you will d[raw(?)] outside [...]
 5' [You will perform ... which is] ... before the courtyard of the Rēš-temple, the Ešgal-temple, the Baramah, the Eanna-temple and the (other) tem[ples of Tiranna]
 6' [...]the a]kītu-temple you will perform ditto; the *bīt pirišti* you will perform ditto; the Ubšukkin[aku you will perform ditto]
 7' [...] (With) a magic circle of *tappinnu*-flour you will surround [all(?)] the temples [...]
 8' [...] you will place the storeroom [gate] under seal. The great gates of Uruk you will perfor[m] ditto.
 9' [...] ... you will not seal the [...]x (gate) of 7 corners and the *suššu* (gate) of 7 sides(?) [...]
 10' [...] the me]ssengers, these seven, which are in the wide sky, in the dwelling of Anu, the king, is great ... [...]
 11' [...] that decision according to the wish of Anu, Enlil, and Ea ... [...]
 12' They (the seven evil gods) kept sur[rounding] fiercely [in fr]ont of the divine crescent, Sîn [...]
 13' [Yō]ung Šamaš (and) heroic Adad [they brought] towa[rds them].
 14' They caused the eclipse of the moon in the sky.
 15' [...] he caused the eclipse. Anu, the king, the father of the great gods, without whom judgement (was) not [passed].
 16' [The o]ffice of exorcist before the envoys of Anu ... [...]

⁵³ BRM 4, 6, rev. 42–55 is duplicated by BM 134701, obv. 1–16.

- 17' [Be]sides them none of the gods in the sky were called upon. Anu, Enlil and Ea cal[led upon them].
 18' They caused the eclipse of the [m]oon in the sky, took off his crown, (and) [they] cleared away his equipment [...]
 19' His [appe]arance darkened [...] ... [...]
 20' [Ni]ght and day it was ec[lipsed], it did not dwell [in the dwelling of] his [rule] ... [...]
 21' [...] which/who on the day of the eclipse of(?) the moon ... [...] ... [...]
 22' [...] the moon [...]

L.E.

Tablet of Anu- [...]

[...] ... [...]

Comments

(see also the comments on this text made by D. Brown and the present author in: BM 134701 = 1965–10–14,1 and the Hellenistic period eclipse ritual from Uruk, *RA* 91 (1997), 147–166).

BRM 4, 6

Obv.

l. 2–3, this line is similar to obv. 17.

l. 3–13, in these lines several Akkadian translations are given of lines from the Emesal-cult lyric, see II.7.1.

l. 3, ^r*it-ta*¹-*ši*, as at the end of obv. 4?

l. 3, E. Ebeling in *TuL*, 92 restored for the end of this line: [Eturnunna].

l. 4, [*sin-niš*(?)]-*tu*₄, as suggested by E. Ebeling in *TuL*, 92.

l. 5–11, these lines are duplicate in *CLBT*, pl. 1, col. B, 1–14.

l. 5, [^{lú}EN]-*ka*, see *CLBT*, pl. 1, col. B, 1: *be-e*[*l-ka*(?)...], rather than [^{lú}IR]-*ka*, as suggested by E. Ebeling in *TuL*, 92, who did not use the duplicate *CLBT*, pl. 1.

l. 7, [*ina É-i*]*a ba-aš*, see *CLBT*, pl. 1, col. B, 4.

l. 7, see for this line also J. Krecher, *Kultlyrik*, 144.

l. 7, *i-kal-lu* is a mistake for *i-kal-la*, as in the parallel *SBH*, p. 133, no. I(!), 66. Several deviations from traditional grammar can be found in this text: the subjunctive ending -*u* is missing in *iz-bil* (obv. 12); *iz-za-mi-ir* (obv. 14); *ú-nam-mar* (obv. 18, 21, 28, but cf. *i-zak-ku-ú* in obv. 28 and rev. 41); *tu-kan-nik*₅ (rev. 31) (preterite D-stem, rather than *tu-kan-nak*). A singular is intended in *ik-tu-mu* (obv. 8, see the duplicate *CLBT*, pl. 1, col. B, 9: *ik-tu-u*[*m*]); a plural is intended in *ub-bal* (obv. 19), *ú-šá-aš-bat* (rev. 39) and *GAR-an* (rev. 43, see the preceding plural verb with ventive *ÍL-nim-ma*). See also *na-pal-si-iḫ* (obv. 8, for *napalsuh*), *ŠUB-di-ú* (rev. 38) and *i-ru-bu* (rev. 48, for *ir-ru-bu*; cf. *KU₄-bu* in rev. 50, [52] and [53] // BM 134701, obv. [7], [10], 12 and 14).

l. 7, *CLBT*, pl. 1, col. B, 6 supplements: *šá i-dam-mu-um mar-ši-iš li-di-mu-mu* ‘may the moaner moan bitterly’.

l. 8, [*ina šir*]-*hi*, see *CLBT*, pl. 1, col. B, 7’.

l. 8, *CLBT*, pl. 1, col. B, 8–9 then reads: *šá dXXX iq-bu-ú me-ḥu-ú ZI-am-ma i-pi-ir pa-ni ik-tu-u[m]* ‘Of Sîn they said: a storm arose, covere[d] the face with dust’.

l. 10, *e-lip-šú*, see *CLBT*, pl. 1, col. B, 12’: *gišMÁ-šú*. This line is also discussed by R.C. Thompson, *AAA* 20 (1933), 101–2.

l. 11, ‘one who does have a heart’ i.e. courage.

l. 12, *CLBT*, pl. 1, col. B, 15 ff. different. Similar in J. Krecher, *Kultlyrik*, 57 and 70, IV, 12 (see also the comments on 187).

l. 12, ‘The *makurru*-boat, which (until now) carried cereal offerings’, probably an allusion to the boat-shaped moon-sickle.

l. 16–21, these lines were also discussed by T. Podella, *Šôm-Fasten*, Kevelaer, 1989, 48–49.

l. 16, ‘light (a fire) with the *garakku*-brazier’, see rev. 38–39. See also *TU* 41, rev. 15 (*nu-úr TA GI.IZI.LÁ i-qád-du-ú-ma*).

l. 17–21, these lines were also discussed by A. Tsukimoto, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege*, Kevelaer, 1985, 197–8.

l. 17, ‘until he (the moon) has cleared up the eclipse’, i.e. ‘until the eclipse has come to an end’. See l. 28.

l. 22–23, 26–27, rev. 39–40, a generally used apotropaic formula. Cf. *CAD*, Š/II, 152a.

l. 24, *ummânu* ‘soldiers’ rather than ‘craftsmen’, because a sword is mentioned in l. 25.

l. 24, *imṭe!* (copy: *KI-ru-ut ÍD*, following *AHw*, 1388b).

l. 30, for *lúŠITIM = itinnu* ‘building master’, and not *lúDÍM = mubannû* (cf. *KAR* 132, III, 3 and 16) the ‘arranger (of the offering table)’, see III.4.3.

l. 30, *ti/di-ik-me-en-šú*, see *AHw*, *dikmēnu*, 169.

Rev.

l. 32, the white and black cord are probably already mentioned in the broken beginning of the text; a multicolored cord is also mentioned in BM 134701, obv. 18 and 22. See III.3.

l. 33, for Edmununna, the temple of Sîn, see A.R. George, *House Most High*, no. 214.

l. 33, for *uk-tan-nu* see my comment on *TU* 41, obv. 6.

l. 36, for the incantation ‘Evil *utukku*-demons’, see II.7.

l. 36, for the *zipadû*-incantation formula see R. Borger, in: *AOAT* 1, 1 ff.

l. 42 ff. is duplicated by BM 134701, obv. 1 ff.

l. 42, É *am-mu-uš-mu*, see *CAD*, A/II, 77a; it is only attested here, and in the duplicate BM 134701, obv. 1. Cf. W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 239: 'Instrumentenspeicher'. Or is it perhaps related to *amašpû* (*amašmû*), see *CAD*, A/II, 27–8?

l. 43, BÁRA.KI BALAG 'Dais, place (of) the Harp', cf. W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 239.

l. 43, TAB = *šurrû* 'to begin'. *šurrû* is a typical technical verb used in astronomical context. See the syllabic writing in obv. 16, and BM 134701, obv. 17: ú-šá-ru-ú.

l. 45, *na-šu-ú* 'raise', i.e. 'recite', as in *RAcc.*, 136, 282 and 283?

l. 46, '(filled) with "tears of the holy tamarisk" and water', the verb is attested in the duplicate BM 134701, obv. 5: *di-im-ti šá ŠINIG qu-ud-du-uš ù me-e ma-l[u-ú]*.

l. 47, *a-na kun-nu ŠU^{II}*, usually referring to the procedures of the diviner, cf. *CAD*, K, 543b, 2. Here apparently the lamentation priests were associated with it.

l. 48 ff., several lamentations which are mentioned here are also attested elsewhere:

'The house is encircled like a cattle pen', in *BRM* 4, 6, rev. [53] and the duplicate BM 134701, obv. 14, also in the Uruk cultic calendar text *TU* 48, obv. 12, see II.2.2.

'The bull in his fold', in *BRM* 4, 6, rev. 48, 49, 51, 52, and the duplicate BM 134701, obv. 7, 9, 11, 13, also in the Uruk New Year text *TU* 39, rev. 15, and *TU* 48, obv. 13, rev. 5, see II.2.2.

'The honored one of Heaven', in *BRM* 4, 6, rev. [51] and [53] and the duplicate BM 134701, obv. 11 and 13, also in *TU* 39, rev. 10 and *TU* 48, rev. 6, see II.2.2.

l. 48, or for NÍGIN-*rat* perhaps *hap-rat*? See A. Livingstone, *Mystical*, 90.

l. 49, after ŠU^{II}, the duplicate BM 134701, obv. 8 perhaps reads *ina*.

l. 50, MU.UN.[ḪUL.ÀM ME.JER.ME.ER ZI GU₇.E, the duplicate BM 134701, obv. 10 reads MU.UN.ḪUL.ÀM ÉR.ŠEM₄.MA ME.ER.ME.ER ZI GU₇.E, but there appears not to be enough space here.

l. 51, *ki-i gam-mar-tu₄ GAL-tu₄*, as is clear from the duplicate BM 134701, obv. 11, but probably a mistake for *gam-mar-tu₄ TUR-tu₄* 'the small completion', because we also have *ki-i gam-mar-tu₄ GAL-tu₄* in l. [52] // BM 134701, obv. 13. Cf. *CAD*, G, 24b. W. Farber, who used BM 134701, reads (*TUAT* II/2, 239) 'die kleine Vollständigkeit' in rev. 51 and 'die große Vollständigkeit' in rev. 52, although the writing *GAL-tu₄* is very clear in BM 134701, obv. 11 and 13.

l. 54 and 55, the verb *i-šit-tam* (// BM 134701, obv. 15 and 16) remains unclear to me. Perhaps *šêtu* is intended? W. Farber, *TUAT* II/2, 239, translates 'räumt ... beiseite/ab', but note that he writes in italics, meaning the translation is uncertain.

BM 134701

Obv.

l. 17, [*ki-ma šá AN.GI₆* ^d]XXX *ú-šá-ru-ú*, see *BRM* 4, 6, obv. 16 and rev. 43.

Appendix

l. 18–19, and 22, see the parallel in *CT* 16, 21, 180 ff. The Akkadian translation reads: *ú-li-in-na bur-ru-um-ta šá-rat ú-ni-qí la pe-ti-ti šá-rat pu-ḥat-ti la pe-ti-ti ti-me-ma*.

l. 20, É-*a-ni* u KÁ-*a-ni* ‘inside (*bītānū*) and outside (*bābānu*)’; probably also in rev. 4 (KÁ.MEŠ). Not: É.A.NI u KÁ.A.NI ‘his temple and his gate’.

l. 21 (see also 17 and 19), *til-le-e la eb-bu-tu* LUGAL MU₄.MU₄, see the parallel in *TU* 42 +, obv. 16’; see also rev. 25’. For *tillū* see F.A.M. Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits. The ritual texts*, Groningen, 1992, 53 f.

l. 23, ^{giš}([!])*e-ri* ‘ēru-wood’, also used in *BRM* 4, 6, obv. 15, written ^{giš}MA.NU.

For parallels of this line see *AHw*, 247a, *ēru* II, 2; *CAD*, E, 319b, sub 3’, a’ and *CAD*, Š, 211b (Suggestion A. Cavigneaux).

l. 24, LUGAL ‘x x x’, or: *ina šat* ‘ur-ri’ x [...]?

Rev.

l. 3, *ú-^rde-e¹* ‘*u/ana*(?)’, this is very uncertain.

l. 4, *te-e[š-sir]*, similar for example in *LKA* 108, 11, see the dictionaries sub *qēmu*, *šeguššu* and *ešēru*.

l. 6, for the *bīt pirišti*, a storage room for the ornaments and garments of the divine statues in the temple, also attested in the ritual W 18728 (A. Falkenstein, *UVB* 15 [1959], 40–44), see L.T. Doty, in: *Studies W. W. Hallo*, Bethesda, 1993, 87–89. See also II.3.1 and II.3.3.

l. 7, *tap¹-pi-in*, although the copy reads PA.

l. 11, *tè-e-me* ‘that decision’, suggestion A. Cavigneaux.

l. 12, see *CT* 16, 20, 73 f. and 21, 148 f.

l. 13, see *CT* 16, 20, 75 f. and 21, 150 f.

l. 14, see *CT* 16, 22, 238 f.

l. 15, For parallels of this line see *CAD*, B, 71–2, j (suggestion A. Cavigneaux).

l. 17, [*e*]-*la-šú-nu* ... ‘*in¹-nam-ba*, see *CT* 16, 22, 234 f.; ^d*A-nù* ... *im*-[*bu-šú-nu-ti*], see ib., 236 f.

l. 18, see *CT* 16, 22, 240 f. Cf. also *CAD*, Š/I, 93b with a citation of F. Rochberg-Halton.

l. 19, ‘*zi¹-mu-šú uk-ki-il*, similar in *ACh* Supp. 2 Adad 105b, II, 4.

l. 20, see *CT* 16, 20, 98 f.

This text, most likely from Uruk (see I.2), contains what appears to be a ritual (col. A), and furthermore some quotations from perhaps a lunar eclipse myth (similar to *CT* 16, pl. 19 ff.) together with commentary or explanatory remarks (col. B). From Col. A only the right edge is preserved, and the contents remain largely unclear. Col. B is partly duplicated by *BRM* 4, 6.

The text is discussed in II.7.

col. A.

- 1 [...] 'dAG¹-A-PAP
 - 2 [...] ̕I *ik-la-*'
 - 3 [...] 'x¹ *tup-pi*
 - 4 [...] 'x¹ *iš-tur*
 - 5 [...] DUB.MEŠ *an-na-a-tú*
 - 6 [...] *i]š-tur*
 - 7 [...] 'a(?)¹-na *ša-bil(?)*-su
-
- 8 [...] É SÍSKUR
 - 9 [...] *a-na* LUGAL-ú-tú
 - 10 [...] 'x¹ *ú-gam-mir par-ši-šú*
 - 11 [...] KUR.MEŠ *šá* SAR.MEŠ
 - 12 [...] -ú *šil-lat*.MEŠ
 - 13 [...] SAR.MEŠ-'
 - 14 [...] *ra-bu-ú šá* AN-*e*
 - 15 [...] *man-za-za šá-qu-ú*
 - 16 [...] 'x¹ SU̕ DU *šu-bat-su*
 - 17 [...] -ri *ra-mu-ú ina* SAG.DU-šú *a-si-im*
 - 18 [...] *si-mat* LUGAL-ú-tú *ta-mi-̕i*
 - 19 [...] *l]u₄(?) a-na te-di-iq la-biš*
 - 20 [...] ^{mu}l d̕UR.GU.LA *ša-mi-du*
 - 21 [...] ^{mul} d̕MUŠ *ka-bi-is*
 - 22 [...] -e *šá* ¹U₄-d̕LX SAR
 - 23 [...] *in-nam-mi-ir*
 - 24 [...] -na *an-né-e*
 - 25 [...] *šá* AN-*e*
 - 26 [...] *šu]-bat* GUŠKIN *ina* UGU *ki-gal-lu₄*
 - 27 [...] É *re-eš ina* É.NAM.EN.NA
 - 28 [...] KU *a-ši-ib*
 - 29 [...] *ul iš-tur*
 - 30 [...] *šá* ¹U₄-d̕LX SAR
 - 31 [...] 'šá(?)¹ É d̕LX *šu-nu*
 - 32 [...] -r]i(?) É-*su*
-

⁵⁴ The text was discussed by Thompson in *CLBT*, 29–34. See also my discussion of *BRM* 4, 6 and BM 134701 in this Appendix, and the remarks made by D. Brown and the present author in the *RA* 91 (1997), 147 ff.

33 [...] 'x' [...]

Col. B.

- 1 *be-^relⁿ-k[a šá i-dul-lu-ma la i-ša-al-lal ana-ku]*
 - 2 *šá ina ma-na-aḫ-ti-^ršú a-kal laⁿ [i-kul ana-ku]*
 - 3 *šá ina ma-na-aḫ-ti-šú me-e la iš-tu-ú ^ranaⁿ-k[u]*
 - 4 *ina É-ia ba-aš it-taš-pak i-pi-ir it-ta-(at)-b[ak]*
 - 5 *kab-tu šá di-im-ma-at da-ma-ma ul i-kal-lu₄*
 - 6 *šá i-dam-mu-um mar-ši-iš li-di-mu-mu*
 - 7 *ina šir-ḫi URU-šú ru-bu-ú ina qaq-qar na-pal-s[i-iḫ]*
 - 8 *šá ^dXXX iq-bu-ú me-ḫu-ú ZI-am-ma*
 - 9 *i-pi-ir pa-ni ik-tu-u[m]*
 - 10 *u₄-mu a-mat ^dA-nù u₄-mu a-mat ^dEN.LÍ[L]*
 - 11 *u₄-mu ug-gat lib-bi šá ^dA-nù ra-bi-^riⁿ*
 - 12 *Dil-mun-nu-ú šá ina šu-še-e ^{giš}MÁ-šú iṭ-bu-^rúⁿ [ana-ku]*
 - 13 *šá lib-bi i-šu-ú ù e-mu-qu la i-šu-ú [ana-ku]*
 - 14 *ú-a lib-bi ú-a ka-bat-[ta]*
 - 15 *^dXXX be-lu ÚRI^{ki} i-bak-[ki]*
 - 16 *be-lu DINGIR nam-ra-ši-it ut-ta-bi 'x' [...]*
 - 17 *ki-ma šá an-na-a ^dXXX ana muḫ-ḫi ra-man-ni-šú i-[bak-ki(?)]*
 - 18 *ina a-dan-nu šu-ú ^dXXX šá-niš ^dAG man-nu ana mu[ḫ-ḫi]*
 - 19 *^{giš}GU.ZA šá ^dA-nù a-na LUGAL-ú-tú ú-qa[r-rab]*
 - 20 *LÚ šá ⁱⁱⁱBAR.SAG.SAG SAR-u i-qab-bu-ú šá ^dX[XX]*
 - 21 *ul i-de šá an-na-a ^dXXX ana UGU ra-man-ni-[šú i-bak-ki(?)]*
 - 22 *šá-niš LÚ šá i-qab-bu-ú šá-ma-ⁿ ^dAG KAM ú-[...]*
 - 23 *ina ^{giš}GU.ZA ^dLX ir-mu-ú a-na L[UGAL-ú-tú(?)]*
 - 24 *a-na muḫ-ḫi šil-lat an-ni-tu₄ šá i-qab-bu-[ú]*
 - 25 *ik-kaš-ši-du šá ina ^dGIŠ.BAR i-šak-kan-nu*
 - 26 *ma-qa-lu-[tú(?)]*
-
- 27 *^dAMAR.UTU a-ši-pu ^dNIN.GÌRIM [...]*
 - 28 *^dME.ME a-zu-un-gal-lat GAL-tu₄ i-^rxⁿ[...]*
 - 29 *šal-šú ḪA.LA šá ^dAMAR.UTU ina a-ši-[pu-ti(?)]*

col. A.

- 1 [...] Nabû-aḫ-ušur
 - 2 [...] ... he detained/stopped
 - 3 [...] ... tablet
 - 4 [...] ... he wrote
 - 5 [...] these tablets
 - 6 [...] he] wrote
 - 7 [...] for(?) his/its ...
-
- 8 [...] the (*akītu*-temple named) *Bīt ikribi*
 - 9 [...] for kingship
 - 10 [...] ... he brought his rites to an end
 - 11 [...] the lands, which they wrote
 - 12 [...] ... blasphemies

- 13 [...] they wrote
14 [...] the great [...] of Heaven
15 [...] exalted position
16 [...] ... his seat
17 [...] ... in/on his head will be proper(?).
18 [...] he is holding(?) the insignia of kingship.
19 [...] he is robed with fine attire.
20 [...] the constellation Leo, who makes ready(?)
21 [...] the constellation Hydra, who walks about(?)
22 [...] ... which Ūma-Anu wrote
23 [...] was seen
24 [...] ... this
25 [...] of Heaven
26 [...] the] golden [seat] on the platform
27 [...] the Rēš-temple, in Enamenna
28 [...] ... is seated
29 [...] he did not write
30 [...] which] Ūma-Anu wrote
31 [...] they belong to the temple of Anu
32 [...] ... his temple
-

33 [...] ... [...]

Col. B.

- 1 [I am] your lord(?), [who wanders around in despair and cannot sleep].
2 [I am] one, who did not [eat] bread during his hardship,
3 I a[m] one, who did not drink water during his hardship.
4 Sand is heaped up, earth piled [up] [in m]y [house].
5 'O honored one, the moaner can not refrain from mourning,
6 may the moaner moan bitterly'.
7 In mourning about his city the prince squat[s] on the ground.
8 Of Sîn they said: 'a storm arose,
9 cover[d] the face with dust.
10 Storm is the word of Anu, storm is the word of Enli[l],
11 storm is the wrath (in) the heart of the great Anu.
12 [I] am (like) a man from [Di]lmun, whose boat has sunk in the marshes.
13 [I] am one who does have a heart, but not strength.
14 Woe over my heart, woe over (my) mind!'
15 (Accordingly) Sîn, the lord of Ur, cries.
16 (Accordingly) the lord, the god who is brilliant at his rising, laments ... [...]
17 In this manner Sîn will c[ry](?) over himself.
18 Who will lead Sîn or Nabû at the proper moment t[o]
19 the throne of Anu to be king?
20 'He, who wrote(?) the month Nisannu', they will say of S[în]
21 He does not know that this is Sîn, [crying(?)] about [him]self.
22 Or: he of whom they say: ... of Nabû ... [...]
23 On the throne of Anu they have sat down to be k[ing](?).
24 Because of this blasphemy which they utte[r],
25 they will be captured(?); he who places into the fire,

26 burnt offerin[gs(?)]

27 Marduk, the exorcist, Ningirim [...]

28 Gula, great chief woman physician ... [...]

29 One-third, the share of Marduk in the office of exor[cist(?)]

Comments

Col. A.

l. 9, ‘for kingship’, or, as in Col. B, l. 19 and 23: ‘to be king’?

l. 11, SAR.MEŠ is probably *išturū*. See also col. A, 4, 6, 29 (*iš-tur*), 30 (SAR); B, 13 (SAR.MEŠ-’), 20 (SAR-*u*).

l. 12, *šil-lat*.MEŠ, see also col. B, l. 24.

l. 16, SUḪ DU not clear to me. Thompson transcribed *ipparkā* and apparently read GIB.

l. 18, *ta-mi-ḫi* perhaps a mistake for *ta-mi-iḫ*, a stative, as in l. 17 and 19?

l. 22 (see also l. 30), Ūma-Anu, i.e. Oannes, cf. W.G. Lambert, *JCS* 16 (1962), 74b. See also E. Weidner *AfO* 14 (1941–44), 181a and J.J.A. van Dijk, *UVB* 18 (1962), 48a.

l. 27, for the Enamenna-cella see A. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, 18–20 and A.R. George, *House Most High*, no. 837.

Col. B.

l. 1–14, these lines are duplicated by *BRM* 4, 6, obv. 5–11.

l. 6, note the unusual grammar: *šá i-dam-mu-um* (without the subjunctive ending -*u*) *mar-ši-iš li-di* (sic)-*mu-mu* (plural ending).

l. 20, ^{iti}BAR.SAG.SAG ‘Nisannu’, see *CAD*, 265b.

TEXT CONCORDANCE

According to publication¹

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>Bagh. Mitt. Beih.</i> 2, no. 5 | 270 |
| <i>Bagh. Mitt. Beih.</i> 2, no. 10 | 299 |
| <i>BRM</i> 4, 6 and BM 134701 | 306 |
| <i>BRM</i> 4, 7 | 209 |
| <i>CLBT</i> , pl. 1 | 317 |
| <i>KAR</i> 50 | 267 |
| <i>KAR</i> 60 | 263 |
| <i>KAR</i> 132 | 201 |
| <i>RAcc.</i> , 127–54 + BM 32485 | 215 |
| <i>TU</i> 38 | 172 |
| <i>TU</i> 39–40 | 184 |
| <i>TU</i> 41 | 245 |
| <i>TU</i> 42 + AO 8648 + AO 8649 | 238 |
| <i>TU</i> 43 | 197 |
| <i>TU</i> 44 | 252 |
| <i>TU</i> 45 | 283 |
| <i>TU</i> 46 | 293 |
| Weissbach, <i>Misc.</i> , no. 12 | 301 |
| IV R ² , 23, no. 1 + K 9421 | 275 |

According to museum/excavation numbers²

| | publication |
|------------------------------|---|
| AB 249* | <i>CLBT</i> , 29 ff. and pl. 1 ³ |
| AO 6451* | <i>TU</i> 38 |
| AO 6459* | <i>TU</i> 39 |
| AO 6460* | <i>TU</i> 41 |
| AO 6461* | <i>TU</i> 43 |
| AO 6465* | <i>TU</i> 40 |
| AO 6467 | <i>TU</i> 48 ⁴ |
| AO 6472* | <i>TU</i> 45 |
| AO 6479* | <i>TU</i> 44 |
| AO 7439 + AO 8648 + AO 8649* | <i>TU</i> 42, S. Lackenbacher, <i>RA</i> 71 (1977), 39–50 |
| AO 17626 | J. Nougayrol, <i>RA</i> 41 (1947), 30–33 ⁵ |
| AO 17662 | J. Nougayrol, <i>RA</i> 41 (1947), 32–38 |
| Ash. 1924.1792 + 1806 + 1818 | <i>OECT</i> 11, 47 (W.G. Lambert) |

¹ The numbers refer to the pages in the Appendix.
² The texts marked by an asterisk (*) are discussed in the Appendix.
³ Col. B 1–14 // MLC 1872, obv. 5–11.
⁴ Cf. R. Borger, *HKL* 1, 574; G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 164 and 172 f.; M.E. Cohen, *Eršemma*, 50; id., *Lamentations*, 27; H. Hunger, *AOAT* 2, 48, no. 115 (colophon).
⁵ Partial duplicate of O.175 and W 20030/122.

Text concordance

| | |
|---|---|
| BE 13987* (= IM 11087, 11 + 11053, 20 + 11053, 325 + 11087, 59) | F.H. Weissbach, <i>Misc.</i> , no. 12 ⁶ |
| BM 32206 + 32237 + 34723 | G. Çağırzan, W.G. Lambert, <i>JCS</i> 43–45 (1991–1993), 89–106 ⁷ |
| BM 32485 + DT 109 | See sub DT 15 + |
| BM 32516 // 41239 (81–4–28, 787) | A.R. George, <i>Studies W.G. Lambert</i> , no. 4, 289 ff. ⁸ |
| BM 32654 + 38193 // DT 15 +, 69–79 | G. Çağırzan, <i>Festivals</i> (unpub.), 7–9 ⁹ |
| BM 32656 | A.R. George, <i>Studies W.G. Lambert</i> , no. 2, 270 ff. |
| BM 34035 (Sp I 131) | J. Epping, J.N. Strassmaier, <i>ZA</i> 6 (1891), 228, 241–244 ¹⁰ |
| BM 34643 | <i>CT</i> 51, 94 |
| BM 34679 | <i>CT</i> 51, 101 |
| BM 34689 | <i>CT</i> 51, 95 |
| BM 34768 | <i>CT</i> 51, 99 |
| BM 34796 | <i>CT</i> 51, 100 |
| BM 34804 | <i>CT</i> 51, 97 |
| BM 34817 | <i>CT</i> 51, 96 |
| BM 34829 | <i>CT</i> 51, 104 |
| BM 34878, rev. // BM 77236 | <i>CT</i> 51, 92 ¹¹ |
| BM 35019 (Sp II, 546) | A.R. George, <i>BTT</i> , no. 45, 230, pl. 51 |
| BM 35046 (Sp II 578) | A.R. George, <i>BTT</i> , no. 6, 94, pl. 21 |
| BM 38293 (80–11–12, 175) | A.R. George, <i>BTT</i> , no. 40, 227, pl. 50 |
| BM 41577 | A.R. George, <i>Studies W.G. Lambert</i> , no. 1, 260 ff. |
| BM 46060 (SH 81–7–6, 507) | A.R. George, <i>BTT</i> , no. 43, 228, pl. 51 |
| BM 47902 + 48320 | B. Pongratz-Leisten, <i>ina šulmi irub</i> , no. 9 ¹² |
| BM 50503 | St.M. Maul, in: <i>Munuscula Mesopotamica. Festschrift für Johannes Renger</i> , Münster, 1999, 285 ff. |
| BM 54312 | unpublished |
| BM 54901 | unpublished |
| BM 54952 | unpublished |
| BM 75144 | A.R. George, <i>BTT</i> , no. 30, 208, pl. 8 |
| BM 77433 (84–2–11, 173) | A.R. George, <i>BTT</i> , no. 38, 224, 226, pl. 50 |
| BM 78076 | A.R. George, <i>Studies W.G. Lambert</i> , no. 3, 280 ff. |
| BM 93046 (83–1–21, 1782) | A.R. George, <i>BTT</i> , no. 44, 229, pl. 51 |
| BM 119282 | B. Pongratz-Leisten, <i>ina šulmi irub</i> , no. 6 ¹³ |
| BM 134701* | D. Brown, M.J.H. Linssen, <i>RA</i> 91 (1997), 147–166. See also sub MLC 1872 ¹⁴ |

⁶ Cf. unpublished Rm 101, see my copy, Plate IV.

⁷ Cf. G. Çağırzan, *Festivals*, 86 ff. and 98 ff. See also S. Parpola, *LAS* II, 186–87.

⁸ BM 41239 = T.G. Pinches, *Oriental Studies Haupt*, 217 f.; E. Unger, *Babylon*, 145; A.R. George, *BTT*, no. 57, 232, pl. 54; B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi irub*, no. 17.

⁹ Only transliteration. The text will be published by W.G. Lambert.

¹⁰ Cf. R. Borger, *HKL* I, 519–20 and 2, 276. See J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 227. The text was also discussed by A. Livingstone, *Mystical*, 61, 62, 73, 96, 163, 172, 255, 256, 259.

¹¹ = BM 34878; A.R. George, *BTT*, no. 9, 100, pl. 18, 19.

¹² Cf. G. Çağırzan, *Festivals*, 48 ff. See the new edition by W.G. Lambert in *RA* 91 (1997), 52–6.

¹³ See the new edition by W.G. Lambert in *RA* 91 (1997), 74–8.

¹⁴ BM 134701, which is partly a duplicate of *BRM* 4, 6 (MLC 1872), was published by D. Brown and the present author in *RA* 91 (1997), 147–166.

Text concordance

| | |
|--|--|
| Bu 91–5–9, 104 | H. Zimmern, <i>Neujahrsfest</i> I, 131, n. 1 ¹⁵ |
| DT 15, DT 109 + BM 32485, DT 114, MNB 1848* | <i>RAcc.</i> , 127 ff.; BM 32485 published here ¹⁶ |
| IM 44150 // IM 76975 (W 22758/5) // K 2892 + 8397 // K 10062 // BM 38413 (80–11–12, 296) | A.R. George, <i>BTT</i> , no. 18, 145–62, and pl. 29–34 ¹⁷ |
| K 2724 + 8207 | S. Langdon, <i>AJSL</i> 42 (1925–26), 115 ff. ¹⁸ |
| K 3446 + 8830 + Sm 211, 1–6 (+) 10282 | K. Watanabe, <i>ASJ</i> 13 (1991), 378–380 ¹⁹ |
| K 3655 | A.R. George, <i>BTT</i> , no. 42, 228, pl. 51 |
| K 3753 | E. Weidner, <i>GDBT</i> , 10 f., pl. 11 f. ²⁰ |
| K 4806 + K 9421* | IV R ² , 23, no. 1, K 9421 unpub. ²¹ |
| K 6060 + 10820 | <i>BBR</i> 2, no. 56, K 10820 unpub. ²² |
| K 9876 + 19534 | H. Zimmern, <i>Neujahrsfest</i> I, 136–143, no. 2 ²³ , and S.A. Pallis, <i>Akitu festival</i> pl. VIII–XI ²⁴ |
| MLC 1872* | <i>BRM</i> 4, 6 ²⁵ |
| MLC 1873* | <i>BRM</i> 4, 7 |
| MLC 1886 // 1859 | <i>BRM</i> 4, 19 // 20 ²⁶ |
| MLC 2608 | <i>BRM</i> 4, 25, see also sub VAT 398 |
| O.174* | <i>TU</i> 46 |
| O.175 | <i>TU</i> 47 ²⁷ |
| Rm 101 | published here ²⁸ |

¹⁵ Cf. B. Menzel, *Tempel*, no. 33.

¹⁶ See my copy, Plate I.

¹⁷ ‘The Nippur compendium’; see A.R. George, *BTT*, 146 for earlier editions.

¹⁸ Cf. R. Borger, *HKL* 1, 274 and 2, 170; G. van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, 140 ff.; 152; B. Menzel, *Tempel*, no. 34 (new edition); M.E. Cohen, *Eršemma*. 50; id., *Lamentations*, 22 f.

¹⁹ Cf. also A.R. George, *BTT*, 275–6 (rev. 4–9, with Sm 211, 1–6), 280 (obv. 19–rev. 3), 288 (obv. 15–18), 394 (rev. 17); B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, no. 12. See now the new edition by W.G. Lambert in *RA* 91 (1997), 56–62.

²⁰ Earlier published by J. Oppert, J. Ménéant, *Doc. jur.*, 34 ff.; cf. R. Borger, *HKL* 1, 375 and 2, 215; G. Çağırman, *Festivals*, 183 ff.; G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 174–178. See also J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 173, n. 649.

²¹ Cf. R. Borger, *BiOr* 30 (1973), 176a. See my copy, Plate III.

²² See my copy, Plate II. The text is duplicated by VAT 8247 (*KAR* 50), obv. 17–rev. 9.

²³ = *BSGW* 58.

²⁴ Cf. P. Jensen, *KB* 6/II, 32 ff.; G. Çağırman, *Festivals*, 40 ff. See now B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, no. 8 (K 9876 + 19534). Cf. also A.R. George, *BTT*, 333–34 (obv. 25).

²⁵ The text is partly duplicate of BM 134701, see above.

²⁶ Paralleled by *STT* 2, 300, compare Gurney’s remark on p. 15. Cf. R. Borger, *HKL* 1, 57 and 2, 34. See also G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 166, n. 381.

²⁷ Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 16 (1919), 145; A. Livingstone, *Mystical*, 187–204. Partial duplicate is: W 20030/122 (obv.// O.175, obv. 6–11(?); rev.// ib. rev.); for the lower half of the rev., cf. also AO 17626, 31. For l. 10 ff. cf. *TU* 44, III, 1–14; K 4806, I, 1–6; *CT* 24, pl. 4–5, 29–36 (series AN = Anum). It is probable but not certain that *TU* 47 comes from Uruk, cf. J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 169, with n. 641 and n. 624.

²⁸ Reference W.G. Lambert, cf. R. Borger, *HKL* 2, 320. See my copy, Plate IV. See also sub BE 13987.

Text concordance

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Sp I 131 | see sub BM 34035 |
| VAT 398 // MLC 2608 | <i>SBH</i> VII ²⁹ |
| VAT 662 + 663 | <i>SBH</i> VIII ³⁰ |
| VAT 7815 | E. Weidner, <i>GDBT</i> , 45–48, pl. 15 f. ³¹ |
| VAT 7816 | E. Weidner, <i>GDBT</i> , 41–45, pl. 13 f. ³² |
| VAT 7849* | <i>KAR</i> 132 |
| VAT 7897 | <i>VS</i> 17, 58 ³³ |
| VAT 8022* | <i>KAR</i> 60 |
| VAT 8247* | <i>KAR</i> 50 ³⁴ |
| VAT 14521 | <i>LKU</i> , no. 48 |
| VAT 14524 | <i>LKU</i> no. 51 ³⁵ |
| VAT 17382 (+) 17350 // VAT 17306 | <i>VS</i> 24, 108 (+) 109 // 110 ³⁶ |
| W 18728 | A. Falkenstein, <i>UVB</i> 15, 40–44, pl. 29, 34 ³⁷ |
| W 18828 | A. Falkenstein, <i>UVB</i> 15, 36–40, pl. 28a, 32–33 ³⁸ |
| W 20030/1 | <i>Bagh. Mitt. Beih.</i> 2, no. 6 ³⁹ |
| W 20030/2* | <i>Bagh. Mitt. Beih.</i> 2, no. 10 |
| W 20030/3 // W 20030/5 // W 20030/98 | <i>Bagh. Mitt. Beih.</i> 2, no. 1–3 |
| W 20030/4* | <i>Bagh. Mitt. Beih.</i> 2, no. 5 |
| W 20030/6 | <i>Bagh. Mitt. Beih.</i> 2, no. 12 ⁴⁰ |
| W 20030/15 | <i>Bagh. Mitt. Beih.</i> 2, no. 11 ⁴¹ |
| W 20030/19 | <i>Bagh. Mitt. Beih.</i> 2, no. 14 ⁴² |
| W 20030/20 (IM 65063) | <i>Bagh. Mitt. Beih.</i> 2, no. 97 ⁴³ |
| W 20030/81 | <i>Bagh. Mitt. Beih.</i> 2, no. 13 ⁴⁴ |
| W 20030/83 | <i>Bagh. Mitt. Beih.</i> 2, no. 9 ⁴⁵ |
| W 20030/89 | <i>Bagh. Mitt. Beih.</i> 2, no. 7 ⁴⁶ |
| W 20030/97 | <i>Bagh. Mitt. Beih.</i> 2, no. 4 |

²⁹ Cf. R. Borger, *HKL* 1, 57; E. Weidner, *AfO* 16, (1952/53), 71 ff.; G. Çağırman, *Festivals*, 189 ff.; G.J.P. McEwan, *FAOS* 4, 184; J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 450, n. 772 and 469, n. 879.

³⁰ Cf. R. Borger, *HKL* 1, 425; G. Çağırman, *Festivals*, 168 ff.; M.E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 449.

³¹ The text is similar to VAT 7816.

³² The text is similar to VAT 7815.

³³ Cf. R. Borger, *HKL* 2, 53, and W.R. Mayer, *OrNS* 58 (1989), 274; listed as a ritual by J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 169.

³⁴ L. obv. 17–rev. 9 is duplicated by K 6060 (*BBR* 2, no. 56) + 10820, see my copy, Plate II.

³⁵ Cf. G. Furlani, *Riti*, 221–6.

³⁶ Cf. B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub*, nos. 10 and 11, 236–39.

³⁷ Cf. R. Borger, *HKL* 2, 64.

³⁸ Cf. R. Borger, *HKL* 1, 118.

³⁹ Discussed by W.R. Mayer in *OrNS* 47 (1978), 432–437.

⁴⁰ Discussed by W.R. Mayer in *OrNS* 47 (1978), 438–441.

⁴¹ For obv. fragment 1, see my comments on *TU* 45, obv. 11–14, 15, 16; for obv. fragment 2, see my comments on *TU* 45, obv. 17–18; for obv. fragment 3, see my comments on *TU* 45, obv. 24–26, rev. 1; for rev. fragment 1, see my comments on *TU* 45, rev. 4, 5; for rev. fragment 2, see my comments on *TU* 45, rev. 6–13.

⁴² See my comments on *TU* 44, I, 8.

⁴³ = A.R. George, *BTT*, no. 31, 208 ff., pl. 48.

⁴⁴ See my comments on *KAR* 132, II, 4–8.

⁴⁵ See my comments on K 4806, I, 17.

⁴⁶ For the obverse see my comments on *KAR* 60, rev. 10–15; for the reverse see my comments on K 4806, IV, 15–22.

Text concordance

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| W 20030/107 | <i>Bagh. Mitt. Beih.</i> 2, no. 95 ⁴⁷ |
| W 20030/122 | <i>Bagh. Mitt. Beih.</i> 2, no. 8 ⁴⁸ |
| W 20030/127 | <i>Bagh. Mitt. Beih.</i> 2, no. 79 |
| W 22282a | <i>SpTU</i> 1, no. 136 |
| W 22293 | <i>SpTU</i> 1, no. 5 |
| W 22307/52 | <i>SpTU</i> 1, no. 141 |
| W 22307/70 | <i>SpTU</i> 1, no. 142 |
| W 22313 | <i>SpTU</i> 1, no. 140 |
| W 22317b | <i>SpTU</i> 1, no. 143 |
| W 22667/0 | <i>SpTU</i> 4, no. 125 ⁴⁹ |
| W 22704 | <i>SpTU</i> 3, no. 104 |
| W 22705/5 | <i>SpTU</i> 4, no. 141 |
| W 22712/2 | <i>SpTU</i> 3, no. 61 |
| W 22728/2 | <i>SpTU</i> 3, no. 62 |
| W 22758/5 (IM 76975) | see sub IM 44150 |
| W 22760/0 | <i>SpTU</i> 2, no. 27 ⁵⁰ |
| W 23006 | <i>SpTU</i> 3, no. 63 |
| 82–3–23, 100 | A.R. George, <i>BTT</i> , no. 41, 227–8, pl. 51 |
| 83–1–18, 464 + | W.G. Lambert, <i>Divine Love Lyrics</i> ⁵¹ |
| number unknown | G. Çağırzan, <i>Festivals</i> (unpub.), 1 (text a) |
| number unknown | T.G. Pinches, <i>Berens Coll.</i> no. 110 |

⁴⁷ Cf. W.R. Mayer, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2, 20 and J. Oelsner, *Materialien*, 173.

⁴⁸ Partial duplicate of O.175 and AO 17626. See my comments on *TU* 44, III, 1–14.

⁴⁹ Part of the lamentation IMMAL GUDEDE, see M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 604 ff.

⁵⁰ See *SpTU* 2, 134 for duplicates and editions.

⁵¹ In: H. Goedicke and J.J.M. Roberts (eds.), *Unity and Diversity*, Baltimore, London, 1975, 98 ff. This text, based on Late Assyrian and Late Babylonian fragments (see ib., 99) is referred to here by the museum number of the first Late Assyrian fragment. For further unpublished texts see A.R. George, *Studies W.G. Lambert*, 259 ff.

SELECTIVE WORD INDICES

I. Sumerian, Akkadian and Greek words

- abru*, 123f., 154, 165
 A.GÚB.BA, see *egubbû*
aĥu rabû, 13, 17, 18, 39, 51, 73, 80ff.,
 88–90, 152, 160
akītu (festival), see New Year festival
akītu (temple), 6, 9, 10, 14, 18, 68, 69,
 72ff.⁺³⁵¹, 457, 92, 93, 108, 119, 121,
 122
alaktu, 21
arāmu, 92
assinnu, 17, 68, 69, 120f
āšipu, 5, 7, 8, 13, 16, 18, 21, 73, 75, 76,
 81, 94, 95, 99, 102, 105, 111, 114,
 116, 117, 122–124, 138, 148, 149,
 151
bajjātu, 3, 6, 24, 25, 26f., 37, 40,
 48, 52, 56ff., 60, 61, 75, 87, 113,
 122ff., 131, 134, 148, 150–152, 154,
 156–158, 161, 165
barû, 17, 75, 103, 104, 106f.
bâ'u Š, 157
birūt šiddī, 74f., 122, 124, 139
bīt maḥazzat, 136
bīt mummi, 7, 95, 96f., 139, 150
bīt pirišti, 44, 55, 116
bīt qāti, 5³⁴
bīt sipittē, 68, 121
bulṭu, 125ff.
dīk bīti, 24, 26, 27ff., 36, 37, 57, 74
 DÍM.DÍM.MA, see *nēpešu*
 DÙ.DÙ, see *epištu*
 DÙ.DÙ.BI, see *epuštu*
dullu, 21, 128, 129f.
dumuniglala, 67
egubbû, 24, 113, 134, 144, 145, 148,
 150, 151
elēlu D, Dt, 144, 149
elû Š, 141
 É.NIR, 70, 123
ēnu, 17
epištu, 21
epuštu, 21
ērib bīti, 17f., 36, 44, 61, 73, 75, 80,
 111, 112, 117, 122, 123, 133
eššēšu, 24, 39ff., 45ff., 52, 55, 56, 58,
 60, 130, 134, 164
etēqu Š, 157
galamāhu (*kalamahḥu*), 9, 17, 93, 97,
 165
garakku, 87, 112f., 148
 GARZA, see *paršu*
ginû, 35, 48, 57, 60, 78, 80, 86, 116,
 130, 132, 134–136, 162f.
gizillû, 123, 145, 148, 165
guḥšû, 142
guqqû, 24⁺¹⁷, 48, 49, 51, 57, 60, 66,
 130, 134, 162, 163f.
ḥābu, 148
ḥarû, 25, 84, 117, 119
ḥašādu, 20, 24, 62, 66, 70f., 72, 74, 89,
 90, 135
ḥitpu, 34, 41, 50, 53, 54f., 58
ḥub bīti, 147
inbu, 121, 130, 137, 157f.
isinnu, 22, 84, 117f.
itinnu, 104–107, 113
kalû, 5, 8, 11, 13, 16–18, 20, 21, 28, 30,
 33, 35, 66, 76, 77, 80, 93ff., 101ff.,
 111, 112, 114–116, 122–124, 131,
 142, 144, 145, 149, 153, 154, 156,
 159f.
kānu D, 140, 141, 153, 156
kapāru D, 148f.
kāribu, 24, 130, 135, 161f.
 KEŠDA, see *riksu* and *rakāsu*
kidudû, 20
kiništu, 14
kinūnu, 24, 48, 62, 64, 87f., 91, 135, 160
 KI SÍSKUR, 138
kispu, 112
kurgarrû, 17, 68, 69, 120f.
lamassu, 101, 102, 104
λιβανωτός, 150
līlātu, 131
lilissu, see kettledrum (ritual)
lubāru, 53, 66³⁰⁰, 79, 93, 112, 114, 115
lubuštu, 7, 24, 34, 40, 41, 44, 48, 51ff.,
 56, 62, 65ff., 74, 89–91, 134, 164

- lumaḥḥu*, 17, 123
maḥāšu, 158
maḥḥuru, see *muḥḥuru*
mākālū, 131
malū D, 146
maqlūtu, 166
maqqītu, 160f.
maqqu, 76, 132, 160f.
maškittu, 142
 ME, see *paršu*
mê kunnu, 153
mê našû, 153
mê qāti našû, 152
merdītu, 162
mesû, 151
miḥḥuru, see *muḥḥuru*
miḥru, see *muḥḥuru*
mīš pī, 95, 123, 146, 150, 151, 153f.,
 155, 156, 159, 165
mubannû, 79f., 138, 142f.
muḥḥuru, 40, 165
muḥru, see *muḥḥuru*
nabrû, 48, 52, 56
nadû, 140, 160
nāḥu D, 139
nakāsu, 158
namāru D, 165
napāḥu, 165
naptanu, 130ff.
naqu, 158f., 159f., 160f., 162
nāru, 13, 16, 18, 21, 35, 57, 66, 72, 76,
 80, 105, 118, 122–124
nēpešu, 20f., 40, 96, 101, 111, 121,
 165
 NIDBA, see *nindabû*
 NÍG.DÍM.DÍM.MA, see *epištu*
 NÍG.NA, see *nignakku*
nignakku, 124, 144, 145, 148, 151, 157
nigûtu, 22
nindabû, 159, 164
niqû, 48, 57, 60, 158f., 161f., 164
nubattu, 40, 58f., 131
nuḥatimmu, 17, 35
palāqu, 158
paršu, 16, 19f., 24, 70, 80, 87
paššurmāḥu, 140f.
paššûru, 140ff., 144, 145, 160
paṭāru, 115, 141, 144
paṭīru, 141f., 145
pelludû, 21
pīt bābi, 24, 26, 27, 35, 36ff., 51, 80,
 113, 134, 152
pīt pī, 153
 πομπή', 119f.
 πολῖται, 120
 πρόγονοι, 125
purpē, see πομπή'
qabû, 116
qadāšu D, 149
qādu, 165
qalû, 146, 166
qatāru D, 146
qerēbu G, D, 142, 156
qerītu, 131
qutāru, 146
qutrīnu, 145, 146
rab uqu, 163
rakāsu, 141, 144, 156
ramāku, 152
redû, 160, 162
riksu, 140, 144f.
riqqû, 146f., 150
sakkû, 18, 21, 162
salāḥu, 149f.
sarāqu, 146, 149f., 155
sattukku, 130, 162f.
serqu, 145, 160
siltu, 164
 SISKUR/SÍSKUR, see *niqû*
surqinnu, 145
šabātu Š, 165
šēnu, 146
šidītu ilāni, 24, 130, 133
šabātu, 149
šadādu, 139
šakānu, 92, 141, 146, 155
šaknu, 107, 163
šalām bīti, 6, 24, 40, 48, 56, 58, 59ff.,
 122ff.
šalāmu, 144
šangû, 17, 61, 75, 113, 114, 116, 123
šar pūḥi, 109

šatammu, 14, 84, 127, 159
šēhtu, 145
šešgallu, see *aḫu rabû*
šiddu, 139, 152, 153
šipru, 21
šuhḫu, 32, 92
šukēnu, 102, 127
šukhulu, 142
šuluḫḫû (priest), 17
šuluḫḫu (rites), 13, 148
tabnîtu, 135, 140, 142
takpertu, 113, 140, 148f.

tākultu, 131
tallu, 18, 77
tarbûtu, 16
tardennu, 26, 84, 130f.
tardîtu, 18, 130, 135, 137, 161f.
tēbibtu qāti, 40, 136, 153
tēliltu, 149
teḫû D, 156
urigallu, 113, 140
urmaḫlullû, 17
zidubdubbû, 140
zisurrû, 113ff., 140, 148

II. Subject matter

additional offerings (of the king), see
tardîtu
 administrator, see *šatammu*
 archives, 5, 7–9, 14, 55, 108, 161, 163
 arranger (of the table), see *mubannû*
 assembly, see *kiništu*
 astrology, 17
 baker, see *nuḫatimmu*
 brazier (ceremony), see *kinûnu* and
garakku
 building (activities), 14, 19, 107f., 163
 building (ritual), 3, 8, 17, 18, 20, 24, 25,
 35, 100ff., 124, 131, 144, 148–150,
 153, 155, 156, 159, 165
 building master, see *itinnu*
 burnt offering, 146, 154, 165f.
 calendar, 3, 23, 30, 53, 62, 63, 71, 88ff.
 carrying pole, see *tallu*
 censer, see *nignakku*, *šēhtu* and *qutrînu*
 ceremony, 23ff.
 civil year, 62, 71, 77–79
 clothing (ceremony), see *lubuštu* and
lubāru
 consecration, 8, 66, 74, 82, 93, 96, 99,
 103, 104, 106, 115, 130, 145, 147f.,
 151
 cook, see *nuḫatimmu*
 cult, 1f., 3ff., 12ff.
 cultic day, 26ff., 35, 36, 74, 75, 123
 cultic month, 40

cultic year, 61f.
 curtain, see *šiddu* and *birît šiddî*
 divination, 17, 106f.
 diviner, see *barû*
 eclipse of the moon (ritual), 3, 8, 18, 20,
 25, 37, 87, 93, 109ff., 118, 140, 148,
 150, 151, 165
 exorcist, see *āšipu*
 festival, 2, 6, 23ff., 117ff.; see also
isinnu
 fruit, see *inbu*
 fumigation, 129, 130, 139, 144, 145ff.,
 147, 165
 garden (of a temple), 63, 147
 gate (of a temple), 18, 26, 27, 36, 37,
 57–59, 69, 73, 75, 80, 111–114, 116,
 121, 123f., 140, 159
 general, see *rab uqu*
 good-functioning of the temple
 ceremony, see *šalām bîti*
 governor, see *šaknu*
 high priest, see *aḫu rabû*
 holy water basin (ceremony), see
egubbû
 kettledrum (ritual), 3, 8, 16, 17, 20,
 21, 24, 25, 64, 92ff., 101, 106–108,
 114f., 118, 122, 124, 131, 141, 144,
 148–151, 153–156, 159, 162, 166
 king, 7, 12, 13, 18f., 39, 51, 66, 70, 75f.,
 76f., 81ff., 83–85, 93, 102ff., 106,

- 107f., 110, 115, 116, 119, 121f.,
124ff., 130, 149, 152, 154, 157, 159,
162
lamentation priest, see *kalû*
libation, 2–4, 75, 76, 99, 102, 104, 109,
122, 123, 139, 146, 154, 158, 159f.,
160f.
libation bowl, see *maqqu*
magic circle of flour, see *zisurrû*
marriage rite, see *ḥašādu*
meal, 2, 12, 26, 27, 57f., 74ff., 81, 84,
121, 123f., 129f., 130ff., 139, 141–
143, 145–147, 150, 153, 154, 156,
157; see also *naptanu* and *tardennu*
New Year festival, 3, 6, 9, 12, 18–20,
22, 24, 26, 35, 36, 51, 57–59, 62,
65, 66⁺³⁰⁰, 67, 70, 71ff., 88–90, 119,
121f., 131, 139, 143, 144, 148–152,
161–164
offering, 1–4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 18–20, 24,
29, 30, 35, 38, 48, 50, 54, 55, 57, 64,
70, 74, 75, 84, 87, 96, 99, 102–104,
109, 112, 119, 122, 123, 124ff.,
129f., 130ff., 138, 140, 144–146,
150, 154ff., 158ff.
offering accoutrements, see *riksu*
offering preparations, 139, 140ff.
offering site, 138f.
opening of the gate ceremony, see *pīt*
bābi
opening of the mouth ceremony, see *pīt*
pī
palm festival, 117, 118
pantheon, 1, 2, 11, 13, 14, 28, 54, 110
prebend, 1, 5³⁴, 14, 15¹⁰¹, 17, 38, 41⁺¹⁰⁹,
42–44, 49–51, 54, 55, 62, 72, 126,
133, 141, 143, 164
priest, 2, 6, 7, 12, 16ff., 27, 36, 66, 75,
76, 94, 106, 111–113, 116, 122–124,
129, 130, 138, 139, 147, 148, 151,
152, 161
procession, 6, 10–12, 18, 29, 58, 62, 64,
67ff., 72, 73ff., 76ff., 79, 81, 83, 84,
86, 89–91, 93, 94, 119, 121f., 123,
130, 133, 134, 143
purification, 2, 4, 12, 13, 24, 40, 82, 96,
99, 103, 122, 130, 139, 144, 145,
147, 148ff.
regular offerings, see *ginû*
rite, see *parṣu*
ritual, 1f., 3ff., 12, 16ff., 23ff.
room between the curtains, see *birīt*
šiddī
ruler cults, 19, 25, 117, 124ff.
singer, see *nāru*
statue (of a god), 6, 12, 23, 25, 44, 51,
55, 69, 70, 73, 81, 113, 116, 129,
130, 138–141, 151, 153f., 157,
160
statue (of a king), 41ff., 50, 125, 126
substitute king, see *šar pūḥi*
table, 38, 41ff., 49f., 55, 82, 126, 130,
132, 138, 140ff., 142–145, 151, 152,
156, 157, 160; see also *paššūru* and
paṭīru
table-arrangement, see *tabnītu*
temple, 1, 3ff., 12ff., 132
temple enterer, see *ērib bīti*
temple officials, 16ff.
temple ritual text, 3ff.
temple workshop, see *bīt mummi*
travel provisions of the gods, see *šidīti*
ilāni
vigil (ceremony), see *bajjātu*
washing, 130, 147, 151ff.; see also
ramāku
washing of the mouth ceremony, see *mīs*
pī

III. Names

- Adad, 14, 51, 64–69, 73, 75, 76, 89, 91,
124
Aḥūtu, 5, 163
Aja, 30
Allatu, 38
Amasagnudi, 15

- Anaššat(?), 64, 65, 91
 Antu, 13, 14f., 24, 30, 34, 37, 38, 40, 41ff., 51, 54–56, 63, 66, 67, 72, 74, 76–78, 89, 101, 102, 123f., 126; 133ff., 142, 157, 163
 Anu, 1, 2, 6, 8, 11, 13, 14f., 18, 20, 21, 24, 30ff., 37, 38, 40, 41ff., 51, 54–56, 58, 61, 63, 66–69, 72ff., 88, 89, 95, 101–104, 105f., 107, 110, 113, 121f., 123f., 126, 132ff., 139, 142, 157, 163
 Anunītu, 64, 65, 91, 117
 Aška'itu, 11, 53, 92
 Ašratu, 64, 65, 91
 Baramaḥ, 40, 112, 116, 135, 136
 Bēl (Marduk), 1, 9, 10, 13–15, 28, 29, 38, 39, 51, 53, 58, 64, 65, 67, 69–71, 80ff., 90, 91, 93f., 96, 101, 103, 118, 127, 128, 139, 143, 147, 152, 163
 Bēlet-Agade, 64
 Bēlet-ilī, 64, 65, 90, 124
 Bēlet-māti, 41, 43
 Bēlet-Sippar, 117f.
 Bēlet-šēri, 15, 41, 43, 51, 63, 89, 137
 Bēlet-ša-Rēš, 15, 41, 43, 49, 51, 54, 56
 Bēlet-ša-Uruk, see Ištar of Uruk
 Bēltija, 9, 67, 80f., 83, 84, 91, 93, 127
 Bīt ikribi, 9, 72, 73, 85
 Bunene, 30
 Dajan, 29
 Ea, 14, 38, 51, 64, 65, 69, 72, 74, 76, 91, 94–96, 101–103, 104 (Enki), 118
 Eanna, 11, 13–15, 24, 55, 72, 87, 88, 93, 110, 112, 115, 116, 135, 136, 147, 148
 Edumununna, 113, 140, 148
 Eḫenunna, 68, 76
 Eḫilianna, 70, 72, 147
 Eḫilikuga, 70, 72
 Eḫursagsikilla, 147
 Eḫursagtila, 80
 Ekišnugal, 163
 Ekur-zakir, 5, 7, 13
 Emeurur, 63, 68, 121
 Enamenna, 8, 18, 73, 74, 77, 163
 Enamḫe, 69
 Enki, see Ea
 Enlil, 14, 15, 38, 41–44, 49–51, 54, 56, 64, 65, 69, 70, 74, 76, 90, 91, 95, 102, 104, 113
 Enmešarra, 95
 Equlû, 68, 121
 Ereškigal, 137
 Esabad, 14, 22, 25, 64, 117, 118
 Esagila, 2, 9–11, 13, 14, 19, 21, 39, 67, 69, 81ff., 87, 93f., 105, 108, 117–119, 127, 139, 143, 148–152, 159, 160, 163
 Ešarra, 29, 135, 136
 Ešgal, 2, 6, 11, 13–15, 24, 34, 72, 108, 110, 112, 116, 121, 122, 135, 136, 148
 Eturkalamma, 10, 14, 69, 120
 Euršaba, 68, 71
 Ezida, 68, 79, 81, 82, 108, 148–151
 Gula, 14, 25, 53, 84, 88, 91, 117, 118, 147
 Ḫunzû, 5, 7
 Inanna, see Ištar
 Isin, 64, 65, 91
 Ištar of Babylon, 1, 10, 14, 25, 28, 64, 65, 67, 69, 70, 84, 91, 117, 120f., 127
 Ištar of Uruk, 1, 6, 11, 14, 15, 18, 25, 32ff., 38, 41ff., 51, 66, 67, 69, 71–74, 76, 77, 89, 90, 92, 108, 117, 120, 121f., 131, 132ff., 142, 150, 152, 156, 158, 160–162
 dKAŠ.DIN.NAM, 118
 Kusu, 151
 Lugalasal, 64, 65, 88, 91
 Lugalbanda, 64, 65, 76, 91
 Lugalgirra, 95
 Lugalmar(a)da, 64, 65, 91
 Lumḫa, 96, 98
 Madānu, 14, 80, 88, 91, 108, 156
 Mārāt-Anu, 123
 Mārāt-Uruk, 123
 Marduk, see Bēl
 Mašdub, 102
 Meslamtaea, 95

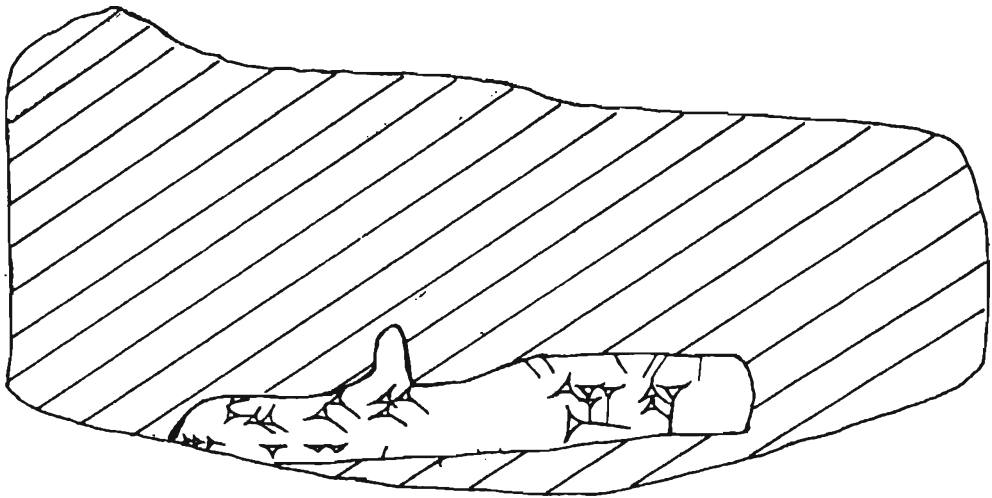
Selective Word Indices

- Messagunug, 123f.
Mīšaru, 68, 69, 76, 89
Muštēšir, 118
Nabû, 10, 58, 64–68, 70, 71, 81ff., 88,
90, 91, 148–151
Nabû-ša-ḥarê, 14, 119
Nanāja, 6, 15, 32ff., 41, 43, 44, 49, 51,
54, 56, 63, 68, 70–72, 76, 79, 90, 92,
121, 132ff., 142, 147, 151
Nergal, 38, 53, 64, 65, 91
Ningal, 68, 69, 89, 111
Ningirim, 151
Ningirsu, 38
Ningublaga, 137
Nin KA LI, see Nanāja
Ninlil, 14, 28
Ninsun, 76
Ninurta, 38, 69, 70, 80, 90, 91
Nusku, 68, 69, 76, 89, 123f.
Pabilsag, 38
Palil, 65, 88, 91
Papsukkal, 15, 35, 41–43, 51, 63,
75–77, 89, 123
Rēš, 2, 4–8, 11, 13–15, 18, 24, 25, 30,
34, 37, 58, 61, 68, 72ff., 86, 107,
110, 112, 116, 117, 123, 125, 130,
135, 136, 139, 148, 163
Sîn, 14, 37, 38, 51, 58, 110–113, 124,
140, 148, 151, 163
Sîn-lēqe-unnīni, 5, 9
Šakkan, 137
Šamaš, 7, 14, 26, 30, 38, 51–53, 59,
60, 64, 65, 68, 73, 88, 91, 94, 96,
101–103, 121, 124
Šarraḫītu, 15, 51
Šarrat-Sippar, 64, 65, 91
Šulpae, 38
Tammuz (Dumuzi), 70
Tašmētu, 67, 91
Uraš, 64, 65, 69, 88, 91, 121
Urugal, 76
Usmû, 69, 70, 76, 91, 93, 122, 123
Ušur-amassu, 11, 92
Zababa, 14, 64, 65, 91
Zāriqu, 118
Zarpanītu, 64, 65, 71, 80, 85, 90, 91.

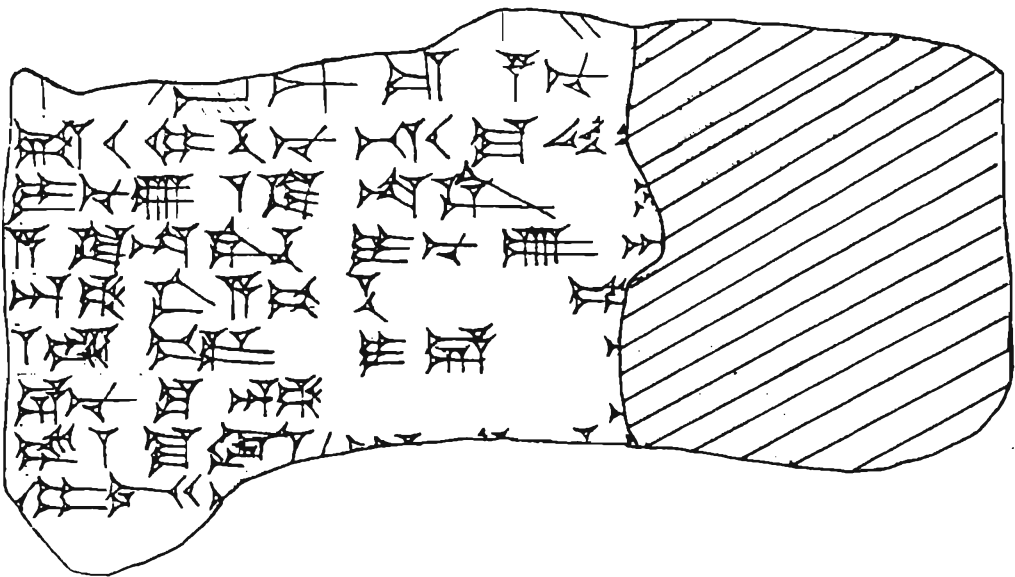
PLATES

BM 32485
6.7×4.2×2.7

Obv.

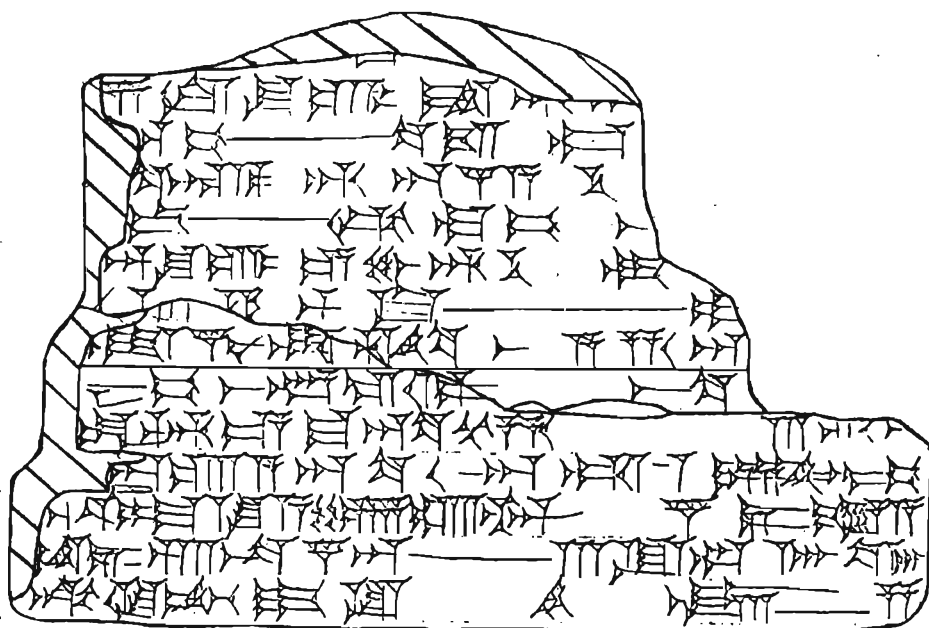


Rev.

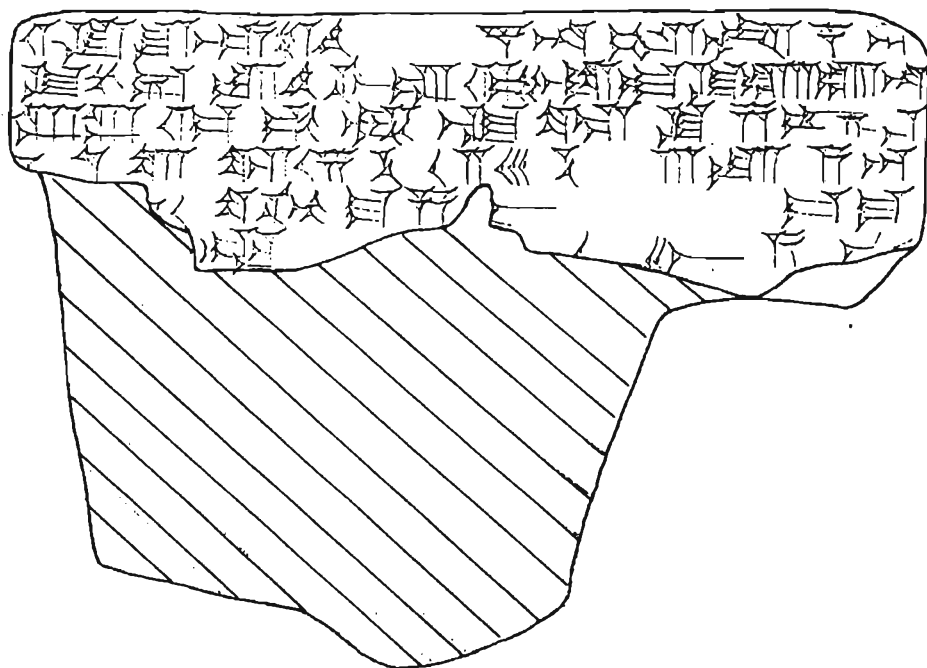


K 6060 + K 10820
7.0×7.3×1.7

Obv.

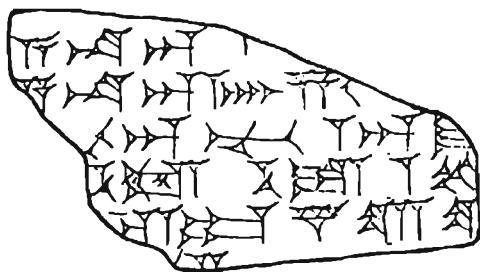


Rev.

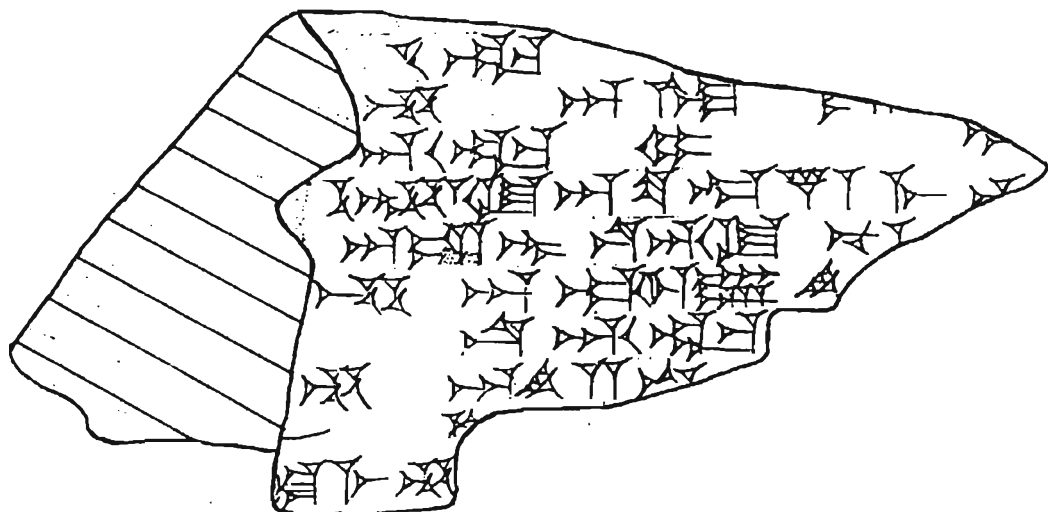


K 9421
5.1×3.8×1.7

Obv.

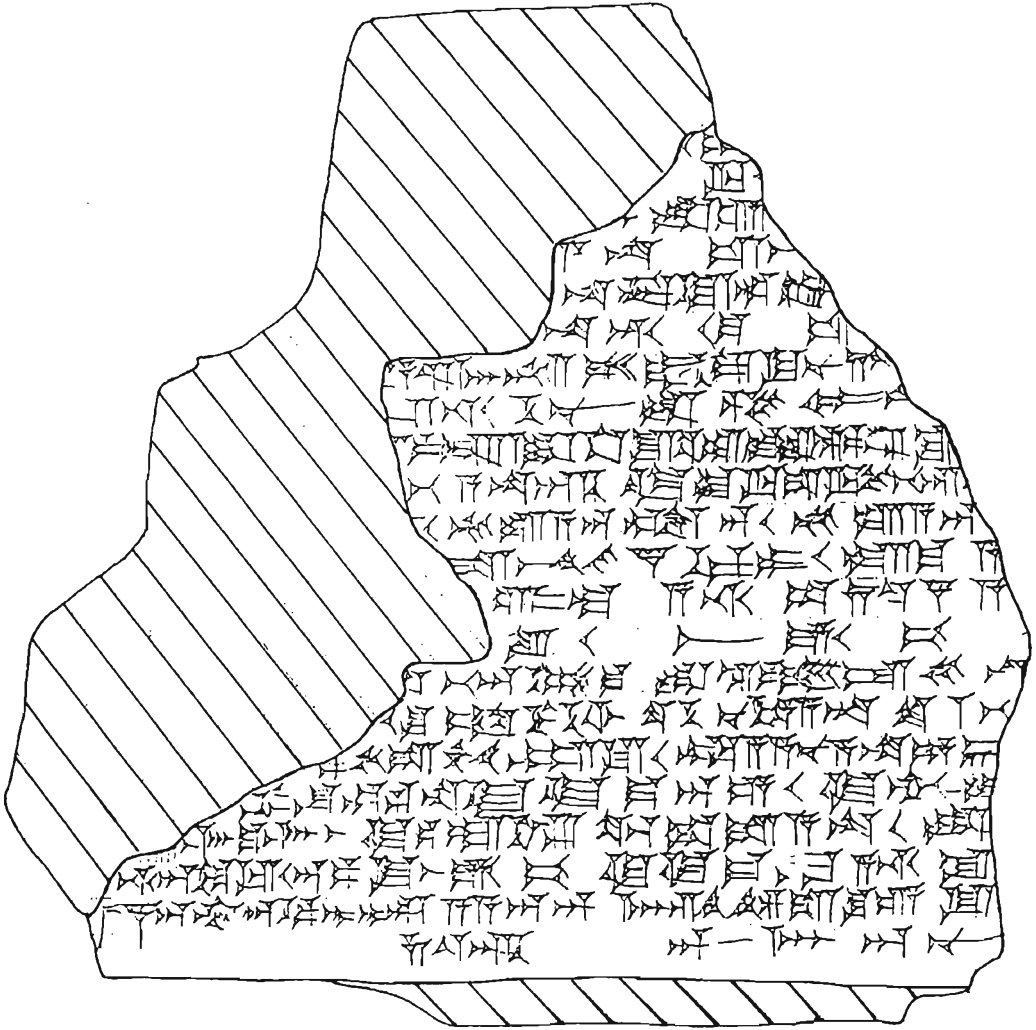


Rev.



Rm 101
10.5×9.0×1.2

Obv.



Reverse lost

SUMMARY

In this study we have examined whether the temple ritual texts, which were copied during the Hellenistic period from older original compositions, are a reliable source of information on the cult practices of Hellenistic Uruk and Babylon. Having surveyed the textual evidence we can conclude that there is enough evidence to suggest that the temple ritual texts indeed describe the cultic activities as they took place during the Hellenistic period.

The extensive descriptions of festivals, rituals and offerings in the temple ritual texts show how important the public cults were in Hellenistic times, at least until the first century B.C. Daily, monthly and annual ceremonies are well attested in ritual texts and cultic calendars. Many of the important temple rituals are extensively described, but other less well-known temple rituals are also attested. They clearly show how active the Babylonians were in matters of religion and cult during the Hellenistic period. The large corpus of cult songs (particularly from Babylon) underlines this. Admittedly, these literary texts are copies of older compositions, but the information of other, contemporary sources shows that the cults were still very important in the Hellenistic period.

The Babylonian cults practised in the temples of Uruk and Babylon in the Hellenistic period are not different from those attested in pre-Hellenistic times. All the evidence clearly shows that the Babylonians held on to their old Babylonian traditions. We found one possible exception to this rule. From Babylon we may have some references to a local ruler cult for the king and his family, a custom well-known to the Seleucid monarchies. Also, for Uruk we cannot exclude the possibility that certain texts contain references to a ruler cult practice, in which Seleucid kings were honoured as superhumans.

ISBN 90 04 12402 0

ISBN 90-04-12402-0



9 789004 124028 >