

MYSTICAL AND
MYTHOLOGICAL
EXPLANATORY WORKS
OF ASSYRIAN AND
BABYLONIAN SCHOLARS

BY

ALASDAIR LIVINGSTONE

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INTRODUCTION

AMONG the cuneiform writings which have survived from the ancient Mesopotamian civilisation are to be found certain works in which Babylonian and Assyrian scholars themselves used their own intellectual tradition to explain parts of their culture. These works have been neglected and sometimes regarded as esoteric,¹ although much has been written on various aspects of ancient thought.² The purpose here will be to present and elucidate a group of ancient works of this type.

It does not seem to be the case that "esoteric" texts constitute a category in ancient Mesopotamian literature. The presence or absence of such terms as *mūdû mūdâ likallim lā mūdû aj imur*, 'Let the learned instruct the learned, the ignorant may not see!' or *pirištu ša ilāni rabûti*, 'Secret of the great gods!' in the colophons of tablets is no criterion, since texts which can hardly be regarded as esoteric sometimes bear them.³ These comments may simply indicate a scholarly pride in the value of literature and knowledge. While one need not doubt that certain texts or doctrines were only understood or held by a select few, it seems probable that many texts which appear "esoteric" to a modern reader were readily understood by ancient scholars.

With these considerations in mind, it is clear that a means of orientation according to subject matter is required. In arranging and selecting the material to be presented and discussed, the writer was much influenced by a lecture by Prof. W.G. Lambert, published in 1968.⁴ In this lecture, Lambert drew attention to evidence testifying to the existence of a Babylonian school of myth and ritual, and made a number of observations. He distinguished two groups of material, a "simple group" and a "sophisticated group". He showed that the scholars responsible for the second group were concerned with explaining rituals by reference to myths, and that the myths and rituals which they connected together were in many cases, properly speaking, unrelated. Finally, he observed that one feature all the material has in common is a supposition that events conceived of as having happened once in primeval times repeat themselves at intervals in the normal functioning of the world.

Taking Lambert's "sophisticated group" and other related works as the main focus of attention, the following method of presentation and study has been adopted. All the examples of the "sophisticated group" known to the writer are given in Part Two. It has been supposed—and the supposition has been productive of understanding—that this material is best approached through study of the context of speculation in which it occurs, and Part One is intended to supply this context. A result of this division is that the texts in Part One are mainly mystical in content, while those in Part Two are more mythological in character. The justification for regarding the material in Part One as relevant to the material in Part Two is threefold. Firstly, the religious outlook expressed appears to be similar and the ways of thinking and of connecting ideas to be the same. Secondly, there are similarities in certain points of detail. Thirdly, some of the works in Part One occur on the same tablets as works in Part Two, or are closely related to ones which do.⁵

Most of the works presented are not commentaries (that is works which cite and explain parts of other works) but explanatory works existing in their own right and independently of other texts. The only certain exception is a short commentary (Gordon, *Smith College Tablets* 110), presented in Chapter One.

In their format, the explanatory works exhibit characteristics typical of many other genres of Babylonian scholarly literature. It was usual for almost every type of information to be summarized and recorded by listing pairs of associated items, arranged in columns. This technique acquired specialised conventions appropriate to the particular subject matter involved. The principle of expressing information by simple juxtaposition is so universal in the literature that it is sometimes necessary to raise the question of the extent to which the actual thinking of the ancient scholars was influenced by this aspect of their practical methodology.

Taking into account this basic principle, the explanatory works show that the Babylonian scholars made use of three main intellectual techniques in elaborating their religious and cultural theories: philological and numerical association, analogy, and symbolism. In the first of these, equations between Sumerian and Akkadian words or cuneiform signs were manipulated in a manner which seemed superficially to be justified by traditional lexical lists, or by numerical permutations, but which had in fact lost sight of the true semantics of the material used. This variety of speculation can be compared with

certain hermeneutic methods used in Biblical exegesis, especially that known as *gematria*.⁶ Texts which exemplify this type of speculation are presented in Chapter One. The second principle, analogy, rested on the assumption that if a particular deity, object, or ritual act had a certain significance, then any other deity, object, or act should somehow be attributed an analogous significance. One can see this principle at work in the elaboration of the material discussed in Chapters Two and Three. The concept of symbolism was used in explaining the significance of certain items used in rituals, and in providing a mythological interpretation of ritual acts. It emerges clearly in the explanatory works presented in Chapters Four to Six.

Mythology, and its relations to ritual, has been the subject of a great deal of discussion and speculation in recent times. The field has been reviewed by G.S. Kirk, who brought into consideration some of the Mesopotamian evidence, as well as Greek and other sources, and modern interpretations.⁷ He distinguished five comprehensive theories, which summarize the main views of myth put forward. Max Müller could be regarded as representing a school of thought which believed all myths to be in origin nature myths. Andrew Lang stressed the aetiological aspect. The anthropologist Bruno Malinowski regarded myths as "charters" for customs, institutions and beliefs. Mircea Eliade saw all myths as having the purpose of evoking, or actually re-establishing a creative era. The "myth and ritual" school, the ideas of which were developed by W. Robertson Smith, J.G. Fraser, S.H. Hooke, and others, viewed all myths as being closely associated with rituals, and deriving from them.

The student of Babylonian mythology will see a certain validity in each of these views. Mythology was deeply rooted in the culture, and served many purposes from simple story telling to folk aetiology and complex applications in cult. From a Babylonian point of view, which assumed deities to have reality and power, any ritual act in which deities took part was in a sense a myth. One cannot help but observe, though, that the ancient scholars responsible for the mythological explanations of rituals presented in the second Part of this book resemble modern interpreters in striving for a unified explanation of rituals in terms of myths, and in presenting an interpretation which is at best an over-simplification.

However, the most significant interest of the explanatory works is that they show that the Babylonian and Assyrian scholars had their

own theories of myth and ritual, and that they were concerned to explain and comment on aspects of their culture.

CONVENTIONS

THE abbreviations used, and the presentation of the ancient texts, conform to standard Assyriological practice. A list of abbreviations and short titles of works cited is given on pp. 10–3. Those tablets the entire texts of which are presented here are referred to by their museum numbers. A list of these, with places of publication, is given on pp. 6–9. In the transliterations, exclamation marks indicate readings which differ from those in the best published copies, but have been verified by collation. Question marks indicated readings which are uncertain, but probable. The attention of non-specialists might be drawn here to the following abbreviations:

SB	Standard Babylonian	OA	Old Assyrian
OB	Old Babylonian	MA	Middle Assyrian
MB	Middle Babylonian	NA	Neo-Assyrian
NB	Neo-Babylonian	LA	Late Assyrian
LB	Late Babylonian	Oakk	Old Akkadian

LIST OF TABLETS EDITED AND DISCUSSED

THE tablets are listed here in the order in which they occur in the present work. The place of presentation of each tablet in this book is indicated, as well as its place or places of publication elsewhere.

BM 47860	elsewhere: unpublished here: see Plate I p.20
K 2164 + 2195 + 3510	elsewhere: <i>Babyl 6</i> pl.1-2 (copy) <i>Babyl 6</i> pp.8-10 (edition) here: p.22
K 2670	elsewhere: <i>III R 2 22</i> (copy) here: p.28
K 170 + Rm 520	elsewhere: <i>CT 25 50</i> (copy of K 170) <i>CT 46 54</i> (copy of Rm 520) here: p.30
K 4245 + K 17990	elsewhere: <i>BBR II 27</i> (copy and edition of K 4245) here: see Plate II p.54 p.176 p.259 (colophon)
BM 47463	elsewhere: unpublished here: see Plate III-V p.54 (rev.i 8-rev.ii 16) p.96 (obv.ii 31-5) p.176 (obv.i 5-ii 35) p.186 (rev.i 1-7) p.259 (colophon)
BM 41361 + 44179	elsewhere: unpublished here: see Plate VI p.176
CBS 6060	elsewhere: <i>PBS 17/iv n.12</i> (copy and edition) here: p.54 p.96

BM 34035 (= Sp I 131)	elsewhere: p.176 here: p.186 p.260 (colophon) <i>ZA 6 241-4</i> (copy) p.255 (ll.1-8) p.61 (ll.8-13) p.172 (ll.13-23) p.255 (ll.23-7) p.62 (ll.28-32) p.256 (ll.33-7) p.73 (ll.38-9) p.163 (ll.39-41) p.96 (ll.41-2) p.256 (ll.43-53) p.259 (colophon)
Gordon, <i>Smith College Tablets</i> , 110	elsewhere: Gordon, <i>Smith College Tablets</i> , 110 (copy) here: p.64
BM 37055	elsewhere: unpublished here: see Plate VII p.68
VAT 8917	elsewhere: <i>KAR 307</i> <i>TuL n.7</i> here: p.94 (obv.1-18) p.233 (obv.19-23) p.124 (obv.24-9) p.82 (obv.30-rev.3) p.82 (rev.4-6) p.234 (rev.7-8) p.257 (rev.9) p.82 (rev.10-5) p.151 (rev.16) p.124 (rev.17-9) p.124 (rev.20-5) p.260 (colophon)
VAT 9946	elsewhere: <i>LKA 72</i> (copy) <i>TuL n.10</i> (edition) <i>Orient 15</i> iff. (edition) here: p.94 (rev.9-17) p.116 (obv.1-22; rev.1-8;

		rev.18-9)
		p.261 (colophon)
VAT 10099	elsewhere:	<i>LKA</i> 71 (copy)
		<i>Orient</i> 15 iff. (edition)
	here:	p.116
		p.258
		p.261 (colophon)
IM 3252	elsewhere:	<i>Sumer</i> 13 pl.25 (copy)
		<i>TIM</i> 9 59 (copy)
		<i>Orient</i> 15 iff. (edition)
	here:	p.116
K 3476	elsewhere:	<i>CT</i> 15 43-4 (copy)
		Pallis, <i>Akîtu Festival</i> , pls. V-VII (copy)
		Zimmern, <i>Neujahrsfest</i> I 127ff. (edition)
		<i>Assyrische Tempel</i> , T 89-93 (edition)
	here:	p.120 (obv.)
		p.257 (rev.1-8)
		p.261 (colophon)
VAT 9947	elsewhere:	<i>LKA</i> 73 (copy)
		<i>TuL</i> n.8 (edition)
		<i>Assyrische Tempel</i> , T 29-32 (edition)
	here:	p.126
		p.261 (colophon)
O 175	elsewhere:	<i>RA</i> 16 144ff. (copy and edition)
	here:	p.190
VAT 9555 dupls. VAT 9538 and ND 812(a)	elsewhere:	<i>KAR</i> 143 (copy of VAT 9555)
		<i>KAR</i> 219 (copy of VAT 9538)
		<i>ZA</i> 50 132ff. (edition of VAT 9555 dupl. VAT 9538)
		<i>GPA</i> n.268 and pl.87 (edition and copy of ND 812(a))

		here:	p.236
			p.261 (colophon of VAT 9555)
			p.262 (colophon of ND 812(a))
K 6330 + 6359 + 9138	elsewhere:		<i>JRAS</i> 1931 113ff. (copies and edition of K 6330 and K 6359)
dupl. Rm 275			Langdon, <i>Epic of Creation</i> , 212ff. (copies of K 9138 and Rm 275; edition)
			<i>ZA</i> 51 153ff. (edition)
		here:	p.242
BM 134503		elsewhere:	<i>ZA</i> 52, facing p.224 (photograph)
			<i>ZA</i> 52 226ff. (edition)
		here:	p.246
BM 134504 + S 1903		elsewhere:	<i>ZA</i> 60 127ff. (copy and edition)
		here:	p.248
K 7979		elsewhere:	unpublished
		here:	see Plate VII
			p.250

PUBLICATIONS CITED BY INITIALS,
SHORT TITLES OF WORKS
FORMING PART OF A SERIES,
TABLET SIGNATURES

- A** lexical series á A = *nāqu*; see *MSL* 14
AAT J.A. Craig, *Astrological-Astronomical texts* (= *AB* 14)
AB *Assyriologische Bibliothek*
AbB F.R. Kraus, *Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung*
ABL R.F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*
ABRT J.A. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts* (= *AB* XIII)
ACh C. Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne*
AfK *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*
AfO *Archiv für Orientforschung*
AGH E. Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsreihe "Handerhebung"*; cf. *UFBG*
AHw W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*
AJA *American Journal of Archaeology*
AMT R.C. Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts*
An theological series *An* = *Anum*, cited from *CT*
ANET J.B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*
Angim epic *Angim dimma*, edition of J. Cooper, *The Return of Ninurta to Nippur* (= *AnOr* 52)
AnOr *Analecta Orientalia*
AnSt *Anatolian Studies*
AO tablets in the Louvre, Paris
AOATS *Alter Orient und altes Testament*, Sonderreihe
AS *Assyriological Studies*, Chicago
Assyrische Tempel B. Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel* (= *Studia Pohl*, Series Major 10/I–II)
Atrahasis epic, edition of W.G. Lambert and A.R. Millard, *Atra-ḫasis*
Babyl *Babyloniaca*
BAM F. Köcher, *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten*
BASOR *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BBR H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*
BE *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*
BiOr *Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BM tablets in the British Museum, London
BRM *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*
BSGW *Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*
BWL W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*
CA G. van Driel, *The Cult of Aššur*
CAD *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*
CB R. Labat, *Un calendrier babylonien des travaux, des signes, et des mois*
CH R.F. Harper, edition of *Code of Hammurabi*, cuneiform text
Clay, PN A.T. Clay, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period* (= *YOR* 1)
CT *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*
CBS tablets in the University Museum, Philadelphia
Der kultische Kalender B. Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer* (*LSS* 6/1–2)
Diri lexical series *diri* *DIR siāku* = (*w)atru*
DT tablets in the British Museum, London
Enūma eliš epic, cuneiform text established by W.G. Lambert
Erra epic, edition of L. Cagni, *L'épopée de Erra*
Essarhaddon R. Borger, *Die Inschriften von Assarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (= *AfO* Beiheft 9)
Farber, Ištar and Dumuzi W. Farber, *Beschwörungsrituale an Ištar und Dumuzi*
Festschrift Albricht *Near Eastern Studies in Honour of W.F. Albricht*, ed. by H. Goedicke
FTS S.N. Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer*
GAG W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (*AnOr* 33)
Gilg epic, edition of R.C. Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*
Gordon, Smith College Tablets C.H. Gordon, *Smith College Tablets* (*Smith College Studies in History*, Vol. 38)
GPA J.N. Postgate, *The Governor's Palace Archive*
Gudea text, *TCL* 8
HBA E. Weidner, *Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie*
Hém R. Labat, *Hémérologies et Ménologies*
Hh lexical series *ḪAR.ra ḫubullu*; see *MSL* 5–11
HKI R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*
Id lexical series *A = idu*
IM tablets in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad
inbu series *inbu bēl arḫi*; see *Der kultische Kalender*
iqqur ēpuš series; see *CC*
Iraq journal, *Iraq*
Izbu edition of E. Leichty, *The Omen Series Šumma Izbu* (*TCL* 4)
JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JCS *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies*
JThS *Journal of Theological Studies*
K tablets in the British Museum, London
Kagal lexical series *Ká.gal = abullu*
KAJ *Keilschrifttexte aus Aššur, juristischen Inhalts*
KAR *Keilschrifttexte aus Aššur, religiösen Inhalts*
KAV *Keilschrifttexte aus Aššur, verschiedenen Inhalts*
LAK *Liste der archaischen Keilschriftzeichen* (= *WVDOG* 40 (1922))
Langdon, Epic of Creation S. Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation*
LAS S. Parpola, *Letters of Assyrian Scholars* (*AOATS*)
LKA E. Ebeling, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Aššur*
LKU A. Falkenstein, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk*
LSS *Leipzig Semitistische Studien*

- LTBA L. Matouš, W. von Soden, *Die Lexikalischen Tafelserien der Babylonier und Assyrer*
epic, edition of J. van Dijk, LUGAL UD ME-LÂM-bi NIR-GÁL
Lugal
MAD *Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary*
Malku lexical series Malku = šarru
Maqlû incantation texts, edition of G. Meier, *AfO Beiheft 2*
MCT O. Neugebauer, A. Sachs, *Mathematical Cuneiform Texts*
MIO *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung*
MSL B. Landsberger, M. Civil, et al., *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon*
MVAG *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*
N tablets excavated at Nippur
Nabnitu lexical series SIG₇ + ALAM = nabnitu
ND tablets in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad
Neujahrsfest H. Zimmern, *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest I and II*
O tablets in the Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels
OEC *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*
OIP *Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago*
Orient journal, *Orient*
OrNS *Orientalia, Nova Seria*
OSP A. Westenholz, *Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts*
Pallis, Akitu S.A. Pallis, *The Babylonian Akitu festival*
festival
PAPS *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*
Parfümrezepte E. Ebeling, *Parfümrezepte und kultische Texte aus Assur (= OrNS 17-19)*
PBS *Publications of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, Philadelphia*
Pettinato, Testi G. Pettinato, *Testi Lessicali Bilingui della Biblioteca L.2769, Parte I*
Lessicali lexical series
proto Ea H. Rawlinson et al., *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*
R (volume numbers stated first)
RA *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*
RAcc F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens*
RIA *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*
Rm tablets in the British Museum, London
SBH G. Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen*
SEM E. Chiera, *Sumerian Epics and Myths*
SKIZ W.H.Ph. Römer, *Sumerische Königshymnen der Isin-Zeit*
ŠL A. Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon*
Sp tablets in the British Museum, London
SRT E. Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts*
STC L.W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*
StOr *Studia Orientalia*
STT O.R. Gurney, J.J. Finkelstein and P. Hulin, *The Sultantepe Tablets*
Sumer journal *Sumer*
Šurpu incantation series, edition of E. Reiner, *AfO Beiheft 11*
TCL *Textes Cuneiformes du Louvre*
TCS *Texts from Cuneiform Sources*
TIM *Texts in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad*

- TLB *Tabulae Cuneiformes a F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl collectae*
TP 'Tilgatpileser. Prism' (see R. Borger, *AfO* 25, 161ff.)
TRS H. de Genouillac, *Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre (= TCL XV-XVI)*
TuL E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier*
UET *Ur Excavations, Texts*
UFBG W. Mayer, *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen "Gebetsbeschwörungen" (Studia Pohl, Series Maior 5)*
tablets in the University Museum, Philadelphia
UM *Unity and Diversity: Essays in the history, literature and religion of the ancient Near East*, ed. H. Goedicke
Unity and Diversity
VAB *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*
VAT tablets in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
Vögel A. Salonen, *Vögel und Vogelfang im alten Mesopotamien*
VS *Vorderasiatische Denkmäler der Königlichen/Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*
Waffennamen E. Salonen, *Die Waffen der alten Mesopotamier (= StOr 33)*
WO *Die Welt des Orients*
WVDOG *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
YBT *Yale (Oriental Series), Babylonian Texts*
YOR *Yale Oriental Series, Researches*
YOS *Yale Oriental Series*
ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
Zimmern, Neujahrsfest H. Zimmern, *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest, BSGW 58 and 70/V*

PART ONE
MYSTICAL EXPLANATORY WORKS

CHAPTER ONE

EXPOSITIONS OF MYSTICAL MATHEMATICS AND PHILOLOGY

BABYLONIAN scholars were at times concerned with explaining aspects of their culture. The explanations which they put forward frequently involved association of different items drawn from the cultural tradition. Sometimes, items were associated on the basis of mathematical or philological resemblances which appear artificial to the modern mind, but were evidently regarded as significant by ancient thinkers. Isolated examples of the use of artificial mathematics and philology occur in various contexts, but here the concern will be with expositions which make systematic use of the concept. First, an edition and discussion of the surviving tablets of the series *i.NAM.giš.ħur.an.ki.a* is given. This is followed by remarks on the type of speculation involved, and presentation of other works which use it.

i.NAM.giš.ħur.an.ki.a

THREE substantial pieces of the work, and a fragment with a colophon only, survive. One of the substantial pieces, BM 47860, is in LB script and is dated by its colophon to the 33rd year of Darius, that is 488 B.C. It concerns dimensions of granaries and the Ekur, the temple of Enlil in Nippur. The other three pieces, K 2164+, K 170+, and the fragment, K 2670, are all NA tablets from the Kouyunjik collection, and are all attributed in their colophons to Nabûzuqpkēna,¹ a scribe who was active during the reigns of Sargon and Sennacherib. K 2164+ is described in its colophon as a *pirsu*, 'division', and K 170+ as a *nishu*, 'excerpt'. The division takes as its subject the moon god, Sîn, and elucidates various remarkable mathematical or philological relationships between periods or names important in the lunar cycle. The excerpt also includes a treatment of names of Sîn, and continues with an exposition of names or attributes of other deities.



Provenance and Date of Origin

In spite of the enormous number of cuneiform texts, both Assyrian and Babylonian, which have survived from the late second and early first millennium B.C., there is no evidence for the transmission of literature from Assyria to Babylonia, although transmission in the opposite direction is well known. Therefore, existence of a Babylonian manuscript of the present work makes it seem extremely likely that the work was Babylonian in origin.² This view is corroborated by theological matters, such as the attention which the work devotes to the Babylonian epic *Enūma eliš*. The latest possible date of composition would be the early Sargonid period, in view of the Assyrian copies of the work, and allowing time for it to pass from Babylonia to Assyria. The work must be later than the date of composition of *Enūma eliš*, which it quotes, and later than the discovery of the theories from ^{mul}*apin*, which it utilizes.³ *Enūma eliš* has been dated to the second half of the second millennium at the earliest⁴ and for the present work a date before the first millennium is suggested by cultic matters, and matters relating to the calendar (see p.40). A date late in the second millennium or early in the first, allowing for religious conservatism, is therefore put forward. This is consistent with the fact that the late second millennium is known to have been a period of literary production and theological speculation.⁵

[Text continues on p. 20]

BM 47860

Obverse

1	4,20,6,40	<i>ikû am-am-ma</i> ×	[na]špaku(i.dub)	<i>igigubbû^{u*}</i>
2	20,6,16	<i>ikû ur-ru-uḥ</i> sag 3	ki.min	<i>igigubbû^u</i>
3	30,3,46	<i>ikû ki-ir-ši</i>	ki.min	<i>igigubbû^u</i>
4	16,40,2,30	<i>ikû ka-re-e</i>	ki.min	<i>igigubbû^u</i>
5	4,10,3,7,30	<i>ikû ka-šal</i> ki.min	ki.min	<i>igigubbû^u</i>
6	12,30,6,22,30	<i>ikû gab-ri</i>	ki.min	<i>igigubbû^u</i>
7	6,40	<i>ikû našpak†</i> še-im		<i>igigubbû^u</i>
8	6,0	<i>ikû našpak</i> me- [†] e [†]		<i>igigubbû^u</i>
9	6,0	<i>ikû našpak</i> × DIŠ		<i>igigubb[û^u]</i>
10	6,12	<i>ikû našpak</i> SE DU ₈ NU		<i>igig[ubbû^u]</i>
11	6,12	<i>ikû našpak</i> [×] × DIŠ		[...]
12	6,24	<i>ikû naš[pak ...</i>		
13	6,24	<i>i[kû ...</i>		
14	6,45	[...]		
15	7,30	[...]		

Reverse

1	...	HI I[L ...
2	1,40	igi.gub.ba × [...
3	2,40	a.râ 6 16,0 16,0 DUG × [...
<hr/>		
4	<i>kippat naptan†</i>	é.kur : 5,20 im.gíd.da [(× × × ×)]
5	<i>ur.a^{meš}</i>	<i>tal-qí-ma eš-re-e-ti gi-mir-[ši-na (× × ×)]</i>
6		<i>kul-lat né-me-di sa-ni-qu mit-ḥur-[ti (× ×)]</i>
7		<i>ša igi-gub-bé-e šá eqlēti(a.šā)^{meš} aḥ-zu KAK × [(× ×)]</i>
8		<i>ka-a-a-nam-ma</i> erasure <i>ta-nam-[bī]</i>
<hr/>		
9	<i>ina ur.a me-ti</i>	UŠ šumma(BE) <i>eqlu(a.šā) šá 45 izzaz</i> T[A (×)]
10	13,30	<i>zēru(še.numun) me-ti ša ur.a 45 šu-[u]</i>
11		<i>kunāsu(zíz) tēnu(àra) ur.dam.ma mit-ḥur-ta : tubqu(ub)</i> šá ur.a 12

* Written igi.gub^u and passim down the column.

† Written i.dub and passim down the column.

‡ Written u kin.sig.

BM 47860

Obverse

1	4,20,6,40	volume of the Amamma	granary	coefficient
2	20,6,16	volume of the three headed		
		Urruḥ	ditto	coefficient
3	30,3,46	volume of the Kiršu	ditto	coefficient
4	16,40,2,30	volume of the storehouse	ditto	coefficient
5	4,10,3,7,30	volume of the Kašlu of the		
		storehouse	ditto	coefficient
6	12,30,6,22,30	volume of the strong one	ditto	coefficient
7	6,40	volume of the storeroom of barley		coefficient
8	6,0	volume of the storeroom of water(?)		coefficient
9	6,0	volume of the storeroom of ..		coefficient
10	6,12	volume of the storeroom of ..		coefficient
11	6,12	volume of the storeroom of [..] ..		[...]
12	6,24	volume of the storeroom [...]		
13	6,24	volume [...]		
14	6,45	[...]		
15	7,30	[...]		

Reverse

1 [...
2	1,40	is the coefficient . [...
3	2,40 × 6 = 16,0	16,0 a jug [†] [...
<hr/>		
4	Meal circle of the Ekur.	5,20 a long tablet [(....)]
5	The products you have taken, and every one of the shrines,[(...)]	
6	all the cult bases, with different proportions* [(× ×)]	
7	when the coefficients of the areas are taken .. [(..)]	
8	you say are the same.	
<hr/>		
9	In multiplication by a hundred UŠ. If an area of 45 stands. [(..)]	
10	13,30 of grain multiplied by a hundred is 45.	
11	Ground emmer multiplied. A square. Corner multiplied by 12.	

* Literally, "bringing opposing things together".

- 12 i.NAM.giš.ḥur.an.ki.a ur₅.ur₅.ra ki pī ṭuppi gaba-ri
la-ba-ri-šú
- 13 ša-ṭir-ma ba-ri ṭuppi ¹dbēl-na-din-apli
- 14 lúgir.lá ^dmarduk lúšà-suk-ku
- 15 pa-liḥ ^dmarduk là ittabbal(tùm) ^{iti}šabaṭu ud.12.kám
- 16 mu.33.kám ¹da-a-ri-ja-uš₁₁ šàr kiššati(šú)
- 17 ša-ṭir

K 2164 + 2195 + 3510

Obverse

- 1 I šin(30) ud.1.kam 3,45 [... ..]BAR-zu
-
- 2 e-nu-ma ultu(ta) ta-mar-t[i... ..] × NU
- 3 I ud.7.kam agâ [ma-áš-la ...
- 4 ud.14.kam i × [...
- 5 ša-bà-tu₄ [...
- 6 ud.21.kam [m ...
- 7 ud.27.[kam] × × šu × [...
- 8 ud.28¹.[kam] × i-tur × [...
- 9 bubbu[li(u₄.ná.a)... ..] × ú-kin × [...
- 10 ina [... ..] × e im-bu-ú-šu [...
-
- 11 ud.7.[kam agâ ma-á]š-la bar bà bà za-a-zu bà pa-r[a-su]
- 12 bà [ba-an-t]u bà mi-šil bà(30) šin(30) mi-šil meš-[li]
- 13 30 [a.rá 0;30] 15 15 a.rá 4 60 60 ^da-nù im-bi inbu(gurun)
-
- 14 [ud.13.kam ..] ud.12.kam 12 130 an.ta ki.ta ki.ta an.t[a]
- 15 ta-[nam-b]i ka.inim.ma nēmeq(nam.kù.zu) a-re-e šu-a-[tú]
-
- 16 ud.2[2].kam ud.14.kam 14 10 tuš-ta-ša¹-bu 14 × 10 = 14[0 × ...]
- 17 22 an.ta ki.ta ki.ta an.ta 1 šu.bi.gál.l[a]
-
- 18 ud.25.kam ud.15.kam 25 ta-za-zu 20 ù 5 talappatu(tag)^{tú}

- 12 i.NAM.giš.ḥur.an.ki.a, corresponding things. According to a
tablet copied from its original,
- 13 written and checked. A tablet of Bēlnādinapli,
- 14 the butcher of Marduk, the librarian.
- 15 He who fears Marduk will not carry it away. Written
- 16 on the 12th of Šabaṭ, in the 33rd year of Darius, king
- 17 of the world.

K 2164 + 2195 + 3510

Obverse

- 1 On the first day the moon for 2½ double hours [... ..] divide.
-
- 2 When, from the appearance [... ..].
- 3 On the 7th day a [half] crown [...
- 4 On the 14th day it . [...
- 5 The 15th day [...
- 6 The 21st day [...
- 7 The 27th [day... ..] ... [...
- 8 The 28th [day] . it returned . [...
- 9 On the day of its disappearance [... ..] . it established . [...
- 10 In [... .. because] he called him .. [...
-
- 11 The 7th [day: a half] crown. bar(half): bà(30). bà: to divide, bà: to
cut,
- 12 bà: share, bà: half. Half(ba) of Šin(30) is half of a half.
- 13 0;30 [x 0;30] = 0;15 0;15 × 4 = 1;0 1,0(60) is Anu. He called
the "fruit".
-
- 14 [The 13th day]: the 12th day. You call 12 130 reversed.
- 15 Words of wisdom of that mathematical tablet.
-
- 16 The 22nd day: the 14th day. You multiply 14 and 10. 14 × 10 =
140
- 17 It becomes 22 reversed. Ditto.
-
- 18 The 25th day: the 15th day. You split up 25. You write down 20
and 5.

19 igi.20.[g]ál.bi 3 3 a.rá 5 15 15 ud.15.kam

20 ina × × × (×) A² d^sín(30) u d^samaš(utu) 3 a.rá 3 ta-nam-bi

21 [.....]r⁹ a.rá 3 27 27 ud.27.kam d^sín(30) u d^samaš(utu)

22 [ilāni^{meš} ki-lal-la-an] izzazzū(gub)^{me} zu-ma purussē(eš.bar)

māti(kur) iparrasū(bà)^{meš}

23 [(× × ×) ša]-ad-du ana māti(kur) inaddinū^{meš} nu

24 [ūm bibbuli ana] harrān(kaskal) d^samaš(utu) šu-taq-rim-ma gaba.ri

25 [× × × ×] 5 5,5 mūšāti(ge₆)^{meš} ša 5 5,8 mūšu(ge₆) ana

ūmi(ud) šalaštu(3)^{tu}₄

26 [× × × ×] 5,8 ša takammaru(gar)-ma 11,50 1,40 ud.da.zal-e

u₄-mu

27 [50 ud.da.zal]-e arḫu(iti) 10,0 ud.da.zal.lá-e šattu(mu.an.na)

28 [× × × × 5]0 a.rá 12 10,0 10 a-na 11,50 tuššab(dah)-ma 12,0

29 [× × × ×] 6 mināti(ŠID)^{meš} mūšāti(ge₆)^{me} 6 a.rá 12

30 [× × × ×] izzazzū^{zu} ša qabū(dug₄.ga)^u

31 [× × × ×] ša 3,45 igi.bi miḫrat(gaba)-ma

32 [... ...] × 3,45 16

33 [... ...] × [...]

Reverse

1 [I ina itⁱbará
ud.1.kam 3;10 en.nun.ge₆ 3;10 a.rá 4 12;40 ana šú ša sîn

2 ki.min
ud.15.kam 3;00 ki.min 3;00 a.rá 4 12;00 ana kur ša sîn

3 I ina itⁱgu₄
ud.1.kam 2;50 ki.min 2;50 a.rá 4 11;20 ana šú ša sîn

4 ki.min
ud.15.kam 2;40 ki.min 2;40 a.rá 4 11;40 ana kur ša sîn

5 I ina itⁱsig₄
ud.1.kam 2;30 ki.min 2;30 a.rá 4 10;00 ana šú ša sîn

6 ki.min
ud.15.kam 2;20 ki.min 2;20 a.rá 4 9;20 ana kur ša sîn

19 The reciprocal of 20 is 0;3. $3 \times 5 = 15$ 15 is the 15th day.

20 You call Šamaš and Sîn 3×3 .

21 [.....] 9×3 is 27, 27 is the 27th day. Sîn and Šamaš,

22 [both gods,] are present and make the decisions for the land.

23 [(...)] They give the signs for the land.

24 ["On the day of disappearance of the moon,] approach the path of Šamaš!" quoted.

25 [...] 5 5,5 nights of 5 5,8 nights by a third of a day

26 [...].. 5,0 which you add 11,50 1 2/3 of a longest day is a day (24 hours).

27 [50 longest days] is a month. 600 longest days is a year.

28 [...] $50 \times 12 = 10,0(600)$. You add 10 to 11,50: 12,0

29 [...] 6 Reckoning of the nights. 6×12

30 [...] they stand, as it is said.

31 [...] of 3,45 in front of it and opposite.

32 [...] 3,45 16

33 [...] . [...]

Reverse

1 [On Nisan 1st, 3;10 is a night
watch. $3;10 \times 4 = 12;40$, to moonrise

2 ditto 15th, 3;00 ditto $3;00 \times 4 = 12;00$, to moonset.

3 On Ajjār 1st, 2;50 ditto $2;50 \times 4 = 11;20$, to moonrise.

4 ditto 15th, 2;40 ditto $2;40 \times 4 = 11;40$, to moonset.

5 On Simān 1st, 2;30 ditto $2;30 \times 4 = 10;00$, to moonrise.

6 ditto 15th, 2;20 ditto $2;20 \times 4 = 9;20$, to moonset.

7	<i>I ina</i> ^{iti} šu				
	ud.1.kam	2;10 ki.min	2;10 a.rá 4 8;40	<i>ana šú ša sîn</i>	
8	ki.min				
	ud.15.kam	2;00 ki.min	2;00 a.rá 4 8;00	<i>ana kur ša sîn</i>	
9	<i>I ina</i> ^{iti} zi				
	ud.1.kam	2;10 ki.min	2;10 a.rá 4 8;40	<i>ana šú ša sîn</i>	
10	ki.min				
	ud.15.kam	2;20 ki.min	2;20 a.rá 4 9;20	<i>ana kur ša sîn</i>	
11	<i>I ina</i> ^{iti} kin				
	ud.1.kam	2;30 ki.min	2;30 a.rá 4 10;00	<i>ana šú ša sîn</i>	
12	ki.min				
	ud.15.kam	2;40 ki.min	2;40 a.rá 4 10;40	<i>ana kur ša sîn</i>	
13	<i>I ina</i> ^{iti} du ₆				
	ud.1.kam	2;50 ki.min	2;50 a.rá 4 11;20	<i>ana šú ša sîn</i>	
14	ki.min				
	ud.15.kam	3;00 ki.min	3;00 a.rá 4 12;00	<i>ana kur ša sîn</i>	
15	<i>I ina</i> ^{iti} apin				
	ud.1.kam	3;10 ki.min	3;10 a.rá 4 12;40	<i>ana šú ša sîn</i>	
16	ki.min				
	ud.15.kam	3;20 ki.min	3;20 a.rá 4 13;20	<i>ana kur ša sîn</i>	
17	<i>I ina</i> ^{iti} gan				
	ud.1.kam	3;30 ki.min	3;30 a.rá 4 14;00	<i>ana šú ša sîn</i>	
18	ki.min				
	ud.15.kam	3;40 ki.min	3;40 a.rá 4 14;40	<i>ana kur ša sîn</i>	
19	<i>I ina</i> ^{iti} ab				
	ud.1.kam	3;50 ki.min	3;50 a.rá 4 15;20	<i>ana šú ša sîn</i>	
20	ki.min				
	ud.15.kam	4;00 ki.min	4;00 a.rá 4 16;00	<i>ana kur ša sîn</i>	
21	<i>I ina</i> ^{iti} ziz				
	ud.1.kam	3;50 ki.min	3;50 a.rá 4 15;20	<i>ana šú ša sîn</i>	
22	ki.min				
	ud.15.kam	3;40 ki.min	3;40 a.rá 4 14;40	<i>ana kur ša sîn</i>	

7	On Du'ūz 1st,	2;20 ditto	2;10 × 4 = 8;40,	to moonrise.
8	ditto 15th,	2;00 ditto	2;00 × 4 = 8;00,	to moonset.
9	On Āb 1st,	2;10 ditto	2;10 × 4 = 8;40,	to moonrise.
10	ditto 15th,	2;20 ditto	2;20 × 4 = 9;20,	to moonset.
11	On Ulūl 1st,	2;30 ditto	2;30 × 4 = 10;00,	to moonrise.
12	ditto 15th,	2;40 ditto	2;40 × 4 = 10;40,	to moonset.
13	On Tašrīt 1st,	2;50 ditto	2;50 × 4 = 11;20,	to moonrise.
14	ditto 15th,	3;00 ditto	3;00 × 4 = 12;00,	to moonset.
15	On Arah- šamña 1st,	3;10 ditto	3;10 × 4 = 12;40,	to moonrise.
16	ditto 15th,	3;20 ditto	3;20 × 4 = 13;20,	to moonset.
17	On Kislim 1st,	3;30 ditto	3;30 × 4 = 14;00,	to moonrise.
18	ditto 15th,	3;40 ditto	3;40 × 4 = 14;40,	to moonset.
19	On Ṭebēt 1st,	3;50 ditto	3;50 × 4 = 15;20,	to moonrise.
20	ditto 15th,	4;00 ditto	4;00 × 4 = 16;00,	to moonset.
21	On Šabaṭ 1st,	3;50 ditto	3;50 × 4 = 15;20,	to moonrise.
22	ditto 15th,	3;40 ditto	3;40 × 4 = 14;40,	to moonset.

- 23 I ina itiše
ud.1.kam 3;30 ki.min 3;30 a.rá 4 14;00 ana šú ša sîn
- 24 ki.min
ud.15.kam 3;20 ki.min 3;20 a.rá 4 13;20 ana kur ša sîn
-
- 25 I ud.ná.àm b[u-u]m-bu-li ná na-a-lu₄
26 ná ša-la-la n[á i-t]u-ú-lu₄ ná ra-ba-šu ná ba-nu-ú
27 ná te-diš-ti ūm(ud) te-diš-ti d^ssîn(30) m̄aru reš-tu-ú ša d^{en}-lil
-
- 28 bu-úm-bu-li bu(gíd) na-sa-ḫu
29 ud(úm) ú-mu bu-li šu-ta-as-su-ḫy
30 ta-as-su-uh-tu₄ ta-lit-tu₄
31 u₄-mu i-lit-ti d^ssîn(30) ki-i qabû(dug₄.ga)^ú
-
- 32 e-nu-ma dⁿnanna(ŠEŠ.KI)-ri é.an.na ina bá'ī(dib)ⁱ-šu(bi)
33 šanû(2) pir-su i.NAM.giš.ḫur.an.ki.a tab-ba-a-ti šamê u eršetitⁱ
šu-ut apsi ma-la ba-aš-mu
34 im.gid.da arê(a.rá)^e ṭup-piⁱ nabû-zu-qup-kēna mār
Id^mmarduk-šum-iqīša^{šá} lú ṭupšarru
35 līp-līp(šā.bal.bal) I gab-bi-ilāni^{meš} ni-ēreš^{reš} lú rāb ṭupšarrī^{meš}

K 2670

- 1 I MU[L ...
2 I inbu(gurun)ⁱ d^ssîn(30)ⁱ ášⁱ-šuⁱ [...
3 šalšu(3)^{šú} pir-su i.NAM.giš.ḫur.an.[ki.a tab-ba-a-ti šamê u eršetitⁱ]
4 šu-ut ap-si-i ma-la ba-aš-mu i[mⁱ.gid.da arê (a.rá)^e]
5 Idⁿnabû-zu-qup-kēna mār Id^mmarduk-šum-iqīša^{šá} lú ṭupšarru
6 lú āš[īpu(MAŠ.MAŠ)]
7 a-na ta-mar-ti Idⁱištar(MÜŠ)-šum-ēreš^{reš} mārī-ja ul-tu 1½
šanāte(mu.an.na)^{meš}
8 di-ig-la ú-kab-bir-ma za-mar ú-ba-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ma ab-r[i]
9 a-mi-ru la i-ṭa-ap-pil^{iti} ṭebētu ud.30.kám li-mu I ma-za-a[r-ne-e]
10 lú šá-kīn^{urukul-la-[ni-i]}
11 šatti 22.kám Id^ssîn-aḫḫē^{meš}-eri-ba šār māt d^{aš}-[šur^{ki}]

- 23 On Addar 1st, 3;30 ditto 3;30 × 4 = 14;00, to moonrise.
24 ditto 15th, 3;20 ditto 3;20 × 4 = 13;20, to moonset.
-
- 25 ud.ná.am: day of disappearance of the moon. ná: to lie down,
26 ná: to lie asleep, ná: to settle down, ná: to crouch, ná: to be
beautiful,
27 ná: to renew. Day(ud) of renewal of Sîn, eldest son of Enlil.
-
- 28 Day of disappearance of the moon(*bumbuli*). gid(bu): to pull out.
29 ud(úm): day. bu.li: make pulled out.
30 pulling out: birth.
31 Day of birth of Sîn, as it is said.
-
- 32 When Nanna passes the Eanna.
33 2nd division of i.NAM.giš.ḫur.an.ki.a, corresponding things of
heaven and underworld, things of the Apsû, as many as
are designed.
34 A long mathematical tablet of Nabûzuqpkēna, son of
Mardukšumiqīša, the scribe,
35 descendant of Gabbilāniēreš, chief of the scribes.

K 2670

- 1 star [...
2 "Fruit" is Sîn because [...
3 3rd division of i.NAM.giš.ḫur.an.ki.a, [corresponding things of
heaven and underworld]
4 things of the Apsû, as many as are designed, [a long mathematical
tablet]
5 of Nabûzuqpkēna, son of Mardukšumiqīša, the scribe,
6 the exorcist.
7 For the perusal of my son Ištaršumēreš, after 1½ years,
8 I strained my eyesight, quickly studied and checked.
9 The reader must not damage it. 30th of Ṭebēt, Epynomy of
Mazarnê,
10 governor of Kullani.
11 22nd year of Sennacherib, king of Assyria.

K 170 + Rm 520

Obverse

- 1 [I *inbu*(gurun) ^d*si*]n *aššu*(mu) ^d*a-nù im-bu-ú šum-š*[u(ni)] *gab*²¹-*bi*
AN* A NE [GI]Š' BI *ki-lal-la-an tāmartu*(igi.du₈.a)
ud.1.kam *uskaru*(u₄.sakar_x) ^d*a-nù*
- 2 [I *áb.kar* ^d*sîn*] *ap-pa ár-ḥu li-iṭ-tu ár-ḥu liṭ-tu maš-l*[u₄] *ka-ra*
ga-na-te¹-nu-ú ka-ru ṭa-pa-la ga-na a.šà maš-lu₄ agú
ud.7.kam *ka*₁₅-*liṭ* ^d*é-a*
- 3 [I (× ×) ^d*s*]n(30) *bēl purussē*(eš.bar) *e-šú* 30 2 *e-ni be-el* 30 a.rá 30
15 *a-pa-ru agú* ud.15.kam *kippatu*(bùr) ^d*en-líl*
- 4 [× × ^d*en*]líl(idim) *ta-lim* ^d*é-a na-an-nu šeš ta-lim šeš* ID *na-a-ru*
na-a-ra ^d*enlil*(idim)

5 ...] × mu.didli ^d*suen*(EN.ZU).na.ke₄

6	...]	<i>ilu reš-tu-ú a-bi ilāni</i> ^{meš}	60	^d <i>a-nù</i>
7	...]	× × <i>Ú ga-šir re-ú šu-ú šú-ú</i> <i>kiš-šat šar kiššati</i> (šú)	50	^d <i>en-líl</i>
8	...]	× <i>šar apsi bēl naqbi</i> (idim)	40	^d <i>é-a</i>
9	...]	<i>im-bu-ú bēl purussē</i> (eš.bar) <i>arḫi</i> (iti)	30	^d <i>sîn</i> (30)
10	...]	<i>Ú en be-el dipāri</i> (izi.gar) <i>kippatu</i> (gúr) ^{tu} ₄ ud	20	^d <i>šamaš</i> (ud)
11	...]	× <i>zunni</i> (šèg) u UB ² <i>rig-mu</i>	6	^d <i>adad</i> (iškur)

Reverse

1 ...] | 10 | ^d*bēl* ^d*marduk*

K 170 + Rm 520

Obverse

- 1 ["Fruit" is Sîn] because Anu called his name. All both.
Appearance on the 1st day: a crescent: Anu.
- 2 ["Cow(abkar)" is Sîn.] ab is *arḫu* as cow; *arḫu*(as half brick) is half
shape. kár is the sloping form of the gána sign; pronounced
karu: to damage, pronounced gána: area. A half crown on the
7th day: a kidney shape: Ea.
- 3 [(..)] Sîn is "Lord of Decisions(en.eš.bar)". eš is 30; 2 is *-ēni*,
which is also lord(en). 0;30 × 0;30 = 0;15 To wear a crown
on the 15th day: a circle: Enlil.
- 4 [(..)] Enlil is the brother of Ea. Nanna(ŠEŠ.KI) is šeš; brother is šeš.
River is *nāru*; *narru* is Enlil.

5 ...] . Names of Sîn.

6	...]	the pre-eminent god, the father of the gods	60	Anu
7	...]	... he is a shepherd, "he is" means "universe", (so he is) king of the universe	50	Enlil
8	...]	the king of the Apsû, the lord of the source	40	Ea
9	...]	Anu] called [his name fruit.] Lord of the Decisions of the month	30	Sîn
10	...]	lord, lord of the torch of totality	20	Šamaš
11	...]	rain and ... , thunder	6	Adad

Reverse

1 ...] | 10 | Bēl Marduk

2	...] × × × [... ...]	15	^d eš ₄ -tār be-let ilāni ^{meš}
3	...] × ku be-el ^{giš} [kak]ki ša ki-ma šumī-šú-ma na-bu-ú × × ^d en-lil	50	^d nin-urta mār ^d enlil(50)
4	...] × PA ¹ AD ¹ an.ki ¹ an: an.ta ki.ta sar.e.dè en 600	11	^d nergal(U + GUR) ^d šakkan(GIR)
5	...] tab 2 10 a.rá 2 20 tap-pe-e 20	10	^d gibil ^d nusku
6	...] šamê ša mē ^{meš}		uraš ba-nu-ú
7	...] an ^d gi-ri		ki ba-nu-ú
8	...] ^u nis-ḥu i.NAM.giš.ḥur.an.ki.a qati(al.til)		
9	...] × ^{meš} ni-šir-ti apkalli(nun.me) là mu-du-ú là immar ^{mar}		
10	[tuppi ^{1d} nabû-z]u-qup-kēna mār ^{1d} marduk-šum-iqīša ^{šá} lú ^{1u} tupšarri līp-līpi (šà.bal.bal) ^{1g} ab-bi-ilāni ^{meš} -ēreš ^{reš} lú ^{1r} áb ^{1u} tupšarre ^{meš}		

2	...] ... [... ...]	15	Ištar, lady of the gods
3	...] .. he is lord of the weapon as his name says, called .. of Enlil.	50	Ninurta son of Enlil
4	...] ... heaven and earth.: you write (11) reversed, so he is lord of the 600 (Anunnaki)	11	Nergal Šakkan
5	...] tab is two and 10 × 2 = 20. The comrades of Šamaš(20)	10	Gibil Nusku
6	...] Heavens (šamê) means "of water"(ša mē)		Uraš ("Earth") means "create". Ki ("Earth") means "create".
7	...] Heaven is Girru.		
8	... the x]th excerpt of i.NAM.giš.ḥur.an.ki is finished.		
9	...].. a secret of the scholar. The uninitiated shall not see.		
10	A tablet of Nabûzuqpkēna, son of Mardukšumiqīša, the scribe, descendant of Gabbiiāniēreš, the chief of the scribes.		

THE name of the work is given in the following forms in the colophons of the tablets:

BM 47860: i.NAM.giš.ḥur.an.ki.a ur₅.ur₅.ra

K 2164 +: i.NAM.giš.ḥur.an.ki.a *tab-ba-a-ti šame^e u eršetⁱ šu-ut apsi ma-la ba-aš-mu*

K 2670: i.NAM.giš.ḥur.an.[ki.a *tab-ba-a-ti šamē^e u eršetⁱ šu-ut ap-si-i ma-la ba-aš-mu*

K 170 +: i.NAM.giš.ḥur.an.ki.a

The name is likely to be the first words of the first tablet. Different colophons quote different amounts of the first line. It would seem that ur₅.ur₅.ra in BM 47860 corresponds to *tab-ba-a-ti* in K 2164 + and K 2670. ur₅.ur₅.ra is probably best explained according to the lexical equation ^{ur}ur₅ *mithāru*, 'mutually corresponding'. The reduplication of the root could express plural: *mithārūtu* (masc.) or *mithārātu* (fem.), "mutually corresponding things". This provides a key to the otherwise difficult *tab-ba-a-ti*. A meaning *tab* in Sumerian is given in the following line from a lexical text: [t]ab TAB *ki-lal-la-an* (A II/2 Part 3:8), "The TAB sign in the pronunciation *tab* means *kilallān*.' *kilallān* means "both, two, or a pair". It is suggested that *tab-ba-a-ti* or *tabbātu* is an Akkadian loan word from Sumerian *tab* or *tab.ba*. It is of course a plural form; the singular would be *tabbītu*. *tabbītu* would mean "a pair of corresponding things", and *tabbātu* 'pairs of corresponding things', agreeing with ur₅.ur₅.ra. This seems more satisfactory than the suggestion made by R. Borger, who did not have access to BM 47860, that an emendation to *tab-na¹-ti*, plural of *tabnītu*, "creation", should be made on the supposition of confusion between the *ba* and *na* signs.⁶ Another solution, which seems to be excluded by the ur₅.ur₅.ra, may be mentioned. This is that the word could be understood as the pattern *taprastu* of the verb *nabū*, "to name", with assimilation of the dental and labial to two labials. The pattern *taprastu* is used to form a noun of action from Stem I of verbs.⁷ *tanbātu* would mean "designation, naming", by analogy with such nouns as *tanattu*, "praise" from *na'ādu*, "to praise" and *tāmartu*, "sight, observation", from *amāru*, "to see". It is well known that in Babylonian thinking naming was tantamount to creation. AHW translates *nabū* as "(mit Namen) nennen. (auch = schaffen)", that is, "to call (by name), (also = to create)".⁸ This might be linked with the preceding Sumerian since the verb *giš ... ḥur*, "to draw plans", could be part of a process of creation. *giš.ḥur.an.ki.a*

means "plans of heaven and underworld".⁹ i.NAM is problematic. It could be a phonetic writing of Sumerian of the type known in Sumerian texts composed in the late second and early first millennia.¹⁰ Suggested interpretations are contraction of *inim.nam*, *inim* meaning "word" and *nam* being an abstract marker for the following noun, or contraction of *inim.inim.ma*, "words", since vowels can change in Sumerian roots, but neither of these proposals can be accepted with certainty. According to strict grammar, as there is only one genitive at the end of the chain *i.NAM.giš.ḥur.an.ki.a*, and not two, which would appear as *-aka(k)*, *i.NAM* must be in apposition to *giš.ḥur.an.ki.a*. However, this is not really helpful as strict grammar in Sumerian was not observed at the date which has been suggested above for the composition of the work.

The supposed meaning of the first line, or part of the first line of the series quoted is "... plans of heaven and underworld, matching pairs of (things in) heaven and underworld, things of the Apsû, as many as were designed".

COMMENTARY ON BM 47860

THE top of the obverse and bottom of the reverse of the tablet are preserved, and one may estimate from the curvature that the surviving portion formed between a third and a half of the original tablet. The contents belong to a genre of texts concerned with *igubbū*, "coefficients".¹¹

Obverse

The obverse was divided by the scribe into four columns and ruled off line by line. Each line in the first column contains a number and each line in the second column the word *ikū*, followed by what is probably in each case the name of a building or part of a building. The first six lines in the third column contain a word or ditto sign, and the lines in the final column the word *igubbū*. It will be seen that the second and third column are to be read together and that a unifying feature of the text is that all the lines are concerned in some way with *našpaku*, "storeroom". The first six lines of the third column have *našpaku* or *KI.MIN*, "ditto", referring to it, while the word is not mentioned in the second column. From the seventh line on, storeroom occurs in the second column, and the third column is blank. This difference between ll. 1-6 and the following lines is

reflected also in the numbers. The numbers from 1.7 on are in ascending order apart from the first and are all fairly close to 6;45, whereas the numbers before 1.7 are arranged in no apparent order and vary greatly in magnitude. Otherwise, a pattern is not discernible, though one may note that if the figure 6 in 1.6 were a scribal error for 9, then the number in 1.6 would be exactly three times the number in 1.5.

The word *ikû* can mean "volume" or "area".¹² In the present case, since a storeroom, and therefore storage capacity is involved, it is presumably volume which is significant. This assumption seems to be confirmed by the use of a.šà, which definitely means "area", on the reverse, supposing that the author intended a distinction between the two terms. The word *igigubbû*, translated as "coefficient", means a number fixed in relation to a specific operation, either a natural constant or a constant proportion pertaining to a particular piece of apparatus or situation.¹³ If the writer's understanding of rev.9 – 11 is correct, the significance of the coefficient is to convert the volume of the storage space into a figure expressing the amount, such as a weight of grain, which the space could accommodate. Each line of the obverse is then probably to be understood in the form "x is the volume of y, (taking) the coefficient (into account)".

Of the spaces of which volumes are given, only *našpaku*, "storeroom", and *karû*, "storehouse", are entirely clear in meaning. However, since *našpaku* occurs in every line the general meaning is not in doubt. The first six lines are concerned with different parts of the storeroom, and the remaining six lines with other storerooms, defined in at least one case by what is to be stored. The *am.am.ma* remains obscure. The three headed *ur.ru.uḥ* is perhaps to be associated with *arahḥu*, "silo". A silo could be imagined to have one or more heads, but no convincing reason for the vowel change can be suggested.¹⁴ *kiršu* is unknown in a suitable meaning. *ka-šal* is unlikely to be a variant form of the *kaslu* attested as part of real estate (see *AHw* sub *kaslu* II) because of the emphatic *š. gabru*, "the strong one", seems appropriately to describe the part of the storeroom with which it is equated, in that it has the largest number. *našpak me-ḫe* perhaps refers to a tank, if it should be interpreted as "storeroom of water".

Reverse

The surviving portion above the colophon was divided by the scribe into three sections, the first separated by a double line. There is

also a wide margin running down the left-hand side of the tablet.

That the subject matter is related to the obverse is suggested by the references to computations of types of grain in ll.10 and 11, the various dimensions referred to, and occurrence of *igigubbû* in ll.2 and 7. If the subject is the same, the storerooms of which dimensions are recorded on the obverse are probably part of the Ekur, the temple of Enlil in Nippur, because this is referred to on the reverse, 1.4, in connection with a meal. This was presumably the meal at which the god and his court and family were fed. The text is discussed section by section.

ll.1 – 3. A coefficient is stated to be 1,40. For an unknown reason, 2,40 is multiplied by 6 to get 16,0.

ll.4 – 8. Interpretation of *GAM* is difficult. A circle (*gam = kippatu*) in which the gods were arranged while being fed is conceivable but uncertain without other evidence. The significance of the number and reference to a tablet are unclear.

The *ur.a^{meš}* in 1.5, *ur.a* in ll.9, 10, and 11, and *ur.dam.ma* in 1.11 are understood as forms of the same Sumerian root *UR*, with addition of grammatical endings *-a* (passive participle), and *-ed- + -am-* (emphatic) + *-ma* (otiose), and the plural indicator *meš*, as part of the scribe's abbreviated idiom. As will be seen, the present contexts are consistent with the view that the root refers to multiplication, and in fact it occurs with this meaning in other mathematical texts. *ur.ur.a* and *ur.ur.ta* are known to mean "multiply" or "square".¹⁵ This usage probably derives from finding the area of a square or rectangle. *mithārtu*, "side of a square" is written *IB.SA* (see *AHw* ad loc.) but the root *mhr* is in other meanings equated with Sumerian *ur: ur₅ = mithāru*, "corresponding with each other" in several lexical texts (see *AHw* ad loc.).

In the sentence in ll.5 – 8 the *-ma* enclitic on *kajjānamma* must be understood as the emphatic particle and not the conjunction, which occurs only with verbs. It is uncertain whether *ešertu*, "shrine", could refer to a store-room within a temple; probably only a more strictly religious part of the building could be meant.

ll.9 – 11. The first two of these lines contain a computation which can be explained as follows. An area of 45 is related to an amount of grain, possibly a weight, of 13,30. Multiplication by 100 (written *me-ti*) is stated in 1.9, beginning in the margin, and it may be suggested that this is the same 100 (1,40 interpreted as 1,40;0) explained as a

coefficient in l.2. In l.10 multiplication by 100 (*me-ti*) is stated to lead to the area of 45. Assuming that what is multiplied is 13;30, the product is 22;30, that is 45/2. The explanation may be that a step has been skipped or assumed to be implicit by the scribe. This step is probably multiplication of the area by $\frac{1}{2}$ or 0;30 to convert it to a volume. Thus, 100 would be the coefficient relating an amount of grain to the volume of storage space it would fill. Expressed according to modern convention the calculation is:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{AMOUNT OF GRAIN} &= \frac{\text{VOLUME OF STORAGE SPACE}}{\text{COEFFICIENT}} \\ &= \frac{\text{AREA} \times \text{HEIGHT}}{\text{COEFFICIENT}} \\ &= \frac{45 \times \frac{1}{2}}{100} \\ &= 13;30 \end{aligned}$$

This is equivalent to what is stated in l.10: multiplying the amount of grain, which is known, by 100 to get the volume of storage space required, and then dividing by a half to get the area.

L.11 names the type of grain for which the computation is being made, ground emmer. This is followed by a comment apparently about the sides of a square which forms the faces of a cube. Each side of the square is an edge of the cube, that is a corner where two faces meet. The multiplication by 12 is perhaps because there are of course 12 edges to a cube, and to find the total length.

COMMENTARY ON K 2164+

THE text was ruled off by the scribe into sections each of which contains philological or numerical treatment of some aspect of lunar behaviour or nomenclature. The sections are discussed separately and cited by their line numbers.

Obverse

l.1. This line may be a quotation from a work such as *Enūma Anu Enlil*. The verb presumably refers to the position of the moon on the first day of the month, probably for a time of 3,45, which if measured with the same type of clepsydra used in the first section of the reverse is $2\frac{1}{2}$ double hours. However, the position is lost in the lacuna and the significance of the time therefore uncertain.

ll.2 – 10. Although the section is badly broken enough remains for it to be clear that it concerned the dates and shapes of the moon in its various phases. The dates in the surviving portion of the text all correspond to the four critical points in the moon's waxing and waning. In the following table the 22nd and 30th days have been added because they fit the scheme and could be restored in lacunae in the text, and because the 22nd day is related to other lunar dates in part of the commentary following (l.16) and based on the present section.

disappearance and new moon	half moon	full moon	half moon
27,28,30,1	7	14,15	21,22

The practical importance which these days had in the ritual calendar¹⁶ probably accounts for the interest in them in the present text, and incidentally provides evidence for dating it. Connection between cultic observances and the phases of the moon is stated unambiguously in the epic of *Atrahasis*: *i-na ar-ḫi se-bu-ti ù ša-pa-at-ti te-li-il-tam lu-ša-aš-ki-in ri-im-ka* (*Atrahasis* I 206–7), "On the first, seventh, and fifteenth, I(Enki) will establish a purifying ritual bath". It is alluded to in an OB letter: *ar-ḫa-am se-bu-ta-am ù ša-pa-at-ta-am ki-ma ku-ul-lu-ma-a-ta šu-ul-li-im* (*TCL* 1 50 23'), "Pass the first, seventh, and fifteenth as you have been taught". These dates are also the ones mentioned in *Enūma eliš* in connection with Marduk's installation of the moon; the section is quoted in full:

^dnanna(SES.K1)-ru uš-te-pa-a mu-šá iq-ti-pa
 ú-ad-di-šum-ma šu-uk-nat mu-ši a-na ud-du-ú u₄-mi
 ar-ḫi-šam la na-par-ka-a ina a-ge-e ú-šir¹⁷
 i-na reš ar-ḫi-ma na-pa-ḫi e-li ma-a-ti
 qar-ni na-ba-a-ta a-na ud-du-ú 6 u₄-mu
 i-na ud.7.kam a-ga-a [maš]-la
 [š]á-pat-tú lu-u šu-tam-ḫu-rat mi-šil [ar-ḫi]-šam¹⁸
 i-[n]u-ma ^dšamaš i-na i-šid šamē ina-a[š]-ta-l]u-ka
 ina š[i-i]m-ti šu-tak-ši-ba-am-ma bi-ni ar-ka-niš
 ūm b[u-ub-bu-l]u₄ a-na ḫar-ra-an ^dšamaš šu-taq-rib-ma
 šá [× × × ud.3]o.kám lu šu-tam-ḫu-rat ^dšamaš lu ša-na-a[t]i¹⁸
 ú-[ad-di-ma] giskimma(iskim) ba-'i-i ú-ru-uḫ-šá
 ZA.L[AM × × š]u-taq-ri-ba-ma di-na di-n[a]

Enūma eliš V 12–24

He(Marduk) made Nannaru appear and entrusted to him the night. He designated him as the night's adornment, to define the days.

Every month without ceasing he exalted (him) with a crown.¹⁷
 "To light up over the land at the beginning of the month,
 You shine with horns to define six days
 And on the seventh day a half crown!
 Be in opposition on the fifteenth day, every half month!¹⁸
 When Šamaš gazes at you from across the horizon,
 Diminish and recede apace!
 On the day of your disappearance, approach the path of Šamaš!
 ... on the thirtieth day be in conjunction and rival Šamaš!¹⁸
 I have made known the sign; follow its road!
 ... approach and give judgement!"

A festival connected with the phases of the moon was the *eššešu*:

In the Ur III texts ... the *eššešu* festivals fall on the first, seventh, and 15th days of each month and seem to have been celebrated in a special chapel (é.ěš.ěš) and sometimes for individual deities (such as Inanna). The Ur III and OB texts from Ur ... raise the number of days to four by adding the 25th day which is also attested in PBS 8/1 60:5 (from Nippur). However, in the SB period, according to hemerologies and other literary texts ..., these days were changed to the fourth, eighth, and 17th of each month; the festival was dedicated to Nabû and preceded in each instance by the *nubattu* (i.e. eve) sacred to Marduk.¹⁹

A late text illustrates this change in what were evidently considered the critical dates, in a more strictly astronomical context: ud.8.kam ½ *hap-rat* ud.16.kam *hap-rat* × [... *hap-ra*]t ud.28.kam u₄.ná.a *hap-rat* i-ra-[b]i (JCS 6 66 obv.4), "On the 8th day half the visible area, on the 16th day the visible area ... visible area on the 28th day. On the day of disappearance of the moon the (remaining) visible area sets." i.NAM.giš.hur.an.ki.a bases its speculation on the dates considered significant in the OB period and earlier. It does not mention (apart from the 28th) the dates which commonly occur in SB texts evidently derived from observation of the phases of the moon. This is evidence militating in favour of an early date for its composition. See p.90 for discussion of *hap-rat*.

The concern of the next four sections is to show similarities between certain dates, the 7th and 15th, the 14th and 22nd, and the 15th and 25th.

ll.11–13. The section begins with the statement "the 7th day, a half crown", quoting *Enūma eliš* V 17 (see p.39, the sixth of the lines quoted from *Enūma eliš*). It is then pointed out that the sign 30 used to write the name of Sîn can also be pronounced *bà*. With this value it can be equated with the Sumerian word *bar* or *ba₇*, which has a

number of lexical values in Akkadian. Several of these are listed in the text as being equivalent to *bà*. Of these only the last, *mišlu*, "half", is significant for the argument.²⁰ This is that the phrase "half of the moon", referring to the half crown, can be written *mišil sîn* using the same cuneiform signs as those for 30 × 30. The latter is then understood in the sexagesimal system as 0;30 × 0;30, which is, as the text explains, a half of a half, or 0;15. The philological and numerical argument has thus yielded "15", showing a connection between the 7th and 15th days. The composer then arbitrarily multiplied 15 by 4 to get 60, the characteristic number²¹ of the heaven god Anu who, as is pointed out, called (*imbi*) Sîn "fruit" (*inbi*). There are two points here. *imbi* resembles *inbi* phonetically, and the digit used to write Anu's number, 60, or 1,0 is the same as that used to write the 1st day of the month, that is the day when the name given by Anu particularly applies to Sîn (see p.45 for comment).

ll.14–15. The 13th day is equated with the 12th day. The numeral 12 is written in the form 10 + 2. By reversing the position of the digits, an operation referred to by the term *an.ta ki.ta ki.ta an.ta*, "upwards downwards, downwards upwards",²² probably borrowed from the terminology of Sumerian grammar²³ this becomes 2,10 which is of course (2 × 60) + 10, that is 130, as 13 the 13th day.

ll.16–17. This section identifies the 22nd day with the 14th. 14 is multiplied by 10 to get 140, that is 2;20. Reversing the digits yields 20 2, or 22, the 22nd day.

ll.18–19. Here the 25th and 15th days are associated. The technique is to split 25 into 20 and 5. The numeral 20 yields 3 as its reciprocal 0;3 and this is multiplied by the other numeral, 5, to get 15, the 15th day.

ll.20–24. The illegible first few signs are followed by the statement that Sîn and Šamaš are 3 and 3. One is to surmise that one of these threes is from Sîn's characteristic number, 30, and the other the reciprocal of Šamaš's characteristic number, 20, this reciprocal being of course 0;3. The text then takes 3 and 3 as three threes, that is 3 × 3 × 3 or 27. This leads up to these gods' activity on the 27th. There follows an astro-theological statement of what happens on the day. This is the widespread idea that the time of the conjunction and disappearance of the moon was particularly significant in connection with Šamaš's and Sîn's establishment or prediction of future events.²⁴ The idea is expressed in the passage of *Enūma eliš* given

above, in the tenth to thirteenth of the lines given. The tenth line is quoted in l.24 of the section of i.NAM.giš.hur.an.ki.a presently under discussion. The composer may have expected his readers to know *Enūma eliš* by heart, since he has only quoted the first of the relevant lines. One practical significance of the end of the month in cult was that it was an occasion for making offerings to the dead, as can be deduced from the description of the 30th day of the month in *Hh I* 192ff. as *u₄-mu ki-is-pi*, "day of funerary offerings". A letter gives the same information on a personal level: [*k*]a-l[*a š*]a-at-ti a-na [*k*]ispi(ki.sè.ga) bi-ib-bu-li-im ša bit a-bi-ki [mi]-na-a a-na-ad-di-in (*AbB I* 106 17), "Throughout the year, on the day of the disappearance of the moon, what am I to give as funerary offerings to your ancestors?". The antiquity of the notion is indicated by an allusion to it in an OB or earlier Sumerian elegy: *utu en.gal a.ra.li.ke₄ ki.ku₁₀ku₁₀ u₄.šè ù.mu.ni.ku₄ di.ku₅.zu ì.ku₅.dè dⁿnanna.a u₄.ná.a nam.zu hé.tar.re* (S.N. Kramer, *Two Elegies on a Pushkin Museum Tablet* 88–90), "Utu, the great lord of Arali who turns the dark places to day, will decide your case. On the day of disappearance of the moon, may Nanna determine your fate!". In a hemerology a later Babylonian scholar offers speculation as to what actually happened on the fateful night: *ud.29.kam u₄.ná.àm šá 30 ūm dⁱ-gi-gi d^a-nun-na-ki in-niš-še-ru* (IV R 33 iii 46), "The 29th day, day of the disappearance of the moon. The day the Igigi and Anunnaki are mustered".

The rest of the obverse and the first section of the reverse are more strictly astronomical in content.

ll.25–29. The text is damaged and it is unclear how the first line and a half fit together, either in meaning or simple arithmetic. The rest of the first three lines have however been understood as exposition of the length of the day, month, and year in terms of the longest day.²⁵ 100/60 of a longest day is a day, $100/60 \times 30$, that is 50, longest days is a month and 50×12 , that is 600 or 10,0 longest days a year. The final two lines are clear arithmetically, but it is unclear what the numbers stand for. 50×12 gives 10,0. This is taken as 10 and added to 11,50 to get 12,0. Finally, the computation is explained as "reckonings of the nights".

ll.30–31. These lines are badly broken and remain obscure. The figure 3,45 in l.31 could be a measurement in UŠ corresponding to the time $2\frac{1}{2}$ double hours in l.1.

Reverse

ll.1–24. This section is a quotation from the second tablet of the astronomical work *mulapin*, or at least presents the same material as part of that work.²⁶ A duplicate published by Weidner specifies the units of the figures and what they measure: *ina itⁱnisan ud.1.kám 3 ma-na 10 šiqlē(gin) maššarti ša mūši(en.nun.ge₆) 12 UŠ 40 bēru(GAR) niphū(šú) ša sín(30)* (see *AfO* 12 147 note 23). This has been explained as follows by van der Waerden and Neugebauer.²⁷ The measurements in minas and shekels are weights of water in a clepsydra, corresponding to the length of one night watch, that is, a third of the night. Multiplication by 20 converts the units to UŠ, 4 minutes, and *bēru*, double hour, the standard units of time. The figures are also divided by 5 to compute a fifteenth of the night, which is taken as the half monthly increase or decrease in the time lapse between sun-set and moon-set on the 1st day or sun-set and moon-rise on the 15th. These two operations together are equivalent to the multiplication by 4 which appears in the texts.

The final two sections of the tablet offer philological reinterpretations of the Akkadian and Sumerian expression for "disappearance of the moon", namely *bibbulu*²⁸ or *bubbulu* and *u₄.ná.àm*.²⁹ In the first section syllables of the Sumerian word are reinterpreted in Akkadian, and in the second, syllables of the Akkadian word taken as Sumerian roots.

ll.25–27. Syllables of *u₄.ná.àm* are translated into Akkadian to arrive at the expression "day of renewal (of the moon)". *u₄*, "day", becomes *ūmu* and for *ná* are offered a sequence of lexical equivalences of which the first four express the common meaning of the root, "to lie down, sleep". It is difficult to see any justification for the last two, but a possible connection can be suggested. *ná* is homophonous with *nà*, the AK sign, which in the pronunciation *ak* means "to build, make", as does the verb *banū* stated in the text. But *banū* can also mean "to be beautiful" and the ideas together may suggest "renewal".

ll.28–31. Here the phrase "day of birth (of the new moon)" is inferred. *bubbulu* is taken in its dissimilated form and written *bu-úm-bu-li*. The syllables are in turn taken as Sumerian roots and then translated back into Akkadian. BU, pronounced *gid*, is an equivalent of *nasāhu*, "to pull out". *um* is the same sign as Sumerian *ud*, "day". The final two syllables are then taken as a second Akkadian equivalent of *nasāhu*. The Sumerian root in question is *bú(r)*, but the

present form bu(l) is also possible as l and r can interchange in the "Auslaut" position in Sumerian verbal roots.³⁰ This is translated into Akkadian as *šutassuḫu*, a III/2 infinitive with disjunctive *t* infix, and replaced by the near homophone *tassuḫtu*, "a pulling out", which, one must suppose, has a semantic connection with *ilittu*, "birth".

COMMENTARY ON K 2670

THOUGH only the colophon survives, some useful information can be derived.

l.1. The last line of the work was evidently astronomical in content. Note that the first line, preserved on the colophon of the second "division", concerned Sîn.

l.2. The catch-line given here is proposed as a restoration of the first line of K 170, described in its colophon as a *nishu*, "excerpt". As the present colophon is of the 3rd *pirsu*, this implies that the *nishu* corresponded to the lost 4th *pirsu*. This need not imply that *nishu* and *pirsu* are here synonymous, but note that the surviving phonetic complement of the number of the *nishu* allows the possibility. It is ... x]⁴, showing that the number is finally weak, and therefore 2, 4, 7, 9, or a higher number ending in one of these numerals.

l.4. *šūt apsi* and *mala bašmu* elsewhere also describe works of wisdom.³¹

l.8. *ubahhiš* is apparently a 1st sing. II₁/pret. of *bahāšu*, a root which provides no suitable meaning in Akkadian. It is understood as an intrusion of the vernacular, which was at the period that the manuscript was written strongly influenced by Aramaic³² and translated with *CAD* ad loc. by analogy with Aramaic *b'haš*, "to study" (this follows *CAD* B p.186).

l.9. Mazarne of Kullani provided the eponymy for 684 B.C. (see *RIA* II p.426).

COMMENTARY ON K 170+

Obverse

ll.1-5. As the comment in l.5 states, these lines concern names of Sîn. At the end of each of the first three lines there is a day of the month, a description of the shape of the moon on that day, and the

name of a god. If the restorations are correct the lines begin in each case by stating a name of Sîn. Whether this is so or not the aim of the exposition is to achieve philological or numerical associations of the names with the material at the end of the lines. In the first line the name leads to the god, in the second to the shape, and in the third to the day. The fourth line is different in structure and attempts to establish a relation between Sîn and two of the other gods mentioned in the preceding lines.

The three names of Sîn are: (1) *dinbu(gurun)*, "fruit", a name which applies to him especially as the new moon; see *CAD* sub *inbu* 1d. (2) *dáb.kar*, "cow", an image which derives from the horns of the moon. It is recorded in: *dáb.kar dšîn šá su-pu-ri*, "Abkar is Sîn of the cattle enclosure".³³ (3) *bēl purussē(en.eš.bar)*, "lord of the decision", referring to Sîn's rôle in deciding the length of the month, and other matters. It also occurs in: *dšîn(EN.Z)U.na dšîn šá purussē(eš.bar)*, "Sîn is (the name of) Sîn of the decision".³⁴

l.1. The beginning of the line is restored from a catch-line³⁵ which reads *inbu(gurun) dšîn(30) áš-šú [...]*, and therefore agrees with the preserved signs at the beginning of the present text, ...*dšîn(EN.Z)U) aššu(mu)*. The purport of the line is mainly clear. The first part depends on a play on words, perhaps associated with a piece of myth in a popular saying. It is that Sîn is called *inbu* because Anu called (*imbú*) him by it.³⁶ One may compare a line from the Gula Hymn of Bulluṣarabi: *d-a-num abi ki-ma šumī-šú-ma im-ba-an-ni* (*OrNS* 36 124 142), "as Anu, my father, according to his name, called me". The phrase "according to his name" seems to imply a play on Anu's name; that is apparently *imbanni*, "he called me", understood as *imbi dani*, "Anu called". Thus Sîn is connected with Anu at the end of the line, and as the name applies to Sîn especially in his function as new moon it is particularly appropriate for the first day. There follows a series of signs unclear in interpretation but ending with the words *kilallān*, "both", and *tāmartu*, "appearance". Collation of the tablet has shown that the traces do not allow a reading [s]i.bi, "its horns", a meaning which suggests itself as relevant. One might think of the appearance together of Sîn and Šamaš as in the following blessing: *ilāni^{meš} ki-lá-la-an dšîn(30) u dšamaš ina tāmartī(igi.du.g.àm)-šú-nu lik-ru-bu-ka* (*BRM* IV 7 34), "May both gods, Sîn and Šamaš, bless you when they appear!".

l.2. The exposition falls into two parts, analysing first *áb* and then *kar.áb*, or *appa* is *arḫu* in the sense of cow, *littu*, but *arḫu* can also mean a

half shape, *liṣtu mašlu*. This is *arḫu*, "halfbrick". *kará* is the *tenû*, or "sloping form"³⁷ of *ganá*, which in the pronunciation *kara* means *ṣapālu*, "to damage" (*YBT* 1 53 158; *CT* 35 4 61), and in the pronunciation *ganá* means "field, area" (*CAD* sub *eqlu*). The philological argument has thus generated three related ideas, "half shape", "damage", and "area". Applied to the moon these ideas suggest "half crown", referring to the kidney shape. A similar argument is used in a work discussed below (see pp.68 and 70).

1.3. The Sumerian word *en*, "lord", is taken as the Akkadian dual ending *-ēni*, to supply the number 2. *eš* is the cuneiform sign for 30. Two thirties 30×30 is 15,0, or as 15, the number of the day. Elsewhere, *eš.bar* is connected with the 15th day by a different argument (see p.62).

1.4. The line draws attention to relationships between Enlil, Ea and Sîn. The text states that Enlil is the brother of Ea. Enlil and Ea as gods of the regions above and below the earth form a natural pair but the statement probably has a learned theological basis. The gods were brothers in as much as they were both sons of Anu³⁸ and one might consider also the equation in a god list *den.lil.bàn.da dé-a* (*CT* 25 33 18), "'little Enlil" is (a name of) Ea'. The "brothers" are connected with Sîn by equating him in his Sumerian name Nanna with ŠEŠ in reference to the common writing of Nanna, ŠEŠ.KI, and observing that *šeš* is Sumerian for "brother". The rest of the line links Enlil and Ea by means of a different argument. *nāru*, "river", which has a mythological connection with Ea in his capacity as god of the Apsû, sweet waters, bears a phonetic resemblance to *narru*, a mythological figure equated here with Enlil. *Narru* is also identified with Enlil in an ancient commentary on the Babylonian Theodicy.³⁹

1.5 summarises the content of ll.1 – 4, an exposition of the names of Sîn. Taken together, the first three lines form a pattern. The first day of the month, when Sîn is crescent shaped, is the festival of Anu⁴⁰ and Anu is connected to the name of Sîn by the word play. Thus, an interrelated triad of day, shape, and deity, in turn related to the name of Sîn, is produced. Each element of this triad produces another group of three. Anu suggests Ea and Enlil, the gods of the two regions lower than his. The first day suggests the 7th and 15th, and the other shapes follow similarly. Taking the philological and numerical associations into account also, the whole forms a network of six interlocking triads:

1	crescent	Anu
7	kidney	Ea
15	circle	Enlil

The idea is recorded in astrological literature, where periods rather than specific days are mentioned:

- 1 *1sîn(30) ina tāmartī(igi.lá)-šu ultu(ta) ud.1.kám adi ud.5.kám 5 u₄-mi uskaru^da-nù*
- 2 *ultu(ta) ud.6.kám adi ud.10.kám 5 ūmī^{meš} ka-li-ti dé-a*
- 3 *ultu(ta) ud.11.kám adi ud.15.kám 5 u-mi agâ taš-ri-iḫ-ti ip-pi-ir-ma^den-líl*
- 4 *dsin^da-nù^den-líl u^dé-a par-šu-šu*

AfO 19 pl.33 iv 23–6 dupl. 3 *R* 55 No.3 1–7
(vars. in R: 1.1 -šú, ^da-nu-um; 1.2 u₄-mi, -tu₄; 1.3 u₄-mi, -pír-)

From the moon's appearance, from the 1st day to the 5th, for 5 days, a crescent, Anu.

From the 6th day to the 10th, for 5 days, a kidney, Ea.

From the 11th day to the 15th, for 5 days, it wears a crown of splendour, Enlil.

Sîn: Anu, Enlil, and Ea are his ordinances.

Since Anu, Enlil, and Ea were themselves important, the theory emphasises the importance of Sîn, and it is not surprising to find it in an inscription of Nabonidus, the king who devoted himself to advancing the cult of that god: *dsin(30) bēlu ša ilāni^{meš} šá ina ud.1.kám uskaru(KU) da-nù zi-kir-šu ... ḥa-mi-im paraš(garza) da-nù-ú-tú mu-gam-mi-ir paraš(garza) den-líl-ú-tú le-qu-ú pa-ra-aš dé-a-ú-ti* (*AnSt* 8 60 14ff.). "Sîn, lord of the gods, who is called "crescent, Anu" on the first day ... who collects the ordinance of Anu-ship, gathers the ordinance of Enlil-ship, and takes the ordinance of Ea-ship". Similar speculation was applied to Šamaš: *šamaš ina niḫū(kur)-šú den-líl ina rībī(šú) dki-uraš* (*AO* 8916 rev.i 27 dupl. K 250 + 11184; see Weidner, *AfO* 19 110), "Šamaš when he rises is Enlil, and when he sets is Kiuraš". Thus, when he neared the earth in setting Šamaš was identified with an earth deity, and when he journeyed towards the heavens with Enlil, god of spaces immediately above the surface of the earth.

The next section of i.NAM.gišhur.an.ki.a, K170 + obv.6 – 11 and rev.1 – 5 is divided into three columns. The second and third columns contain the characteristic or mystical numbers of the gods, and their names. The numbers are in order down from 60, except beyond 20. The first column contains mythological or theological information, in one case at least linking a number with the gods to

which it belongs. L.6 of the obverse states that Anu is father of the gods. L.7 calls Enlil a shepherd, perhaps citing a religious text, then, using the Akkadian "he is" *šū* for the Sumerian root *šú* "universe", this becomes proof that Enlil is "king of the universe", a conclusion supported by the fact that the Sumerian numeral "fifty" (*ninnu*) is explained in lists and used in texts for "totality" or "universe". L.8 calls Ea king of the Apsû, and the lord of the "source", *naqbu*, Sumerian *idim*, a common writing for Ea's name. L.9 refers to Sin's name at the beginning of the month, "fruit", and his role as lord of the decision mentioned earlier in the work. Šamaš in l.10 is the torch of totality. Adad is explained in l.11 in relation to rain and thunder. For ll.1 and 2 of the reverse the content of the first column is not preserved. L.3 pertains to Ninurta. The number column contains 50, which he shares with his father Enlil. The comments cite his epithet "lord of the weapon", and some (broken) relationship to Enlil. One of these two attributes is said to be based on etymology of his name. *nin* = "lord", and *ninnu* = 50 may be involved, but the rest is unclear. In l.4 the beginning is unclear, but *an.ta ki.ta* "upwards, downwards" means that the two digits of the number 11, i.e. 10 + 1, are transposed to yield 60 × 10, the Anunnaki gods numbering 600, and their name often being written with the numerals 60 × 10. L.5 belongs to the fire gods Gibil and Nuska, given the same number as Marduk, 10. This is explained as follows. Being fire gods, Gibil and Nuska are *tappû*, "associates", of Šamaš. *tappû* yields the sign *tap* or *tab* meaning a "pair" (see p.34). A pair is two, and twice their characteristic number is 20, the number of Šamaš.

The surviving portion of ll.6 and 7 contains four equations. Heaven (*šamê*) is equated with the phonetically identical phrase for "of water" (*ša mē*). The sign AN which may represent the god Anu, or the word for "god", *dingir*, is equated with the fire god, Girra. Either a theological equation of Girra with Anu, or the phonetic similarity between *ḡgirra* and *dingir*, or something else, could be involved. A line in another text equates Girra and Anu (see p.74). *uraš*, "soil", and *ki*, "earth", are equated with *banû*, "to create". This states the mythological concept of the earth as creatress. The relevance of Girra is uncertain, but with water the heavens fertilise mother earth.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

THE work *i.NAM.giš.hur.an.ki.a* consists of a succession of partly different and partly related sections. Three sections are more or less scientific from a modern point of view. These are the data in BM 47860 involving dimensions of parts of a storeroom, the section of K 2164+ offering a simple arithmetic scheme summarising the length of the night watches at the beginning and middle of each month throughout the year, and the partly understood section of the same tablet expressing among other things the length of the day, month, and year in terms of the longest day. The information is presented in a form which may simplify the actual facts, but the scheme is neither artificial nor haphazard. In the other sections religious or mythological contentions are the subject. In K 2164+ days pertaining to periods in the lunar cycle are associated with each other or with mythological ideas. Also, the Sumerian and Akkadian phrases for the day of the disappearance of the moon at the end of the month are interpreted in such a way as to yield mythological statements describing what happens on that day. In K 170+ different items of theology are associated. In these sections the statements and manner of associating them may have been regarded by the ancient scholars as no less scientific than the schemes involved in the first three sections mentioned. What is involved is that mythological or religious associations between different items, or between names and their explanations are supplemented by pointing out haphazard and artificial connections derived arithmetically or philologically. Use of this technique is well known in Babylonian scholarly works. Two slightly different motivations for its use can be distinguished. Sometimes the artificial technique of association explains or supports a genuine, well known, or obvious connection between the items. Sometimes, however, a genuine connection is not apparent, and the artificial connection seems to be used as a technique of speculation. That is to say, in some cases a genuine or traditional connection comes first and is explained by an artificial one, whereas in other cases the artificial connection comes first and is used to substantiate a new idea.

One work which belongs to the first type is the *Weapon Name Exposition* (see pp.54-61). The author of this work could not have been unaware that the Sumerian expressions were the names of weapons and with this knowledge the general appropriateness of the

Akkadian phrases is undeniable. Thus, there is no real need to connect the phrases with the names by means of artificial philological manipulation, but this is done, presumably as an extra demonstration of their relevance. A work of the same type is the *Esagila Name Exposition*. In this work, which survives in a LB copy found at Babylon, VAT 17115, transliterated, restored, and elucidated by F. Köcher in *Afo* 17 131ff., the subject is Esagil, "temple with raised head", the temple of Marduk in Babylon. By manipulating Sumerian and Akkadian lexical equations and interchanging homophones in an artificial manner this name is reinterpreted in Akkadian in seventeen ways. Each of the interpretations connects the name, or a way of writing it, with a suitable description of the temple. That the interpretations were not considered by the author to be translations in the normal sense is proved by the fact that in some of them one element in the Sumerian name supplies more than one of the Akkadian roots used in the Akkadian phrase. For example, in ll. 19–20 of Köcher's text *gi* supplies *epēšu(ag)*, "to fashion", *kullatu(gi)*, "totality" and *kittu(gi.na)*, "justice", for the rendering *bītu ēpiš kullati rā'im kitti*, "temple which fashions totality and adores justice". It was noted above that i.NAM.giš.ḫur.an.ki.a analyses, using artificial philology, quotations from *Enūma eliš*. There are also two extensive commentaries on *Enūma eliš* which make use of artificial philology, and have been analysed and edited in part by J. Bottéro. One, previously classified by L. King as "Commentary 1"⁴¹ comments on selected lines. The other, King's "Commentary 2"⁴² deals with names of Marduk expounded in the seventh tablet of the epic. The first of these commentaries, partly speculative in character, relates items in the text of *Enūma eliš* to other cultic and miscellaneous items. The other commentary has as its basis the fact that names of Marduk are expounded in the text of the epic, and proves, using artificial philology, connections between the names and the way they are expounded. Other religious works using artificial philology include lists of temple names, lists of gods, and literary texts. Two examples from commentaries are given. An ancient comment on a line in the Babylonian Theodicy mentioning the goddess Mami is ^d[*ma-me* ^d] *bēlet-i-lí bānāt^{at} niš^{meš} ma: banū^u me: niš^{meš}* (*BWL* 74 53, comment), "Mami is Bēletilī, the creatress of men. ma: 'to create', me: 'men'". Mami is a mother goddess so the statement that she is the creatress of men is well known and theologically true. The etymology is unnecessary but supports a known fact. In a line in *Marduk's*

Address to the Demons Marduk describes himself as *a-šib me-lam-me* (*Afo* 19 118 F 8), "dwelling in splendour". A learned commentator held the view that Marduk dwelled in heaven and in the underworld, and read his ideas into the text: [me]: *šamē^e*, lam: *er-še-tū. a-šib šamē^e eršetⁱ ki qa-bu-u šá mu-ka-lim-te šu-u*, "me: 'heaven', lam: 'underworld'. Dwelling in heaven and underworld, as it is said. This is from a commentary." For me as heaven see *MSL* XIV 91 71:7; for lam as underworld see *CAD* s.v. *lammu*. A further text uses artificial philology to expound the meaning of lines from a medical series.⁴³

It is difficult to distinguish between entirely speculative use of artificial mathematics and philology, and use of the technique to support or explain already accepted theological ideas. Proving that a religious contention is speculative amounts to proving that it is original, which without complete knowledge is impossible. Nevertheless, if the contention is not well known, or if there is no obvious reason for it, one may suspect that it is speculative. This is sometimes the case in astrology, and may apply to the associations of dates in K 2164+ of i.NAM.giš.ḫur.an.ki.a. The general relevance of the dates to each other and to the other material presented is clear, but it is unclear, for example, why the 13th should be associated with the 12th rather than the 14th, or the 25th with the 15th rather than the 14th. The possibilities for arithmetical juggling may have been the deciding factor. It is practically certain that a line of the astrological work *Enūma Anu Enlil*, or one of the related works or commentaries interpolated therein, quotes i.NAM.giš.ḫur.an.ki.a with a view to making practical use of the results there obtained, in the casting of astrological omens. The line is *ud.22.kám ud.14.kám ud.25.kám ud.15.kám ina a-re-e qa-bi* (*ACh* Sin III 49), "The 22nd day is the 14th day. The 25th day is the 15th day. It is stated in a mathematical tablet." These are the contentions of K 2164+ obv. 16–9, and one may note that this tablet refers to itself in its colophon as an *arú*, "mathematical tablet". Some examples of artificial philology in astrological texts are given. ^d*bēlet-rīmti(nin.sún)^{ti} ana mas-se-e* ^d*dili-bat ana e-šer bu-lim* ^d*bēlet-rīmti(nin.sún)^{ti}:* ^d*dili-bat maš: bu-lu₄ si: e-še-ru* (VAT 9427 61–2, unpublished, cited from *Afo* 19 106). "Bēlet-rīmti as the leader(*mas-se-e*); Venus to direct the herds(*būlu*). Bēlet-rīmti is Venus. maš is herd(*būlu* = máš). si is to direct(*si.sá*)." maš is taken to refer to the Sumerian equivalent of *būlu*, that is máš, while si stands for the Sumerian for *ešēru*, which is si.sá. Thus, a proposed equivalence of two gods is paralleled by a philological

equivalence between their descriptions. One work, V R 461, which is mainly devoted to a sequence of pairs of stars and gods, contains on its reverse (in addition to a section on an astrological prediction from the appearance of the moon and two lines of continuation of the subject matter of the obverse) a section of fifteen lines in each of which a star or constellation is given a meaning. Each meaning is of potential use in casting astrological omens. In 1.42 Šalbatānu, Jupiter, is equated with *muštabarrû mûtānu*, "persisting plague". *šal* is *muštabarrû* and *-batānu* is *mûtānu*. The sign *bat* has a pronunciation *ug*, which means "to die", Akkadian *mātu*, from which *mut* is derived. In 1.51 *mul.kak.si.sá* becomes *kakkab mešrê*, "star of wealth", by equating the Akkadian *ešêru*, the equivalent of the Sumerian *si.sá*, "to direct", with the Akkadian *mešrê*, "wealth".

What is here called "artificial philology" seems to have been used sparingly in omen works generally, and much more in the ancient commentaries on these works.⁴⁴

Five works or sections of works making extensive use of artificial mathematics or philology are now given. The first is a relatively simple work associating the names of weapons with suitable descriptions of them. The other four are more speculative in character and are concerned with relating together different parts or aspects of the religious tradition. This is achieved by equating different items drawn from the tradition.

[Text continues on p. 54]

The Weapon Name Exposition

BM 47463 rev.i 8—rev.ii 16 dupls. K 4245+ rev.i and CBS

6060 rev.i 13—rev.ii 12

1 mul *zi-ba-ni- < tum >* ^dudu.idim.sag.ús ^dudu.idim.gu₄.ud
 2 ^dšár.ur₄ ^dšár.gaz ^{d.giš}tukul.sag.50
 3 ^dme.sag.50* ^{d.giš}tukul.sag.pirig ^dme.sag.pirig
 4 ^du₄.bi.nu.íla ^du₄.ba.šú.šú
 5 ^d[er]ím.á.bi.nu.tuku u ^dli₉.si₄

6 12 dingir.uru.mu^{meš} *ka-bi-is ūmē*(ud.ud)

7 ^d[šár.u]r₄ *ḥa-me-em kiš-šat*
 8 [š]ár *kiš-šat*
 9 [u]r₄ *ḥa-ma-ma*
 10 ^d[šá]r.g[az] *d]a-a-a-ik kiš-šat*
 11 šár *kiš-šat*
 12 gaz *da-a-ku*
 13 ^{d.giš}tukul.sag.50 *kak-ku reš-tu-u šá ^denlil(50)*
 14 ^{giš}tukul *kak-ku*
 15 sag *reš-tu-ú*
 16 50 *^den-lil*
 17 ^dme.sag.50 *tāḥāzu(mè) rabû(gal)^u šá ^den-lil*
 18 me *ta-ḥa-zu†*
 19 sag *ra-bu-ú*
 20 50 *^den-lil*
 21 ^{d.giš}tukul.sag.pirig *^{giš}kakku(tukul) šá pānū-šú nam-ru*
 22 ^{giš}tukul *kak-ku*
 23 sag *pa-ni*
 24 pirig *nam-rù*
 25 ^dme.sag.pirig *ta-ḥa-za šá pānū-šú nam-rù*

The Weapon Name Exposition

BM 47463 rev.i 8—rev.ii 16 dupl.s K 4245+ rev.i and CBS

6060 rev.i 13—rev.ii 12

1 Libra; Saturn; Mercury;
 2 Šarur; Šargaz; Fifty-headed weapon;
 3 Fifty-headed archetype; Lion-headed weapon; Lion-headed
 archetype;
 4 Relentless storm; Overwhelming storm;
 5 Enemies lack its strength; Lisi

6 12 gods of my city: the trampers of the storms

7 That which throws down a
 multitude(^{šár.ur}₄) : gatherer of totality
 8 šár : totality
 9 ur₄ : to gather
 10 That which slays a
 multitude(^{šár.gaz}) : killer of totality
 11 šár : totality
 12 gaz : to kill
 13 Fifty-headed
 weapon(^{giš}tukul.sag.50) : foremost weapon of Enlil
 14 ^{giš}tukul : weapon
 15 sag : foremost
 16 50 : Enlil
 17 Fifty-headed
 archetype(me.sag.50) : great battle power of Enlil
 18 mè : battle power
 19 sag : great
 20 50 : Enlil
 21 Lion-headed
 weapon(^{giš}tukul.sag.pirig) : weapon the face of which is
 radiant
 22 ^{giš}tukul : weapon
 23 sag : face
 24 pirig : radiant
 25 Lion-headed
 battle(mè.sag.pirig) : battle power the face of which
 is radiant

* The tablet (BM) reads 40.

† K reads me.te.sag.50; BM reads me.te.sag.50. There appears to be scribal error due in part to dittography and the text has been emended according to the pattern of the rest of the work.

26	^d u ₄ .ba.nu.íla	^g is <i>kakka</i> (tukul)-šú <i>la maḥ-ru</i>
27	u ₄	<i>kak-ku</i>
28	bi	<i>šu-ú</i>
29	nu	<i>la-a</i>
30	íla	<i>na-šu-ú</i>
31	íla	<i>ma-ḥa-ri</i>
32	^d erím.á.bi.nu.tuk.a	<i>ša a-a-bi ina qātē¹¹-šú là uššú(è)</i>
33	erím	<i>a-a-bi</i>
34	á	<i>qa-ti</i>
35	tuk	<i>a-šu-ú</i>
36	^d li ₉ .si ₄	<i>qa-lu-ú i-ša-tam</i>
37	si ₄ <i>gu-nu-ú</i>	<i>si qa-lu-ú</i>
38	izi	<i>i-ša-tú</i>
39	<i>ša-niš</i>	<i>qà-lu ni-qà</i>
40	<i>šal-šiš</i>	<i>ba-nu-ú qá-lu</i>
41	si	<i>ba-nu-ú</i>
42	izi(li ₉)	<i>qá-lu</i>

Vars. in BM: l.16 ^d50, l.17 ^d50, l.20 omitted, l.21 *pa-nu-šú nam-ri*, l.23 *pa-nu*, l.24 *nam-ri*, l.25 *me.sag: pirig.ga, pa-nu nam-ri*, l.26 ^dud.bi.nu.íla l.31 *maḥ-ri*, l.32 *erím.bi.nu.tuk*, l.36 *i-ša-ti*, l.37 *si gu-nu-ú*; vars. in K: l.17 gal^u, l.21 *pānū-ša*, l.26 *íla.aš* (or *gür.rù*); vars. in CBS: l.25 *mē¹ šá ina pānī-šú nam-ru*, l.26 *là*, l.32 *šá*, l.35 *á-šu-u*.

26	Relentless storm(u ₄ .ba.nu.íla)	: his invincible weapon
27	u ₄	: weapon
28	bi	: his
29	nu	: not
30	íla	: to carry
31	íla	: to come up against
32	Enemies lack its strength (erím.á.bi.nu.tuk)	: enemies escape not from its hands
33	erím	: enemies
34	á	: hand
35	tuk	: to escape
36	Lisi(li ₉ .si ₄)	: he who burns with fire
37	si ₄ , the extra horizontal wedges form of si	: to burn
38	izi(li ₉)	: fire
39	Alternatively	: he who burns an offering
40	Thirdly	: the handsome one, the burning one
41	si	: handsome
42	izi(li ₉)	: to burn

THE WEAPON NAME EXPOSITION

THIS work survives on the duplicate tablets K 4245 +, CBS 6060, and BM 47463. The fact that the second and third of these are Babylonian shows that the work is Babylonian in origin. In an introductory section ruled off by the ancient scribe, the names of the constellation Libra (^{mul}zibanītu), and the planets Saturn (^dudu.idim.sag.ús) and Mercury (udu.idim.gu₄.ud) are followed by the names of ten gods or divine weapons in Sumerian. A rubric then states "Twelve gods of my city: the tramlers of the storms", if one is to understand UD.UD as ud.ud, "storms". rather than *tam-tú*, "sea". This refers to the twelve preceding names. (Šarur and Šargaz are to be counted as one, as in the list of divine names which embraces several of these twelve, each described as "lord of my city" (^{dbēl}āli-ia₉/ia: CT 25 14 cf. STU II 29 v).) Then in each of nine sections the Sumerian name of a god or divine weapon is paired with an Akkadian interpretation which is semantically appropriate but not the true meaning of the Sumerian. The technique of interpretation is explained in lists of lexical equivalences quoted in the individual sections. Disregarding the true meaning of the Sumerian names, the composer equated their component words or syllables with Akkadian words. The equations, some of which are valid and some artificial, are discussed further below. The names explained are: ^dšár.ur₄, ^dšár.gaz, ^dgīš.tukul.sag.50, ^dgīš.tukul.sag.pirig, ^derim.á.bi.nu.tuk.a, ^du₄.ba.nu.ilá, ^dli₉.si₄, ^dme.sag.50, and ^dme.sag.pirig. The meaning of the first two names are "that which throws down a multitude" and "that which slays a multitude".⁴⁵ The next three names clearly mean "fifty-headed weapon", "lion-headed weapon", and "enemies lack its power". The meaning of the sixth is supplied by *Nabnitu*: u₄.ba.nu.ila u₄-mu la pa-du-u (*MSL XVI* 145 132), "u₄.ba.nu.ila: storm not giving quarter". Lisi, a god well attested in third and early second millennium texts, is of unknown etymology and meaning.⁴⁶ The names beginning with me are problematic. This word usually denotes an abstract concept, "archetype", and seems to have no other more suitable meaning. A recent attempt by B. Alster to define the concept may clarify its use here:

In brief, the term me includes the following: 1) Any archetype or cultural norm. 2) Any visible manifestation of an archetype (this is a crucial point which has always been misunderstood. It implies that when it is said, e.g. that Inanna 'receives me from Apzu', then it means

that she becomes visible, i.e. that Venus ascends into the sky). 3) Any process relating to the actualisation of an archetype ('function, duty, success, prayer, ritual'). 4) Anything that symbolises the capability of actualising an archetype ('emblem, insignia', etc.).⁴⁷

It is well known that me can refer to the archetype, principle or ideal form of an object. In the myth of Inanna and Enki the list of me items carried off by Inanna includes the symbolic objects gīšgu.za.nam.lugal "throne of kingship", gīšgidri.maḥ, "exalted sceptre", and gīššū.nir, "emblem".⁴⁸ The question is whether me, as well as meaning the concept of an object, can also mean the object itself. Alster supports his contention that it can by quoting Gudea: me.ni.da mu¹.da.dib.e (*Gudea Cyl B VII* 11), which he translates "He introduced the god with his emblems",⁴⁹ and the Dispute between Sheep and Grain: me.ni ugun mu.na.ab.ak.e (FTS 136 obv.13 and dupls.), translated "(Thanks to me, Laḥar, the god Šakan) is able to make multicolour work in his me". In the latter quotation Alster holds that me must refer to the royal dress. In the light of this evidence for me as a physical object⁵⁰ it seems possible that me in the weapon text refers to an object regarded as a symbol or archetype, and this suggestion is supported in some measure by the text itself. The scribal error in l.6, me.te, which means Akkadian *simtu*, "symbol, what is fit for" suggests that the scribe was thinking in terms of the meaning of me discussed above, rather than some totally different sense of the word or sign. In this connection it is relevant that divine weapons, which existed as physical objects, were used as symbols of the deities to whom they belonged.⁵¹ For example, ^du₄.ba.nu.ila occurs in such a use: *dajjānū*^{meš} ši-bu-ú-us-su-nu ma-ḥar ^du₄.ba.nu.ila qá-ba-a-am iq-bu-ú-šu-nu-ši (*BE VI/2* 49 28-9), "The judges told them(the witnesses) to state their testimony before ^du₄.ba.nu.ila". An alternative and less attractive solution to the problem would be that the composer knew the definitely meaningful expression me.ninnu(50), "fifty (i.e. all) archetypes", and by rough analogy, or perhaps through ignorance, assimilated it to the forms of the weapon names. It is also possible, and the idea would be supported by ^dme.sag.pirig in l.25, that me is a writing for mē, "battle".

Apart from the difficult me names, it can easily be shown that the weapon names are genuine Sumerian, and that they belong to a type of weapon name which dates back to the late third and early second millennia. The u₄.ba.nu.ila, gīš.tukul.sag.50 and ^derim.á.bi.nu.tuku were weapons of Ninurta and occur in the Ninurta epic *Angim*⁵²

known from OB manuscripts and probably originating earlier. An instrument similar to the ^{d.gi}tukul.sag.pirig, namely a mi.tum.tukul.ZA.NIM.sag.pirig, "mace, lion-headed weapon studded with *hulālu* stones", was presented in the third millennium by Gudea to the Eninnu, as may be learned from *Gudea* Cyl. B XIII 23.

It is worth mentioning that Lisi is included in the related late copy of a list of "lords of my city", along with ^dšár.ur₄, ^dšár.gaz, ^du₄.ba.nu.ila and others (see *CT* 25 14 13–18).

The logic of, or justification for, the composer's Akkadian translations of the Sumerian names can in most cases be understood. In the following the technique of interpretation is only explained when it does not depend on the commonest equivalences. The equation of sag with *rabû* in l.19 occurs in a standard lexical list, *Id* (VAT 9712 i 26).⁵³ The same list also includes the equations used in ll.15 and 23 (*ibid.* i 27 and 31). L.21 converts "lion-headed weapon" to "weapon the face of which is radiant" by substituting *namru*, "radiant" for *pirig*, "lion". The justification is probably the phonetic similarity between *namru* and *nimru*, an animal similar to the lion. A lexical list states: *pirig.tur nim-ru-um* (*OEC* 4 153 iv 5), "little lion is *nimru*"; *nimru* is probably the cheetah or leopard. The identification in l.25 of "lion-headed archetype" with "battle power the face of which is radiant" follows from previous correspondences and therefore no commentary is offered in the text. In l.26 "relentless storm" is interpreted as "his invincible weapon". *u₄* may become *kakku* by semantic association: a storm can have the same devastating effect as enemy weapons.⁵⁴ It is likely that "invincible" was obtained from "relentless" via an equation of *ilá* with *maḥrû*, "earlier", as in *Nabnitu* (*MSL* 14 143 58, cf. 145 126, 132). *maḥrû* then becomes the near homophone *maḥru* quoted in the infinitive form *maḥāru*. In l.32 the equation of *á*, "strength, arm" with *qātu*, "hand" is unexpected, but does occur in *proto-Ea* (*MSL* 2 143 15 and *MSL* XIV 119 15). The introduction of (*w*)*ašû* as explaining *tuk* is not clear. Finally, Lisi is interpreted in three ways. Firstly, the god is explained as "he who burns with fire". This is achieved by pointing out that the *gunû*, or "extra wedges form"⁵⁵ of *si*, that is the sign *si₄*, can mean *qalû*, "to burn", the standard Sumerian for which is *sa*. The other syllable of the god's name, *li-*, is written with the same sign as that used for *izi*, "fire", in Akkadian, *išātu*. The second interpretation, "he who burns an offering" follows from the same ideas. Thirdly, the description "the handsome one, the burning one" is extracted. The text explains

that *si* is *banû*, "to be beautiful", and that *izi* is *qalû*. This is founded on a lexical equation such as *gu-nu* *SI-g*. *MIN gu-nu-u ba-nu-u šá ra-ma-ni* from *Aa* (*MSL* XIV 342 230), i.e. "the *gunû* (= extra wedges) form of *SI* means *banû* in the intransitive sense", and a natural association of fire with burning.

BM 34035 ll.8–13

- 8 *gú.bar.ra: d*aš-rat: *gú: ki-šá-du: bar: za-a-ri*
 9 *d*aš-rat *šá é-zi-da šabītu*(*maš.dà*) *šú-ú u kišād-su zi-i-ri d*aš-rat *šá é-sag-il*
 10 *d*šar-ra-*hi-tu₄: d*inanna¹: *ši-i: šá-ra-hi-i-tú: d*aš-rat *a-hi-i-tu₄*
 11 *mul-tu u mu-šá-lu šá ina qātē¹¹-šú kak-ku sak-ku šu-ú muš-šu-lu šá múladda*
 12 *eš.bar pu-ru-us-su-ú: eš: še-la-ša-a₄: bar: meš-li*
 13 *ultu*(*ta*) *ud.15.kam d*šar-rat *LĀ-ma purussē*(*eš.bar*) *i-šak-kan*

- 8 Gubarra: Ašrat. *gú: neck. bar: to hate.*
 9 Ašrat of Ezida is a gazelle, and she is shunned. Ašrat of Esagila
 10 is Šarrāḫītu, Inanna. Šarrāḫītu(the proud one) is Ašrat the
 foreigner(*ašrat aḫītu*)
 11 The comb and mirror in her hands—it is obtuse and obscure—is
 a representation of the corpse star.
 12 *eš.bar: decision. eš: 30. bar: half.*
 13 It is from the 15th day that the divine queen ... and makes the
 decisions.

IN THE first of the lines quoted the Sumerian *gú.bar.ra* is equated with the Akkadian *d*aš-rat. These are names of the same deity, as may be seen from the bilingual text *SBH* p.139 143, where *d*gú.bar.ra *gašan.gú.edin.na* is translated with *aš-ra-tu₄ be-let še-e-[ri]*, "Gubarra/Ašrat, the lady of the plain". The Sumerian name is then analysed. *gú* is *kišādu*, "neck", according to the common equivalence. *bar* is explained as *zāru*, that is *zēru*, "to hate", possibly on the basis of the equation *gú.bar.ra še-e-rum* in *Nabnitu* (see *MSL* XVI 197 186). The text then proceeds to explain Ašrat of Ezida and Ašrat of Esagila. Ašrat of Ezida is a gazelle; the point may be simply her grace and beauty (see pp.82, 108 and 183), but the "plain" may have something to do with the explanation. Returning to the equations in the first line it is explained that she is hated, using what appears to be

an idiom, *kišādam zēru*, "to shun the neck". The Akkadian idiom is presumably derived from the Sumerian *gú.šub*, "shun".⁵⁶ Ašrat of Esagila is explained as Šarrāhītu, or Inanna. Through similarity in sound Šarrāhītu yields Ašrat aḫītu, "Ašrat the foreigner". There is a slight possibility that this alludes to her West Semitic connection; she is the wife of Amurru.⁵⁷ The subject matter then changes and a "comb" and "mirror" in "his" or "her" hands is explained as a representation of the star "corpse".⁵⁸ The comb and mirror may be those of Kaginna and Šillušṭāb, the hairdressers of Zarpānītu, who are mentioned in the first section of the manuscript (see p.255). Finally *eš.bar*, "decisions", is split into *eš*, "30", and *bar*, "half", to suggest the 15th day of the month, when certain decisions are made. This should be compared with the manipulation in K 170 + obv.3 (see p.46). The meaning of the verb *lá* in this context and the identity of the divine queen are uncertain.

BM 34035 ll.28–32

- 28 *šurānu(sa) ikkib(níg.gig) an-šár áš-šú mülkāk.ban pān(igi) mülḫun*
ana tal-lu i-še-eṭ
- 29 *mülkāk.ban ana tal-lu ik-tal-du mülḫun ana nipḫišu(šú.bi)*
nakir(kúr) ina dūri izziziz
- 30 *ap-pi i-lab-bi-{pi}-in 27 ūmē^{meš} pān(igi) šá mülḫi-pí*
igi.27.gál.bi
- 31 2¹,13¹,20: 2: igi: 3,20: lugal: *a-mar lugal ḫi-pí*
- 32 *[ḫi]-pí ḫi-pí*

- 28 The cat is taboo to Anšar because Sirius pulled the front of Aries to the beam
- 29 and Sirius reached the beam. Aries changes until it rises. It stood at the wall.
- 30 One prays contritely. For 27 days it is in front of the star. It is broken. The reciprocal of 27
- 31 is 2;13;20. 2 is in front of. 3;20 is king. Bull calf is king. It is broken.
- 32 It is broken. It is broken.

THE first two of the lines quoted give an astronomical reason for the cat being taboo to Anšar. The verb *šētu* is in indicative form but should be subjunctive.⁵⁹ Aries begins to set, but does not move below

the horizon. It is said to stand at the "wall", probably a phrase with astrological significance, but unknown to *CAD* in such a context. *tal-lu*, "beam", occurs in astrological contexts, sometimes with *dur*, probably "bond".⁶⁰ There is some possibility that *dūru*(bād) is here a writing for *dur*. It is uncertain whether the praying is connected with the movements of the stars described. The reciprocal of 27 is correctly computed as ;2,13,20. This is split up to give 2, 1, and 3,20. 2 is explained as *igi* perhaps because eyes occur in pairs. The numeral 1 is ignored, and 3,20 is explained as "king". The basis of this is probably that 3,20 is used as a writing for "king" in omen texts.⁶¹ "Bull calf" is then equated with "king", and the text breaks off. One may suspect that "bull calf" was to lead to ^damar.utu, the standard writing for Marduk, in view of another text, in which Marduk is associated with 3,20.⁶² (3;20 is 200, 10 × 20, and 20 is a common ideogram for *šarru*, "king".)

Gordon, *Smith College Tablets* 110

Obverse

- 1 ^dza-ba₄-ba₄ bēl(en) mātāte(kur.kur) ina šu-me-šú [qa-bi]
 2 za be-lu mā.mà(ba₄.ba₄) ma-ta-[ti]
 3 [d]a-a-a-iš abnē(na₄)^{meš} ^dza-ba₄-[ba₄]
 4 [na₄] ^{mul}pagru(adda) ki-i qab[ú(dug₄.ga)^u]
 5 [^{mul}pagr]u(adda) pa-gar asakki(á.sàg) na₄ a-sak-[ku]
 6 [× ×] rēšu(sag) bēl(en) šá i-sin-ni-šú [× × ×]
 7 [n]iḡ(siskur_x) al-pi [× × × × ×]
 8 [al-pi] ^{mul}gu₄.an.na ki-[i qabú(dug₄.ga)^u]
 9 [ki]nūnu(KI.NE) šá ina pān ^dni[n-urta × × × × ×]
 10 × abnu(na₄) šá ina muḥ-ḥi ki-× [× × × × ×]
 11 × × [...]

Reverse

- 1 ^dnammu u ^dnanše apsi [× × × ×]
 2 narkabtu(GIŠ.MAR) šá uššú(è)-ma 7 [× × ×]
 3 K[I × × ×]
 4 mu-bar-ru-ú šá × × × × × × ×
 5 mūdú(zu)^u mūdâ(zu)^a li-kal-li-[im]
 6 kīma la-bi-ri-šú šaḫir(APIN) ba[ri(ba.an.è)]
 7 lúšá-ma-al-lu-ú lúna-a-[× ×]
 8 a-na ba-la-ṭu napšātī(zi)^{meš}-šú i[š-ṭur]
 9 i-na é-xi-da ú-ki-[in]

Gordon, *Smith College Tablets* 110

Obverse

- 1 Zababa [is called] by his name "Lord of the Lands".
 2 za: "Lord". ba₄.ba₄: "of the Lands".
 3 "The Stone-crusher": Zababa.
 4 ["Stone"]: the corpse star, as it is said.
 5 The corpse star: the corpse of Asakku. "Stone": Asakku.
 6 [.] head the lord, of whose festival [.]
 7 [(.)] offering of an ox [...]
 8 [The ox]: the ox star, as [it is said].
 9 The furnace which [they light up] in front of [Ninurta.]
 10 . The stone which on [.....]
 11 .. [...]

Reverse

- 1 Nammu and Nanše, the Apsû [....]
 2 The chariot which comes out, seven [× × ×]
 3 . [....]
 4 A commentary on
 5 May the initiate show the initiate.
 6 Written according to its original and checked.
 7 The assistant, the . [..]
 8 For the life of his soul he wrote and
 9 Deposited it in Ezida.

COMMENTARY ON GORDON, *SMITH COLLEGE TABLETS I 10*⁶³

ACCORDING to its colophon the text derives from Ezida, the temple of Nabû in Borsippa. It describes itself as a *mubarrû*, "commentary", and probably comments on citations from a specific work. What this is is unknown, but the commentary can at least in part be understood. The first five lines comment on two epithets, "lord of the lands", and "stone-crusher", in relation to the name Zababa. Theologically, the point of this is that Zababa, the warrior god of Kiš⁶⁴ was identified with Ninurta⁶⁵ to whom the epithets are appropriate. en.kur.kur, "lord of the lands", is equated with Ninurta in lists of gods⁶⁶ and the other epithet probably refers to Ninurta's victory over the stones.⁶⁷ Philologically, the name Zababa is divided into two parts, each of which leads to one epithet. ba₄.ba₄ leads to *mātu*(kur), "land" via the equation BA₄ = mà = ma = *mātu*, "to die", and zá is a pronunciation of the stone sign na₄. The reason for associating stones with the corpse star is unknown, but this, taken with the equation of the corpse star with Asakku, known also from the star and god list V R 46 no. 1 28, leads to an identification of stones with Asakku, evidently the purpose of this part of the exposition. Thus, artificial philological connections between Ninurta and two epithets are demonstrated. The connection between stones and Asakku is certainly developed with an eye to the myths in which Ninurta was victorious over stones, and the Asakku.⁶⁷ The commentary demonstrates an affinity between the two myths, based on a piece of known astro-mythology, and another association which is not understood.

The other surviving lines relate events in cult practice to myth and astro-myth. L.6 probably refers to a festival of Ninurta, but the content is broken away. The next two lines link a probably cultic offering of an ox to the ox star or constellation. This should be compared to the identification of the bull with the ox star in the commentary on the ritual for covering a bronze kettle drum used in cult (see p. 194). Ll.9 and 10 appear also to discuss cultic events. The two lines of surviving text on the reverse of the tablet mention Nammu, Nanše, the Apsû, a chariot coming out, and the number 7. The purport, though unclear, is obviously theological or mythological.

[Text continues on p. 68]

BM 37055

Obverse?

- 1 ...] ×
 2 ...] ×
 3 ... G]A? ×
 4 ...] *ina*
 5 ...] ×
 6 ...] × ×
 7 ...] TA BU: úr: *iš-d[u]*
 8 ...] × 8 *ubānu(šu.si) innammar(igi)[^{mar}*
 9 ... (× +)] 10 *ikû ma-da-as-[su]*

Reverse?

- 1 ...] 3,20: 3,20: *é.sag.gil:* × [(×)]
 2 ... *bābilī^{ki} šu-bat^d marduk:* 3,20: *èš bi-[tu]*
 3 ...] × *libnāti(sig₄) ina kisal.bàn.da lu-uṭ-ṭu ina šaplī(ki.ta)-šī-*
n[a]
 4 ...] × : *ár-ḥa-a-tú: ár-ḥi: arḥu(iti): libittu(sig₄)*
 5 ... -s]u-nu *kak-ku sak-ku šu-u: libittu(sig₄) šu-u ×*
 6 ...] × × (×) *iti simānu(sig₄) šá uššū(uru₄) bīti nadû(šub)^u*
 7 ...] × × [...
 8 ...] ×

BM 37055

Obverse

- 1 ...] .
 2 ...] .
 3 ...] . .
 4 ...] in
 5 ...] .
 6 ...] .
 7 ...] . . : úr is foundation.
 8 ...] . 8 fingers is seen.
 9 ... (× +)] 10 *ikû* is its measurement.

Reverse

- 1 ...]: 3,20(200) 3,20(200): Esagil .[...
 2 ... Babylon], the abode of Marduk: 3,20(200) Shrine: temple.
 3 ...] The bricks in the small courtyard. The shape beneath
 4 them.
 5 ...]: half bricks: month month: brick
 6 ... of] them. It is difficult and obscure. It is brick. .
 7 ...] .. The month of Simānu, when the foundations of a
 8 temple are laid.
 7 ...] .. [...
 8 ...] .

COMMENTARY ON BM 37055

SINCE one side of the tablet has an edge at the bottom and no colophon, it has been provisionally considered to be the obverse.

Obverse?

The end of l.7 gives the Sumerian word for "base", *úr*, and its Akkadian equivalent *išdu*. L.8 appears to mention eight fingers, a measurement presumably developed in the following line. L.9 gives the measurement of something, possibly that referred to in l.8, in *ikú*, a unit of volume or area.

Reverse?

In l.1 the number 3,20, or 200 is apparently equated with Esagil, Marduk's temple, and in l.2 with Babylon, his city. The probability is that the number 200 is here being regarded as pertaining to Marduk. The point may be that Marduk is king of the gods, and king is rarely written with the numeral 3,20. Alternatively, the number 200 may result from analysis of the common writing for Marduk, ^damar.utu. The characteristic number of the god Utu is 20, and amar may in some way have been understood as 10. With this should be compared the partly obscure fourth line of BM 34035 ll.28–32, discussed above on p. 63. A particular chamber of the temple is mentioned, and the temple is then described as *èš(AB)*, to produce the sign AB. In the lost portion of l.3 this sign is probably equated with its homophone *áb*, which means *arhu*, "cow", in order to lead to the discussion of bricks which follows. *arhu*, "cow", has a homophone *arhu*, "half brick". The word *luštu* should probably be understood as *lištu*, "shape", rather than *luštu*, "drinking vessel", and the composer may have meant an association with *littu*, "cow", as well as a reference to the half brick shape. This argument is used also in the last tablet of i.NAM.giš.ḫur.an.ki (see above p.45). The surviving text of ll.4 and 5 repeats the equation of "brick" and "half brick" to "month". In l.6 a particular month, Simānu, standardly written with the brick sign *sig₄*, is named and described as when the foundation of a temple would be laid. Thus, if correctly understood, the exposition equates Marduk with his temple and city, and by various arguments shows a connection between the temple with reference to a particular chamber, the bricks of which it may be composed, and the name of the month in which the bricks would be laid.

CHAPTER TWO

GROUPS OF DEITIES AND PARTS OF THE WORLD

ONE type of speculation was concerned with equating groups of closely related parts or aspects of the natural world with groups of deities. It is well known that from an early period in Mesopotamian history thinkers envisaged the world around them in theological terms.¹ Individual deities were associated or at times totally identified with a part of the universe such as a cosmic region, an astral body, a meteorological phenomenon, vegetation, an animal or group of animals, a force of nature or aspect of human social activity. In each city one deity in particular was worshipped and was regarded as the tutelary deity of that city. As a rule, different cities did not share the same deity.² Genealogical and other relationships between deities were studied and expounded by theologians. Domination of city by city and the building of empires in the second and first millennia resulted in the appearance of national gods. The situation was complicated by the fact that some deities had several rôles. Šamaš, for example, was not only the sun god but also the god of justice. This illustrates the complex association of ideas. According to the author of the Šamaš hymn, the reason is that Šamaš as the sun sees everything.³

Working within this background of thought the ancient philosophers endeavoured to find ways of making existing theology accord more precisely with the facts of the natural world. They achieved this greater detail in various ways, of which two are relevant here. One of these was by working on analogy with existing identities between deities and parts of the world. In astrology, Ištar was Venus, Šamaš was the sun, and Sîn the moon. These and other long-standing associations provided examples by analogy with which other astral bodies were systematically equated with deities. This appears to have resulted in almost every deity, whether originally astral in character or not, having his *manzaltu*, "position", in the heavens. Theological identities seem to have been put forward in a similar way for stones, plants, and birds. Examples are given below in the sections under the

heading Ancient Studies of Deities and Phenomena. The other way the aim was achieved was by considering phenomena in greater detail and with regard to definite examples where only general associations were made before. For example, instead of *tāmtu*, "sea", as a general concept associated with the deity Tiāmat, particular seas were considered. Examples of this method applied to winds, rivers and seas, days of the month, and aspects of the calendar are given.

ANCIENT STUDIES OF DEITIES AND PHENOMENA

Astral bodies

Equations of deities with astral bodies are abundantly attested, in the Astrological Compendium K 250+ and dupls. (see E. Weidner, *Afo* 19 pp.105ff.), in the series ^{mul}apin (see *HBA* pp.35ff.) and elsewhere (see *HBA* pp.29–30; 51ff.; 60ff.; 62ff.).

Minerals and plants, a bird and an animal, are equated with deities in CBS 6060 and dupl., discussed in Chapter Five (see pp.175ff.).

Minerals

Certain stones were sometimes associated with particular deities. For example ^{na}ar-zal-lu₄ aban(*na*)^dlama (cited from *CAD* A II 325a), "Arzallu is the stone of Lama". In the examples referred to above and discussed in Chapter Five the method of association seems to be similar to that used in the case of astral bodies and deities.

Plants

Several plants are equated with deities in *CT* 14 38 (K 14081). See also the examples referred to above and discussed in Chapter Five.

Birds

Birds were sometimes associated with deities. For example: ^{mušen}ha-zi-ba-ru iššūr^dnusku (*CT* 40 50 43), "the *hāšibāru*, the bird of Nusku", in an omen. Miscellaneous examples of this type are collected by A. Salonen in *Vögel*, pp.294–5. Systematic expositions of deities and birds are given by the *Bird Call Text*, edited by W.G. Lambert, in *AnSt* 20 111ff. These offer interpretations of the birds' calls in Akkadian and Sumerian phrases of mythological content. Although the works may have serious religious intent, some of their

content probably derives from folklore. One may compare a passage from the epic of Gilgamesh. Although the *allala* bird is not said to be the "bird of Ištar", a mythological association between the bird and goddess provides an etiological background which explains the bird's cry:

<i>al-la-lá bit-ru-ma ta-ra-mi</i>	You(Ištar) loved the multi
<i>-ma</i>	-coloured <i>allala</i> bird,
<i>tam-ḫa-ši-šu-ma kap-pa-šu</i>	But struck it and broke its
<i>tal-te-eb-ber</i>	wing.
<i>iz-za-az ina qí-šá-ti i-šas-si</i>	It stands in the forest crying
<i>kap-pi</i>	"My wing(<i>kappi</i>)!"

Gilg VI 48–50

Plant, stone, and wood

A line from BM 34035 reads *ki-i šamma(ú) abna(na₄) u iša(giš) ú^{lu}maš-maš-ú-tu a-na murši te¹-pu-šú it-ti ši-ti-šú e-pu-uš* (BM 34035 ll.38–9), "When you perform plant stone and wood and the art of the exorcist for a sick man—one performs (it) with its comment". The difficult *ši-ti-šú* is understood as "its *šitu*", "its comment", taking *šitu* to be the singular of *šātu*, "commentary". Plant, mineral, and wood as a combination in magic should be associated with the late texts published by E. Weidner in his monograph *Gestirndarstellungen*. Many of these are concerned with different groups of items, each group consisting of a plant, a stone, a wood, and a deity and his temple. Several pair these groups on a one to one basis with individual zodiacal signs, or with days of the month. One, K 11151 (*ibid.*, Tafel 17, now joined to BM 68063), associates groups of this type with cultic events, though not the sort of magic likely to be used in curing a sick man. Each group of citations includes the comment "day of such and such a god", but what day is meant is unclear. Advice is given about the propitiousness of certain activities on the day. One section is given:

<i>[bīr]</i> ^d ninurta(MAS)	[Temple] of Ninurta.
<i>[ú]</i> bu-šu alpi(gud)	Ox <i>būšu</i> plant.
<i>giš</i> úr.an	Uran wood.
^{na} parzillu(an.bar)	Iron.
<i>ūm il āli</i>	Day of the god of the city,
<i>d</i> sīn(30) <i>d</i> ištar(15)	(and) Šin and Ištar.
<i>ana d</i> sīn u <i>d</i> ištar	For Šin and Ištar,
<i>na-mir-tú</i>	an illumination.

inba là ikkal(kù) One does not eat fruit.
ana dīni là uššâ(è) One does not go out for judgement.
 K 11151 col.iv² 4-13

It seems probable that the rationale of these texts is, on a most basic level, that plants, minerals, and woods, can be associated with deities, and therefore also with cultic, astrological, and other matters.

Fire, water and wind

A section in a late text associates Anu, Ea, and Enlil with fire, water, and wind, respectively:

dgirra(giš.bar): dānu(60): išātu(izi): ul-la-nu: dea(40): mu-ú
IM^{tu}.hur.sag: den-lil: ša-a-ri: šu-ut pī šā ša-a-tú e-du-tú
 RA 62 52 17-8

Girra: Anu: fire. Primeval: Ea: water.

East wind: Enlil: wind. According to a learned commentary.

It will be seen that each of the triad of gods is preceded by something which may draw attention to a particular aspect of him, and followed by one of the elements, fire, water, and wind. Thus Anu as Girra is fire. This statement should be compared with a section of i.NAM.giš.hur.an.ki.a. Ea as the primeval one is water. The statement relates Ea to the primeval Apsû, whom Ea slew and made his abode. Finally, Enlil as the East wind is wind. The East wind and direction are in Akkadian designated by words for mountain, here *huršānu*(hur.sag), and more usually *šadû*(kur), referring to the mountains to the east of Mesopotamia. The statement may be based on the epithets of Enlil, *šadû*(kur) *rabû*, "great mountain", and *bēl gimri*, "lord of totality". The first provides a connection with the East wind. A variant in another text, about winds and gods (see p.76) suggests that *gimru*, Sumerian *šār*, may supply the connection with *šāru*, "wind".

Winds

Three expositions will be considered. The first is from a MA tablet, the third included in an incantation, and the second from the compendium of theological equivalences *STT* 400. This particular section of the last mentioned text is duplicated by the cultic compendium *TIM* 9 60.

...] *tu₁ssūtu(u_x.lu) ša-a-ri ša i-na ma-ḥar dē-a iz-zi-[zu]*
 ...] *tu₁šadû(kur.ra) ša-a-ri ša i-na ma-ḥar den-lil iz-zi-zu*
 ...] *tu₁siltānu(si.sā) ša-a-ri ša i-na ma-ḥar dadad(iškur) û dnin-urta iz-zi-zu*
 ...] *tu₁samurru(mar.tu) ša-a-ri ša i-na ma-ḥar da-nū iz-zi-zu*
 RA 60 73 rev.3-6

...] The South wind which served Ea.
 ...] The East wind which served Enlil.
 ...] The North wind which served Adad and Ninurta.
 ...] The West wind which served Anu.

tu₁ssūtu(u_x.lu) dē-a abi ilāni^{meš}
tu₁šadû(kur.ra) den-lil bēl gim-ri^{ša-a-ri}
tu₁siltānu(si.sā) dnin-lil bēlet(gašan) za-qi-qi
tu₁samurru(mar.tu) da-nū abi ilāni^{meš}
STT 400 rev.37-40 = *TIM* 9 60 iii 2-5 dupl. K 8397 1-4 (see Bezold, *Catalogue*, p.923). Note that K 8397 has been joined to K 2892 and that it is in LB script. K 2892 + is duplicated by the NA tablet K 10062, but this does not include the present lines. Variants: First line: K *a-bu*; second line: K omits *ša-a-ri*; third line: K *en*, *TIM* *be-l[et]*; fourth line: K *da-nu*, *šamē* for *ilāni^{meš}*, *TIM* *a-bi*.

The South wind: Ea, father of the gods.
 The East wind: Enlil, lord of all.
 The North wind: Ninlil, lady of breezes.
 The West wind: Anu, father of the gods.

muḥ-ri tu₁ssūtu(u_x.lu) na-ra-am-ti dē-a
 MIN *tu₁siltānu(si.sā) na-ra-am-ti dšin*
mu-hur tu₁šadû(kur.ra) na-ra-am-mu da-nim
 MIN *tu₁samurru(mar.tu) na-ra-am-mu dē-a u da-nim*
 Afo XII pl.10 rev.col.ii 24-7 (= K 9875; cf. *JCS* 29 53)

Receive, South wind, beloved of Ea!
 Ditto North wind, beloved of Šin!
 Receive, East wind, beloved of Anu!
 Ditto West wind, beloved of Ea and Anu!

These can be summarised:

	MA	STT etc.	Incantation
S. Wind	Ea	Ea	Ea
E. Wind	Enlil	Enlil	Anu
N. Wind	Adad and Ninurta	Ninlil	Šin
W. Wind	Anu	Anu	Ea and Anu

A section of the same type is probably CT 24 33 (K 4349W) col.i 3-6; here the four winds are listed, each preceded by a lacuna. The first example given above is dated to the MA period on palaeographic grounds. Significant are the forms of the signs *ba*, *zu*, *tu*, *li* (on the reverse), and *nim*, and the regularly used ligature *i+na*.⁴ The date of this text shows that the concept of relating the four winds to major deities existed at least as early as the end of the second millennium. Agreement between the three examples is great enough for it to be said with reason that they are three different forms of one tradition, rather than three different traditions. In the second line of the second example the meaning of *ša-a-ri* is doubtful. Epithets and descriptions of Enlil in religious literature do not regard him as controller of winds, but do allude to him as lord of "totality", Akkadian *gimru*.⁵ It therefore seems probable that *bēl gimri* is here "lord of totality", and that *ša-a-ri* is not *šāru*, "wind", but entered the textual tradition at some stage as a gloss on *šār*, in some meanings a Sumerian equivalent of *gimru*. This interpretation is supported by the fact that *ša-a-ri* is omitted from one of the manuscripts, K 8397; whether TIM 9 60 read *ša-a-ri* is uncertain because the right hand edge of the column is not preserved. In the second example the winds are simply paired with the deities, but in the other two a mythological relation is explained. In the first the relation is expressed by the idiom *ina maḥar ... uzuzzu*, "to stand in attendance" as at the court of a king. In the third each wind is the "beloved" of a deity or deities. Ea is consistently associated with the South wind, but for the other winds variations occur. Especially since one of the examples can be dated to the second millennium it is reasonable to suppose that Anu, Enlil, and Ea are included because they were the three most important gods of the OB and Cassite periods. Other gods were added for different reasons. Adad had a long-standing connection with wind. Ninurta and Ninlil may be included as Enlil's son and wife. The inclusion of Sin is difficult to understand. Since the text with Sin omits Enlil one might speculate that textual corruption involving confusion of *dēnlil(en.lil)* and *dšin(EN.ZU)* is the cause.

Rivers and seas

Rivers and seas were regarded as being controlled by deities in the same manner as were winds.

...] *šadī(kur) i ū ididiqlat(ḪAL) ša i-na ma-ḥar dēn-lil iz-zi-zu*
 ...] *tāmtu(a.ab.ba) elītu(an.ta) ša ša-lam dšā-maš ša i-na ma-ḥar dšā-maš iz-zi-zu*
 ...] *tāmtu(a.ab.ba) šaplītu(ki.ta) ša šī-i dšā-maš ša i-na ma-ḥar dē-a iz-zi-zu*
 ...] *idpu-rat-ti ša i-na ma-ḥar dšā-maš iz-zi-zu*

RA 60 73 7-10

- ...] The mountains and the Tigris which served Enlil.
- ...] The upper sea of the setting sun which served Šamaš.
- ...] The lower sea of the rising sun which served Ea.
- ...] The Euphrates which served Šamaš.

This exposition immediately follows on the same tablet as the MA wind exposition just presented. Since "mountain" is mentioned in connection with the Tigris, and *šadū*, "mountain", is an epithet of Enlil, it is perhaps for this reason that the Tigris is Enlil. But this is uncertain, and the correspondences appear to be lacking in any theological justification except a desire to make seas and rivers correspond to major deities.

Days of the month and aspects of the calendar

arḫu: <i>dā-nu</i>	ud.7.kám ⁶ : <i>dēn-lil</i>
ud.15.kám: <i>dñin-urta</i>	<i>bēl pi-riš-ti</i>
ud.ná.àm: <i>dšin(30)</i>	ud.da.zal.lá <i>ḫi-pi</i>
ud.gid.da :	<i>dñin-urta</i>

STT 400 rev.41-4

new moon: Anu	7th day ⁶ : Enlil
15th day: Ninurta	lord of the secret.
day of disappearance of the moon: Sin	bright day broken
long day :	Ninurta

ūmu: dēn-lil arḫu: dā-nū šattu(mu.an.na) d[é-a]
mu-šu-um: dē-a u ddam¹-k[i-na]
 : *mu-šu-um: é.u₃.di: dam-an-[ki]*
arḫu: dā-nū 7: dēn-lil ud.15.kám: dñi[n-urta]
ud.20.[lá.1.k]ám: dgu-la ud.20.kám: d[šamaš]
ud.25.kám dšin(30) ud.ṛná¹.a dšin(30) dlugal-[dug₆-kù-ga]
u₄.da.zal.la: dšamaš u₄.da.gid.da: dñi[n-urta]

TIM 9 60 col.iii 9'-12', cf. CT 24, 33, K 4349W

day: Enlil month: Anu year: [Ea]
 night: Ea and Damkina

night: Eudi: Amanki
 new moon: Anu 7th day: Enlil 15th: Ninurta
 19th day: Gula 20th day: [Šamaš]
 25th day: Šin day of disappearance of the moon: Šin, Lugaldukuga
 bright day: Šamaš long day: Ninurta

The sources are again the cultic compendium *TIM* 9 60 and the compendium of theological equivalences *STT* 400, of which excerpts were discussed in the preceding two sections. Here, deities are equated with days of the month and other aspects of the calendar. *TIM* commences by assigning the day, month, and year to Anu, Enlil, and probably Ea. Night is then assigned first to Ea and his wife Damkina, and then to the temple Eudi and to Amanki, Emesal of Ea. Part of the basis of the texts seems to be that deities are equated with the dates of their festivals. Anu is thus the 1st day, the new moon, Šamaš (if correctly restored) the 20th, and Gula the 19th.⁷ To this are added critical dates of the phases of the moon, with theological equivalences. In *i.NAM.giš.ħur.an.ki.a* the 1st, 7th, and 15th days are equated with Anu, Enlil, and Ea (see pp.30 and 45). In the present texts the 25th and 30th days are also included, and the theological arrangement is somewhat different. In *STT* the 1st day is Anu, the 7th Enlil, the 15th Ninurta, and the day of disappearance of the moon, that is the 30th, is Šin himself. *TIM* agrees with this, except that the 30th day is not mentioned, and it is the 25th which is equated with Šin. The day of the moon's disappearance is identified with, first, Šin, then with, probably, Lugaldukuga, though his name is partly broken. "Bright day" and "long day" are Šamaš and Ninurta.

Months were also equated with deities. *CB* p.196 (a list at the end of the seventh tablet of *iqqur ēpuš*) and *KAV* 218 give two different sets of equations.

DEITIES AND PHENOMENA AND COSMOLOGICAL THOUGHT

It will have been observed that in the correspondences between deities and aspects of the world discussed above Anu, Enlil, and to a lesser extent Ea have a prominent place. It may have been noticed that Marduk is missing. This is consistent with the date suggested by the MA manuscripts: the theorisation precedes Marduk's rise to eminence.

The reason for the prominence of Anu, Enlil, and Ea may be that they were the chief gods of the OB and Cassite periods. An alternative

explanation is that they correspond to the three basic cosmic regions distinguished by the Babylonians, the sweet waters beneath the earth, the space immediately above the earth, and the heaven. Since they correspond thus to one set of parts of the world, it would make sense to pair them with other sets of parts. The ancient thinkers may have been influenced by the consideration that a universe in which each phenomenon is controlled by an independent and individual deity is chaotic, whereas a theological system in which the same group or groups of deities control different phenomena results in a theory of an ordered cosmos.

The next text to be presented and discussed employs the theories used in the texts discussed above, but is more complicated. It falls into two parts, which are separated on the tablet by material discussed elsewhere.⁸ One part is about cosmology, and one part about gods as animals. Both are in the form of accounts of Marduk's arrangement of the universe. The cosmological part is concerned with making Marduk's arrangement of cosmic regions as described in *Enūma eliš* correspond with earlier arrangements, and the second has overtones of Marduk's defeat of the deities whom he superceded in the pantheon (see pp.154ff.). Before proceeding to the text itself it will be necessary to give a brief resumé of Marduk's cosmos.

THE CREATION OF THE COSMIC REGIONS BY MARDUK, ACCORDING TO *ENŪMA ELIŠ*⁹

IN THE first tablet of the epic it is explained how a primeval monster, the Apsû, came to be slain by Ea, Marduk's father, and how Ea established his residence on the monster's body. Marduk's own work of creation utilised the body of the Apsû, and the corpse of a second monster, Apsû's wife Tiāmat, who was defeated and slaughtered by Marduk himself, as is recounted in the fourth tablet of the epic.

Marduk's work of creation began with forming the heavens from the body of Tiāmat:

*iḫ-pi-ši-ma ki-ma nu-un maš-ṭe-e a-na ši-ni-šu
 mi-iš-lu-uš-ša iš-ku-nam-ma šá-ma-mi uš-šal-lil*

IV 137-8

He split her in two like a fish of the drying place.
 Half of her he positioned and made flat like a roof, the heavens.

Her other half he eventually used for the earth: [*meš-la-šá u*]*š-šal-li-la er-se-ti uk-tin-na* (V 62), "Half of her he made flat and firm, the earth". But in the meantime he had created other regions. After making the heavens, he shaped them to match the Apsû:

*šamē i-bi-ir áš-ra-ta i-ḫi-ṭam-ma
uš-tam-ḫi-ir mi-iḫ-rit ap-si-i šu-bat dnu-dim-mud*

IV 141-2

He crossed the heavens and examined the celestial regions.
He made them a likeness of the Apsû, the abode of Nudimmud(Ea).

Marduk then created a new layer, the Ešarra, between heaven and the Apsû:

*im-šu-úḫ-ma be-lum šá ap-si-i bi-nu-tuš-šu
éš-gal-la tam-ši-la-šu ú-kin é-šár-ra
éš-gal-la é-šár-ra šá ib-nu-u šá-ma-mi
dā-nim dēn-lil u dē-a ma-ḫa-zi-šu-un uš-ram-ma*

IV 143-6

Marduk surveyed the build of the Apsû.
He made firm the Ešarra as the likeness of the Ešgalla(Apsû).
The Ešgalla, the Ešarra, which he built, and the Heavens
He made Ea, Enlil, and Anu dwell in as their (respective) centres.

At this point it only remained for Marduk to choose his own region.
As is apparent from the following lines, he chose the area between the Apsû and the Ešarra, thus including the earth in his domain. He addressed "the gods, his fathers":

*e-le-na apsi šu-bat ḫaš-ma-ni
mi-iḫ-rit é-šar-ra šá ab-nu-ú a-na-ku el-ku-un
šap-liš áš-ra-ta ú-dan-ni-na qaḡ-qar-šá
lu-pu-uš-ma bi-ta lu-u šu-bat la-le-e-a*

V 119-22

Above the Apsû, the emerald abode,
Opposite the Ešarra, which I created for you(pl.),
Under the celestial regions, whose floor I made strong,
I will build a temple for my luxurious abode.

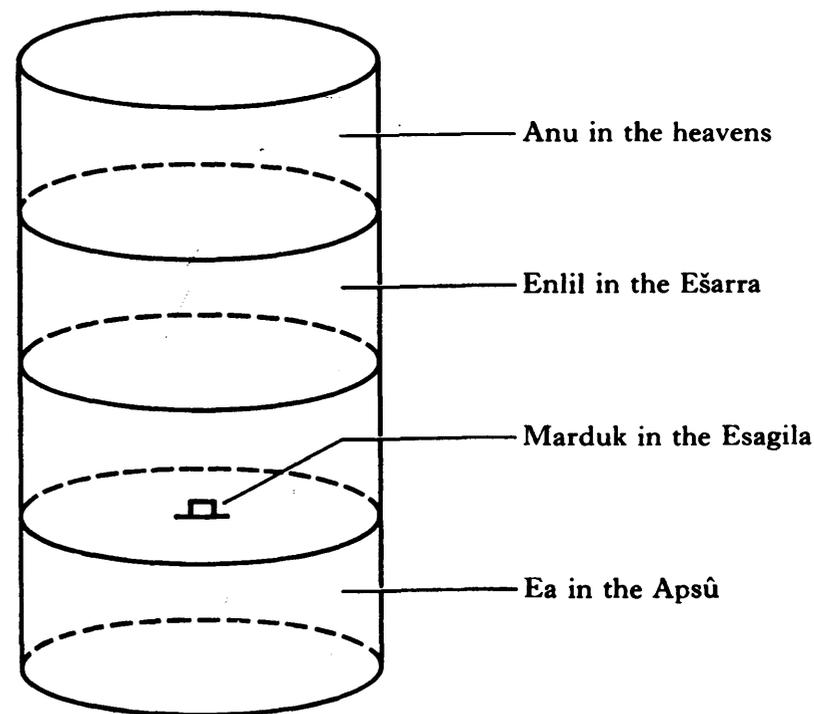
Whereas in the passage above, IV 145-6, only Enlil is mentioned as in the Ešarra, the plural personal suffix in V 120, just quoted, should probably be taken to mean that other of the great gods also inhabited the region. Marduk settled in his region:

*i-na tar-ba-a-ti ma-ḫar-šú-nu ú-ši-ba-am-ma
šur-šiš é-šár-ra i-na-aṭ-ṭa-lu qar-na-a-šú*

VI 65-6

He sat in splendour before them,
Gazing at its(Esagila's) horns at the base of Ešarra.

The completed cosmos must have been visualised as something like:



VAT 8917 obv.30—rev.3

- 30 *šamú^ú elúti(an.ta)^{ti} na₄lu-lu-da-ni-tú ša^da-nim 300^di-gi-gi ina lib-bi ú-š[e-šib]*
- 31 *šamú^ú qablúti(murub₄)^{ti} na₄sag-gil-mut ša^di-gi-gi be-lu₄ ina lib-bi paramahhi(bará.maḥ) i-na lib-bi*
- 32 *ina parak(bará) na₄uqní(za.gin) ú-šib^gisbu-ši na₄el-me-ši ina libbi ú-nam-mir*
- 33 *šamú^ú šaplúti(ki.ta)^{meš} na₄aš-pu-u ša^mullu-ma-ši šaⁱilāni^{meš} ina muḥhi e-sir*
- 34 *[i-na dan]nat(kala.ga) eršet^{ti} elí[ti(an.ta)] zi-qi-qu amēlúti(nam.lú.u_x.lu) ina libbi ú-šar-bi-iš*
- 35 *[× ×] × eršet^{ti} qablútu(murub₄)^{tu} dea(DIS) abā-šú ina libbi ú-še-šib*
- 36 *[× × × × ×] × si-ḥu ul ú-maš-ši*
- 37 *[× × × × × eršet^{ti}] šaplútu^{tu} 600^da-nun-na-ki ina lib-bi e-sir^l*
- 38 *[× × × × × × ×] BU × [× × ×] šá^{na} aš-pu-u*
- 1 *[×] × × × ša^{na} mu-ši ša^l muḥhi qaran ti-amat be-lu₄ ik-[mi-ši]*
- 2 *[iṣ-b]at-si i-šim-ši iḥ-pi-ši-ma kīma nūnē(ku₆)^{meš} maš-ṭe-e a-na šinī(2)-[ša]*
- 3 *^{id}idiqlatu(HAL.HAL) inē^{II} imittī(zag)-šá^{id} purattu(buranun) inē^{II} šumēlī(150^l)-šá*

VAT 8917 rev.10—5

- 10 *eṭemmu šá^den-me-šár-ra qi-ma-ni qi-ma-ni išanassi(gù.dé)^{meš}*
- 11 *serrēmu(anše.eden.na) eṭemmu šá^denlil(idim) barbaru(ur.bar.ra) eṭemmu šá^da-nim*
- 12 *^{db}bēl šēra(eden) ú-šar-pi-su šabāti(maš.dà)^{meš} mārāti(dumu.mí)^{meš}-š[ú] be-lu₄ šēra ú-šar-pi-si-na*
- 13 *ibilu(anše.a.ab.ba) eṭemmu ti-amat ^{db}bēl qarnī(si)^{meš}-šá ú-ka-rit*
- 14 *[šēp]ē(gir^{II})^{meš}-šá ik-kis zibbat(kun)-sa ik-rit*
- 15 *be-lu₄ iq-mu-ši-ma áš-šu la ma-še-i nišē(un)^{meš} ú-kal-lim*

VAT 8917 rev.4—6

- 4 *40 bērū(kaskal.gíd) ḥap-rat ^dšamaš 60 bērū(kaskal.gíd) ḥap-rat ^ds[ín(30)]*
- 5 *šá libbi ^ds[amaš^d]marduk šá libbi ^dsín(30) ^dnabû(ná) ina libbi ^dšamaš ba-aš-mu BAL.BAL ×*

VAT 8917 obv.30—rev.3

- 30 The upper heaven is Luludanītu stone of Anu. He settled the 300 Igīgū inside.
- 31 The middle heaven is Saggilmut stone of the Igīgū. Bēl sat on a throne within,
- 32 on a dais of lapis lazuli. He made glass and crystal shine inside (it).
- 33 The lower heaven is jasper of the stars. He drew the constellations of the gods on it.
- 34 He settled the souls of mankind on the terra firma of the upper earth.
- 35 He made Ea, his father, reside on the middle earth. [...].
- 36 [...] . rebellion? he did not distinguish.
- 37 [...] He shut up 600 Anunnaki inside the lower [earth].
- 38 [...] .. [...] of jasper.
- 1 [...]... Mušu stone on the horn of Tiāmat. Bēl defeated her.
- 2 He smote her, establishing her destiny and split her into [her] two parts like fish of the drying place.
- 3 The Tigris: her right eye. The Euphrates: her left eye.

VAT 8917 rev.10—5

- 10 The ghost of Enmešarra keeps crying "Burn me, burn me!"*
- 11 The wild ass is the ghost of Enlil and the wolf the ghost of Anu.
- 12 Bēl made him roam the plain. The gazelles, his daughters, Bēl made roam the plain.
- 13 The dromedary is the ghost of Tiamāt. Bēl cut off her horns.
- 14 He clove her feet and docked her tail.
- 15 Bēl burned her. Lest it be forgotten, he instructed mankind.

VAT 8917 rev.4—6

- 4 40 double hours is the disc of Šamaš. 60 double hours is the disc of Sîn.
- 5 Marduk is the one inside Šamaš. Nabû is the one inside Sîn. Inside Šamaš a monster . .

* Or, translate "Grind me, grind me!".

- 6 *ina libbi* ^d*s[în(30) u]m-ma-šú paṭru(gír) ina muḥḥi nēši(ur.maḥ) šá*
qāti [× (×)]

- 6 Inside Sîn is his mother. A dagger above the lion which a hand
 [.(.)]

COMMENTARY ON VAT 8917 obv.30—rev.3

CERTAIN features of the text betray conflation of different sources. The subject of the verbs (except the verb “to be” which does not appear in the Akkadian) is Marduk, the son of Ea (cf. obv.35). Since this is not a literary text of a type where suspense might be used, his name should be mentioned in the first sentence, but is not. Also, there is a contradiction in subject matter between the first two lines. It is not reasonable for all three hundred Igīgū to be in the upper heaven and for the middle heaven at the same time to be described as “of the Igīgū”. The explanation is that different traditions are being combined. One tradition occurs also in the astro-mythical compendium K 250+ and dupls.¹⁰

[šamū ^u] elūtu(an.ta) ^{tu} 4	na ⁴ lu-lu-da-ni-tu ₄ šá ⁴ a-nim
[šamū ^u]	
qablūtu(murub) ^{tu} 4	na ⁴ sag-gil-mut šá ⁴ i-gi-gi
šamū ^u šaplūtu(ki.ta) ^{tu} 4	na ⁴ aš-pú-ú šá ⁴ kakkabē(mul) ^{meš}

AO 8196 rev.i 20—2 (see AfO 19 pls. XXXI—IV)

The upper [heaven] is Lulludanītu stone, of Anu.¹¹

The middle [heaven] is Saggilmut stone, of the Igīgū.¹²

The lower heaven is jasper, of the stars.

This fits the OB and Cassite period when the two major gods were Anu of the sky and Enlil of the region immediately above the earth, and when Igīgū, then synonymous with Anunnaki, meant the great gods in general.¹³ The Akkadian version of the epic of Gilgamesh alludes to this cosmic arrangement when it describes how the gods tried to get as far as they could from the flood: *ilāni^{meš} ip-la-ḫu-ma a-bu-ba-am-ma it-te-eḫ-su i-te-lu-ú ana šamē^e šá⁴ a-nim* (Gilg XI 113—4), “The gods feared the flood. They withdrew and went up to the heaven of Anu”. It is not impossible that the stones are intended to describe colours of the heavens. Support for this idea may be derived from *abnu šikinšu*, which describes jasper as *kīma šamē zakūti*(var. *nesūti*) (cited from CAD I—J 328; see STT 108 and BAM iv 378), “like the pure (var. distant) heavens”. Sometimes other colours appear to shine through, and these would be represented by the other stones.

Superimposed upon this is Marduk’s own arrangement of the universe. Marduk himself is in the middle heaven with royal paraphernalia. The Igīgū are relegated to the heaven above him, and the stars are below. By comparing this arrangement with Marduk’s

organisation of the cosmic regions expounded in *Enūma eliš*, and considering the stages of Marduk’s rise in the pantheon it becomes clear that the date of the compilation must be later than that of *Enūma eliš*. According to *Enūma eliš*, Marduk’s region is between the Apsū and the lowest heaven, Ešarra, and includes the earth. His principal seat was not in heaven but in the temple of Esagil in Babylon. Marduk’s status in the OB period is defined in the prologue to Hammurabi’s Code:¹⁴ *i-nu anum ši-ru-um šār⁴ a-nun-na-ki⁴ en-lil be-el ša-me-e ù er-se-tim ša-i-im ši-ma-at mātim*(kalam) *a-na⁴ marduk mārim re-eš-ti-im ša⁴ ea*(en.ki) *dillilūt*(en.lil)^u *kiššat*(kiš) *ni-ši i-ši-mu-šum in i-gi₄-gi₄ ú-šar-bi-ú-šu* (CH i a 1—16), “When exalted Anu, king of the Anunnaki, and Enlil, lord of heaven and earth, the determiner(s) of destinies of the land, decreed for Marduk, eldest son of Ea, the functions of Enlil over all of mankind, and made him great among the Igigi”. Here Marduk is promoted by Anu and Enlil, and given power over mankind on earth. Marduk’s position in *Enūma eliš* is radically more powerful. In that work it is he who assigns the destinies. He stipulates: *ep-šu pi-ja ki-ma ka-tu-nu-ma ši-ma-tú lu-šim-ma* (*Enūma eliš* III 62 and 120), “By my utterance may I decree the destinies instead of you”, and this is agreed to. As a result Marduk becomes the main creator god, and he delegates to Anu and Enlil their positions in the heavens, but he himself remains on earth. The cosmological compilation represents a later stage still. Anu and Enlil are no longer important enough to merit separate mention, and Marduk’s seat is in heaven where he is the main god. A date later than the late part of the second millennium, the date of *Enūma eliš*, must therefore be assigned to the composition as a whole. This fits also with the separation of the Anunnaki from the Igigi, and consideration of the former as underworld gods, a later than OB development.

The remaining text speaks of three earths, upper, middle, and lower, to which Marduk assigned men, Ea, and the underworld gods, respectively. This is a general arrangement very well attested in ancient Mesopotamia, but two points require comment. First, the precise terminology is new, and is clearly by analogy with the layers of heavens. Another work, the epic of *Atrahasis*, which originated in part (including the sections relevant here) at least as early as the OB period, speaks of a lower earth guarded by Enlil and a middle earth guarded by Šin and Nergal, but in the context it is clear that the terms “lower” and “middle” are relative to other regions in general, and the existence of an earth above the earth of Enlil is obviously not

implied.¹⁵ This leads to the second point. In *Atraḥasīs* the earth of Sîn and Nergal is middle relative to the regions above and the Apsû of Ea below, and this is what one expects from other texts. To move from the earth of mankind to the underworld one might have to cross a subterranean river, the Ḥubur, but not normally the Apsû. Yet in the cosmological compilation the earth of Ea certainly means the Apsû, and it is placed between the earth of man and the earth of the underworld. The solution is probably that the ancient composer was working from a scheme which did not include the underworld, and simply added it on at the end.

In the final line of the part of the section on the obverse jasper is mentioned, and in the first line of the reverse *mūšu* stone occurs in association with the horn (SI¹) of Tiāmat, whom, as the text remarks, Marduk slew. Probably the description of the heavens in terms of stones is being extended to the lower regions of the cosmos, or to something else. One thinks of the description of the Apsû in *Enūma eliš* V 119 as *šubat hašmāni*, "emerald abode", where *hašmānu*, properly a stone, designates a colour. It is possible that a cosmic stone is being related here to the horns of Tiāmat. The second line on the reverse, apart from the first two words, is a quotation from *Enūma eliš* IV 137, which only differs in offering a singular for "fish". The third line contains another idea also to be found in that work: *ip-te-ma i-na inē¹¹-šú pu-r[a-at-ta] ʾi¹-di-iq-lat* (*Enūma eliš* V 55), "From her eyes he opened up the Euphrates and the Tigris". The explanatory work includes a further item of speculation based on this piece of mythology. The Tigris corresponds to Tiāmat's right eye, the Euphrates to her left.

COMMENTARY ON VAT 8917 rev.10—5

THE word *eṭemmu* means "ghost", particularly that of a dead person. Apart from the present examples, CAD, sub voce, knows no use of it to describe an aspect of a god. There is, however, in *Atraḥasīs* a play on words between the *ṭēmu*, "personality", of a slain god and the *eṭemmu* used in that work for the spirit of living man created from him.¹⁶ One might also compare the use of *zīmū*, "form", to describe the appearance of Enmešarra in the underworld in a mythical text: *ḏnergal pa-a-šú i-pu-šam-ma ana en-me-šār zi-mu-u a-mat izakkar^{ar}* (*PSBA* 30 80 18—9), "Nergal opened his mouth and addressed a matter to the form, Enmešarra".

Belief that demons could take the shape of animals appears to be widespread in Semitic folk-lore.¹⁷ Babylonian examples occur on amulets¹⁸ and in literature. An incantation states the idea clearly: *ḏnin.ninna^{mušen} uru.a KA × ŠID ge₄.ge₄.a meš eš-še-bu ša ina āli i-šag-gu-mu šu-nu* (*CT* 16 12 i 20—1), "They (the demons) are *eššebu* birds which clamour in the town". The Bird Call Text extends the idea to include gods as well as demons (see p.72).

The present text seems to assume that Enmešarra, Enlil, Anu, and Tiāmat are dead, and to reflect the myths in which these deities are defeated by Marduk and others (pp.151-6). The exposition also has an element of aetiology. It is Marduk who made animals roam the steppe, and it is he who is responsible for the dromedary's particular appearance. A further element of theology embodied in the work is that deities, or their ghosts, are identified with tangible parts of creation.

Enmešarra's cry may be construed as a stative or imperative of *qemû*, "to grind", or as an imperative of *qamû*, "to burn". It should be compared with a cry of Kingu (see p.169). The identification of animals with deities owes something to the use of animals as metaphors in describing deities. Anu's daughter, the demon Lamaštu, is described as a wolf in incantations. For example: *én ez-ze-et šam-rat i-lat na-mur-rat u ši-i bar-bar-rat mārāt ḏa-nu* (*RA* 18 163 13), "Incantation: She is fierce, she is proud, she is a goddess! She is luminous and she is a wolf, the daughter of Anu!".¹⁹ An OB poem praising Nanā calls Anu himself a lion: *i-ku-ul-la-tu i-la-tim la-bu-um a-nu-um a-li-du-uš ú-ul-li [r]e-e-šu-uš* (*ZA* 44 32 17—8), "Among all goddesses the lion Anu, her father, raised her head!". Association of Anu with the wolf, as in the present text, is known in a list equating stars or constellations with gods: *mul^{mul}barbaru*(ur.bar.ra) *ḏa-nu* (*V R* 46 obv.2), "The wolf star: Anu". However, another text associates the same star with Enlil: *mul^{mul}barbaru*(ur.bar.ra) *ḏen.lil ša ḥur-sag-[kalam-ma]* (*KAR* 142 rev.i 6), "The wolf star: Enlil of the Ḥursag [kalamma]". The daughters of Marduk are said to be gazelles. Goddesses are equated elsewhere with gazelles, and in at least one case, clearly as a metaphor for grace and beauty (see pp.82, 108, 183). The writing for *ibīlu*, "dromedary", is anše.a.ab.ba. The Sumerian a.ab.ba is Akkadian *tāmtu*, "sea", and this may supply the connection between the dromedary and Tiāmat.

COMMENTARY ON VAT 8917 rev.4-6

NEUGEBAUER has shown that the term *ḥap-rat* means "disc" or "area of a disc", referring to the sun or moon.²⁰ Uncertainty remains about the root. The sign ḤAB may stand for the Sumerian word *nigin*, with the Akkadian equivalent *saḥāru*, "to go round". In the present context it has been understood by others as the well-known word *siḥirtu*, "circumference", taking *rat* as a phonetic complement indicating the construct state. But this has not been adopted here, as "circumference" is not the meaning required by the occurrences in *ACT*. Also, the word *siḥirtu* is customarily written with the *nigin* sign, though both *nigin* and *nigin* are used for *saḥāru*. Perhaps for these reasons AHW understands ḤAB-*rat* as a word *ḥaprātu*, derived from the verb *ḥapāru*, "to surround". Against this could be quoted writings with ḤAB only, seemingly decisive evidence that the sign stands for an ideogram. But in the contexts of the particular LB astronomical texts in which the writings occur, they are plausibly explained by AHW as abbreviations.

The first line of the section speculates on the dimensions of Šamaš and another deity, almost certainly Sîn. The line is paralleled by a line in *Enūma Anu Enlil* or one of the related works: 40 *bērū ḥap-rat* ^dšamaš 60 *bērū ḥap-rat* ^dsîn (*ACh* Išt 28 42), "40 double hours is the disc of Šamaš. 60 double hours is the disc of Sîn". While it is not impossible that there is an astronomical reason for this statement,²¹ the numbers may be theological. 40 and 60 are twice 20 and 30, the characteristic numbers of the two gods, Šamaš and Sîn. The second line states that Marduk and Nabû are inside Šamaš and Sîn, respectively; the second half of the line is unclear, but involves the inside of Šamaš and the *bašmu*, a monster. These ideas may result from attempts to see shapes within the lunar and solar discs. The idea that Marduk could be seen inside Šamaš is known elsewhere. An astrological and mythological text states: *ti-amat ina lib-bi* ^dsîn(30) *in-[nam-mar]* ^dmarduk *ina lib-bi* ^dšamaš *in-[nam-mar]* (*STC* II pl.LXVII obv.11-2 = BM 55466+), "Tiāmat [is seen] inside Sîn. Marduk [is seen] inside Šamaš". The idea is also referred to in a commentary to Marduk's Address to the Demons. *ki.min šá šá-ru-ru-šú ú-nam-ma-ru ma-ta-a-ti* (*AfO* 17 31off. B 13), "ditto whose rays light up the lands", is explained *aššu šu-lum šá lib-bi* ^dšamaš ^dmarduk(mes) *iq-ta-bi* (*ibid.*), "He referred to Marduk because of the shadow inside the sun". The point is that in his address Marduk is

describing himself as having light-giving rays, and the commentator explains this claim by referring to the idea that Marduk can be seen inside the sun. It is possible that the theory that Nabû is visible in the moon was added by the composer of our text, by analogy with the accepted theory of Marduk's appearance in the sun. The *bašmu* is a type of snake, or a particular mythological monster, and the name of the constellation Hydra. There is a text speculating on its origins and dimension: *ina tâmti*(a.ab.ba) *ibbani* ^{muš}ba-[aš-mu] 1 šu.si *bērū*(kaskal.gíd) *šá-kín ú-rak-[-šu]* (*KAR* 6 ii 21), "The *bašmu* was created in the sea. Its length is sixty double miles". The third line remains obscure. The first four words, if correctly restored, state that inside Sîn is to be seen his mother. There follows an incomplete sentence, seemingly about a hand wielding a dagger above a lion, perhaps in a constellation or group of constellations.

CHAPTER THREE

THE GOD DESCRIPTION TEXTS:
A MYSTICAL REPRESENTATION
OF A DEITY

THE *God Description Texts* consist of descriptions of the body of a male god, each part of the body being equated with and described by a metal, a plant, an animal, a substance, or an object. There are two NA editions from Aššur and these are partially duplicated by two LB editions. One of these, represented by three manuscripts, is known from the colophon of one manuscript to have been included in the library of Ešumeša, the temple of Ninurta in Nippur. The four editions vary greatly in the number of parts of the body and accompanying descriptions they include, but otherwise agree very closely. The two Assyrian editions agree exactly in three of the eight descriptions for which text exists for both editions, and almost agree in another (poplar vs. cypress). The Babylonian editions agree with each other exactly in one of the two cases for which text survives for both, and almost agree in the other (raisin vs. grape). One of the Babylonian editions agrees with one of the Assyrian editions in two cases, and almost agrees in a third (dried fig vs. ripe fig). The existence of Babylonian editions shows that at least the concept of the texts is Babylonian in origin; one cannot dismiss the possibility that the larger Assyrian editions were expanded by Assyrian scribes.

The second text given commences with the name of a god, ^dkár.kár, "the shining one",¹ and it is presumably his body which is being described in that text. Since the descriptions of the parts of the body in the four texts closely agree it is probable that the same god is being described in each text. ^dkár.kár is known as an epithet of Šamaš.² However, since the text has the epithet rather than the name, perhaps any god conceived of as shining could have been envisaged.

The essential object of the exposition is clearly to describe a divinity. This is a problem which has often exercised the imagination of mankind, sometimes with similar results. Apart from scholarly expositions such as the present texts Mesopotamian examples include the physical representations of statues, reliefs, and cylinder

seals, and miscellaneous poetical and literary passages. Some examples emphasise the ineffable nature of the divine by offering descriptions which are only barely conceivable, and which strain the imagination of the reader. A description of this type is Gudea's account of the appearance of Ningirsu, whom he had beheld in a dream: lú an.gim ri.ba ki.gim ri.ba.šè sag.gá.šè dingir á.ni.šè ^danzu^{mušen}.šè sig.ba.a.ni.šè a.ma.ru.šè zi.da.gùb.na pirig ì.ná'.ná'.a (*Gudea Cyl. A V 13–6*), "One like heaven and earth in extent, as to the head a god, but his wings like the Anzû bird, his lower parts a flood. On his right and left crouched lions". It may be that a similar effect was intended by the composer of the present texts. Whether such an effect was part of the composer's aim or not, it will be shown that the text has a more precise philosophical and theological meaning. This meaning emerges from the comparison with other religious literature which is given below after presentation of the texts, consideration of their literary style, and a discussion of certain philological problems.

I VAT 8917 obv.1 – 18

- 1 [× × × × ^{gišb}]inu(šinig) qim-mat-su × [× ×] × × [× × ×]
 2 [× × × × ×]meš-šú ^{giš}sa-ri ziqnū(su₆)meš-[šú]
 3 [^{giš}e-re-nu bir-k]a-šú ^{giš}hašhūru ki-šal-la-šú širu(muš) ušār(giš)-šú
^{giš}sammū(zà.mi) qāt-s[u]
 4 [× × × × × ×] ka-ap-pa-šú
 5 [× × × × × ×]-šú šurānu(sa.a) damū(úš) libbī-šú iṣšūr
 hurri(BURU₅ HĀBRUD.DA)^{mušen} ni-ti-ik damē(úš)meš libbī-šú
 6 [× ×] A × [× š]aḥū(šah) ú-man-da-šú
 7 [×] × šapat(nundum)-s[uⁿ] ^amu-ši-el-tú lišān(eme)-šú
^úkarāšu(ga.raš) šārat(sig.úz) su-ḥa-ti-šú
 8 [zabar]ma-an-zu-u la-áš-ḥu šaplú(ki.ta)^ú
 9 nēšu(ur.maḥ) mešrēti(ur₅)^{meš}-šú rabāti(gal)^{meš} kalbu(ur.gi₇)
 mešrēti(ur₅)-šú šeḥrēti^{meš} āribu(Ú.NAGA)^{mušen} ki-pil-šú
 10 šarbatu(asal_x.a) la-an-[šú]
 11 lilis_{li}-li-su libba-šú ^{giš}gišimmaru ešem[sēr(gú.murgu)]-šú
 qanū(gi)^{meš} ubānāti(šu.si)^{meš}-šú
 12 kaspu(kù.babbar) muḥḥa(ugu)-šú ḥurāšu(guškin) re-ḥu-su
 13 ^{giš}baltu(diḥ_x) šārat(sig.úz) irtī(gaba)-šú eddetu(Ú.GÍR)
 šārat(sig.úz) kap-pa-la-te-šú
 14 zē(šè)^e uznī(geštu)^{II.meš}-šú abāru(a.bāra) ^{giš}šaššugu(MES.GAM)
 ešemta(gir.pad.du)-šú
 15 [n]ūnu(ku₆)^{meš} tu-la-tu-šú ^{giš}tīnāti(pèš)^{meš} tulātu(ubur)^{meš}-šú
 šamnu(i)^{meš} dimātu(a.igi)^{meš}-šú
 16 ú-[r]a-ba-ni ni-tik ú-ba-ṭe-e-šú
 17 [ú]-ḥi-ni širū(uzu)^{meš}-š[ú] RIG × Ú šap-l[a² ×]
 18 [× ×] DAR zi-r[u]-ut damē(úš)^{meš}-š[ú] ^{giš}karānu(geštin) kak-kul-
 ti inē(igi)^{II}-[šú]

II VAT 9946 rev.9 – 17

- 1 ^dkár.kár dišpu(lâl) šar-ka-[šú]
 2 [^{giš}bīn]u(šinig) qim-mat-su ^{giš}šurmēnu(šur.mìn) la-an-[šú]
 3 [q]u-nu-bu SA × × ^{giš}dup-ra-nu ša-pu-la-[šú]
 4 [^{giš}e]-re-nu bir-ka-šú ^{giš}šalluru(šennur) ki-šal-la-[šú]
 5 [kiš]-šú ú-ba-na-šú ^{giš}murru(SIM.ŠES) lipū(i.udu)-[šú]
 6 [šu-r]a-nu* damū(úš)^{meš}-šú ^{giš}al-la-nu idā(á)^{II.meš}-[šú]

* Not [ka-r]a-nu, "wine"; see edition I 5.

I VAT 8917 obv.1 – 18

- 1 [...] His top-knot is tamarisk. [...] .. [...]
 2 His [...] are His whiskers are a frond.
 3 His knees are [cedar]. His ankle bones are an apple. His penis is a
 snake. His hand is a harp.
 4 His wings are [.....].
 5 His [...] is] The blood of his heart is a cat. The drop of his
 heart's blood is a partridge.
 6 [...] .. [.]. His inwards are a pig.
 7 His lip is [.]. . His tongue is a whet-stone. His arm-pit hair is a
 leek.
 8 The lower jaw is a drum.
 9 His larger limbs are a lion. His smaller limbs are a dog. His mole?
 is a raven.
 10 [His] stature is a poplar.
 11 His heart is a kettle-drum. His back-bone is a palm. His fingers
 are reeds.
 12 His skull is silver. His sperm is gold.
 13 His breast hair is a thorn bush. The hair of his groin is a boxthorn.
 14 Lead is his ear wax. His bone is a fruit tree.
 15 His breasts are fish. His breasts are figs. His tears are oil.
 16 His nose mucus is a bulrush.
 17 His flesh is a dried date. ... lower
 18 The ... of his blood is [...] [His] eye-balls are a grape.

II VAT 9946 rev.9 – 17

- 1 Karkar: [His] pus is honey.
 2 His top-knot is tamarisk. [His] stature is a cypress.
 3 His [...] is hemp?. [His] thighs are juniper.
 4 His knees are cedar. [His] ankle bones are a medlar tree.
 5 His fingers are a bundle of reeds. His fat is myrrh.
 6 His blood is a cat. [His] sides are oak.

- 7 [ḥurā]su(guškin) re-ḥu-su ḥassu(ḥi.is)^{sar} tu-la-a-[tu-šú]
 8 [e-de]-tú šārat(síg.ùz) ša-pu-li-šú ^{giš}pu-qut-tú šārat(síg.ùz) s[u-
 ḥa-ti-šú]
 9 [× × × N]U šārat(síg.ùz) irtī(gaba)-[šú]

III CBS 6060 rev.1 1-5 dupl. BM 47463 obv.ii 31-5*

- 1 munqīqu(geštin.hád.a) kak-kul-ti inē(igi)^{II}-šú
 2 ^{giš}uliltu(pèš.hád.a) tulātu(ubur)^{meš}-šú
 3 ^{giš}nurmú(nu.úr.ma) bir-ka-a-šú
 4 ^{giš}ḥašḥūru ki-šal-la-a-šú [BM, ki-šal-la-šú]
 5 mersu(ninda.i.dé.a) šīr(uzu)-šú

IV BM 34035 41-2†

- 1 ^{giš}karānu(geštin!) kak!-kul!-tu₄! in[ē(igi)^{II}-šú]
 2 [^{giš}uliltu(pèš.hád.a) t]u-la-tu-šú ^{giš}nurmú(nu-úr-ma) bir-ka-a-[šú]

- 7 His sperm is gold. His breasts are lettuce.
 8 The hair of his groin is [box]thorn. The hair of his [arm]-pits is a thorn plant.
 9 The hair of [his] breast is [..].

III CBS 6060 rev.1-5 dupl. BM 47463 obv.ii 31-5

- 1 His eye-balls are a raisin.
 2 His breasts are a dried fig.
 3 His knees are a pomegranate.
 4 His ankle bones are an apple.
 5 His flesh is a scone.

IV BM 34035 41-2

- 1 [His] eyeballs are a grape.
 2 His breasts are a [dried fig. His] knees are a pomegranate.

* This section is not preserved on the duplicate, K 4245+.

† What is given as l.1 here is the end of l.41 on the tablet; for the rest of l.41 see p.163.

Style

The work is a series of nominal sentences, each of which contains a part of the body and its description. The part of the body is defined by the post-fixed genitive pronoun, and in most cases is placed after the description. This raises a problem. On the one hand one would expect the defined part of a nominal sentence to be the subject, but on the other hand one would expect the subject to come first and be followed by its complement. In the translation offered the part of the body has been regarded as the subject and the description as the complement, but the possibility cannot be refuted that the ancient author intended the reverse. The parts add up to a whole body, and the work differs from lists of parts of the body such as occur in lexical texts in that the order is not that of the actual parts from head to foot or the reverse, but seemingly arbitrary. Some variety is achieved by reversing the order of subject and complement. To understand the body descriptions, synecdoche, a type of metaphor used in both Sumerian and Akkadian, must be taken into account. A Sumerian example occurring in a hymn is *igi.zu pirig.àm* (*OrNS* 43 331 18), "Your eyes are a lion!". With this may be compared in Akkadian: *šābe^{meš} pag-ri iššūr hur-ri a-me-lu-ta a-ri-bu pa-nu-šú-un* (*AnSt* 5 98 31), "Troops with partridge bodies, a race whose faces are ravens". Although the part of the human or divine body is equated with the whole of an animal, it corresponds strictly only to a part, the eye of a lion or the face of a raven. An analogous accommodation is perhaps to be made in understanding some of the metaphors in the god description texts. The god's inwards are like a pig's, his limbs those of dogs or lions, and his skull and sperm golden and silver coloured. Most of the descriptions are then appropriate or at least broadly conceivable in a physical sense. The appropriateness of the individual descriptions is discussed further below (see pp.104ff.).

Philological Matters

At least the possibility of restoring ... ^d*nis*]saba(še.naga) at the beginning of edition I should be mentioned (see B. Landsberger, *WO* I/5 (1950) p.363 n.18 and cf. *Gilg* I ii 37). The objection is space. If one supposes that a name of a deity (perhaps ^d*kár.kár*) appeared in the lacuna at the beginning of edition I, there may not have been room for the signs for ...^d*nis*]saba(še.naga). Certainly there is not enough room at the beginning of 1.2 of edition II. So an interpretation "His top-

knot is tamarisk" is to be preferred to "His top-knot is Nissaba".

In 1.13 Ú.GÍR could perhaps be understood as *ašāgu*, "a type of acacia" rather than *eddetu*, "boxthorn". *eddetu* has been preferred in view of the proposed restoration in II 8. The reading of ^g*MES.GAM* in I 14 is from *Hh*; see *MSL* V 110 210. From its occurrence in the present text it is clear that *kiplu* denotes a part of the body. *CAD* recognises this (s.v. *kiplu*), and cites another proposed occurrence. However, it is likely that this is a different word. The context is an Assyrian letter:

ša šarru be-lí iš-pur-an-[ni] mā-a ka-ku-sa-ni
an-nu-ti a-a-ka ša-ka-nu ina muḫḫi ki-pi-li ša
^d*ši-da-da ša-ka-nu pa-ni-šú-nu a-na qa-an-ni*
 7-šú-nu 5 ma-na 50 šiqu(gin) hurāšu
 šuqultī(ki.lá)-šú-nu 1 ma-na 10 šiqu(gin) hurāši
 a-na ^{uz}*irti(gaba) šá ḫum-ḫum naphar(pap) 7 ma-na hurāši*
 ABL V 438 4-13

As to what the king, my lord, wrote to me: "Where to put those *kakkusu*(decoration)?" to set their faces toward the hem in the *ki-pi-li* of Šidada (is correct). The weight of the 7 of them (together) is 5 minas and 50 shekels of gold. There is also 1 mina and 10 shekels of gold for the breast of Ḫumḫum. The total is 7 minas of gold.

Thus the *ki-pi-li* is to be adorned with seven gold decorations which together weigh almost 3 kg. As a part of the body it would clearly have to be large, but the evidence from the commentary on *Šumma Izbu* given below suggests that the *kiplu* is small. "Hem" in the letter implies part of a garment and the *ki-pi-li* is probably a form *parisu* (*GAG* §55i) with backward assimilation, or *pirisu* (*GAG* §55j) of *kapālu*, "to twist", denoting a twisted piece of apparel. It may well be the ^{kuš}*kapilu* of *AHw* ad loc., "Lederschnur?", in the present case a leather belt or similar object. More helpful is the line of comment on *Šumma Izbu* referred to above: *tup-pu sis^{ti}-is-su^m sis-su kip-lu* (*TCS* IV 216 131-2), "*tuppu* is *sissu* and *sissu* is *kiplu*". This comments on *Šumma Izbu* IV 17 and 18, and from that context one must deduce that *kiplu*, like *tuppu*, denotes a mark or growth on the skin. *AHw*, ad loc., translates *sissu* as "Geschwür", "ulcer", but the evidence for this is slight. It is the *Šumma Izbu* commentary just quoted, two occurrences as a personal name, and a Syriac cognate. Having inferred from the *Šumma Izbu* commentary that *kiplu* is a mark on the skin the translation offered, "mole", is a guess based on the considerations that in accordance with the pattern of the text this

word should be a reasonably prominent feature of the body, and of a colour aptly described as "raven". One may observe also that "mole" is more likely to have been used as a personal name than "ulcer".

In I 15 *tu-la-tu* and *ubur^{meš}* occur side by side equated with fish and figs respectively. It is possible that these are not alternative interpretations of the same part of the body, but that *ubur^{meš}* and *tulātu* have different meanings. Perhaps the first is "breasts" and the second "nipples" (despite *AHw* p.1369)?

In editions I and II, both of which are NA copies from Aššur, the word "hair" occurs six times written in each case *sig.ùz*. In the first of the two occurrences in II 8 half of the *ùz* sign was omitted by the scribe. *sig.ùz* in fact means goat hair: *gun.sig bi-lat ši-pa-a-ti gun.sig.ùz bi-lat šar-ti en-zi* (*Hh, MSL V 79 365-6*), "gun.sig is yield of wool. gun.sig.ùz is yield of goat hair". Occuring as it does six times in two manuscripts, the writing can hardly be regarded as an incidental error. The question is whether the composer intended a reading *šarat enzi*, "goat hair", indicating an aspect of the god's appearance. This may be doubted. If the composer had wanted to suggest that the god had goat hair he would have done so explicitly on the pattern of the rest of the work, probably in the form *šaratsu enzu*, "His hair is a goat". Goat hair was in ancient times as today in common use in Iraq, and the explanation is probably that late Assyrian scribes sometimes wrote *sig.ùz* for *sig*, just as they sometimes wrote unnecessary or incorrect dual signs.³ Further support for this statement as a generality is supplied by another NA copy from Aššur, the Assyrian Crown Prince's View of the Netherworld, in one line of which *sig.ùz* clearly means *sig* as it is the hair of a man's head which is referred to: *amēlu ina pa-ni-šú ú-šu-uz šarat(sig.ùz) qaqqadī-šu ina šumēli(gùb)-šú ša-bit* (*ZA 43 16 42*), "A man was standing in front of him(Namtar) and he(Namtar) was holding the hair of the man's head in his left hand".

Use of *sig.ùz* for *šartu* goes back to the earliest period. In a bilingual lexical list from Ebla, *sig + LAK 175* is equated with *sa-ra-tum*, to be understood as a cognate of *šartu*, whereas in the monolingual version of the same list *sig.ùz* is to be read (*Pettinato, Testi Lessicali Bilingui, l.972*).⁴

THE BODY EXPRESSING SYNCRETISM

IT IS relevant that the equation of deities with parts of one deity's body is elsewhere used to express theological syncretism. Examples are, probably, a hymn to Marduk (*KAR 304* and *337*) where [...]-*ka*, "your [...]" is repeatedly equated with the names of gods,⁵ *KAR 328*, a section in an explanatory work (see p.233), and a hymn to Ninurta of which the six best preserved lines are given here:

šinnātū^{meš}-ka dšibitti mu-šam-qi-tu lem-nu-[ti]
te-eḫ lēti^{meš}-ka be-lu, ši-it kakkabē^{meš} GE [...]
uznā^{11.meš}-ka dē-a ddam-ki-na apkallu né-me-qi [...]
qaqqad-ka dadad(iškur) ša šamū^u eršeti^{ti} kima kiš-kat-te-^re¹ [...]
pūt(sag.ki)-ka dša-la [hi]-ir-tu na-ra-am-tú mu-ṭib-[tú ...]
kišād-ka dmarduk dajjān(di.kud) šamē^r [u eršeti] a-bu-ub [...]

KAR 102 dupl. STT 118 ll.19-24

Your teeth are Sibitti, who fells the evil ones.
 The area of your cheeks, lord, is the appearance of the stars of [...]
 Your ears are Ea and Damkina, the sages of wisdom [...]
 Your head is Adad who [...] heaven and underworld like an artisan.
 Your forehead is Šala, the beloved spouse who makes rejoice [...]
 Your neck is Marduk, judge of heaven and earth, the flood [...]

Works such as this which equate parts of one god's body with other gods must be understood in the context of theology which could synthesise diverse gods into single gods, or explain gods in terms of other gods.⁶ In the hymn quoted it is clear that characteristics of Ninurta are being expounded and praised. Not only are parts of Ninurta's body equated with other gods, but the particular characteristic of the god in question which is being attributed to Ninurta is explained. According to the hymnographer Ninurta embraces the warlike character of Sibitti, the appearance of the stars, the wisdom of Ea and his spouse, the rôle of Marduk as judge, and other attributes. In all, about twenty gods are mentioned, each equated with a part of the body. The hymn also has a syncretistic aspect in endeavouring to see the various gods mentioned as parts of one single god, Ninurta. Ninurta includes in himself the gods with which he is equated, and their attributes.⁷

It was stated above that on a most general level the purpose of the *God Description Texts* is to describe a god, and at least this much is certain. It was further suggested that the descriptions of the god's body could be understood as metaphors. The appropriateness of

individual descriptions is considered below, along with discussion of their religious background. The genre, if it can be accepted as such, of the Ninurta text quoted suggests another possibility. By analogy with the Ninurta text, the meaning of the *God Description Texts* would be that each of the objects used as descriptions embodies part of the god Karkar, and that Karkar can be explained as the sum total of the descriptions. This could make sense at least up to a point, but raises questions. For the Babylonians there was no distinction between the religious and the profane so everything was in a sense divine. Why then were these descriptions chosen rather than others? Do they have a special relevance to Karkar, or might other gods have been similarly explained by the ancient thinkers? Would such an interpretation of the texts imply that the "descriptions" are not descriptions at all but to be understood only in literal sense as part of the god's body?

It is not possible to answer these questions conclusively using only the information in the *God Description Texts* themselves. The reader must use discretion in deciding what is or is not relevant from other sources, and what follows is an interpretation. As stated above, Karkar is a name of Šamaš, but its meaning, "the shining one", could conceivably be used to describe other gods. Stunning brightness has been noted as a general characteristic of descriptions of Mesopotamian gods.⁸ It is suggested that by choosing Karkar rather than a well known name of a deity the author aimed for generality. It would not, therefore, be inappropriate to look widely in Mesopotamian religious literature for reasons for the descriptions. Since description of a god is involved, logic may yield to mysticism. It is therefore possible that the author himself was not clear in his mind whether he intended the descriptions as metaphors or as part of the body in a literal sense. The literary force of synecdoche in any language is to emphasise the comparison by giving the whole instead of the part, and the author may have intended both to play on the mind of his reader. It will become apparent from the discussion below that various probable motivations for the choice of particular objects can be discerned. These motivations can be summarised:

- (i) Identification with a deity.
- (ii) Usefulness in ritual or cultic activities.
- (iii) Use in a religious literary context to describe part of a body.
- (iv) Appositeness as a description.

Clearly, more than one of these motivations can operate in a specific

case. Given these motivations, it can further be suggested that symbolism is being used. One or more objects can stand for other objects of the same type. For example, by mentioning two particular musical instruments used in cult the composer did not mean that these two only were part of his conception of the deity, but musical instruments used in cult generally. Applying the idea that symbolism is involved and supposing that the Ninurta text is relevant, the *God Description Texts* can be understood to express presence of the god in the various contexts to which the descriptions belong. This suggestion is supported by comparison with the works in Chapters Four to Six, where divine action is read into rituals.

CLASSIFICATION OF ITEMS AND PARTS OF THE BODY

THE various descriptions will be considered according to the following classification:

<i>objects</i>	<i>trees, fruits, and plants</i>
harp: hand	tamarisk: top-knot
drum: lower jaw	frond: whiskers
kettle drum: heart	cedar: knees
whet-stone: tongue	poplar/cypress: stature
<i>metals</i>	palm tree: back bone
gold: sperm	fruit tree: bone
silver: skull	medlar tree: ankle bones
lead: ear wax	juniper: hips
<i>animals</i>	oak: sides
cat: blood/heart's blood	myrrh: fat
dog: smaller limbs	bulrush: nose mucus
lion: larger limbs	apple: ankle bones
pig: inwards	figs: breasts
partridge: drop of heart's blood	dried date: flesh
raven: mole(?)	grape/raisin: eye-ball
snake: penis	lettuce: breasts
fish: breasts	reeds/bundle of reeds: fingers
<i>foods</i>	leek: arm-pit hair
honey: pus	boxthorn: groin hair
oil: tears	thorn plant: arm-pit hair
scone: flesh	thorn bush: breast hair
	pomegranate: knees

The connection of each description with the divine and its appositeness as a metaphor must be considered.

Objects

Musical instruments used in cult were sometimes deified. Examples are ^d*lilissu* (see p.194), "divine kettle drum", and ^d*balaggu* (see *CAD* sub voce), "divine harp". The whet-stone was perhaps included as a piece of equipment used in cult. The connection between harp and hand is presumably shape. This may also be the association between drum and lower jaw, though sound is also a possibility; the drum speaks with the voice of a god. That beat is the connection between kettle drum and heart is suggested on the basis of a passage from *Atraḥasis*:

<i>i-lu-um-ma ù a-wi-lum</i>	Let god and man
<i>li-ib-ta-al-li-lu pu-ḥu-ur i-na</i>	Be mixed together in clay.
<i>ṣi-iṣ-ṣi</i>	
<i>aḥ-ri-a-ti-iṣ u₄-mi up-pa i</i>	Until the end of time may
<i>ni-iṣ-me</i>	we hear the drum.
<i>i-na ṣi-ir i-li e-ṣe-em-mu</i>	From the flesh of the god
<i>li-ib-ṣi</i>	let there be a spirit.
<i>ba-al-ṣa it-ta-ṣa li-ṣe-di-</i>	Let it proclaim living man
<i>ṣu-ma</i>	as its sign.
<i>aṣ-ṣu la mu-uṣ-ṣi-i e-ṣe-em-</i>	Lest this be forgotten, let
<i>mu li-ib-ṣi</i>	there be a spirit.

Atraḥasis I 212-7

In these lines the prospect of hearing the drum until the end of time is connected with the creation of mankind. A possible explanation is that the drum was to be heard in cult, man having been created to serve the gods in this way, among others (see *ibid.* p.152). However, the possibility that the drum refers to the beating heart of mankind seems to be strongly recommended by the fifth of the lines quoted. The drum is to proclaim living man. That heart beat was understood as a definitive sign of life can be learned from the Epic of Gilgamesh: *il-pu-ut lib-ba-ṣu-ma ul i-na-ku-[ud]* (*Gilg.* VIII ii 16), "His heart ceased, it did not beat", as proof of Enkidu's death. See also the references in *AHw* s.v. *tarāku* 6(a). It should be stressed, however, that the words *tarāku* and *nakādu* are never used to refer to the beating of a drum.

The whet-stone is the tongue because of its roughness.

Metals

Metals are known to be equated with gods in certain contexts; see p.182. They were presumably considered apposite descriptions for these parts or products of the body by the composer.

Animals

Some animals, such as the mongoose, ^d*ninkilim*, were deities. But this does not seem to be the background to the inclusion of the animals here. It is suggested that the reason for their inclusion is that they are *ikkibu*, "taboo", to certain gods. In an unpublished text cat, lion, and snake, along with a variety of other domestic and wild animals, are explained as taboo to gods. Pig may also have been taboo. Other religious associations of the animals in the *God Description Texts* could be mentioned. The dog is connected with Gula and fish with Nanše. Birds were equated systematically with deities (see pp.72 and 183). The god's limbs are like those of a dog and lion and his inwards like those of a pig. His mole(?) is raven coloured and his penis and breasts shaped like a snake and fish respectively. The connection between his blood and cat and partridge remains obscure.

Foods

Honey, oil, and scones were used in cult (see lexica). In one rite (see p.137) an oblation represents the blood of a god, and elsewhere honey and oil are explained as divine blood (see p.126). In another explanatory work water for washing the hands is tears (see p.229). These interpretations may have influenced the present descriptions. Honey, oil, and scones can be imagined to appropriately describe pus, tears, and flesh.

Trees, fruits, and plants

These are considered under five headings: magic, taboo, making of statues, deification of trees, and cult lyrics.

Magic: Speakers of incantations in *Maqlû* and *Šurpu* identify parts of their bodies with objects for magical purposes. For example: *ubānātū' a(ṣu.si)meš ú-a gišbīnu eṣemti(gir.pad.du) ^dig[īgī]* (*Maqlû* VI 5), "My fingers are tamarisk, bone of the *Igīgū*". Here an exorcist identifies himself with his equipment and with deities, the *Igīgū*, to enhance his magical powers.⁹ For other examples see *Maqlû* VI 5; 98ff.; VII 1ff.; 50ff.; IX 99; 138; 143. The composer of the *God*

Description Texts may have been familiar with incantations using this magical device, and it may have been for him an additional justification for representing the deity in the manner he chose to. The line quoted can be compared with the description of the god's fingers as reeds in the *God Description Texts*.

Taboo: In the unpublished *ikkibu* text referred to above (p.105), and its duplicate *LKU* 45, trees and plants are taboo to certain gods. This may have been a factor in their inclusion in the present texts.

Making of Statues: Various woods including tamarisk and cedar were used in making statues. This fact is referred to in literary texts which describe these woods as the bone or flesh of the gods: *at-ta ešemti*(gir.pad.du) *ilūti*(dingir)^{ti}*ē*^{ti}*binu qud-du-ši* (*BBR* 45 ii 10), "You are the bone of divinity, sanctified tamarisk". *a-li* *ē*^{ti}*mēsu*(mes) *šir ilāni*^{meš} *si-mat šār gim-[ri]* (*Erra* I 150), "Where is the *mēsu* tree, flesh of the gods, suitable for the king of the universe?". Though tamarisk only and not *mēsu* wood is used as a metaphor in the *God Description Texts*, the idea of wood as flesh and blood in these literary texts is relevant for comparison.

Deification of Trees: Equation of certain plants and trees with deities is known (see p.72 and p.175). More closely related to the theme of the *God Description Texts* is the fact that some trees appear to have been deified, inasmuch as they occur in the lists of gods in the following form:

^d lugal. <i>ē</i> ^{ti} <i>šinig</i>	Divine king (of the) tamarisk.
^d lugal. <i>ē</i> ^{ti} <i>asal</i>	Divine king (of the) poplar.
<i>TCL</i> 15 10 444-5	

^d lugal. <i>ē</i> ^{ti} <i>šinig</i> : ^d [...]	Divine king (of the) tamarisk: the god [...]
^d lugal. <i>ē</i> ^{ti} <i>asal</i> : ^d [...]	Divine king (of the) poplar: the god [...]
^d lugal. <i>ē</i> ^{ti} <i>gišimmar</i> : ^d nergal	Divine king (of the) date palm: Nergal.
<i>AfK</i> II 72 13-13a, 15	

Cult Lyrics: Definitely relevant to the *God Description Texts* is *TIM* 9 54, a text consisting of love lyrics between Nabû and his wife Tašmētu, interspersed with statements of what happens in the course of a ritual of love making between the two deities. These lyrics are in NA. The love ritual of Nabû is well known from NA and SB sources.

Two NA letters, *ABL* 65 and 113 concern arrangements for the ceremony and specify the date as the 3rd-4th of *Ajjār*. A SB text, *SBH* VIII, with hemerological and other material, outlines events of the ceremony, also placing it at the beginning of *Ajjār*. From preparations at the end of *Nisan*, the presentation of wedding gifts, it may be inferred that the ceremony was not a monthly one. It is to be supposed that the rite was Babylonian in origin, and that the present lyrics derive from introduction of the cult of Nabû to Assyria (see *JAOS* 88 772-5). The present lyrics may therefore have been translated into NA or adapted from a Babylonian original. This accounts for parallelism between the NA lyrics and the *God Description Texts*, and between the NA lyrics and certain Sumerian texts to be discussed presently.¹⁰

The third stanza of the lyrics involves trees and woods:

šil *ē*^{ti}*erēni šil* *ē*^{ti}*erēni šil* *ē*^{ti}*erēni pu-tur šarru*
šil *ē*^{ti}*šurmēni*(šur.min) ^{lū}*rabūte*(gal)^{meš}-*šu*
šil kan-ni ša *ē*^{ti}*burāši pu-tur* ^{na}*bi-um a-a mi-lul-a ki.min*
TIM 9 54 obv.9-11

The shade of the cedar, the shade of the cedar, the shade of the cedar,
 release, O king!
 The shade of the cypress, his great ones.
 The shade of the sprig of juniper, release, O Nabû! O exaltation! Ditto.

The pronoun in the second line quoted presumably refers to Nabû, and one may suppose that "his great ones" are the trees.

In the first stanza of the reverse of the tablet and the first line of the second stanza a speaker, presumably Nabû, praises parts of Tašmētu's body with metaphor and hyperbole:

[ki.min *la-š*] *a-aḥ-ki* *ē*^{ti}*narkabtu*(gigir) *ešsetu*(gibil)^{tu} [...]
 ki.min [*ša-pu*]-*la-ki šabītu*(maš.dà) *ina šēri*(edin) [...]
 ki.min [*ki*]-*šal-la-ki* *ē*^{ti}*ḥašḥūr* ^{iti}*si[māni]* ...¹¹
 ki.min *ša a-si-da-ki dāk-ka-ma* × [...]

ki.min *ša mim-mu-ki tuḫ-pu* ^{na}*uqnī*(za.gin) [×] × [ki.min-*ma*]
ibid. rev.4-8

[Ditto] Your jaw is a new chariot [...]
 Ditto Your thighs are a gazelle in the plain [...]
 Ditto Your ankle bones are an apple of *Simān* [...]
 Ditto . Your heels are frolicsome [...]

Ditto . Any part of you is a tablet of lapis lazulae. [.] . [Ditto]

An apple of the month of Simān is a ripe apple; Ištar spoke to Esarhaddon in an oracle *na-ka-ru-te-ka ki-i šá-aḫ-šu-ri ša* ^{iti}simāni ina pān šēpē^{II.meš}-ka i-tan-ga-ra-ru (IV R 61 obv. i 9 – 11), "Those hostile to you will roll before your feet like apples of Simān". With a slightly curved and slanting flat bottom, and half ellipse shaped sides a chariot resembles her jaw. Her thighs are as slim and graceful as those of a gazelle. Her ankle bones are as round and sweet as a ripe apple and her heels are frolicsome. Every part of her is as precious and exquisite as a lapis lazuli tablet. The comparison between ankle bone and apple occurs also in the *God Description Texts*. There may be a textual connection between the two works, or the comparison may have been a stock one, or have been invented independently by two composers. One may compare a line from the *Love Lyrics of Ištar of Babylon*: *at-ti um-me-e* ^{giš}immar ^{na}asāndi (*Unity and Diversity*, p. 122 l. 20), "You are the mother, a palm tree of carnelian". Metaphors or hyperboles of this kind are also a feature of Sumerian poetry and it seems most likely that the composer of the *God Description Texts* and the author or translator of the Akkadian lyrics quoted were influenced by these Sumerian usages. It is not in doubt that much Sumerian material was available to Babylonian scribes. Of the six examples of love lyrics which will be quoted in the following by way of literary or religious comparison with the Nabû lyrics above and the *God Description Texts*, one comes from Nippur and one from the libraries of Aššurbanipal in Nineveh. The Nineveh example was therefore still in circulation in NA times, and it may be observed that one of the manuscripts of the *God Description Texts* also comes from Nippur. A Sumerian love lyric similar to the Akkadian one above is quoted:

i[n].nin ₉ .e di.e.[eš mu.un.na.e]	[gal ₄ .la.ni]	The Lady [praises her pudenda.]
gala.e m[u.ni.ib.pàd.dè]	sir.ra	The priest [composes] a song.
^d inanna.ke ₄ [mu.un.na.e]	di.e.eš	Inanna [praises it.] Her pudenda in the song [...]
gal ₄ .la.ni sir.ra mi.ni.[... gal ₄ .la níg × ne.en KAK × × ×]		The pudenda ... a peg [... Like a horn, a big wagon [... The boat of heaven .. tied with a rope [...]
si.gim ^{giš} mar.gal.e × [... má.an.na ne.en éše.lá [...]		

u₄.sar gibil.gim ḫi.li × [... Like the new crescent moon
attractiveness [...]

PAPS 107 505 11 14 – 21, cf. restorations of T. Jacobsen in *Unity and Diversity*, p. 82.

This resembles the Akkadian lyrics and the *God Description Texts* in the type of metaphor employed to describe parts of the body.

The idea is put forward that certain love lyrics have a religious relevance to the *God Description Texts* in addition to comparability on literary grounds and the mere fact of use to describe a god. The texts in question belong to a genre the interpretation of which is notoriously difficult.¹² They date from the period of Ur III and Isin political hegemony in Sumer, that is roughly 2000 B.C., and were at least in part associated with official cults in which kings and priests represented divinities in religious drama.¹³ Among other material the texts contain strongly emotional lyrics purporting to represent divine speech. In the texts presently concerned a vegetation deity is referred to by his mother or lover, as the case may be, who expresses sorrowful or jubilant longing for him. The point of similarity with the *God Description Texts* is identification of parts of the body with pieces of vegetation. But since the deity is associated with vegetation and fertility the vegetation is not a description only; the part of the body is in a mystical or literary sense vegetation. The present writer suspects that the rationale of the texts is this: the deity longed for is a vegetation deity, and the deity longing for him expresses her emotional attachment to him by identifying parts of her body, and his body, with the same plants. There is evidence that such an identification was literally achieved by using, for example, cedar perfume.¹⁴ Two groups of texts will be examined. In the first the god Damu is addressed as trees and said to be sleeping in trees.

First Group:

^{giš}sinig.ga mú.sar a nu.nak.a.mu
bi-i-nu šá ina mu-sa-re-e me-e la iš-tu-ú
suḫur edin.na pa nu.sig₇.ga.mu
qim-mat-su ina še-e-ri ar-ta la ib-nu-ú
^{giš}ildag rat.^{na}ba nu.sù.ga.mu
il-da-q-qu šá ina ra-ḫi-šú la i-ri-šú
^{giš}ildag úr.ra ba.ab.sír.ra.mu
šá iš-da-nu-uš in-na-às-ḫu

IV R 27 1 4 – 11

My tamarisk which does not drink water in the garden bed.¹⁵
 My top which does not make green the foliage in the plain!
 My poplar which does not rejoice in its irrigation conduit!
 My poplar which has been uprooted!

šⁱšinig.ga ná.ná PI PI [..] IGI × [...]
 šⁱasal.e ná.ná GA mu.šⁱ.ib.š^ub
 šⁱeren.dur₅.ru ḥa.š^u.úr.ra.ka
 munus.me.en da.si.mu šⁱeren.dur₅.àm
 BAD KI mu na.mu.un.dib.bé

TCL 15 8 138-42

Sleeping in tamarisk ... ,
 Sleeping in Euphrates poplar
 Sappy cedar of Ḥašur.
 I am a woman but my sides and pinions¹⁶ are sappy cedar.
 He will pass by my

In the text just quoted, and in the following one, the idea of the god in the vegetation is taken up by the woman's identification of her own body with vegetation.

zag.mu šⁱeren.àm gaba.mu šⁱš^u.úr.mìn.àm
 e.me.da zag.si.mu šⁱeren.dur₅.àm
 šⁱeren.dur₅.àm ḥa.š^u.úr.ra.ka
 mu.ge₆.ge dilmun^{ki}.a.ka

CT 15 27 27-30 and dupl. *ibid.* 30 8-10; variants in 30: l.27, na for àm; l.28, um.me for e.me; ll.28-29, dur₅.ru; l.29, kam; l.30 is omitted.

My side is cedar, my breast is cypress.
 A nurse,¹⁷ my arms and pinions are sappy cedar,
 Sappy cedar of Ḥašur,
 Are the black wood of Dilmun.

Second Group: Here the protagonists are probably Dumuzi, represented by the king Šusîn, and Inanna.¹⁸ Inanna speaks in both texts.

ba.lam ba.lam hi.is^{ar}.àm a ba.an.dug₄
 šⁱḥašḥur.àm.sag.gá gurun.il.la.mu kiri₆.àm a ba.an.dug₄
 š^u.ni lâl.e gir.ni lâl.e mà.a mu.un.ku₇.ku₇.dè

TCL 15 20 66, 69, 72 dupl. UET VI 121, cf. PAPS 107 508 9 ll.1, 4,
 and 7.

He has sprouted, he has sprouted, he is lettuce planted⁷ by⁷ the water.
 My apple tree which bears fruit on its top—he is lettuce planted⁷ by⁷ the water.

Whose hand is honey, whose foot is honey, sweetens me ever.

šig.mu ḥi. <is>^{ar}.àm a im.[ma.an.dug₄]
 igi.mà lâl.bi.im ša.mà ḥi. <is>^{ar}.bi.im

N 3560 and N 4305 quoted from PAPS 107 508 8 ll.1 and 21.

My hair is lettuce, [planted⁷] by the water.
 For him who is the honey of my eye, who is the lettuce of my heart.

Returning to the *God Description Texts*, this leaves frond, medlar tree, juniper tree, oak, bulrush, fig, grape, leek, thorn shrub, bush, and pomegranate unaccounted for. Even if these do not have a religious background, the other plants mentioned do provide a context into which other material could be fitted by analogy.

Most if not all the descriptions are conceivably appropriate. The frond is bushy like whiskers, and part of the tamarisk resembles a top-knot. For some reason cedar is knees, and the height or breadth of poplar or cypress make them suitable to describe stature. The palm, long and tall, suitably describes backbone. Other trees are bones or parts of the body for similar reasons. Ankle-bone is either apple or medlar tree: presumably medlar fruit is meant. Pomegranate may be knee on the basis of shape. Bulrushes have a thick viscous sap which resembles nose mucus. Figs and lettuce are breasts on grounds of shape, and reeds are fingers. Grapes and raisins, small and shining, are eyeballs. Leek, a vegetable with hairy strands, is arm-pit hair. Thorn bush and shrub suggest roughness of body hair.

ONE might have suspected a connection between the *God Description Texts* and the so-called Göttertypen texts,¹⁹ which describe deities and demons by equating parts of their bodies with animals and objects. However, closer study shows that the resemblances are superficial and that there are fundamental differences. In the *God Description Texts* the body under discussion is human, but wherever in the Göttertypen texts the deity is conceivably to be anthropomorphically visualised, as in the case of Damu (*MIO* I pp.64ff. obv.i 8'-16'), Enkimdu (*ibid.* obv.ii 33'-43'), Nintu (*ibid.* obv.iii 45'-51') and Ninurta (*ibid.* obv.i 51'-ii 10), animals and objects do not play a prominent part in the description.

An Oakk cylinder seal in the Metropolitan Muesum in New York may be mentioned.²⁰ It shows as part of its design a man or god whose feet are quite literally snakes. The explanation is probably that the snake feet are intended to suggest speed. Whereas in Dumuzi's Dream²¹ the feet of Dumuzi are changed to gazelle feet to enable him to escape the demons, in the closely parallel episode from Inanna's Descent his feet are changed to snake feet, certainly for the same reason.²² A literary text may speak glibly of gir.muš.a, "snake feet", but the graphic artist is confronted with an obvious problem which he can only overcome by portraying a larger proportion of the snake.

PART TWO

MYTHOLOGICAL EXPLANATORY WORKS

CHAPTER FOUR

WORKS IN STANDARD BABYLONIAN EXPLAINING STATE RITUALS IN TERMS OF MYTHS

THIS chapter comprises presentation and discussion of expository works in which events from rituals are detailed and then explained by equating them with mythological events.¹ The rituals belong to the state cult,² and most but not all of the myths concern struggles between major deities. Between many of the ritual events and the mythological events explaining them there is an artificial similarity. This similarity is usually based on symbolism, but in one or two examples it is based on artificial philology. People in the rituals correspond to victorious gods in the myths, and animals or objects correspond to defeated gods or demons. It will be argued that an artificial and symbolic connection with the rituals was not the only reason for the selection of the myths used. Myths were chosen from a limited range of stories the true meaning of which may have been relevant to the meaning and purpose of the rituals, as understood by the composers. The works therefore have meaning on two distinct levels. On one level individual ritual procedures are explained in detail by myths, and on another level certain types of rituals are explained by a certain type of myth.

Note: The figures directly to the left of the texts indicate sense units referred to as paragraphs (par.), as explained below, and pertain to the present edition. Where there is one manuscript only, line numbers are indicated within the text; otherwise they are given in the margin.

VAT 10099 and dupls. VAT 9946 and IM 3252

1 [paršū(garza)^{meš}] é-kur kalāma(dù.a.bi) li-n[é-ep-šú]

[ki-i paršū(garza)^{meš} é-]gašan-kalam-ma in-né-ep-pu-šú ki-i ša
urunnippuri^{ki}-ma l[i-né-ep-šú]

[ina^{iti}du'ūzi] ^diš-tar bi-ki-tu₄ a-na ^dištarān(KA.DI) aḫi(PAP)-šá ki-i
tab-[ki-ú-ni]

[× × × ×] ×-šú inaššú-ma ina bīt ^dištar(MÜŠ) illaku^{ku}
pagra(adda) ša ^dištarān(KA.DI) lim-ḫaš-ma dama ana eršet^{ti} [li-ri^d]

2 [× ×] NUN-ša eppu^{šut}

:^dé-a ša ina tu-li-šú ^{db}ēl i-dar-su-ma a-na apsi ú-še-ri^d-[su]

3 [ku]-ri-il-lu-šá eppu^{šut}

^{db}ēl kišād a-a-bi-šú la ma-gi-ri-šú ki-i ú-kab-ba-su

4 [gib]narkabāte^{meš} ša ištu šēri ú-šá-áš-ka-tu-nim-ma a-na^{uru}libbi-āli
errubū

:^dnabū(nà)^u šu-ú-ma an-za-a i-b[e-el]

5 [lú]kur-gar-ra^{lú}su-sa-nu ša ina mē^{meš} a-ḫa-meš ú-ra-m[u-k]u^{lú}su-
sa-nu ^{db}ēl i-sa-raq

:^den-lil ^{db}ēl ana ^den-lil ana eršet^{ti} ki-i ip-qi-du-šú

6 dugguzú(gú.zi)-ša eppu^{šut}

:ak-ka šu-u ka-si an-šár aššu(mu) ^{db}ēl illiku^{ku}-ma ^da-nu-um
ik-mu-ú iš-du-du pagar(adda)-šú ana ^da-nun-na-ki ip-qid-su
it-ti-ku-nu-ma ka-mi ^da-nu-um mašak(kus)-šú ki-i i-ku-šú
mul^{sipa}-zi-an-na dama-šú ki-i ú-lab-bi-šú u ^da-nu ina muḫḫi
qaqqadi nak-si i-[mid-su]

7 ak-la-ša eppu^{šut}

:^dé-a ik-k[a-mi] ^dmarduk ana arki^{mul}sipa-zi-an-na itbi(zi) {ú}

^dé-a arki-šú iz-ziz-ma qablāti(murub₄)^{meš}šú ki-i ú-× [×]

^{db}ēl mul^{sipa}-zi-an-na ik-mu-ma ^dēr^l-ra ša^l ^da-nu KA MA a-na

^da-nun-na-ki ip-qid-su

8 sinnišātu(munus)^{meš} × [qēmu(zid.da)]^{meš} iq-lu-ú-ma abni^{meš}
inaššú-ma abni^{meš} ina bi-rit sinnišāte(munus)^{meš} ú-šaq-qu-ú

VAT 10099 and dupl.s VAT 9946 and IM 3252

1 Let all the [ordinances] of Ekur be [enacted.]

[When the ordinances of] Egašankalamma are enacted, like those
of Nippur let them be enacted.

[In Tammuz,] when Ištar wept in lamentation for Ištarān, her
brother,

they carry his [....] and they go into the temple of Ištar.

Let him beat the corpse of Ištarān and [let] the blood [go down] to
the underworld.

2 He prepares her [..].

:Ea, whom Bēl pushed away from his breast and sent [him]
down to the Apsū.

3 He prepares bundles of reeds for her.

:Just as Bēl treads on the necks of his rebellious enemies.

4 The chariots which they dispatch from the steppe, and they enter
Aššur.

:That is Nabū, and he will snare Anzū.

5 The cult dancer and equerry who bathe together, and the equerry
sprinkles Bēl.

:That is Enlil and Bēl when he consigned him* to Enlil, to
the underworld.

6 He prepares her goblet.

:It is as follows—Anšar is bound because Bēl went and
defeated Anu. He dragged away his corpse and assigned it to
the Anunnaki, [saying] “Anu is defeated with you!”. As he
flayed his hide, in such a way he clothed Orion with his
blood. And as for Anu, he [leaned him] against the broken
head.

7 He prepares her bread.

:Ea was defeated. Marduk rose up behind Orion. Ea stood
behind him, and when he [..] his middle parts

Bēl defeated Orion, and Erra, who .. Anu, consigned him* to
the Anunnaki.

8 The women roasted [grain]. They carry stones and they lift the
stones up among the women.

* Or “it”, perhaps a puḫru, “assembly”, of gods; cf. p.190 obv.6-7.

- :apal-šu rabû^u ša ab-nu²-ú-ma abū-šú umma-šú il-qu-šu-ma ina bi-rit tu-le-e ša^u dīštarāti(iš-tar)^{meš} ú-šaq-qu-šu^u dnabû(nā) [x x x x] x 7 u₄-me iš-ša-šú^u dānu(60) dšamaš² ip-qid-su u dīštarātu(iš-tar)^{meš} ša ittī-šú ana epri(sahar)^{bá} ú-t[ir-ru-šu]*
- 9 [x x ša uš]šú(è)-ma ri-gim-šá ittanaddú(šub.šub)^u
*:^dna-na-a ki-i ana^u dbēl^u giš^u uššī(kak.tag.ga) parzilli(an.bar) ta-
hu-š[ú-šu]*
- 10 [x x x x]
:[^dninurta(MAŠ) ina eli^u denlil(idim) iz-ziz-ma ana epri(sahar)^{bá} mē^{meš} ú-tir-šú
- 11 šēlibu(ka₅.a) ša uššú(è) ri-gim-šú ittanaddú(šub.šub)^u
:^dnergal(U + GUR) [x x x x] d^unuska(PA + TÚG) di-pa-ru nam-ru ina pān^u dbēl^u ki-i ú-šaq-qu-u
- 12 sinništa(munus) šá āli(uru) ina qaqqadī(sag.du)-šú-[nu] ina kišādī(gú)-šú-nu i-na-áš-šú-ši-ma ina eqlī(a.šà) illakū zēr(še.numun) ú-sà-pa-ḥu
*:^dmarduk(mes) šu-ú áš- < šu > kišād(gú) la ma-g[i-re-šu ú-
k]a-bi-is-su*
- 13 zēra(še.numun) ú-sà-pa-ḥu ma-ši qa-te-šú-nu ki-i a-na ši-re-e ú-m[a-lu-u]
:ina tarbaši(tūr) ina pān^u dšamaš i-ra-ku-us-su
- 14 UR GA² būra(pú) iqabbú(dug₄.ga)^u
:^dšamaš ana^u denlil(idim) ki-i UG-[x]
- 15 [x]-ša i-ma-ri-su giš-ḥu-ru
:A MAŠ ŠE immerī(udu.nitá)^{meš} IT TI I' BA
- 16 ina muḥḥi^u giš^u paššūr(banšur) iššakkan(gar)^{an} sinnišātu(munus)^{meš}
[x x] elāti(an.ta)^{meš} inakkisā(tar)^{meš}-ši-na GIŠ x x ušēšā(è)^{meš}-
ši-na a-na ḥa-bu-ni-ši-na [šaplāti(ki.ta)^{meš}] ušēšā(è)-ma NA²
inaššā-ma ina eli x x x x x x x x x x x x
[x x x] ŠU ki-i ú-qat-ta būra(pú) : QI x x x x x x x x
[x x x] x [x x]
- 17 :[x x x] x ina pāni¹¹-šá is-su-ku 7 x x x x [x x x x x] x
ŠU i-na-as-su-ku-ni x x [x x x x x x x]
*: [x x x mārū]^{meš} an-šár šu-nu-ma x x x [x x x x x
x x x x x]*
- 18 [x x x i-na-a]s-sa-ku-ni
*: x x x [x x x x x x x x x x x x]**

* After this par. the manuscript has a scribal ruling, followed by ... HAB zu^{1a} ana zu^{1u} li¹-ka¹-lim¹ [...]. The obverse then breaks off. Pars. 19, 20, and 21 are on the reverse. After par. 19 there is a scribal ruling followed by one of the *God Description Texts* (see p.94). This is followed by a scribal ruling and pars. 20 and 21. After another ruling is the colophon (see p.261).

- :"His great heir whom I engendered". His father and mother took him and lifted him up between the breasts of goddesses. Nabû [...]. . She carried him for 7 days. He entrusted him to Anu, Šamaš², and the goddesses who were with him turned [him] to dust.
- 9 [The ... which] comes out and keeps giving its cry.
:It is Nanaya when she gave iron arrows to Bēl.
- 10 [....]
:Ninurta stood over Enlil and turned him to dust and water.
- 11 The fox which comes out and keeps giving its cry.
:It is Nergal [...] when Nusku lifted a lighted torch in front of Bēl.
- 12 They carry the woman of the city on their heads and necks and go to a field and scatter seed.
:That is Marduk because he trampled the necks of those disobedient [to him].
- 13 They scatter seed in handfulls when they fill to the brim.
:They tie him up in the byre in broad daylight.
- 14 They call .. a well.
:When Šamaš .[.] to Enlil.
- 15 [.].....
:.. sheep
- 16 It is put on a table. The women cut the [..] upper parts. ... they strip them off. They take out [the lower] parts onto their laps and carry . and above'
- : [...] . when he finishes, a well [...] . [..]
- 17 [...] . they threw in front of themselves 7[.....].. which they throw .. [.....]
:[...] they are the [sons] of Anšar and ..[... .]
- 18 [...] which they throw.
:..[.....]

19 [x x x] x adi ud.30.kam [x x x x x x B]UŠÚ [x x x]
 ma-ḥa-ṣu x [x x x x u]r-ra-du-ni [ud.x.kam] u₄-um ik-ki-li
 ina ud.[x.kam iṣ]-ṣ[a-b]at^da-nu-um [ina muḥḥi] ^ddumu-zi iṣ-ša-'i-
 li [x x] ELI

: [mu]-ú-su lābtu(še.sa.a) ṣa ina muḥḥi ^ddumu-zi
 inaddû(šub.šub) ina abnī^{meš} ki i-qa-mu-[š]ú [qa]-la-a-te ṣa
 iṣakkanū^{mu} ellâ(e₁₁) ana elâti(an.ta)^{meš} ki-i qa-bu-[ú] aḥū-ka
 ṣa ina ṣikari(kaš)^{meš} ú-la-ba-ku-ni? aḥu inaššú-ni ki-i qa-b[u-
 ú]

20 [...]

: [x x x x x x x x] x ^dnabû(nā) ŠA ZU [x x]

21 [...]

: [x x x x x x x x x x ina er]ṣetiⁱⁱ ellû(e₁₁) ur-ra-du 2
 mu

Variants—VAT 10099: par. 3 ú-ka-[ba, 5 š]al-šú ^dbēl x -raq, 6 -q]id ittā(ki)-ka-nu-ma ka-me, 8
 apal-ṣu; VAT 9946: par. 6 ^da-num ina, 7 ṣa ^dDIS KA MA a-na, 8 omits meš after second abnī, 12
 omits aš-ṣu; IM 3252: par. 1 li-im-, 2 ṣa i-na, 3 -bi-ṣu, -ri-šú, 4 ana, omits -ma after ṣu-ú, 5 a-na
 kiⁱⁱ, 6 u ^da-nu-um ina, ú-[x x], 7 scribal ruling before ^dmarḍuk, 8 iṣ-ša-ṣu TAK x [, ina ṣa.

K 3476 (obverse)

1¹ [...]

: ²[x x x x x x] ^dbēl I[GI x x x x x] ^dbēl a-a-[bi-ṣu ik-
 mu-ú]

2 ³[x x x x x x] UD illakū^{ku} ina muḥḥi būr^{ti}(pú) izzazzū^{zu} dul-
 lu ina būr^{ti}(pú) eppuṣū^{šu}

: ⁴[x x] ṣa ana ^den-lil ina apsi iddū-ṣu ana ^da-nun-na-ki ip-
 qí-i[s-su]

3 ⁵[šarru i-š]a-tu ṣa i-qa-du-ni

: ^dmarḍuk ṣu-ú ṣa ina ṣihri(tur)ⁱ-šú ēpušu [...]

4 ⁶[kurgarrú(kur.gar.ra)^{meš} š]á kiš-ki-la-te i-maḥ-ḥa-ṣu

: ilāni^{meš} abbū^{meš}-šú aḥḥu^{meš}-šú ṣu-nu ki-i iṣ-mu-[ú]

5 ⁷[šarru š]a ki-ma ilāni^{meš} ú-na-áš-šá-qu

: ^dmarḍuk ṣu-ú ⁸ṣa ^dn]in-lil ina ṣihri(tur)ⁱ-šú iṣšú-ma ú-na-šá-
 qu-š[u]

6 ⁹[kinūn]i ṣa ina pān ^dnin-lil inappaha(kur)^{ba} immera ina muḥḥi
 kinūni inaddū^u ¹⁰[ina g]irri i-qa-mu-šú

: ^dkin-gu ṣu-ú ki-i ina iṣāti i-qa-mu-ṣu

7 ¹¹giⁱⁱzi-qa-a-te ṣa iṣtu libbi kinūni ú-šá-an-ma-ru

19 [...]. until the 30th day [.....]. his [...] to beat [...] which goes
 down. [The xth day] is the day of the screaming. [On the xth day]
 he is seized. Anu is questioned [about] Dumuzi [...].

: His death is when they grind on the stones the roasted corn
 which they cast on behalf of Dumuzi. The burned parts
 which they put aside go up to the upper regions, as it is said.
 Your brother whom they make a mush of in the beer—they
 carry off the brother, as it is said.

20 [...]

: [.....]. Nabû ..[.]

21 [...]

: [..... who] comes up from the underworld and goes down
 ...

K 3476 (obverse)

1 [...]

: [.....] Bēl .[.....] [defeated his] enemies.

2 [.....]. they go. They stand at a well and [they perform] a rite at
 the well.

: [...] whom he cast to Enlil in the Apsû. He consigned [him]
 to the Anunnaki.

3 [The king,] who kindles a fire.

: He is Marduk—what he did in his youth.

4 [The cult dancers] who beat clappers.

: They are the gods, his fathers and brothers, when they
 heard.

5 [The king,] whom she* kisses as gods.

: He is Marduk, [whom] Ninlil lifted up in his youth while
 she* kissed him.

6 The oven, which he lights in front of Ninlil. They throw a sheep
 on the oven and roast it in the fire.

: It is Kingu when he† burns him in the fire.

7 The torches which he† lights from the oven.

* Or he, or they.

† Or they.

- :mul-mul-li la pa-du-t[e¹] ¹²ša giš-iš-pat dbēl ša ina šá-la-'i-šú-nu malú(diri)^u pu-luh-t[u] ¹³ina ma-ḥa-ši-šú-nu dan-nu i-né-ru dama^{meš} ù par-šu še-bu-ú¹⁴ i-sal-la-ḥu mātāti^{meš.kur.kur} ilāni^{meš} abbū^{meš}-šú aḥḥū^{meš}-šú ilāni^{meš} lemnūtu(ḥul)[^{meš}] ¹⁵an-zu-ú^d a-sak-ku ina libbī-šú-nu ikkamū(lá)^u
- 8 ¹⁶šarru ša du-ma-qí ina muḥ-ḥi-šú inaššú^u udu.munus.uniqāti (āš.gār)^{meš} i-qa-lu-ú
: ¹⁷darduk šu-u ša gišbulē(sun)^{meš}-šú ina muḥ-ḥi-šú iššú^u mārī^{meš} denlil(idim) ^danu(60) ina girri(giš.bar) iq-[mu-ú]
- 9 ¹⁸šarru ša ḥa-ri-ú ina li-is-ni i-pát-tu-u
: ^dmarduk šá ina ú-šá-ri-šú tú-amat[?] ik-[mu[?]-ú[?]]
- 10 ¹⁹šarru ša ^{ninda}ka-ma-nu ^{lú}sangú(sanga) it-ti-šú ú-šar-qa-du
: ^dmarduk ^dnabú šu-[nu ²⁰darduk]k ^da-num ikmi(lá)-šú-ma iš-bir-šú
- 11 šarru ša ina ma-za-si illaku^{k[u 21 x]} × ina qāt šarri šaknu^{mu} ^{lú}nāru(nar) ^dna-mur-ri-tu i-za-mur
: ^dmarduk ²²[x x] × ŠU × × ^{dé}-a iddú^u muldili-bat ina pānī-šú iprik(gib)
- 12 ²³[^{ninda}ka-ma-n]u-ú ša ú-šar-qa-du
: libbi ^danu(60) šu-ma ki-i iš-du-du ina qāti¹¹-šú i-[x]
- 13 ²⁴[gišnarkabāti]^{meš} ša¹ ti-iš-kàd-da ú-šá-áš-kàt-u-ni-ni ^{lú}tašlišu(3)^{u5} ša gišma-ḥi-tú innaddinu ²⁵[ú-r]u-^ršá qāt-su išabbat^{bat} ina pān ili ú-še-rab-šú gišma-ḥi-tú ana ili u šarri ú-kal-lam ×
: ²⁶[^d]nabú[!] šu-ma ša ana ^denlil(idim) i-ṭar-ra-du-šú ikammū(lá)-šú ^dnergal qāt-su iš-[sab-bat]
- 14 ²⁷[ana é-s]ag-gil errub-ma giškakki qāti¹¹-šú a-na ^dmarduk šar ilāni^{meš}u ^dzar-pa-n[i-tú ²⁸ú-]kal-lim-ma ú-na-áš-šá-qu-šú-ma i-kar-ra-b[u-šú]
- 15 ²⁹[^{lú}]kurgarrú(kur.gar.ra)^{meš} ša tu-šá-ri i-ma-li-lu me-él-ḥu i-m[a-al-la-ḥu ³⁰kiš-k]i-la-te i-maḥ-ḥa-su ja-ru-ra-te in[addú^{meš} ú ³¹x ×] ŠA a-ḥa-meš i-ma-taḥ-u-ma ú-šá-aš-ba-ru
: ³²[aḥ]ḥē^{meš} e šu-nu-ma ša ina muḥḥi ^denlil(idim) ^dani(60) ri-ig-mu i[d-du-ú ³³me-]am-me-šú-nu ina muḥ-ḥi-šú-nu it-buku i × [x x x] ³⁴x ^{meš}-šú-nu ú-bat-ti-qu a-na apsī [ú-še-ri-du]
- 16 ³⁵[giš]sa-ra-nu ša ina pān ^diš-tar × šarri [x x x] ³⁵x TA NU ša ilāni^{meš} ú [x x x x x x x x x x x]

- :Unsparring arrows from the quiver of Marduk, which are terrible in their shooting off, mighty in their striking home; they slay and are drenched in blood and gore. They rain down on the lands. The gods, his fathers and brothers, the evil gods, Anzû and Asakku, were defeated in their midst.
- 8 The king, who wears jewels on his head* and roasts goats.
:He is Marduk, who carried firewood on his head and burnt the sons of Enlil and Anu in fire.
- 9 The king, who opens a jug in a race.
:Marduk, who with his penis Tiāmat.
- 10 The king, who with the Sangû tosses[?] a pancake.
:They are Marduk and Nabû. Marduk defeated and crushed Anu.
- 11 The king, who goes onto the podium with a [.] in his hand, while the singer chants "O-illustrious goddess!"
:Marduk [...]... Ea they† cast. He blocked Venus in front of him.
- 12 The pancake, which he tosses.
:That is the heart of Anu when he pulled it out, with his hands [.] .
- 13 [The chariots,] which they dispatch. The third man, who is given the whip, and whose hand holds its reins draws it up in front of the god and shows the whip to the god and the king.
:He is Nabû, who pursues him to Enlil, defeats him, and Nergal seizes his hand.
- 14 He enters Esagil. He showed the weapon in his hand to Marduk, king of the gods, and Zarpānītu, and they kiss and bless him.
- 15 The cult dancers of the battle-field cavort[?], play about, beat clappers, halloo, lift up [...] together, and twitter.
:They are the brothers, who concerning Enlil and Anu gave their cries, poured out their sheen on them, broke their ..[...]s and [sent down] to the Apsû.
- 16 The fern in front of Ištar . the king [...]... which the gods . [.....]

* Or on himself.

† Or whom he or they.

:37[× × × ^dner]gal šu-nu-ma šá it-[× × × × × × × × ×
 38 × × ×] × ^dninurta × × [× × × × × ³⁹ × × ×] × PA
 × [...

VAT 8917 rev.17-9

- 1 ¹alpa ù immeri^{meš} šá × × × ana¹ qaq'-qa'-ri¹ balūt(ti)-su-nu i-na-sa-ku-u-ni
 :^{2d}kin-gu adi 7 mārū^{meš}-[šú k]i-i immahšū(sig₇)^{su}
 2 ³summatu(tu)^{mušen} šá i-na-su-ku
 :ti-amat i-na-sa-ku-nim-ma iheppū(gaz)^{meš} u

VAT 8917 rev.20-5

- 1 ¹šarru ša issi qé-reb é-kur agâ hurāši ina qaqqadī-šú inaššū^{ku}-ma ²ina
 giš³kussē uššabu^{bu} u i-na-áš-šú-šú-ma ana ekalli illakū^{ku}
 :^{3d}ninurta ša gimil¹¹ abī-šú ú-tir-ru ilāni^{meš} abbū^{meš}-šú ina qé-
 reb é-kur ušāšebū(UR¹)-šú ⁴giš³haṭṭa(gidri) giš³kussē palâ(bala)
 inaddinū-šú ⁵me-lám šarrūti^{u-ti} ú-za-'a-nu-šú-ma ana šadī
 uššâ
 2 ⁶giš³erēnu(eren) šá ina pānī-šú-nu i-qu-ud-du
 :⁶ši-ḥa-at šēri ilāni^{meš} lemnūti^{meš} i-re-šá eš-še-nu-ma pu-uz-
 ra-a-te im-me-du

VAT 8917 obv.24-9

- 1 ¹giš³narkabtu ša māt elamti(elam.ma)^{ki} ša giš³kussē-šá ja¹-a'-nu
 :pagra(adda) ša ^den-me-šár-ra* ina¹ libbi inaššī³ⁱ
 2 ²sisū^{meš} ša ina libbi ša-an-du
 :eṭemmu¹ ša an-zi-i
 3 šarru ša ina libbi narkabti izzazzu^{zu}
 :³šarru qar-ra-du bēl ^dninurta šu-u
 4 ⁴ša še-ḥi ša itti(ki)-šú izzazzu^{zu}
 :lišānātu(eme)^{meš} ša an-z[i-i] × i iš-du-dam-ma ina qātī¹¹-šú
 ú-kal
 5 ⁵giš³asquppi(I + LU) bīt ^den-me-šár-ra ina ig[ā]ri(é.sig₄) i-lul
 :⁶lipū(i.udu) it-qí ikkib(níg.gig) ^den-me-šár-ra

* The tablet reads ^dme-en-šár-ra. This reading has been emended; see p.134.

:They are [.. and] Nergal who [.....]. Ninurta
 [.....]...[...]

VAT 8917 rev.17-9

- 1 The ox and the sheep which they throw alive to the ground ...
 :That is Kingu and his seven sons when they were smitten.
 2 The dove which they throw.
 :They are throwing and splitting Tiāmat.

VAT 9817 rev.20-5

- 1 The king, who from inside the Ekur wears on his head a gold
 crown and sits on a sedan chair, while they carry him and go to the
 palace.
 :Ninurta, who avenged his father. The gods, his fathers, seat
 him inside the Ekur. They give him the sceptre, throne, and
 robe. They adorn him with the splendour of kingship and he
 goes out to the mountain.
 2 The cedar (resin) which they burn in front of them.
 :The loose flesh of the evil gods. They smell the aroma and
 go into hiding.

VAT 8917 obv.24-9

- 1 The Elamite chariot without a seat.
 :It carries inside it the corpse of Enmešarra.
 2 The horses which are harnessed to it.
 :The ghost of Anzû.
 3 The king, who stands in the chariot.
 :He is the king, the warrior, the lord Ninurta.
 4 The ecstatic priest who stands with him.
 :He pulled out the tongues of Anzû and holds them fast in
 his hand.
 5 He hung up (the reins) on the wall at the step of the temple of
 Enmešarra.
 :The grease on a flock of wool is taboo to Enmešarra.

VAT 9947

Obverse

- 1 ¹ina ^{iti}[e]lūlu(kin)¹ ud.16¹.kám ša šarru a-na GIM [×] NI illaku^{ku}
:áš-šú ik-mu-u ^da-nim
- 2 ud.17.kám ša te-ru-ub-ti iqabbú^u
:be-lu₄ a-a-b[ī]-šú ki-i ik-m[u]-u
- 3 ³ud.18.kám ša qu-li iqabbú^u
:^dkin-gu adi(en) 40 mārī^{meš}šú ištu ūri(ūr) inaddūni^{meš} ni
- 4 ⁴šamna(i) dišpa(làl) ša ina libbi ^{giš}kakki(šita) inaddūni^{meš} ni
:a-na šalam(nu) damē-šú-nu inaddūni^{meš} ni
- 5 ⁵ud.19.kám ša qu-li iqabbú^u
:^da-nim ^dsibitti mārī^{meš} ^den-me-šár-ra ki-i ikmú(lá)^u
- 6 ⁶ud.20.lá.1.kám eb-bu-u
:u₄-mu ^da-nim šarru ikmú(lá)^u u₄-mu ^dmarduk šarru ^da-nim
ikmú(lá)^u
- 7 ⁷ud.21.kám
:^den.líl.e. <ne> inī¹¹-šú-nu ú-na-sah-ḥa-am-ma a-na dag-
gíl-ti ú-še-li-šú-nu-ti
- 8 ⁸ud.22.kám ša anu ina é.du.ga.ni illaku^{ku}
:⁹e bīt(é)-ma rab ri-iḥ-šu gaz da-a-ku bīt i-du-ku ^da-n[im]
- 9 ¹⁰ud.23.kám ta-ḥa-zu šu-ú
:ú-zu-uš-šú ú-ni-iḥ
- 10 ¹¹[ud].26.kám š[a a]nu ana bīti šáši(bi) illaku^{ku}
:bīt iḥ-ru-u ^da-nim ša-ti-iq za-re-e ¹²iqabbú^u de-ke a-n[un-ta]
- 11 ¹³ud.24.kám ša šarru agâ inaššú^u
:be-lu₄ kišād ^da-nim ik-ki-su-ma × × [× ×]
- 14 šarru-tu ki-i il-qu-u [mē]^{meš} ir-muk na-al-ba-šú it-t[a-al-biš]
- 15 tam-ri-qa-tu ša ina pī niš^{meš} iqabbú^u: e-tam-ma[r] qa-[ta-a-a]
- 16 ga-ra-ba-a-nu ša ina nāri ú-ṭa-bu-u ga-r[e]b ^da-nim × [× × ×
×]
- 17 × × × × × × × × [š]á 4 inī^{meš}
- 18 [× × × × × × × × z]iq-qur-rat šá iqabbú^u [dingir-]maḥ ša ^da-
num ^dbēl [× ×]
- 19 [× × × × × × ^{giš}ku]ssē ša ^dbēl a-na maššarti(en.nun) ina muḥḥi ×
× ×
- 20 [× × × × × × ×] BI ub-ba-tú ina palē(bal) × × A in-né-[× × ×
× ×]

VAT 9947

Obverse

- 1 It is on the 16th day of Elūlu that the king goes to [.].
:Because he defeated Anu.
- 2 The 17th day, which they call the Entry.
:When Marduk defeated his enemies.
- 3 The 18th day, which they call the Silence.
:They throw Kingu and his forty sons from a roof.
- 4 The oil and honey which they put on the weapon.
:They put as a representation of their blood.
- 5 The 19th day, which they call the Silence.
:When he defeated Anu and Sibitti, the sons of Enmešarra.
- 6 The 20-less-1th day is the Wrath.
:The day the king defeated Anu, the day Marduk the king
defeated Anu.
- 7 The 21st day.
:He pulls out the eyes of the Enlils and puts them up on
view.
- 8 The 22nd day is when Anu goes to Edugani.
:e = temple(é); rab = inundation(ra); gaz = to kill(gaz,
dâku). The temple where he killed Anu.
- 9 The 23rd day is the battle.
:He calmed his ire.
- 10 The 26th day is when Anu goes to that temple.
:They dug the temple—Anu. The splitting(šatiq) of the
threshing process(zarê) they call stirring up(deke)
battle(anunta = zarê)
- 11 The 24th day is when the king wears a crown.
:Marduk slashed Anu's neck and ..]
- 14 When he assumed kingship he bathed and donned the garments.
- 15 The mastication(tamriqātu) as they say among the people: He
always sees my hands (ētammar qātāja).
- 16 The leper(garbānu) whom they duck in the river: The
leper(garbu) of Anu .[....]
- 17 ...] of four eyes.
- 18 ...] a ziggurat, as they say, [Dingir]maḥ, whom Anu, Bēl
[.].
- 19 ...] the throne of Bēl, to keep watch over ...
- 20 ...] . they destroy. In the reign [.....]

- 21 [x x x x x x^d]a-num^dsibitti u^den-me-šár-ra
 22 [x x x x x x]BU be-lu₄ ki ik-m[u]-šú mašak(kuš)-šú i-ku-uš
 ina x [x x x]
 23 [x x x x x x] a-na maššarti(en.nun)^u be-lu₄ ul-te-zi-[ib]

Reverse

- 1 ...] x UR₄ [x x x] ki-i BAL [x x]
 2 ...] šaplîtu(ki.ta) eršeti^u UL U ŠIB [x x]
 3 ...] ke-e ke-e ta-nam-[bi]
 4 ...] e-la-a a-na elâti(an.ta)^{meš}
 5 ...A]M ul a-maš-ši
 6 ...a-di-]ra-tú pu-luḥ-tú
 7 ...š]u-ú ki-i na-mur-ra-tú
 8 ...] ana na-qi-tú inaddû^u i-ka-ra-bu
 9 ...] x u qiš-tú^dé-a ana^dkin-gu i-qiš
 10 ...] x ana pân aššur i-qab-bu-ú
 11 ...] ^da-nun-na-ki ana a-bi-šú ú-šá-an-na
 12 ...] ^da-nun-na-ki
 13 ud.[6.]kám e[li x x x x x x] paršû(garza)-šú-nu ip-pa-
 ra-šu
 14 TAK x [x x x x x x] x šaknu^{mu}
 15 ud.7.kám é x KU ša^d[x x x ilā]ni^{meš} rabûti^{meš} [k]i-i iptû[?](BAD)^u
 16 ud.8.kám ša šarru agâ iš[šú šarrûtu^u] ilqi^u šu-ú ina^gku[ssé
 šar]rûti^u ú-šib
 17 ud.9.kám qaqqad-su ik-ki-[su x] x TI ik-šu-du mē^{meš} ir-[muk] na-
 al-ba-šú it-tal-biš

- 21 ...] Anu, Sibitti, and Enmešarra.
 22 ...] . the lord, when he defeated him he flayed the hide
 ...[...]
 23 ...] to keep watch the lord has saved.

Reverse

- 1 ...] .. [...] as . [..]
 2 ...] lower, earth ... [..]
 3 ...] she calls "kê-kê!".
 4 ...] he goes up to the upper regions.
 5 ...] I may not forget the ..
 6 ...] darkening things of fear
 7 ...] that is, like illumination
 8 ...] which he casts as an offering, and blesses
 9 ...] .. a present, Ea, he gave to Kingu
 10 ...] they say before Aššur
 11 ...] the Annunaki, he repeats to his father
 12 ...] the Annunaki
 13 On the 6th day on [.....] their ordinances are established
 14 ..[.....] . placed
 15 On the 7th day the temple .. of the god [..] when the great gods
 opened.
 16 The 8th day, when the king wore a crown. He took [kingship]. He
 himself sat down on the throne of kingship.
 17 On the 9th day they cut off [his] head. They gained [.].. . He
 bathed in water and donned the garments.

The Editions

In the cuneiform manuscripts each statement of a ritual act is immediately followed by its mythological interpretation. There is a strong tendency to begin each statement of a ritual act on a new line, but this is not always done. However, in the edition offered, it has been done systematically, and a further element of arrangement has been introduced in that each mythological interpretation is placed on a new line after the ritual it explains, and is indented. Line numbers of the original manuscripts are given above the line in the transliterations where there is only one source; in VAT 10099 and dupls. the original line numbers are given in the left hand margin. Each pair consisting of a ritual statement and its explanation is numbered and referred to as a paragraph (par.). The tendency in the manuscripts to begin new paragraphs on new lines is as follows. In VAT 10099 it is the case in pars. 2 through 10, and in 13, though not in 11, 12, and 14. In VAT 9946 it is the case in pars. 8, 9, 10, 15, 17, 18, and 19, though not in 11, 12, 13, and 16. In IM 3252, in K 3476 except par. 11, and in VAT 9947 it is the case. In VAT 8917 ritual statements begin new lines in the two pars. in rev. 17—9, in four of the five pars. in obv. 24—9, and one of the two pars. in rev. 20—5.

The Works, Date and Provenance

All the known copies are NA, though in SB language. Except for IM 3252 all definitely come from Aššur or Nineveh, and must be earlier than the destruction of these cities in the late 7th century B.C. The works are discussed one by one.

VAT 10099 and dupls.: This describes events connected with a temple of Ištar in Arbêla or Nineveh, and mentions the city of Aššur. It is therefore presumably an Assyrian composition but it may be based on Babylonian originals altered to apply to Assyria. Certainly it reflects Babylonian ideas in that it presents Marduk in a favourable light and prominent position. In par. 6 Anšar is said to be bound. This suggests a date earlier than the Sargonid period since Sargonid scribes and theologians frequently wrote Aššur's name with the signs for Anšar and identified the two gods in other ways. They would have been unlikely to say or imply that their national god Aššur had been tied up. The introductory section in the first paragraph states that the rites in Egašankalama are to conform to rites of Ekur, and rites of Nippur. Ekur is therefore the Ekur in Nippur and not the Ekur in

Aššur. This must be seen against a general background of Nippurian influence including the facts that Aššur was commonly equated with Enlil,³ and Marduk at least in the present texts is modelled on Enlil's son Ninurta in his rôle as a warrior god. Detailed discussion of this general Nippurian influence cannot be given here. It has been observed that in the third millennium Nippur had a special importance as a religious centre,⁴ and it is a fact that whereas in the third millennium individual cities had their own month names, the Nippur month names eventually became standard.⁵ This work differs from the others (except VAT 8917 rev. 17—9) in that the king is nowhere mentioned.

K 3476: This describes events in Esagil, the temple of Marduk in Babylon, and presents Maruk as a mythological hero. The king is prominent. Babylonian authorship seems most likely, but the possibility cannot be ruled out that the text was modified or even composed by an Assyrian scholar. Assyrian scholars were interested in Babylonian practices and at times when Babylonia was under Assyrian rule Assyrian kings performed rites in Babylon.⁶

VAT 8917 rev. 20—5 and obv. 24—9: The mythological hero is Ninurta. He pertains to Nippur, but since he was worshipped elsewhere also, this fact does not prove Nippurian origin. However, it is of great importance that the mythological explanation in par. 2 of rev. 20—5 occurs also in a similar form in a Babylonian work of which one copy came from Nippur (see p. 178). Whereas here the smell of kindled cedar represents the smell of the loose flesh of evil gods not specified by name, in the latter text cedar sap and honey are equated with the fat and pus of the evil god Anzû. This suggests a connection with Nippur and proves that some of the speculation in the texts was originally Babylonian.

VAT 9947: The outstanding feature in this text is the prominence of Anu; the present writer is unable to explain this satisfactorily.

For reasons stated below (p. 165), and derived from what is known of the history of Marduk's position in the pantheon, all the texts except perhaps VAT 8917 rev. 20—5 and obv. 24—9, must be later than the end of the second millennium.

Philological Matters

All the works are written in SB dialect, but there are traces of NA dialect. It is uncertain whether these traces of NA are the errors of

Assyrian scribes composing in SB, or the errors of Assyrian scribes copying from Babylonian manuscripts.

VAT 10099 and dupls.: In par. 1 *tab-k[i-ú-ni ...]* is an NA form. It is 3rd/fem. sing./pret./subj. of *bakû*, "to weep"; the corresponding SB form would be *ibkû*. In pars. 2–7 there is the problem of understanding \times (-) *ša dù^u*. The possibilities are \times *ša eppuš*, " \times , which he prepares" and \times -*ša eppuš*, "He prepares her \times ". Both pose grammatical difficulties. In the first interpretation one would have to suppose that the scribes of all three manuscripts had written *dù^u* for *dù^u*, either through the influence of vernacular since the subjunctive ending *u* can be lost in NA and LB,⁷ or because they were not accustomed to writing the former, or for some other reason. The objection to the other reading is the form *ak-la* in par. 7, as it cannot be a construct state. However, this is one abnormal writing, as opposed to supposing an error repeated several times in each of three manuscripts. Therefore, the second rendering has been adopted. In par. 4 the verb *ú-šá-áš-ka-tu-nim-ma* is problematic. It occurs in K 3476 par. 13 with a complement from the same verb: *ti-iš-kàd-da ú-šá-áš-kàt-u-ni-ni*. As the verbs require a masculine plural subject, it cannot be *narkabātu*, which is feminine plural. The subject may be the people in charge of or driving the chariots. The same verb occurs in III/1 imper. with ventive in a letter in NA dialect from Guzana, and a meaning such as "to dispatch" or "to speedily dispatch" would fit all three contexts. The letter is:

a-bat šarri a-na 1man-nu-ki₅-kur[aš-šur]
1a-di-ja-a-bu
mār 1hu-ú-a-di-di
 40 *ma-na hurāši ina pa-ni-šu*
sa-niq-šu hurāšu
ša-áš-ki-ta
ina 8i^hnarkabtī-ka šu-ku[n]
a-[n]a man-n[u]-k[i₅ kur aš-šur]
amēlu ša bīt × × [× ×]
di-i-ni
¹⁰*mār šip-r[i-ja]*
i-si-šu lil-l[i-ik]

AfO (Beiheft 6) p. 16 1–12

The king's order as regards Mannukīāššur: 40 manas of gold are to be checked out for Adijābu the son of Hūdidi. Dispatch the gold speedily, put it in your chariot, and give it to Mannukīāššur, the man from Bīt... . Let my messenger go with him.

Also in par. 4 the trace at the end of the line allows restoration *i-b[e-el]* or *i-n[a-ar]*. The first could be interpreted as *ēbel*, "he has snared", or *ebbel*, "he will snare", and the second as *inār*, "he will slay". Since the verb in the mythological section in the preceding paragraph is definitely in the present tense (*ukabbas*), while the verb in the mythological section of the following is definitely preterite (*ipqid*), tense is perhaps not adducible as a criterion. However, a present has been preferred for the reason that one verb in the corresponding paragraph about chariots in K 3476, par. 13, where Nabû is again the subject, is present tense (*išarrad*). Both *ebēlu* and *nāru* are used elsewhere to describe what happens to the Anzû bird and both are possible here. The preposition *ana* before the second ^d*en-lil* in par. 5 is presumably not a mistake since it occurs in two manuscripts. The verb restored at the end of par. 6 must be one which can have the same meaning in its I and II stems, because of the variants *ú-[...]* and *i-[...]*. *emēdu*, "to lean (something against something)" satisfies this requirement but does not give very good sense. The final verb in par. 9 is understood as *hāšu*, "to give". This verb is known from lexical texts: ^{si-i}*sè ha-a-šu* (CT 11 30 I 80), "to give = *hāšu*" and *hāšu na-da-mu* (CT 18 29 b III 9 + 23 d 5), "*hāšu* = to give". A doubtful occurrence in Oakk suggests that the middle radical is *w*: *i/li-ḥu-eš*.⁸ In par. 13 the phrase *ina pān dšamaš*, "before Šamaš" does not involve Šamaš directly in the mythological interpretation but simply means "in broad daylight". Compare *ina pān dšamaš uḥarrû būra* (*Gilg* V iii 43), "They dug a well before Šamaš/while it was still daylight". For the meaning of *pašāru* in par. 19 see *AHw* sub voce G 3)c and 4), where the meanings "release a slave" and "release captives" are indicated.

K 3476: There is intrusion of NA dialect in par. 13, where *mazzassu* is given for SB *manzaltu*. In par. 3 the interpretation of *TURⁱ-šu* as *šihri-šu* is justifiable because *TUR* is the usual ideogram for forms of *šehēru* (see *CAD* s.v. *šehēru*), and there is an abstract noun *šihru*, "youth" (see *CAD* s.v. *šihru*), a meaning suitable in the context. In par. 4 the restoration is provided by par. 15 on the assumption that it is only the cult dancers who are beating clappers. In par. 10 *šurqudu*, "to make to dance" is said of *kamānu*, "bun" or "pancake". This verb occurs with *kamānu* also in *KAR* 141 rev. 8 and *CA* 88 27–8;⁹ both texts read *ninda^aka-ma-na ú-šar-qa-ad*. One is reminded of "tossing" a pancake. In par. 9 *ú-šá-ri-šú* is difficult. It is here understood as a noun *ušāru*, "on-rush", from *ešēru*, "to charge (an enemy)". This may be objected

to on the ground that the form *purāsu* is not really suitable for such a meaning.¹⁰ However, one may compare *a-a-ru tu-šá-ru* (*LTBA* 2 2 177), “advance against = *tu-šá-ru*”. In par.7 the explanation of the writing of *mātāti* as *kur^{meš} kur* is that a scribe working from more than one edition recorded a variant. In *tú-amat*? the one sign is unclear, but one need not necessarily question the possibility of writing the name of *Tiāmat* in such a manner, since writings of her name other than *ti-amat* occur; e.g. *ta-’ā-wa-ti* (*Enūma eliš* IV 65).

VAT 8917 rev.17-9: The subjunctive in par.1 is NA. It is supposed that sig₇ is here an exceptional writing of *maḥāšu*, “to strike”, usually sig. In the lexical series *A* sig₇ is equated with *maḥāšu* (see *MSL* XIV 425 202).

VAT 8917 obv.24-9: In par.1 the Elamite chariot may have been of a particular style; cf. *Hh* V 78 for an Elamite wagon. However, there is an adjective *elammū*, “Elamite”, with connotations of rareness and fineness, and this may be the point. *me-en-šár-ra* for *en-me-šár-ra* is a scribal error, despite *en-me-en-šár-ra* in the Sumerian epic of *Gilgameš*, *BASOR* 94 8 17. In par.4 *ša še-ḥi* is understood as a form of the word *šeḥḥānu* which occurs in a commentary to *Izbu* equated with *maḥḥū*, “ecstatic”: *maḥ-ḥu-ú še-ḥa-a-nu* (*Izbu*, Commentary W 365 d-365 e). One may note also that *šīḥi* can mean a piece of leather attached to the bit in the mouth of a horse (see *Hippologica* 117) and that *ša šīḥi*, “he of the *šīḥu*”, would then be a good idiomatic expression for someone holding it. Although the mythological interpretation strongly suggests that the man in question was holding the reins the first alternative has been preferred on the ground that the man is most likely to be a priest and to be referred to by his priestly function. (Note however *K 3476 par.13* where the “third man” on a chariot is *Nabū*.)

VAT 9947: In par.1 *a-na GIM [x] NI illaku^{ku}* remains obscure. In par.2 the fact that if the relative *ša* and the prepositional *ša* occur together only one *ša* stands leads to three possible translations, “which they call Entry”, “which they call ‘Of Entry’”, and “they call Of Entry”. In par.4, for a figurative sense of *šalmu*, “image”, compare *CAD A* I 104 where the king is said to be “the image of Šamaš”. In par.7 *daggiltu*, from *dagālu*, “to look”, can be explained as the form *parrisu*,¹¹ with final *-tu* to make it a substantive.¹² It would thus have the meaning “constant looking, observation”. If the doubling of the middle radical is disregarded it could be the *dagiltu* of *ša dagilti*,

“spy”; cf. *lúša da-gil-ti = mu-ḥa-’i-i-tù* (*MSL* XII 230 iv 28), “he of observation = spy”. Alternatively, one might transliterate *tāq-rin-ti*, and translate “and put them up on a pile”. In par.7, in *en.lil.e.ne* it is supposed that the scribe intended a Sumerian writing of what is elsewhere written *en.lil^{meš}*, “the Enlils”, and erroneously omitted the final sign. Alternatively the *e* could be understood as a phonetic complement for the following word *inē-* in the NA pronunciation *ēnē-*.

Style

The works follow a pattern of successive pairings of pieces of information. Known rituals and known myths are referred to but are not apparently quoted. Their content is restated in the composers’ phraseology and recast to suit the structure of the work: e.g. “The king who, that is”. The phrases concerning rituals are simple descriptions of what happens and do not have any particular specialised idiom. The phrases with mythological content, however, employ a specialised idiom using phrases found also in incantations. Examples are given:

<i>ana apsi šurudu</i>	VAT 10099 and dupls. par.2
<i>ana eršeti paqādu</i>	VAT 10099 and dupls. par.5
<i>ana anunnaki paqādu</i>	VAT 10099 and dupls. par.6; K 3476 par.3
<i>ana epri mē turru</i>	VAT 10099 and dupls. par.10
<i>ana enlil ina apsi</i>	K 3476 par.2
<i>puzrāti emēdu</i>	VAT 8917 rev.20-5 par.2

The idiom is in the words used for the underworld and the expressions for sending a deity or demon there. For *paqādu* compare *lip-qid-ku-nu-ši ana sibat atē(né.du_g)^{meš} [ša] dereš-ki-gal* (*AfO* 19 117 24), “May he (Marduk) consign you to the seven door-keepers of Ereškigal!”. For the Anunnaki being asked to deal with demons sent to the underworld compare *a-nun-na-ki ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš} lik/q-[m]u-ku-nu-ši* (*ibid.* 30), “May the Anunnaki, the great gods, burn/bind you!”. For the Apsū as a place which demons might come from or be sent back to see *CAD* s.v. *apsū*. For *puzrāti emēdu*, “to go into hiding” with the intended sense “vanish completely” compare *li-iz-ziz*

^dnergal bēl šip-ṭi šá pānī-šú gallú(gal₅.lá)^{meš} namtāru(nam.tar) im-me-du pu-uz-ra-a-ti (Šurpu IV 100), "May there be present Nergal, lord of the judgement, from whose presence the demons and fates go into hiding". Compare also u₄-mu ez-zu mu-ṭa-riḍ gallé(gal₅.lá)^{meš} rabūti^{meš} [...] bēl šipti(én) šá ina pānī-šú gallé(gal₅.lá)^{meš} namtārū(nam.tar)^{meš} em-me-du pu-uz-ra-[ti] (ABRT I 59 6-7), "Raging storm, pursuer of mighty demons, [...] lord of the incantation, from whose presence demons and fates go into hiding."

THE RITUALS, THE MYTHS, AND HOW THEY FIT TOGETHER

VAT 10099 and dupls.

Ritual: Par. 1 states that the rites of Ekur should be enacted, and that when the rites of Egašankalamma are enacted they should conform to the rites of Nippur. Egašankalamma is either the temple of Ištar in Arbēla, or as a well known alternative to the name Emašmaš the temple of Ištar in Nineveh.¹³ Ekur may refer to the temple of Aššur in Aššur, but since Nippur is mentioned it is more likely to be the temple of Enlil in Nippur. The significance of these directions has been referred to above (p. 131). It is possible that the directions apply to all the material in the work, though it is also conceivable that they apply only as far as the scribal ruling in par. 7. Immediately following the directions the text gives a brief statement of what happens in a ritual. Ištar weeps at the death of Ištarān, something is carried into the temple of Ištar, the body of Ištarān is flayed, and the blood goes down to the underworld. It seems most likely that the direction to conform to Nippurian rites applies to the whole work, and that the purpose of the ruling in par. 7 is to mark the end of a section begun by the summary of the rites for the death of Ištarān. Thus, the rites are summarised in par. 1, and then pars. 2 to 7 interpret particular aspects of them. After par. 7 the text moves on to new subject matter which may be associated with the temple of Ištar, but is not directly connected with Ištarān. Finally, in pars. 19 and 21 the work returns to the subject of the death of Ištarān to give a new interpretation of the matter.

The ritual for the death of Ištarān is not elsewhere attested, but this is not surprising since little is known of Ištarān and his cult.¹⁴ However, happenings of the kind mentioned are very well known for Dumuzi and there is some evidence that Ištarān is here taking the place in the cult of Ištar elsewhere taken by Dumuzi. Firstly, he is

here of course represented as an associate of Ištar, since Ištar is weeping at his death. He is said to be her brother; one would have expected him to be her husband but confounding of brother-sister and husband-wife relationships occurs not infrequently in Sumerian myths, especially myths of Dumuzi. In texts dating from the late third or early second millennium there is a precedent for identification of Dumuzi with Ištarān. For example, in a litany TRS 8 and CT 15 26-7 and 30 Damu and Ištarān are mentioned together as if they were forms of the same god, and Damu was at least later accepted as a name or form of Dumuzi. In a list of stars or constellations¹⁵ dating from the late second or early first millennium Dumuzi as a constellation is identified with Ištarān as a god:

mul ×	^d Ištarān	... is Ištarān.
mul + -i-lī-ab-[rat	^d MIN	The constellation Ili-abrāt is ditto.
mul dumu.[zi]	^d MIN	The constellation Dumuzi is ditto.

CT 26 40 obv. II 2-4; dupl. AfO 19 Tafel XXXI II 18-20; dupl. RA 24 33 obv. i 3-5.

A reason for substitution of Ištarān for Dumuzi in Assyria can be suggested. Ištarān's cult centre, Dēr, is much nearer the Assyrian cult centres than is Dumuzi's centre of worship, Uruk. What is known of the rites for the death of Dumuzi will be summarised, giving first the Babylonian and then the Assyrian evidence.

A work including matters of myth, astronomy, and ritual refers to rites of throwing down a corpse in Babylon in the month of Tammuz: itidu'ūzi šá né-pe-šú šá sa-kap pagri(adda) ina bābili(ē)^{ki} i-pu-uš (STC II pl. LXIX 1.1), "Month of Tammuz: One performs things connected with the rites of throwing down the corpse in Babylon". A list of temples in Babylon mentions the place where Dumuzi's death probably took place, after the Ištar temple, Eturkalamma, and separated from it by the temples of Sīn and Papsukkal: ...]GĀL bīt ^ddumu-zi šá qī-mit (ZA 41 289 obv. 6),¹⁶ "...]. temple of Dumuzi, of the burning". This was presumably the temple or shrine in which part of the rites took place. Another commentary recording cultic events gives more information about what happened in the rites: ni-iq me-e a-rad qab-ri qī-mu-ut¹⁶ rē'ī(sipa) pe-te-e qab-ri (TIM 9 60 iii 23'-4' dupl. AAT p. 50 obv. 20 and rev. 1; variants: AAT: qa-ab-ri¹, pe-te-e¹), "Libation of water: descending into the grave. Burning of the shepherd: opening of the grave". The commentary cites ritual acts through the year. Not all months are mentioned, but the fact that

the lines quoted refer to events in Tammuz is to be inferred from the mention of Ābu, the month immediately after Tammuz, in the line following the one quoted (pp.156-8). One may assume that the shepherd referred to was Dumuzi. The commentary is a factual rather than speculative one, and clearly states that the libation of water represents descent into the grave. This relates then to the line in the Ištar temple commentary: "Let the blood go down to the underworld". The blood going down to the underworld was evidently represented in the ritual by a libation of water sinking into the earth.

Activities connected with Dumuzi the shepherd in the month of Tammuz are well attested in MB and SB hemerologies, which agree in mentioning lamentation (*bikītu*, *sipitti*), rites (*kidudū*, *riksu*) and binding or burning. Examples are quoted, beginning with a primarily astronomical and agricultural hemerology:

i^{iti}šū ^{mul}sipa.zi.an.na ^dnin.šubur sukkaḷ.maḥ
an.na ^dinnana.bi id.da.ke₄ iti numun dub.bu.ni numun
nim.ta è.dé kid.kid iti ^dnin.ru.ru.gú sipa dumu.zi ba.dib.dib.ba

i^{iti}du'ūzu ši-ta-ad-da-lu ^dpap-sukkaḷ sukkaḷlu ši-i-ru ša ^da-nim
u ^dištar(eš₄.dar) araḥ zēram šá-pa-ku numun-ni ḥar-pi šu-ši-i
ši-si-it ^dnin-ru-ru-gú araḥ rē'i ^ddumu-zi ik-ka-mu-ú

KAV 218 A I 38-50

Month of Tammuz: Orion.¹⁷ Papsukkal, the exalted vizier of Anu and Ištar. Month to pile up the grain and put out the early seed. Crying of Ninrurgu. Month in which the shepherd Dumuzi is bound.

Tammuz is the height of summer, the solstice falling on the fifteenth of the month, according to ^{mul}apin,¹⁸ and circumstantial evidence referred to below suggests that the death of the provider of the sheep, the shepherd Dumuzi, was a mythical metaphor for the withering and death of the sun-parched vegetation on which the livelihood of the sheep depended. In one version of the myth the cause of Dumuzi's death is his wife Inanna, "the lady of the gods", and this is probably referred to in the next hemerology quoted, primarily of cultic content:

i^{iti}du'ūzi araḥ ^{mul}kak-s[i-sá ... Month of Tammuz. Month of
Orion [...
araḥ ki-mi-tu₄ ^dd[umu-zi ... Month of the binding of D[umuzi
...
šá ^dbe-let-ilāni^{meš} × [... Whom the Lady-of-the-gods [...

ri-kis si-pit-ti ...

Rites of mourning [...

SBH VIII col.iii ll.1-4

Hemerologies mainly concerned with defining the relative propitiousness of days but including other information mention weeping and rites in the month of Tammuz:

MB: ^{iti}du'ūzu ud.2 *bikītu* (Sumer 8 21) 2nd day: weeping

SB: 2 *bi-ki-tu* (RA 38 28) 2nd: weeping

SB: ud.2.kam *bikītu*(ér) *ki-du*-[*de-e* ... (KAR 178 obv.vi 10) 2nd day:
weeping and rites

More information is provided by the series ^dištar ša ḥarma-ša ^ddumu-zi.²⁰ According to this work the 27th or 28th day of Tammuz was called *ūm tarbaši*, "day of the cattle pens" and on the 28th and 29th day a bed was set up for Dumuzi, possibly for his body to lie in state on.

Two NA scholarly letters to a Sargonid king refer to a sequence of events with which the various items collected above, and the Ištar temple explanatory work, can be connected.

...[i]b-bu [× × × × × ×] ra-a-qu × [× × × × × ×] la-āš-šú ina
lib-b[i × × × × ×] ud.26.kám ^d[× × × ×] ud.27.kám ^d[× × × ×
×] ud.28.kám ^d[umu-zi × × × ×] ud.26.kám šá še-ra-a-t[i × ×] ú-
še-ru-bu tak-[lim-tú] ú-kal-lu-mu ud.2[7.kám ud.28.kám] ki-i an-nim-
[ma ep-pu-šú] an-ni-u šá ^{uru}lib-bi-ā[li] ud.26.kám kil-lu₄ ud.27.kám pa-
šá-r[u] ud.28¹.kám ^ddumu-zi ki-i an-nim-ma ina ^{uru}ninua^{ki} tak-lim-tú ú-
kal-lu-mu ud.27.kám ud.28¹.kám ki-i an-nim-ma ina ^{uru}kal-ḥa tak-lim-
tú ud.27.kám ud.28.kám ud.2[9.kám] ina ^{uru}[arba]-il tak-lim-a¹-[ti ú-
kal-lu-mu] × [× ×] ni-iq [mē^{meš} ...

81-2-4; ABL 1097; LAS 6

...] middle [...] empty [...]it/there is not [...] on the 26th day the god
[...] on the 27th day the god [...] on the 28th day Dumuzi [...]. On the
morning of the 26th day they let [...] enter and show the display. On the
2[7th and 28th day they do] in like manner. This is for the city of
Aššur. On the 26th the screaming, on the 27th the releasing, on the
28th Dumuzi. Like this they set up the display in Nineveh. On the
27th and 28th in like manner is the display in Calah. On the 27th, 28th,
and 29th they set up the displays in Arbēla. [...] libation [of water ...

a-na šarri bēli-ja urad(ir)-ka ¹ištar(15)-šuma-ēreš(kam) lu šul-mu a-na
šarri be-li-ja ina muḥḥi ša šarri be-li [iš]-pur-an-ni ma¹-[a] u₄-mu an-ni-
u ina¹ ši-a-ri [ina] li-diš an-na-a-ti [ša] tak-lim-a-ti [ud.x.]kám [ina
muḥḥi] tak-lim-a-ti la-bir-a-ti šarri be-li ki-i an-ni-i iq-ti-bi ma-a

issi(ta) libbi ud.27.kám a-di ud.29'.kám tak-lim-tú ina ^{ur}arba-il lu-ú-
kal-li-mu

K 983; ABL 35; LAS 5

To the king my lord your servant Ištaršumaēreš—Health to the king my lord! About what the king my lord wrote to me: "Today, tomorrow, and the next day, these are the days of the displays", on the [...] day the king my lord said as follows about the old displays: "In Arbêla they indeed set up the displays from the 27th to the 29th days".

In the case of Aššur what happened to the god on each day was stated but is lost in lacunae. The statement for Nineveh implies that "showing the display" refers to the successive stages described as "screaming", "releasing", and "Dumuzi". The information yielded is best stated schematically, and is given in the following table:

date	Aššur	Nineveh	Calaḫ	Arbêla
26th	taklimtu The god is .. <i>ikkillu</i>	taklimtu		
27th	taklimtu The god is .. <i>pašāru</i>	taklimtu	taklimtu	taklimtu
28th	taklimtu Dumuzi is .. <i>Dumuzi</i>	taklimtu	taklimtu	taklimtu
29th				taklimtu

VAT 10099 and dupls. mentions rites "until the 30th day". In connection with these rites Dumuzi is mentioned, and *ikkillu*, "screaming", as well as beating, probably of the corpse as in par.1, and going down, probably of blood or a libation into the earth. The sheep in par.15 and the *tarbašû*, "byre", in par.13 may also be noted in support of the idea that VAT 10099 and dupls. is partly about or related to the rites for the death of Dumuzi known elsewhere.

The preparation of the various items for Ištar in pars. 2 to 7 probably belongs to the rites described in par.1. Note that *kurillu* occurs elsewhere in connection with the funerary cult: *ul-la-nu 1.ta.àm ku-ru-ul-li a-na kispi ta-na-ad-di-nu iš-te-en ūšam la ta-na-di-in* (YOS 2 20 13–5), "Except that you give my one bundle of reeds as a funerary offering you do not give any wood". The chariots presumably belonged to Egašankalamma, and were sent from there to Aššur. Ritual washing seems to be involved in par.5.

Myth: The content of pars. 1, 13, 15, and 19 may allude to myths in which Dumuzi was caught in his sheepfold, and dragged by demons to the underworld. In Sumerian there are several versions of

Dumuzi's death.²¹ The statement in par.2 that Marduk pushed Ea away from his breast and sent him down to the Apsû may simply reflect the contention that Marduk assigned Ea to his place in the cosmos. On the other hand, Apsû can be used in the sense of "underworld" in incantations, and is also so used in the present texts (e.g. K 3476 par.15). Understanding Apsû in this sense, there seems to be a suggestion of violence, and possibly of patricide. Par.3 alludes generally to Marduk's capacity to overcome his enemies. In par.4 Nabû defeats Anzû. The object of the verb in the myth in par.5 is unclear. If it is Enlil, Marduk is defeating him, but this seems not to be allowed by the preposition before the second Enlil (see p.133). In par.6 the statement that Anšar is bound because Marduk defeated Anu seems to imply identification between the two gods, Anu and Anšar (see p.154). Anu's blood clothes Sipazianna, the constellation Dumuzi, modern Orion. This may be an allusion to the brightest star in Orion, Betelgeuse, which is red. What happened to Anu in relation to the broken head is unclear, because of the missing verb at the end of the paragraph. Angal is "great Anu", a form of Anu identified with Ištarān: *an^{iš}-ta-ra-angal* (CT 46 51 obv.21). In par.7 a row of deities or constellations is apparently described.

How the Myth Fits the Ritual: In pars. 1 and 19 myth and ritual are closely connected. *ikkillu*, "screaming", may be the screaming of the god when he is caught and killed. "Beating", *maḫāšu*, is mentioned in both paragraphs and refers to the smiting of the deity, or whatever represents his body in the ritual. His blood goes to the underworld, possibly represented by a libation (see p.137) sinking into the earth. The connection between the myth and the ritual in par.2 is unclear. In par.3 preparation of the bundle of reeds may have involved doing something with the foot, perhaps holding them down with one foot while they were tied. This could be regarded as symbolising trampling. In par.4 Nabû is represented as a warrior god, and in this capacity chariots would pertain to him. For chariots associated with Ninurta, with whom Nabû is here identified, see *Angim* II.51–62.²² The bodies of Ninurta's victims, including Anzû, are slung on his chariot. In par.5 two cult officiants symbolise two gods. In par.6 the contents of the goblet perhaps symbolise blood. In par.7 the symbolism, if there is any, is unclear.

K 3476 obverse

Ritual: Where the ritual took place is known from par.14, which mentions someone entering Esagil, and from the deities mentioned. These are Ninlil, in par.6, "the god", presumably Marduk, in par.13, Marduk and his wife Zarpānītu in par.14, and Ištar in par.16. Marduk and Zarpānītu obviously belong in Esagil, Marduk's own temple, and the other gods might reasonably be found there also. Ištar of Babylon is Marduk's concubine. The mythological explanation in par.5 states that Marduk was in his youth lifted up by Ninlil and this idea may be associated with her presence in Esagil. Ninlil is the wife of Enlil, and the mother of Ninurta. In view of the fact that Marduk is in the present text to some extent being modelled on Ninurta (cf. p.154), it is possible that the composer of the text is referring to Marduk's mother, Damkina, by the name of Ninurta's mother, Ninlil. In another context, UET 1 171 7, Ninlil is apparently used as a name of Ningal, wife of Sîn. Note also the theological section which states that Ištar of Nineveh is the wet-nurse of Marduk and that Ištar of Arbêla is his mother (p.233). No single ritual including all the ritual activities mentioned in the present text is known, but individual ritual acts can be paralleled. The possibility that the ritual acts are excerpts from a variety of rituals cannot be excluded, but there does seem to be some unity and logical sequence in the acts described.

Par.1 presumably contained a statement of a ritual, but it is broken away. Par.2 mentions rites at a well. It is uncertain how much is missing in the break above par.1, but if this is near the beginning of the text one may suspect that the events at the well involve ritual ablution preparatory to the rites which follow: Compare: *mê(a) būri(pú) lirmuk(tu₂) tūgkitû(gada)^{sar} liltabbiš(mu₄.mu₄)* (CT 4 5 17-8), "He should bathe in well water and clothe himself in a linen garment".²³ Pars. 3 to 8 are concerned with the lighting of a fire, the roasting of goats and a sheep, and the lighting of torches from an oven, *kanūnu*. Royal rites using a *kanūnu* are mentioned in the NA letters LAS 312 and 313. The king is restored as the subject on the strength of the mythological explanations, as it is clear from pars. 8, 9, 10, and 11 that it is the king who is being explained as Marduk. "Cult dancers" is restored in par.4 as it is they who use the clappers in par.15. Kissing of the king is mentioned. The wearing of jewels by the king is also referred to. Compare: *šarru du-ma-qi ul-la a-ri-a-te ú-še-el-lu-u-ni šarru i-qer-reb lúnakrī-šú ikaššad(kur)^{ad} ki-ma šarru*

lúnakrī-šú ik-ta-šad du-ma-qi i-na-áš-ši (K 10209 rev.14-18), "The king holds up the jewels, they lift the shields, the king approaches. He triumphs over his enemies. After the king has triumphed over his enemies, he puts on the jewels". Pars.9 to 15 no longer apparently involve the fire but are concerned with the opening of a jug, a race, a pancake, the king's standing at a podium while a hymn is sung, dispatch and arrival of chariots at Esagil, the showing of a weapon to Marduk and Zarpānītu, and the antics of cult dancers. This seems to be a considerable change in subject matter from the earlier paragraphs about the fire, but another ritual text suggests that there may be a connection. It is a ritual in which the king is one of the officiants and in which one line mentions both the opening of a jug and the roasting of a goat: *unīqu iqallû ḥa-ri-ú i-pát-te* (VAT 10469 obv.6, quoted from *OrNS* 22 32). In our text the opening of the jug is part of the race, and the mention of it in this line with roasting a goat suggests that the roasting may be linked with the race. In a similar text, jewels are also mentioned: *du-ma-qi ina muḥḥi* [... (VAT 13597+, rev.13, quoted from *OrNS* 23 114), "jewels on [...]". The pancake and its tossing, if this is what is in fact meant, are referred to in other cultic texts: *ninda^aka-ma-nu ú-šar-qa-ad* (KAR 141 rev.8), "He tosses the pancake". Exactly the same phrase occurs in CA 88 27-8.²⁴ The king going to a stand while a singer sings can also be paralleled, in fact in connection with an urn: *ma-qe-e ša ḥa-re-e ú-[ga-mar] šarru ina man-za-si i-za-az lúzammeru i-lu-ri e i-lu-ri i-za-mur šarru rabūti^{meš} iš-ki-la-te ú-ka-lu* (KAR 146 revⁱ.ii 2-5), "He completes the offering of the urns. The king stands at the podium. The singer sings 'Blossoms! Oh, blossoms!'. The king and the dignitaries hold the clappers". For the chariots see p.000. For the behaviour of the cult dancers in par.15 compare: *..^{meš} iraqqudú lúkurgarrú(kur.gar.ra)^{meš} mi-lu-li qab-lu-ú izammurú lúUR.SAL^{meš} ja-ru-ra-ta ú-saḥ-ḥ[u-ru]* (K 3438a+9912 8, dupl. K 9923 15), "The ..s dance, the cult dancers sing a battle song and the singers respond with cries of joy". In par.16 [^{giš}]*sa-ra-nu* is understood as the ^{giš}*sa-ra-na-te* of CA 88 38. This is in the same ritual and ten lines below the quotation from CA given above.

Myth: In par.2 the explanation is that some god or object is cast to Enlil, who is here supposed to be in the Apsû, as well as being consigned to the Anunnaki, a group of gods including Enlil. In par.3 the reference is to something Marduk did in his youth. In view of the fire which is being explained, this is likely to be the burning of an

enemy god. Par.4 refers to the jubilation of the gods, presumably at the news of Marduk's victory. Par.5 refers to an otherwise unknown event in Marduk's youth, when he was lifted and kissed. This might be compared to the lifting of Assyrian crown princes up between the breasts of Ištar, and the perhaps related explanation in VAT 10099 and dupls.; see pp.118 and 233. Pars. 6 and 8 are about the roasting of Kingu, Enlil, and Anu. Par.7 refers to the defeat of Anzû and Asakku. In par.9 Marduk vanquishes Tiāmat, if the reading and restoration are correct. In pars.10 and 12 defeat and crushing of Anu and tearing out of his heart are involved. In par.11 the mythology refers to, and perhaps also explains, an astrological fact: the casting of Ea, or something pertaining to Ea, evidently results in the formation of some phenomenon in front of Venus.

How the Myth Fits the Ritual: In par.2 the Apsû, as a region of water, is probably represented by the well. The king represents Marduk in par.3, and the making of a fire represents something which Marduk did in his youth, but exactly what is unstated. The cult dancers in par.4 represent the gods, Marduk's fathers and brothers, and the beating of clappers by the cult dancers represents the gods' behaviour when they heard news, presumably their jubilation. The news is probably Marduk's victory over one or more of the evil gods whose defeat at Marduk's hand is described elsewhere in the text. In par.5 the king represents Marduk, and those who kiss the king represent those, presumably gods, who kissed Marduk when he was presented to them in his youth. The sheep in par.6 represents Kingu and the oven in which the sheep was roasted represents the mythological fire in which Kingu was burned. Torches lit from the oven in par.7 represent arrows with which Marduk slew enemy gods. In par.8 the king represents Marduk, while the jewels on his head are seen as firewood, and the goats as enemy gods. In par.9 the king represents Marduk, the opening of the urn his defeat of Tiāmat, and the race his on-rush which resulted in her defeat. The king is regarded as standing for Marduk in par.10, the high priest is Nabû, and the pancake which they toss symbolises the manner in which Marduk defeated and crushed Anu. The king represents Marduk in par.11, and the *manzaltu*, "podium", a *manzaltu*, "position" in the heavens. The pancake which they toss in par.12 represents the heart of Anu which he, presumably Marduk, pulled out with his hands. In par.13 the chariot and driver symbolise Nabû while the dispatch of the chariot, possibly in the race referred to above, represents Nabû's

pursuit of someone, presumably an evil god, to Enlil and the seizing of the evil god's hand by Nergal. The Akkadian allows the possibility that it is a thing and not a person or god who is pursued, but in view of the context this seems unlikely. A parallel may be intended between what the driver seizes in his hand, and the evil god seized by Nergal. Par.14 has a ritual section only, unless one should suppose that what is described as taking place in the ritual was conceived of as taking place in the myth also. That is, that the composer of the text intended it to be understood that the triumphant Nabû entered his father's house, the Esagil, and showed his weapon to his parents, whereupon he was kissed and blessed by them. One may compare Ninurta's triumphant return to his father's temple, his victims slung on his chariot, described in *Angim*.²⁵ Especially in view of the fact that Marduk and Nabû seem to be playing rôles elsewhere played by Ninurta, it is possible that the composer had in mind a parallel between Nabû's entry into Esagil, and Ninurta's entry into the Eninnu described in *Angim*. In par.15 the antics of the cult dancers represent the jubilant behaviour of, perhaps, the brother gods, on hearing of the defeat of Enlil and Anu. Both the ritual and mythological sections of par.16 are too damaged for the connection between them to be clear.

VAT 8917 rev.17-9

Ritual: The throwing alive to the ground of the ox and the sheep is to be compared with the throwing from the roof of Kingu and his forty sons in VAT 9947 par.3 (see p.126). The throwing of the dove is to be compared with the throwing in VAT 10099 and dupls. pars. 17 and 18 (see p.118).

Myth: Kingu and his seven sons are smitten. Attribution of seven sons to Kingu seems to identify him with Enmešarra. Elsewhere, Kingu has forty sons (see above). The throwing and splitting of Tiāmat is mentioned elsewhere on the same manuscript as this section and is well known from *Enūma eliš* (see p.79).

How the Myth Fits the Ritual: The ox represents Kingu, the sheep represents his sons, and the throwing down of the animal represents the smiting of Kingu and his sons. The throwing of the dove represents the throwing and splitting of Tiāmat.

VAT 8917 rev.20-5

Ritual: The king, wearing a crown, is carried on a throne from a temple to a palace. Such a throne is mentioned in *LAS* 158 7: *ina mu[hhi] ku-u[s-s]i-já al-lak*, "I(the king) will go on my throne". That the king was invested with kingship by being presented with a ceremonial mace, throne, and robe in the temple is to be inferred from the mythological explanation. This rite of investiture is known as part of the Babylonian new year festival and elsewhere (see p.156). The temple is referred to as *é.kur*. This is the name of the temple of Enlil in Nippur and also, through equation of Enlil with Aššur, of the temple of Aššur in Aššur. It can also be a noun meaning "temple". As can be seen from the citations in *AHw* s.v. *ekurru*, it is used in its general sense in either singular or plural in connection with building operations, but in connection with rituals it occurs only in the plural. Therefore, since our text concerns a ritual, the word is most likely used as a name. Other considerations also suggest strongly that it is the temple of Enlil which is meant. Ninurta, mentioned in the mythological explanation, is appropriate to Ekur as the son of Enlil. Also, the explanation in par.2 occurs in a work known to be Babylonian, and of which one copy is from Nippur (see p.178) so at least some of the speculation in our text is Babylonian in origin, and not Assyrian. Burning of incense in the temple is mentioned.

Myth: In the myth Ninurta is invested with the paraphernalia of kingship by his fathers. This is presumably done by defeating the evil gods the burning of whose skin is referred to in par.2. The avenging of Enlil by Ninurta by defeating evil gods suggests that it is the myth of recovering the tablet of destinies known also from the Sumerian and Akkadian epics of Anzû that is meant, or a similar myth. The identity of those who go into hiding is unclear. They are presumably either the frightened gods resident in Ekur, or evil gods other than those defeated who have smelt the burning and wish to escape the same fate.

How the Myth Fits the Ritual: The king is identified with Ninurta. Although the text refers directly only to the royal investiture of Ninurta, and not to that of the king, it is extremely likely that one is to understand that the king is also invested with kingship, and that a parallel with Ninurta's investiture is intended. The king leaving the temple on his way to the palace is identified with Ninurta going out to the mountain. Burning cedar incense in front of the gods in the

temple is identified with burning the hair of the flesh of the evil gods. This shows that their defeat was conceived of as taking place in the temple or at least corresponding to ritual enacted there. The general significance of the text is that a rite of investiture of the king is being explained in terms of a mythological investiture of Ninurta.

VAT 8917 obv.24-9

Ritual: The king rides in a seatless chariot, and goes to the temple of Enmešarra. According to the mythological explanation the chariot carries the corpse of Enmešarra. With the king in the chariot is an ecstatic priest, if the argument above is correct. The Elamite chariot may well have been a particular style; for an Elamite wagon see *Hh* V 78. A chariot of Enmešarra is mentioned elsewhere, probably in connection with the garage in which it was kept: *é.gi^{is}gigir* *den.líl.lá MIN* *den.me.šár.ra* (*CT* 46 51 obv.12), "temple of the chariot of Enlil; ditto of Enmešarra". Since rituals in which the slaying of gods by the destruction of their effigies are known, it is quite possible that the chariot was carrying such an effigy. That the effigy represents Enmešarra is probably not merely a theological interpretation of the composer, since the chariot goes to the temple of Enmešarra, and since lamentation for Enmešarra, in the month of Tebēt, is known.

Myth: Since the chariot carries the dead body of Enmešarra, one may suppose that a myth of the death or defeat of Enmešarra is involved. The slaying or subjugation of Anzû is clearly also involved. Though the text does not explicitly say so, it is likely that these events are being viewed as brought about by Ninurta. A theological comment is made connecting the grease on a flock of wool with Enmešarra.

How the Myth Fits the Ritual: The king is identified with Ninurta and it seems possible that the ecstatic priest is also involved in the myth of the defeat of Anzû in as much as the reins which he holds are identified with the tongues of Anzû. The horses pulling the chariot are the ghost of Anzû. This is to be compared with the theological concept discussed above that certain animals were the ghosts of gods. Identification of Anzû with a horse is known in astro-mythology: *mulanzûmušen mulsisû*(*anše.kur.ra*) (K 250+ and dupls.; the line is preserved on AO 8196, see *AfO* 19 Tafel XXXI iii 21), and *mul.anše.sisû* *anzûmušen* (*V R* 46 obv.20).²⁶ It is possible that the basic idea of this section owes something to the epic *Angim*, where Ninurta rides in a

chariot hung with his victims, monsters including Anzû (see *Angim* ll.51–62).

VAT 9947

Ritual: In pars. 1 to 11 days of the month of Elūlu, if correctly restored, from the 16th to the 26th, are specified by number and further defined by brief explanation of what happens on them in cult. On the 16th day the king goes somewhere for some unclear purpose. The 17th day is the “Entry”, *tērubtu*. This is well known in cultic contexts as a ceremony as early as the MA and MB periods; e.g. (precious stones etc. for) *te-ru-ub-tu*₄, “the entry (ceremony)” in *PBS* 2/2 105 1 and 129 11, with the variant *-ub-ti*¹⁷; in MA *ina te-ru-bat bīt^aa-šur* (*KAJ* 223 3), “In the Entry (ceremony) of the temple of Aššur”; in MB *te-ru-bat bītātī-šumu aškun* (*TP VI* 90; *VAB* 2 3 26 var. *ba-at*), “I established Entry (ceremonies) of their temples”. An occurrence of an evidently related term in a hemerology may also be mentioned: *ud.14.kám šurubtu*(*mu.un.DU*) (*Hém* 70 17), “14th day: making to enter”. What is meant is certainly the taking of offerings into a sanctuary. The 18th and 19th days are *qūlu*, “silence”. This is doubtless to be equated with the *qūltu*, “silence” which occurs in religious contexts: e.g. 22 (intercalary Nisan) *qu-la-te* (*Hém* 72 27), “the 22nd of intercalary Nisan: the silences”; *DIŠ*(ⁱⁱ*kislimi*) *ud.6.kám ina qu-ul-ti* [... (*STT* 302 rev.2), “6th of Kislimu, on the silence [...]”; in an historical inscription of Šamši-Adad in MA script:

*d*šamšīⁱⁱ-*d*adad
šar kiššati(kiš)
ša-ki-in ^a*en-lil*
pa-li-ih ^a*da-gan*
iššiak(ensi) ^a*a-šur*₄
ba-ni é.ki.si.ga
bīt qu-ul-ti-šu
bīt da-gan
*qí-ri-ib ter-qa*ⁱⁱ

Šamšiadad,
king of the world,
governor of Enlil,
pious to Dagan,
viceroys of Aššur,
the builder of Ekisiga,
his temple of silence,
the temple of Dagan,
within Terqa.

IAK VIII/5

Silence can create an aura of solemnity. In the historical inscription *qūltu*, “silence”, parallels *ki.si.ga*, “funerary offering” in *é.ki.si.ga*. Here the silence may be that of the dead. The placing of honey and oil in a box is not particularly remarkable as part of a ritual; see CAD sub *dišpu* c). The 19th day is also, this time written “20-less-1”, mentioned in connection with another ceremony, the *ibbú*. This is an

Akkadian loan word from the Sumerian *éb.ba* and its meaning is explained in a lexical text: *u₄-um éb-bu-u u₄-um ug-ga-ti* (*Maliku* III 146), “day of the *ibbú*: day of wrath”. Hemerologies place it on the 19th day of the month, agreeing with our text, state that it pertains to Gula or Bau, and that it was not propitious.²⁷ Attestation in *Hh* and *Kagal* shows that it goes back to OB times if not the third millennium: *ud.19.kam ib-bu-ú* (*Hh* I 189); *u₄-mu-um e-bu-um* (*Kagal* G 32). The 21st day is mentioned with no comment other than the mythological explanation. On the 22nd day Anu, unless one is to understand the single sign given as *ilu*, “god”, goes to Edugani, a temple name otherwise unknown and possibly contrived to suit the present context. On the 23rd day is the *tāhāzu*, “battle”. This is not to be confused with the *šāltu*, “(legal) conflict”, which occurs frequently in hemerologies, but refers to a cultic battle of some kind, and occurs in a cultic commentary: *tu-šá-ru ud.15.kám ta-ḥa-zu* (*TIM* 9 60 iii 19’ dupl. *AAT* 90 obv.17, var. *AAT*: [*t*]i-ša-ud.15.kám ru), “battlefield: 15th day: battle”. For discussion of battles, see below, p.156. The 26th day is when Anu goes to “that temple”, presumably the one referred to in connection with the 22nd day. The 25th day is omitted and the 24th is given out of order, after the 26th. The 24th is said to be when the king wears a crown. The reason it is after the 26th is probably to keep together the 22nd, 23rd, and 26th, where the activities of a god are the subject of comment.

Myth: On the 16th day someone, unspecified, defeats Anu. Par.6 shows that the defeater should be understood as Marduk, who was probably believed by the composer of the work to be represented by the temporal king, described as going somewhere. On the 17th day Marduk is said to defeat his enemies. On the 18th day Kingu and his forty sons are thrown from a roof. Oil and honey represent their blood. The 19th day is described in par.5 as when “he”, presumably Marduk, defeated Anu and Sibitti, understood here as the seven sons of Enmešarra. The mythological content of par.6 includes two statements. The second refers to Marduk, “the king’s”, defeat of Anu. “King” may allude to Marduk’s position as king of the gods, or allude to the temporal king whom the composer may be regarding as representing Marduk. The first statement would read most naturally “The day Anu defeated the king”, following the normal Akkadian word order, subject, object, verb. However, since it is clear from pars. 8 and 11 that Anu is killed, and there is no evidence that Marduk or the king is killed, the statement is best understood “The day the king

defeated Anu", with inversion of subject and object, to emphasise the object. Par.7 is problematic. Because Enlil is in other texts of this genre vanquished and not a victor, it seems unlikely that he is the subject of the verbs. On the other hand the construction cannot be understood as a hendiadys with the eyes belonging to Enlil, because of the plural pronoun "their". Alternatively, Enlil may be used as a title. Par.8 repeats the statement that Anu is murdered. In par.9 "he", presumably Marduk, calms his ire. Par.10 refers to battle. Par.11 states that Marduk slashed Anu's neck.

How the Myth Fits the Ritual: In pars. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 11 whatever connection between events on the days and the mythological explanation may have existed in the mind of the composer is unclear from the work itself. One may imagine connection of the type which appears in other works of the same genre. Thus in par.2 the "Entry" may stand for the onset in a battle, in pars. 3 and 5 the "Silence" for the hushed silence which might occur before or after a mythological battle, and in par.6 the "Wrath" for the fury of a battle. In par.4 honey and oil represent blood. This must be compared to the libation representing blood discussed in connection with VAT 10099. Comparison with VAT 8917 rev.17-9 suggests that Kingu and his forty sons were represented by animals. In pars. 8 and 10 the association is philological (see below). Although it is possible that specific events on each day are to be linked with the mythological explanation, the explanation may refer to the religious power of the day as a whole. This power is used in a magical text requesting absolution, JCS 1 333-4. For example, restoring on the pattern of the work: [ud.19.kám] *lip-šur eb-bu-ú šá [dgu-la]*, "May the [19th day] abjure, the Ebbû of [Gula]".

In par.8, é.du.ga.ni, probably a syllabic writing of é.^ddagan, "temple of Dagan", is taken to suggest phonetically "temple (é) where he killed (*idūku*) Anu (*ani*)". The intervening exposition is not entirely clear, though rá(DU) seems to lead to *rab*, and *ga* to *gaz*. The reference may be to another temple name, either é.rab.gaz, or if *rab* stands for *rabú(gal)*, é.gal.gaz. The relevance of *riḥsu* is doubtful, but its equation with *guz* in *A* (*MSL* XIV 408 46) could be remembered.²⁸ In l.16 *garabānu* is split into *garab*, construct state of the shortened form of the word, and *a-nù*, Anu. In par.10 *šatiq zai é*, "the splitting of the threshing process", is associated with *anunta*, "battle", probably through association of *zêru*, "to hate", with *zarú*, "to thresh", based on the phonetic similarity. L.15 occurs also in

VAT 8917: *tam-ri-qa-tú šá pí niši iqabbû*(*dug₄.ga*)^u *e-ta-mar qātā¹¹-a-a šum(mu)-šú* (VAT 8917 rev.16), "The mastication(*tamriqātu*) as they say (among) the people: he always sees my hands(*ētammar qātāja*), is its name". *tamriqātu* is the plural of *tamriqtu*, the verbal noun of *murruqu*, as in *ina pí murruqu*, "to masticate in the mouth". The word occurs in a lexical text equated with something of uncertain meaning but associated with the god Iškur: [k]i.^diškur.re *tam-ri-qa-tu* (*MSL* 13 176 24'). The reason for its inclusion in the present context is probably that it formed part of a magical or cultic rite possibly but not necessarily associated with medicine.

Summary of Myths of Conflict (see pp.136-50)

Text	Victor*	Victim	Action
<i>VAT 10099 and dupls.</i>			
2	Marduk	Ea	pushing away from breast and sending to Apsû
3	Marduk	rebellious enemies	treading on neck
4	Nabû	Anzû	snaring or slaying
5	Marduk	—	someone or thing consigned to Enlil or underworld
6	Marduk	Anu, Anšar, Sipazianna	Anšar bound; Anu defeated and assigned to Anunnaki; Sipazianna clothed with Anu's blood
7	Marduk	Sipazianna	defeat
	Erra	Anu	consigning to Anunnaki
10	Ninurta	Enlil	turned to dust and water
12	Marduk	those disobedient	tramples necks
13	—	(Dumuzi?)	tied in byre in sunlight
17	—	sons of Anšar	bound?

* In round brackets if unstated in the text, but clear from the context.

K3476

1	Marduk	his enemies	[defeat]
6	(Marduk)	Kingu	roasted
7	Marduk	gods, his fathers and brothers, evil gods, Anzû, Asakku	arrows fired, gods drowned in blood
8	Marduk	sons of Enlil and Anu	roasted
9	Marduk	Tiāmat	defeat?
10	Marduk	Anu	crushing
12	(Marduk)	Anu	heart pulled out
13	Nabû	—	pursued to Enlil, Nergal seizes hand
15	—	Enlil, Anu	sent to Apsû

VAT 8917 obv.24-9

1	(Ninurta)	Enmešarra	dead
2 & 4	(Ninurta)	Anzû	become ghosts

VAT 8917 rev.17-9

1	—	Kingu and 7 sons	smitten
2	—	Tiāmat	thrown and split

VAT 8917 rev.20-5

1	Ninurta	—	kills to avenge fathers
2	(Ninurta)	evil gods	burned

VAT 9947

1	(Marduk)	Anu	defeated
2	Marduk	enemies	defeated
3	(Marduk)	Kingu and 40 sons	thrown from roof
5	(Marduk)	Anu, Sibitti	defeated
6	Marduk	Anu	defeated
8	Marduk	Anu	killed
11	Marduk	Anu	neck cut

Resumé of Victors and Vanquished

Ninurta	vanquishes	Enlil, Enmešarra, Anzû, and evil gods
Marduk	vanquishes	Anu, Enlil, Ea, Anšar, Sipazianna, Tiāmat, Kingu, Anzû, Asakku, the gods, his fathers and brothers, enemies, and disobedient ones.
Nabû	vanquishes	Anzû.
Erra	vanquishes	Anu?

MYTHS OF CONFLICT

THE theological and mythological background is here discussed.

Ninurta: Ninurta is well known as the son of Enlil, who in turn was regarded as the son or descendant of Enmešarra. In the OB list of gods *TCL XV* 10 Enmešarra is regarded as an ancestor of Enlil, and immediately precedes him. (Enlil's ancestry is prefixed to an otherwise finished list, so the intervention of the Anu section between Enmešarra and Enlil is irrelevant.) In An, *CT* 24 1ff., Enmešarra immediately precedes Enlil. This seems to be the tradition reflected in the present texts. It is known also from incantations; these include BM 45637+ (unpublished), *BAM* 3 215 44-5, which describes Enmešarra and Ninmešarra as father and mother of all the gods, and *ABRT* 2 13 8 which describes Enmešarra as the one who handed the mace and garment symbolic of rule to Anu and Enlil. This tradition of Enlil's ancestry, and other traditions of genealogies of gods who were important in the early historical period²⁹ are correctly regarded as speculation on prehistory. The sources, especially the lists, seldom indicate how the succession from generation to generation took place. One source however, the "Dynasty of Dunnu",³⁰ supposes there to have been violence. The present texts are making the same assumption and expressing the conflicts in the same or similar terms as those used for the conflicts in *Enūma eliš* and the epic of Anzû. For two literary texts relevant to the subject of Enmešarra's defeat by Ninurta see below under Marduk. The idea that prehistoric gods were violently defeated by their heirs is being extended to include the historic gods Enlil, Anu, and perhaps Ea.

Ninurta is frequently alluded to as a warrior god; his conquests include Anzû and Asakku. In a Sumerian story (JCS 24 121), Ningirsu, who by the Isin-Larsa period if not earlier was equated with Ninurta, captures Anzû and takes from him the tablet of fates which Anzû has stolen from Enlil. The story occurs in OB also with Ningirsu as slayer of Anzû.³¹ There is an SB version in which Ninurta is the victor. Ninurta's defeat of Asakku is recorded in the Sumerian myth *Lugale*.³²

These and other exploits gave Ninurta the titles *mu-tir gi-mil-lu abi a-li-di-šú* (OrNS 36 126 156), "avenger of the father who begot him" and *ka-šid ir-ni-it-ti^den-lil* (KAR 83 iii 12), "achiever of victory for Enlil".

Erra: Erra is a form of Nergal and therefore associated with Ninurta. The idea that Erra defeated Anu probably derives from association of Anu with Enlil. Enlil was defeated, so Anu was defeated also. What is said is that Anu was consigned to the Anunnaki.

Marduk: Marduk's defeat of Anu and Enlil is to be explained by the fact that he succeeded them in the pantheon. Marduk is not strictly said to defeat Ea, but to push him away from his breast and send him down to the Apsû. This could simply be what is stated in *Enûma eliš*, that Marduk assigned Ea to his abode in the Apsû.³³ However, elsewhere in the work sending to the Apsû has connotations of defeat. Demons were believed to come from the Apsû and were therefore sent back there, by the power of incantations.

Marduk's defeat of Anšar reflects genealogies in which Marduk was preceded by Anšar. These include those given in *Enûma eliš*, where Marduk is separated from Anšar by Anu and Ea, in descent, though power passes directly from Anšar to Marduk. Note that some sources identify Anšar and Anu; e.g. an.^d*a-nušar* (CT 24 49 7, i.e. K 4349E).

Defeat of Sipazianna, that is Dumuzi, is presumably derived from the myth in which Dumuzi was sent to the underworld as a result of Inanna's caprice; why he should be regarded as defeated by Marduk is unclear. Marduk's defeats of Anzû and Asakku result from equation of Marduk with Ninurta. Marduk is mentioned as defeater of Asakku in *Šurpu* IV 1–3. This shows that the idea is not confined to the present texts. It belongs to a view of Marduk as a warrior god, partly based on Ninurta, which also forms much of the theme of

Enûma eliš. Marduk's defeat of Tiāmat and Kingu is presumably derived from *Enûma eliš*.

A myth in epic form, *PSBA* 30 8off. records that Nergal raged over a group of gods captive in a prison, and that Marduk defeated the seven sons of Enmešarra. The news of their defeat was brought to Enmešarra by Nergal, whereupon Enmešarra's guts burned. A fragment of a myth records defeat of Tiāmat, the Enlils, and Enmešarra, and mentions Marduk; one deity declares his actions.

1	...] × [...	...]. [...
2	...š] Ū AN [...	...]. [...
3	...] MEŠ IB × [...	...]. [...
4	...] × KU U × [...	...]. [...
5	...] × šá ^d bēl [*...]	...] of Bēl[*...]
6	...] ^d bēl rabû [...]	...] Bēl, great [...]
7	...] KU MA ^d bēl [*...]	...] .. Bēl [*...]
8	...] ti-amat KAL [...]	...] Tiāmat . [...]
9	...] 5 EN IN × × [...]	...]. [...]
10	...]-man-ni-ma ^d bēl IGI [...]	...]. Bēl . [...]
11	...N] IM SAG ^d marduk × [...]	...]. Marduk . [...]
12	...] × am-ta-tāh ana libbi [...]	...]. I raised? Into? [...]
13	...T] A KAL AD ³ LA ti-amat × [...]	...]. Tiāmat . [...]
14	...] × ^d mu-um-mu šá kak-k[i ...]	...] Mummu, who a weapon [...]
15	...] ^d en-lil dan-nu tam-šil × [...]	...] Enlil, great, likeness [...]
16	...] MAN ak-mi-šú-nu-ti-ma [...]	...] . I captured them [...]
17	... ^d en.lil.lá ^{meš} šá ik-kir-[ru ...]	...] the Enlils who showed enmity [...]
18	...] × LA ŠU UN ak-mu-us-s[u-nu-ti	...] ... I gathered? them [...]
19	...] A muḥḥi-šú-un E NIN N[I ...]	...] against them ... [...]
20	...] AS ^d en-me-šár-ra ina ^š kakki ša-bit × [...]	...]. Enmešarra was seized with a weapon [...]
21	...ak-] mi-šú-nu-ti-ma e-zèr-šú-nu-ti[i ...]	...] I captured them, I cursed them [...]
22	...] × LA × × × × × [...]	...]. [...]

DT 184; see JCS 10 100

Nabû: As towards the end of the second millennium Marduk became the supreme god, replacing Enlil, Nabû, hitherto Marduk's vizier,³⁴ became Marduk's son and took over attributes of Enlil's son Ninurta. Nabû is listed as one of seven Ninurtas in KAR 142 obv.i 23. The

* Or, ^den-[lil ...], "Enlil".

tradition of Nabû as slayer of Anzû is attested in a song: mušen^{danzu} mušen sa bí.in.lah₄.a.ni i₅-su-ru an-za-a ina še-e-tú i-bi-lu₄ (*Festschrift Albright* 344 14), "He(Nabû) is the one who snared the Anzû bird with a catch-net". In a text describing events during an *akîtu* festival, *KAR* 360 dupl. *OrNS* 17 pls. 25 – 6 it is perhaps Nabû rather than Marduk who slays Tiāmat.

EVIDENCE RELATING TO CULTIC BATTLES IN AKĪTU FESTIVALS AND ELSEWHERE

EVIDENCE that the death of Dumuzi was represented symbolically has been given above (pp. 136ff.). It was suggested that similar rites were enacted for Ištarān. There is reason to believe that Marduk's defeat of Tiāmat was represented symbolically during the new year *akîtu* festival, and that he was replaced by Nabû in this capacity in one text, and by Aššur in another (see p. 232). Ideas of H. Zimmern and S. Pallis relating to this matter were taken up by S. Hooke and others of the so-called "myth and ritual school". These issues were examined and clarified by W.G. Lambert.³⁵ It is known from *RAcc* 136 279 – 84 that *Enūma eliš* was recited during the new year ceremony at Babylon by an *urigallu* priest in front of Marduk. An unpublished text³⁶ shows that it was also recited on the fourth day of Kislimu, so there may not be a particular connection with the new year festival. An event independent of the recitation but part of the festival was the placing of the statue or symbol of Marduk on a dais representing Tiāmat. This is known from two works describing events in the festival and from allusions in two other works. A comment on a line from *Marduk's Address to the Demons* is [*aššu*]m bēli šá ina á-ki-it ina qa-bal tam-tim áš-bu (*AfO* 17 315 F4 and *AfO* 19 118), "Because of Bēl, who sits in the middle of Tiāmat in the *akîtu*". A line in a topographical list describing temples and shrines in Babylon reads *ti-amat šu-bat* ^dbēl šá ^dbēl ina muḥ-ḥi áš-bu (*Iraq V* p.61 l.14 = *PSBA* 22 p.367), "Tiāmat is the seat of Bēl, on which Bēl sits". A line in a text describing the procession to the *akîtu* temple and what happened there reads [x x x x x] x a-na maš-tak-i-šú ši-i-ru eli ti-amat gal-la-t[ī] ú-kin še-pu-uš (Ebeling, *Parfümrezepte*, pl.26 13; on the duplicate, *KAR* 360, this line is not preserved), "[.....]. to the lofty cella, on the rolling sea (= Tiāmat) he set his feet". An inscription of Sennacherib also describes the procession to the *akîtu* temple, with Aššur or Anšar as the vanquisher of Tiāmat: *ša-lam an.šár šá a-na*

libbi ti-amat šat-ti illaku^{ku} (*K* 1356 l.26, collated by W.G. Lambert; see *OIP* II p.139), "Depiction of Aššur(Anšar), who goes to battle against Tiāmat". It is possible that it is this scene which is shown on a relief, *WVDOG* LXII, pl.44. The line in a list of cultic events mentioning *tāḥāzu* given above may refer to the battle against Tiāmat, but one cannot be certain. The idea is favoured by the fact that it occurs immediately after a list of four *akîtu* festivals and an interpretation of them. The text is:

- 1 ⁱⁱⁱbará.zag.gar.ra.ta ezen ag.e.ne: i-na ⁱⁱⁱnisanni(bará.zag.gar) i-si-in-nu i-pu-šú
 - 2 á-ki-it šá ^dmarduk ana ^den-lil-lu-ti-šú
 - 3 á-ki-it šá ^dnin-urta ana ^den-lil a-bi-šú
 - 4 á-ki-it šá ^dištar(innin) šar-rat nippuri^{ki}: šá ^dnin-urta
 - 5 á-ki-it šá ^dsîn^{na} ana ^dnin-urta sa-pār ilāni^{meš}
 - 6 á-ki-it ma-la ba-šá-a ana ^dnin-urta sa-pār ilāni^{meš}
 - 7 tu-šá-ru ud.15.kám ta-ḥa-zu
- TIM* 9 60 iii 13' – 19' dupl. *K* 2892 (= *AAT* p.90 no.90).³⁷ Variants: 1: *K* gar^l, zag^l, i^l, pu^l, *IM* ina, -in-na; 2: *K* t₄, omits šá; an for ana, *IM* ú-t[i]; 3: *K* tu₄, omits šá, reads an for ana; 4: *K* ki^l-tu₄, omits šá before ^dištar, omits šá before ^dnin-urta, *IM* ^diš-tar, ^dšar-; 5: *K* tu₄, ^den-lil^l an for ^dsîn^{na} ana; 6: *K* ^dá^l-ki-tu₄, ba-ša-a, an for ana; 7: *K* ti-ša-ud.15.kám-ru.

- 1 In Nisan they celebrate a festival.³⁸
- 2 The *akîtu* of Marduk is for his Enlil-ship.
- 3 The *akîtu* of Ninurta is for Enlil, his father.
- 4 The *akîtu* of Ištar, the queen of Nippur: of Ninurta.
- 5 The *akîtu* of Sîn is for Ninurta, the net of the gods.
- 6 *akîtus*, as many as there are, are for Ninurta, the net of the gods.
- 7 Battlefield 15th day battle.

The next five lines of the text relate "cultically impure woman (or women)" to "instruction of Nippu:", something unclear to "purifier", "axe and hatchet" to "weapon for the disobedient", and are the two lines about descending into and opening of the grave quoted above in connection with Dumuzi; then the month Abu is mentioned. The lines concerning Dumuzi pertain to the month of Tammuz, immediately before Abu. Between Nisan and Tammuz are the months of Ajjāru and Simānu. It is safe to assume that the *akîtu* festivals follow from the first line quoted mentioning Nisan, but whether what comes afterwards belongs to Nisan or to Ajjāru, Simānu or Tammuz is uncertain. The battle and the weapons could be understood as pertaining to the conflict in the *akîtu* festival, but need not be. The implication of the lines about the *akîtu* are

reasonably clear. The *akītu* of Marduk is for his Enlil-ship. The idea is that as a result of the *akītu* Marduk gains his position of authority over the gods, which he gained in *Enūma eliš* as a result of slaying Tiāmat. Marduk's *akītu* is therefore being interpreted in terms of what is known from *Enūma eliš*, and in terms of what is known to have happened in the *akītu* festival from the evidence given above. Ninurta's *akītu* is for Enlil, his father. This probably refers to the mythological idea alluded to frequently that Ninurta avenged his father. The *akītu* festivals of Ištar and Šin are said to be for Ninurta. Whether a battle was symbolised in these festivals is unknown, but this appears to be the interpretation which the ancient author is putting forward. Finally, the text states that all *akītu* festivals are to be explained by, literally are for, Ninurta in his rôle of warrior god, indicated by the epithet "net of the gods".

It may be mentioned that a tablet which describes on its reverse events leading up to the *akītu* of Marduk in Babylon has on its obverse a myth in which Nergal informs Enmešarra that Marduk has defeated Enmešarra's sons, the Sibitti.³⁹ On hearing the news, Enmešarra somehow suffers physical pain himself. It is possible that the writer of the tablet associated the mythical events with the ritual, and therefore included them on the same tablet. This is uncertain, however, since unrelated compositions are sometimes included on the same tablet.

Other rituals which might have a connection with the ritual and myth explanatory works in at least as much as they were associated with battles and violence could be mentioned. There were rituals intended to ensure the success of the army going on a campaign. The unpublished ritual quoted above (p. 142) in which the king raises aloft his shield to symbolise triumph over the enemy is probably an example; clear examples are *BBR* II nos. 51 and 57. In exorcistic rites performed for private individuals and also at times for the king, images of malignant demons were destroyed. The slaughter of animals in the temple to provide food for the gods and others at least at times took on a ritual character.

DISCUSSION OF VAT 10099 AND DUPLS. PARS. 8 TO 21

MUCH remains obscure, but suggestions can be made, and certain points elucidated.

In par. 8 something, perhaps grain, is roasted by women, and stones, perhaps grindstones, are lifted and carried among women. The purpose of this is unknown, but it is compared to a rite in which a child was lifted up between the breasts of a goddess. In another text Nabû recounts how he did something similar for the future king, Aššurbānapal (see p. 233). The fact that Nabû occurs also in the present paragraph is probably not significant but since the context is broken one cannot be certain. Here the point is clearly to ensure the well-being of the child by introducing it to the goddess or dedicating it to her protection. It is likely that in the rite involving roasting and the lifting of stones agricultural well-being is the desired effect. There would then be two reasons for placing the rites together. Both include lifting something up, and if the lifting of the child can be seen in the context of rites of human procreation, both are concerned with fertility. The sentence "She carried him for seven days" remains obscure. In the Sumerian myth of Enki and Ninhursag months are replaced by days in a divine gestation period, but if this is what is meant nine days would have been expected.⁴⁰ One might think of the seven day birth brick, but this had to be in place, not carried.⁴¹ A Sumerian literary text gives seven months as a divine gestation period, for magical reasons connected with the number seven:

u ₄ ašnan.ra	When with Ašnan
munus giš mu.dug ₄	he had intercourse
ne mu.ni.sub _x (MUNSUB)	and kissed her,
dumu 7 AŠ mu.tu	she gave birth to seven sons
7 ti.kam ₄ SUR [?]	For seven months . .
ama dumu.da	the mother with child
ša mu.da.dib	was pregnant.

OIP 99 no. 283 ii 10-6

The phrase "to return to dust" or "to dust and water", which occurs also in par. 10 means "to die". Compare *kul-lat te-ni-še-e-ti i-tu-ara ana ti-it-ti* (*Gilg* XI 133), "The whole of mankind had returned to clay". Par. 11 and par. 9, if similarly restored, are about a fox which comes out and gives its cry. Although the fox is well known in literature and mythology,⁴² he is unknown to the writer as a protagonist in Mesopotamian rituals. The cries of the fox suggest here in the first paragraph iron arrows, and in the second a lighted torch. Elsewhere, in K 3476 par. 7, torches suggest arrows. It is possible that the mythological explanations simply refer to the sounds of foxes heard when they come out of their dens at night, and

have no connection with any ritual. However, the Roman Cereālia could be brought to mind:

The Cereālia were held in honour of Ceres on April 12–19. At this festival, connected with the growth of the corn, it was the practice to tie burning brands to the tails of foxes and let them loose in the Circus Maximus. Ovid (*Fast.* iv 681 et seq.) has a tale to account for this curious rite, of which modern scholars offer various explanations. Virgil describes a festival of Ceres in *Georgics* i 338–50.⁴³

One could imagine that foxes were used in some kind of Babylonian cultic demonstration in which they were made to rush around with lighted brands attached to their tails. The brands would then suggest to the commentator mythological torches or arrow. Nanaya as a supplier of arrows may have a basis in myth, as a parallel donation by Ninlil is referred to in a prayer: *id-di-su^dnin-lil iš-pat ma-lit-ti^gšašat ši-ḥat ana qāti¹-šu iš-ta-kan* (AGH 118 21–2), “Ninlil gave him (Nergal) a full quiver; a bow of exuberance she put in his hand”.

The content of pars. 12, 13 and 19 is certainly connected with agricultural husbandry, and that of pars. 14 to 18 may be. Par. 12 states that “the woman of the city” was carried on the heads and necks of several individuals, while they scattered seed in a field, and par. 13 mentions scattering seed in handfuls. Since one woman, and the heads and shoulders of several people are involved, one imagines that a sedan chair or something similar was used. The identity of the “woman of the city” is uncertain. Though the possibility that she was a human being is not excluded, it is perhaps more probable that she was a representation of a mother goddess identical to or identified with Ištar, who is of course elsewhere prominent in the text. She may have been the statue or symbol of Ištar from the city temple of Ištar. The description “of the city” could be explained by the fact that Ištar was associated with cities individually.⁴⁴ In the interpretation Ištar represents Marduk, and those scattering the grain represent Marduk’s enemies being trampled by him. Elsewhere, Ištar of Nineveh is described as Marduk in her upper parts, and Ninlil in her lower parts. Presumably the seed entering the furrow represents Marduk’s defeated enemies entering the earth or underworld, synonymous in Akkadian. The idea of Marduk’s position over his enemies representing their defeat should be compared with the event in the new year ceremony at Babylon, where Marduk was seated on a dais representing Tiāmat. In par. 13 the scattering of grain is explained as the tying up of someone in a *tarbašu*, “byre”. The

tarbašu is involved in the ritual enacting the death of Dumuzi described and the tying up mentioned here could correspond to the capture of Dumuzi by the *gallû* demons. The probability that Dumuzi is meant is increased slightly by the mention of sheep in par. 15. It is favoured by the mention of Dumuzi in par. 19, and the general correspondence discussed above between rites and myths of Dumuzi and the rites and myths described in pars. 1, 19, and 21. Par. 14 may refer to a popular saying about a well, but the point remains obscure. In par. 15 sheep, perhaps those of Dumuzi the shepherd, are mentioned. In pars. 16 to 18 a piece of work performed by women, in which the upper parts of something are stripped off and thrown away and the lower parts kept is described. This cannot refer to cereals, of which the husking was done on the ground by an animal or sledge, not by women or on a table.⁴⁵ A vegetable or root, chick peas, onions, or something else could be meant. The parts thrown away represent sons of Anšar. With this should be compared VAT 8917 rev. 17–9. In par. 19 rites for the death of Ištarān or Dumuzi are given a general explanation. The death of the god is when they grind on stones roasted corn which they cast on behalf of Dumuzi. This may refer to an offering of corn set aside for the god. The sentence, “The burned parts which they put aside go up to the upper regions” is qualified by the phrase “as it is said”. This normally means that the idea is borrowed from a previously existing, perhaps oral, source. The point is unclear, but it may be smoke which goes to the upper regions, and one is reminded of the myth of Adapa, where Dumuzi and Ningizzida are at the gate of the heaven of Anu. “Your brother” seems to address one of Dumuzi’s brothers. The mythological carrying off the brother explains the use of grain to make beer.

It is possible that Dumuzi’s death is connected with the sowing of seed in par. 13, and fairly certain that his death is connected with the grinding of grain and with beer making in par. 19. Jacobsen has postulated an aspect of Dumuzi connected with grain:

A few texts suggest the existence of still another form of the god which one might call ‘Dumuzi of the Grain’, a form which sees the god as the power in the barley, particularly in the beer brewed from it and which clearly belongs with the farmers.⁴⁶

In relation to Sumerian texts this idea has been disputed by Alster. In *History of Religions* I/2 202 Jacobsen cites VS II 27 rev. II 7–10 as an example of a connection between Dumuzi and grain, claiming that

this text describes Dumuzi's body floating on a river in the form of grain, but in his more recent treatment of the subject in *Unity and Diversity* he does not mention this interpretation, and has perhaps abandoned it. Alster implies that the best example of Dumuzi as grain known to him is CT 15 19 where Geštinanna is searching for Dumuzi and the fly informs her that he is in the brewery (é.kaš.a.ka, ll.21 and 25);⁴⁷ the fact that he is in the brewery is hardly evidence for more than a taste for beer. A propos of VAT 10099 both Ebeling⁴⁸ and Jacobsen⁴⁹ refer to a piece of evidence from the post-Babylonian era. It is a month by month survey of the cult of the Sabians of Harrān, written in or translated into Arabic and dating from the middle of the first millennium A.D., or somewhat later. The section for the month of Ta'uz, that is Tammuz, relates that the god Ta'uz, Dumuzi, was murdered by his master, who ground his bones in a mill and winnowed them. There is little doubt that Dumuzi is here identified with grain. Certain points in the Sabeian religion represented by the text, such as the name of the moon god, Sîn, are Sumero-Akkadian in origin, and other points may also be. Since neither Ebeling nor Jacobsen give a translation, one is given here:

In the middle of the month is the festival of the *būqāt*,⁵⁰ that is, of the wailing women. It is also called Ta'uz, as it is a festival performed for the god Ta'uz. The women lament for him, and that his master murdered him, ground his bones in a mill and winnowed them in the wind. The women do not eat anything ground in a mill, but only moistened wheat, chick pea paste, dates, raisins, and similar foods. On the twenty-seventh of the month the men perform the mystery of the North for the jinn, satans, and deities. They make many loaves of bread cooked under the cinders, out of flour, terebinth, "mais" raisins,⁵¹ and shelled walnuts, in the manner made by shepherds. They sacrificially slit the throats of nine lambs to Hāmān, the chief, the king of the gods, and there are sacrifices to Namriyyā. On this day the chief takes from every man among them two dirhams, and they eat and drink.⁵²

Here there is clearly a reference to a myth in which the death of Dumuzi is seen in the processes of winnowing and grinding grain. To explain this, and also the paragraphs of VAT 10099 and dupls. in which the death of Dumuzi is, or is probably, connected with sowing seed, grinding corn, roasting it, or making beer, it is not necessary to postulate a form of Dumuzi specifically connected with grain. It is possible that the idea of the death of Dumuzi as a mythical metaphor

for the death of vegetation was extended to apply to the ripening of corn, when the grains fall from the husk, the vanishing of the grains into the earth as seed, and other uses of them. Moreover, VAT 10099 and dupls. par. 12 clearly equates the seed going into the furrow with Marduk's defeated enemies, and there is other evidence that it was not Dumuzi in particular, but being a defeated, dead, or dying god which was significant. First an Ugaritic myth, and then Akkadian evidence is quoted.

klb arh l'glh

Like the heart of a cow for her calf,

klb tat limrh

Like the heart of a ewe for her lamb,

km lb 'nt aṭr b'l

So is the heart of Anath for Baal.

*tihd bn ilm mt
bhṛb tbq'nn*

She seizes the god Mot,
She cleaves him with a sword.

bhṭr tdrynn

She winnows him with a fan.

bišt tšrpnn

She burns him with fire.

brhm tṭhnn

She grinds him with a mill.

bšd tdr'nn

She sows him in the field.

šrh ltikl 'šrm

Birds eat his flesh,

mnth ltkly

They consume his limbs.

npr [š]ir lšir yšh

They fly from flesh to flesh.

Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (= *AnOr* 38 (1965)), following *ANET* p.140. Text 49, col.II 28-37.

Here the death of Mot is described in terms appropriate to grain. In *Marduk's Ordeal*, the abundance of grain in Nisan, after the harvest, is explained as the result of a god, probably Marduk, having been taken prisoner. In a section of BM 34035 various gods conceived of elsewhere as being defeated are linked with particular types of grain, using the technique of theological explanation in which gods or parts of their bodies are equated with other gods, or with objects or ideas:

uṭṭatu(še.bar) ine(igi.tab) ša ti-amat

[ar]suppu(še.gu₄.ud) ^den-lil: kunāšu(ziz.ām) hi-pi inninu(še.in¹.nu.ḥa)

[ki]btu(še.gig) an-tu₄: šeguššu(še.muš₃) ^da¹-nu¹ aḥi¹-šū¹-nu¹

BM 34035 39-41⁵³

Corr: is the eyes of Tiāmat.

Ox fodder is Enlil. Emmer is It is broken.. *inninu* barley, (and) wheat are Antu. Barley is Anu, their brother.

A prayer referred to above may allude to agricultural activity under the surface of the earth:

én ^den-me-šár-ra bēl eršeti^m rubû šá a-ra-al-li
 bēl áš-ri u māt là tārī(gi₄) šá-du-ú šá ^da-nun-na-ki
 pa-ri-is purussē(cē.bar) eršeti^m mar-kás rabû^m šá an-durú-na
 bēlu rabû^m šá ina ba-li-šú ^dnin-gír-su iki(AŠ.GAN) u pal-gi
 la uš-te-eš-še-ru la i-ban-nu-ú ab-še-na

ABRT II 13 (K 48) rev.1-5

Incantation: Enmešarra, lord of the underworld, prince of Arallu, lord of the heaven, and the land of no return, the mountain of the Anunnaki, decider of decisions of the underworld, great bond of Anduruna, great lord without whom Ningirsu cannot direct dike and canal or create the furrow.

Par.21 of VAT 10099 and dupls. mentions coming up from the underworld and going down, twice yearly. This may allude to Dumuzi's spending part of the year in the underworld and part of the year on the earth.

PREVIOUS INTERPRETATIONS OF THE RITUAL AND MYTH EXPLANATORY WORKS

IT HAS been shown above in the sections entitled "How the myth fits the ritual"⁵⁴ that the myths in a sense correspond to the rituals. Individual items in the myths frequently correspond to individual items in the rituals, in a manner which makes the rituals in a sense a representation of the myths. In relation to some of the works, earlier writers have expressed opinions on the significance of this. In 1896 H. Zimmern claimed "that the Babylonian creation legend ... also formed the pericope of the *zagmukku*⁵⁵ festival".⁵⁶ In 1903, in *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest I*⁵⁷ he gave an edition and translation of K 3476 and compared it with a section of Sp I 131.⁵⁸ He expressed doubt as to whether in K 3476 "the cult acts were being performed with full clarity as a mimetic representation of a myth which pertained to them, and were recognised as such in a living tradition, or whether cult acts which might originally have had a mimetic meaning were being reinterpreted through myths with more or less priestly learning, and as far as such an interpretation might go".⁵⁹ He favoured the latter possibility on the ground that although it was possible to understand one or two cult acts and interpretations from

the text at a time as mimetic representations, it was not possible to view the text as a whole in such a manner. He compared the technique of interpretation with dream interpretation, citing as an example Nanše's interpretation of Gudea's dream. In *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest II*,⁶⁰ published in 1918, he edited and interpreted VAT 9555. More ideas were put forward eight years later by S. Pallis in *The Babylonian Akitu Festival*. Pallis regarded both K 3476 and VAT 9555⁶¹ as religious drama and compared them with sources from outside Mesopotamia. By describing the texts as cult drama he meant that the cult acts were performed by the king and priests with the full intention of acting out a myth. Recently, in 'Religious Drama in Ancient Mesopotamia',⁶² T. Jacobsen addressed himself to the problem. He quoted parts of most of the texts edited at the beginning of the present chapter, and regarded their content as cult drama. He saw the myths as the literal meaning of the cult acts, and tended to quote sections of the texts where such an interpretation seems most plausible. Essentially, his interpretation of the texts was the same as that of Pallis. However, he perhaps realised that such an interpretation leads to difficulties, as may be inferred from one of his final comments:

We know that as an Akitu festival it⁶³ has its origin in an agricultural festival of seed ploughing; so the battle theme, political in origin, may then well have been superimposed—as interpretation in abstract symbolic fashion—upon rites that originally had no such meaning.⁶⁴

Unfortunately, he did not elaborate on this statement. He is making the unwarranted assumption that some or all of the ritual and myth explanatory works pertain to the new year festival or *akitu* festival at Babylon. It is uncertain whether he is suggesting that old rites acquired in common practice and understanding a new meaning as a battle drama, or whether he means that they were only interpreted in such a way by scholars.

HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS

IT WILL be helpful to consider the myths and rituals from an historical point of view. Most of the following remarks are based on information given above on pp.136 to 156 and references given there are not repeated here. The myth of the death of Dumuzi goes back to the third millennium, and the ritual in which his body was

burned may be as early. An MB hemerology mentions weeping in the month of Tammuz, where a similar SB source mentions weeping and rites. It is extremely probable that the MB and SB sources refer to the same events. If this is so, rites of weeping for Tammuz go back at least to the MB period. For the ritual in K 3476 it is more difficult to suggest a date. However, it is significant that rituals which involve similar ideas and actions are known from MA copies.⁶⁵ The Mari ritual,⁶⁶ which dates from the OB period, is not all that dissimilar, and a ritual in Sumerian⁶⁷ which probably dates from the late third or early second millennium is known. The number of SB copies of rituals suggests that the general type of ritual to which K 3476 belongs was well established by the end of the second millennium. These remarks apply also to the rituals from VAT 8917. With VAT 9947 firmer ground is reached since particular ceremonies are mentioned by name. The *tērubtu* goes back at least to the MA and MB periods. If *qūlu* is the same as *qūltu*, it is known in connection with a temple in a MA inscription. The *ebbū* goes back to the OB period or earlier. The earliest dates at which the myths are conceivable can also be established, in relation to theological history. In VAT 10099 and dupls. Marduk defeats Anu and Enlil, and Nabû defeats Anzû. These myths would not have been possible before the end of the second millennium, when Marduk replaced Anu and Enlil as head of the pantheon,⁶⁸ and when Nabû, hitherto Marduk's vizier,⁶⁹ had become his son and taken on the character of Enlil's son Ninurta. In K 3476 Marduk slays Anu and Enlil, and in VAT 9947 he defeats Anu. Again, a date late in the second millennium is required. For the sections from VAT 8917 an earlier date could be allowed.

It will be seen that in all the works, except VAT 8917 where comparison is unproductive, some of the myths are later than the rituals. Therefore it is absolutely certain that the myths did not originally belong to the rituals, and the rituals did not originally mean the myths. Since some of the myths are older it could be argued that originally the rituals had mythological meanings different from the myths which require a late date, and that the names of the protagonists were changed to suit different theological conditions. Nevertheless, the point remains that in the myth and ritual works many of the myths originated later than and independently of the rituals.

CULT DRAMA OR NOT?

CAN the rituals be seen in relation to the myths as what Zimmern called "mimetic", Pallis "religious drama", and Jacobsen "cult drama"? These writers envisaged a drama in which victorious gods were represented by people and defeated gods by animals or objects. This is consistently the principle of the interpretations in the works but whether it is drama which is involved is doubtful. In a cult drama one would expect a myth to be developed from episode to episode through the various stages of a ritual. But this is not the case in the explanatory works. Individual actions in, or details of, a ritual are each equated with what can only be regarded as a whole myth. To suppose that the ritual enacted myth one would have to imagine that whole myths were repeatedly acted in widely differing minute actions of the ritual. One would also have to imagine that the same myth was enacted in different ways in the same ritual. These considerations show that religious or cult drama in the sense of a conscious enactment of myth is not involved.

Moreover, some of the rituals mentioned are known from other sources, in which there is no suggestion of the sort of interpretation given in the explanatory works. Deities were represented in rituals by statues or symbols with which the deities had a deep and carefully established connection, but they were not normally represented by people, or by objects or animals in the ad hoc manner apparent in the explanatory works. There is some evidence that in certain Sumerian rituals the king and high priestess represented gods in a sacred marriage,⁷⁰ but this was a special case and long before the date of the explanatory works. Kings of the third dynasty of Ur and the Isin and Larsa dynasties were deified, but in the present texts it is not deification but equation with well known deities which is involved. Not only the king is equated with deities but also priests and some individuals not even specified as priests, such as the third man on the chariot in K 3476 par. 13. It should also be mentioned that there is reason to believe that certain priests, or perhaps rather priests who recited certain incantations, were regarded as representing deities (see p. 105), an idea which may have been suggested by incantations in which a deity speaks in the first person. This is clearly a simpler case than the myth and ritual explanatory works.

THE PRESENT WORKS AND MYSTICAL SPECULATION

THE symbolism in the myth and ritual explanatory works is similar to the artificial mathematics and philology in the works discussed in Chapter One. Between the myths and rituals there are incidental connections based on symbolism. That this "artificial symbolism" is analogous to artificial mathematics and philology is shown by use of the two techniques together in the same contexts. For example, artificial philology is used in pars. 8 and 10 and ll. 15 and 16 of VAT 9947, a work which elsewhere uses symbolism. Artificial philology and symbolism occur together also in the commentaries on *Enūma eliš* and *Marduk's Address to the Demons*. Artificial philology in these works has been discussed above (p. 50), and examples of artificial symbolism are given here. A line from *Enūma eliš* is *ša a-na šu-me-šū ilāni kīma me-še-e i-šub-ba pal-ḫiš* (*Enūma eliš* VII 108), "At whose name the gods shake like a storm, out of fear". The comment is *u₄-mu [l]i-is-mu ša d^amār-bīti ša ešnunna* (CT 13 32 rev. 5 and dupl., unpublished; see CAD sub *lismu*), "Day of the race of Mār-bīti of Ešnunna". The point is that the race associated with the god Mār-bīti could be regarded as symbolising the mythical behaviour of the gods, as described in the line from *Enūma eliš*. An example from *Marduk's Address* is the comment *ša-niš aššum lú^amašmaški ša tūg × × sâma(sa₅) šaknu^{mu} iq-t[a-bi]* (AfO 17 313 B Comm. 6), "Secondly, he meant it with reference to the incantation priest, who is equipped with a .. red garment". This comments on [ki.min] *ša nam-ri-ir lit-bu-šū ma-lu-ú pul-ḫa-a-ti* (ibid. B 6), "[ditto(Asalluḫi)] who is clothed in light, full of fearfulness". Here the garment of the priest is regarded as symbolising Asalluḫi's divine aura, and the priest is probably regarded as representing Asalluḫi.

It is possible that the use of symbolism in the present texts owed something to the fact that symbolism was used in interpreting dreams. Despite the existence of an ancient manual of dream interpretation there are few clear examples.⁷¹ Techniques used in interpreting omens may also be relevant. While these were certainly part of the general intellectual background, it is more likely that the uses of symbolism here were inspired by actual use of symbolism in rituals. Examples are the libation representing the blood of Dumuzi, the enactment of the defeat of Tiāmat, and perhaps the holding up of shields in a ritual to symbolise victory. By analogy with examples such as these, thinkers attributed symbolic meaning to ritual actions which probably in normal practice had no such significance.

The texts presented in Chapter Two illustrate the belief that deities may correspond to parts of the world. It would follow logically to equate actions of deities with things which happen in the world, including agricultural activities and rituals. That the myths and rituals were properly speaking unrelated did not apparently bother the compilers. To understand their point of view one must take into account the world view which was current. Everything was part of the divine, and therefore potentially relatable in terms of the divine. This is demonstrated by the *God Description Texts*, in Chapter Three, in which a wide variety of items from different contexts are said to be parts of a god's body. Two texts can be quoted where an apparently secular action is given a religious or mythological interpretation. A man makes a theological comment apposite to what he is doing: *lú^ausandû(mušen.dà) še-e-tú id-di-ma im-taḫ-ḫar dšamaški dšamaški ud.20.kám u₄-mu-ka nam-mar × × × × × × × ÚA* (BWL p. 221 and Pl. 57), "The fowler cast his net, addressing Šamaš: 'Šamaš', the 20th day is your bright day! ...". Part of the theological point is that the 20th day of the month was sacred to Šamaš. Another text is probably of the same type, although it is possible that the action was part of a ritual: *bu-lu-ú ina irtī(gaba)-šū¹ at-ru {DIS} dšamaš im-ta-ḫ-ḫar um-ma bēl-šū ki-in-gu-ú ka-ma-an u qa-la-an-ni e-nin-in-ni a-na ma-ḫar l^anusku am-mi-in-ni ú-bal-ú-an-ni* (UET VII 145 rev. vi 1-13), "There is plenty of firewood on his/its breast. He faces Šamaš. Thus says his lord, Kingu, 'He defeats and burns me! He punishes me! Why do they bring me in front of Nusku?'" One may suppose that firewood is piled up around and on an animal being roasted. The animal is being compared to Kingu, who is called "his", or "its" lord, because Kingu suffered a similar fate in a myth.

THE MEANING OF THE RITUAL AND MYTH EXPLANATORY WORKS

IN THE works discussed in Chapter One there is usually in addition to the artificial connection between the items a genuine connection. The genuine connection is speculative, or arises from the basic meaning of the items. It can be shown that there are genuine connections between the myths and rituals associated in the present texts, as well as the artificial connection based on symbolism.

In Babylonian thinking the distinction between "ritual" and "myth" is slight. Statues or symbols used in rituals were believed to be in every sense the deities which we regard them as representing

(see p.185). A ritual in which the statue or symbol of a deity participated was therefore in effect a myth. On the other hand, myths which we would conceive of as having happened once in the past were believed by the ancient thinkers to be capable of repetition, like rituals.⁷² It is the nature of Ninurta to defeat Asakku, and of Mami to create mankind, and these mythological actions can be repeated.

In the ritual and myth explanatory works most of the rituals are from the yearly or monthly cycle of state rituals. Most of the myths describe battles between deities, and many of them are derived from or associated with the mythological content of the epics of *Enūma eliš* and *Anzū*. These myths are used to explain not only rituals but also agricultural activities. It can be argued that the myths have a conceptual relevance to the rituals, as well as to agricultural activity. *Enūma eliš* describes the course of events which resulted in the universe being set up in its present form. The epic of *Anzū* describes how the tablet of fates which had been stolen from Enlil by Anzū was recovered and restored to Enlil. If this had not been done, the normal functioning of the universe would have been greatly disturbed. Both myths are therefore concerned with the setting up or maintenance of the universe in its present form. There is evidence that rituals were believed to be necessary for a similar reason. In the epic of *Erra*, Tablet I ll.132ff., it is described how Marduk's abandonment of his statue in Babylon resulted in the break-up of the cosmos. One of the conditions for the continuing residence of Marduk in his statue in Esagil was the maintenance of the cult. If the festivals were not observed, and if Marduk and his divine family and court were not cared for, he would leave the shrine, and chaos would result. Turning to the epic of *Atraḫasīs*, one may learn that agricultural activity was regarded as being necessary in a similar manner as was cult. Man was created to serve the gods, and this service included agricultural work, as well as maintaining the shrines.

CHAPTER FIVE

OTHER BABYLONIAN EXPLANATORY WORKS ON RITUALS

THE primary concern in this chapter will be explanatory works in which rituals or objects used in rituals are explained in terms of theology and mythology. The principal works discussed are the *Ritual for Curing a Sick Man*, the *Compendium*, CBS 6060 and dupls., and the *Ritual for Covering a Kettledrum used in Cult*. Of these, the first and last differ from the rituals discussed in the previous chapter in not belonging to the series of state rituals performed at fixed times in the year or month, or on state occasions. One might presumably be performed on request when a man fell ill, and the other whenever a temple kettledrum needed covering. The nature of the explanations in all three works, however, shows a close relation to the works discussed in the previous chapter. The *Compendium* includes information which may not have been used in interpreting rituals, but is nevertheless given in full, because the other material it contains is indirectly relevant. Another section from the same manuscript is also given.

THE RITUAL FOR CURING A SICK MAN

The Subject of the Work

The door and bed of a sick man are mentioned, and apparatus known to have been used in rituals is described as being set up around the bed. It is reasonable to assume that a ritual to cure the sick man is being described. Evidently it took place in his house, to which the priest went with the necessary equipment. The text equates individual items of equipment with deities and gives partial explanations of how the cure was achieved.¹

Ritual for Curing a Sick Man, BM 34035 ll.13-23*

- 1 *gaššu ittú šá bāb bīt lúmarši ulappatū(tag.tag)^{meš}*
:gaššu^dninurta(MAŠ) ittú a-sak-ku^dnin-urta a-na a-sak-ku i-
rad-da-ad
- 2 *zi-sur-ra-a šá^{erši} lúmarši i-lam-mu-ú*
:lugal-gir-ra u^dmes-lam-ta-è-a
- 3 *3 zi-dub-dub šá inaddú(šub)^{meš}*
:a-num^den-líl u^dé-a
- 4 *giš-ḥur-ra šá ina maḥar^{erši} iṣ-ši-ru*
:sa-par-ri šu-ú mim-ma lem-nu i-sa-ḥa-ḥu
- 5 *kuš-gu₄-gal-ú urudu-níg-kala-ga ša ina rēš^{lúmarši} i-be-en-n[i]*
:kuš-gu₄-gal-ú^da-num urudu-níg-kala-gu-ú^den-líl
- 6 *ḡuri-gal^{meš} šá ina rēš^{lúmarši} zu-uq-qù-ḥu*
:sibitti(imin.bi) ilāni^{meš} rabūtu^{meš} mārū^{meš} diš-ḥa-ra šu-nu
- 7 *māš-ḥul-dúb-ú šá ina rēš^{erši} lúmarši nadú(šub)*
:nín-amaš-kù-ga^{lúre'ú} šá^den-líl
- 8 *nignakku(níg.na) gizillú(gi.izi.lá) šá ina bīt^{lúmarši} šak-ni*
:nignakku(níg.na)^dkù-sù gizillú(gi.izi.lá)^dnusku

Ritual for Curing a Sick Man, BM 34035 ll.13-23

- 1 The gypsum and bitumen which they smear on the door of the sick man.
 :The gypsum is Ninurta. The bitumen is Asakku. Ninurta pursues Asakku.
- 2 The circle of flour which surrounds the bed of the sick man.
 :Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea.
- 3 The three heaps of flour which they cast down.
 :Anu, Enlil, and Ea.
- 4 The design which they draw in front of the bed.
 :That is a net and traps Any Evil.
- 5 The drum and cymbals which are resplendent at the head of the sick man.
 :The drum is Anu. The cymbals are Enlil.
- 6 The standards which are set up at the head of the sick man.
 :They are Sibitti, the great gods, sons of Išhara.
- 7 The scapegoat which is placed at the head of the sick man.
 :Ninamaškuga, Enlil's shepherd.
- 8 The censor and torch placed in the house of the sick man.
 :The censor is Kusu. The torch is Nusku.

* For the beginning of l.13 and end of l.23 see pp.61 and 255.

Commentary on Textual Matters

The manuscript is Babylonian, and the work is therefore Babylonian in origin. The style is the same as that of the works discussed in the preceding chapter. In the edition the explanations are given on separate lines and indented, although this was not done on the original manuscript. In l.5 *i-be-en-ni* is understood as a 3rd m/sing/I1 subjunctive without subjunctive *-u²* of *banû*, "to be beautiful". There is a vowel change from *a* to *e*, as occurs to some extent in MB, and more frequently in NB.³

Rationale

It is unclear why Ninurta should be gypsum, and Asakku bitumen, or Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea a circle of flour. The three heaps of flour may be Anu, Enlil, and Ea because these gods occur frequently as a triad. The shape of the design may suggest a net. Why the drum should be Anu and the cymbals Ea is unclear. One may suspect that there were seven standards and that the number is why they were equated with Sibitti, the Seven (Gods). The scapegoat is Ninamaškuga because he is a shepherd, as the text points out. Why the censor is Kušu is unknown, but Nusku, as a fire god, is suitably equated with the torch.

That sickness was believed to be caused by malevolent demons infesting the body of the afflicted is well known. The gypsum and bitumen on the door are understood to represent a battle between the deities with whom they are identified. Ninurta is beneficent, and Asakku evil. The idea is that Asakku is identified with the demon afflicting the sick man. Having made this identification it is supposed that the priest intended the well known battle between Ninurta and Asakku to be re-enacted in the house. Asakku, and therefore the demon afflicting the sick man, would of course be routed. Another explanation of the cure is stated. The design is a net which traps "Any Evil", a generalised demon presumably including the demon of the man's sickness. What was done with the scape-goat is not explained, but one may suppose that the evil was transferred to it, and that it was then killed or driven away. It is likely that during the course of the ritual invocations were addressed by the priest to the objects, identifying them at least for the purpose of the ritual with the deities, and telling them what was intended to happen. For some of the deities no action is specified and it is likely that they contribute to the

cure merely by the divine aura of their presence. It will occur at least to the modern reader that if one of the cures was successful the others would be unnecessary. This consideration may not have prevented the ancient priest from performing them together, but the possibility must be allowed that the present work is a collection of things which could be done or used, with explanations, rather than an explanation of a standard format for a ritual. It is probable that there was considerable latitude and that how much was done depended ultimately on the amount that the sick man or his relatives were willing to pay.

The next work to be discussed will shed light on the theories in this work, and put them in a wider perspective.

THE COMPENDIUM CBS 6060 AND DUPLS.

THE work is a list in which trees, plants, animals, substances, or articles, henceforth referred to as the "subjects", are equated with deities. The theme of the work is two-fold: it involves correspondences between deities and tangible objects, and explanation of rituals in terms of theology and mythology. In the first respect it owes much to the ideas discussed in Chapters One to Three, and the second to the ideas in the works in Chapters Four to Six. After the philological commentary, discussion of the work is given under three headings. These are The Subjects, The Deities, and The Connection Between the Subjects and Deities. The last of these leads on to discussion of other related works.

CBS 6060 obv. dupl. K 4245 + 17990 obv. dupl. BM 41361 +
BM 44179 dupl. BM 47463 obv.

1	duga.gúb.ba × × × × × dingir ^{meš} [(× ×)] ^d nin.girimma ₄ ba- na-at ilāni ^{meš} × meš-šá	
2	dug[k]an-du-ru-ú	^d nammu na-ram aḥḥē(šes) [?] meš-šá
3	gišbīnu(šinig)	^d a-num
4	gišlibbi gišimmari	^d dumu-zi
5	úmaštaka(IN.NU.US)	^d é-a
6	qan-šalāli(gi.šul.ḥi)	^d ninurta
7	úsikillu(sikil)	^d nanše
8	iš pišri(BÜR)	^d ér-ra
9	na ₄ kaspu(kù.babbar)	an.gal
10	na ₄ ḥurāšu(guškin)	^d en.me.šár.ra
11	na ₄ erú(urudu)	^d é-a
12	na ₄ annaku(an.na)	^d nin.maḥ
13	[na ₄]a[baru(a.bár)]	^d ninurta(MAŠ)
14	n[^a 4s]āmtu(gug)	^d nin.líl
15	[na ₄]uqnu(za.gin)	^d dili.bat
16	[na ₄]ḥulālu(nír)	^d amar.ra.ḥé.è.a eri ₄ .du ₁₀ ^{ki}
17	na ₄ muššaru(muš.GfR)	^d lugal.gišasal(a.tu.gaba.liš)
18	na ₄ ba[bbar-dillu(dili)]	^d sak-kud
19	na ₄ ba[bbar-minnu(min ₃)]	^d nusku (PA + TÚG)
20	na ₄ aba-aš-mu	^d pap-sukkal
21	na ₄ [e]n.gi.ša ₆	^d sak-kud
22	na ₄ mār(dumu)-bīti šá ma-lak (gloss: ^d a.é)	^d ram-ma-nu
23	na ₄ ^d lamassu(lama)	^d ištar(MÜŠ) uruk ^{ki}
24	na ₄ turminú(tur ₇ .mi.na)	^d ištar(MÜŠ) a-kà-dē ^{ki}
25	na ₄ ajjartu(PA)	^d ištar(15) be-let bābili(ká.diš)
26	na ₄ zibtu(zi.é)	^d nin.líl
27	murub ₄ .gag.zabar ri-kis-su-nu	^d ninurta(MAŠ)
28	ri-kis ḥur-da-tim	^d sibitti(imin.bi)
29	7 gišgišimmari-tur ^{meš}	7 mārú(dumu) ^{meš} ^d en.me.šár.ra
30	3 zid.dub.dub	^d a-nu ^d enlil(50) ^d ea(40)
31	zì.sur.ra	^d nisaba ^d taš-me-tum
32	gišerēnu	^d nin.nibruki
33	giššurmēnu(šur.nin)	^d ki.šár
34	giššim.gír	^d id.lú.ru.gú

CBS 6060 obv. dupl. K 4245 + 17990 obv. dupl. BM 41351
(+[?]) BM 44179 dupl. BM 47463 obv.

1	The basin the gods [(...)] Ningirimma, creatress of the gods, her ..	
2	The container	: Nammu, the beloved of her brothers
3	Tamarisk	: Anu
4	The heart of the date palm	: Dumuzi
5	Soap plant	: Ea
6	The slippery reed	: Ninurta
7	The pure plant	: Nanše
8	Loosing plant	: Erra
9	Silver	: Angal
10	Gold	: Enmešarra
11	Copper	: Ea
12	Tin	: Ninmaḥ
13	Lead	: Ninurta
14	Carnelian	: Ninlil
15	Lapis lazuli	: Venus
16	Chalcedony	: Amaraḥeea of Eridu
17	Muššaru stone	: Lugalsal
18	Pappardilû stone	: Sakkud
19	Papparminnu stone	: Nusku
20	Abašmû stone	: Papsukkal
21	Engiša stone	: Sakkud
22	Mār-bīti of Malak stone	: Rammānu
23	Lamassu stone	: Ištar of Uruk
24	Breccia	: Ištar of Agade
25	Conch	: Ištar of Babylon
26	Zibtu stone	: Ninlil
27	The bronze pegs, their binding:	Ninurta
28	The binding of the beam support [?]	: Sibitti
29	The seven small date palms	: The seven sons of Enmešarra
30	The three heaps of flour	: Anu, Enlil, and Ea
31	The circle of flour	: Nisaba, Tašmētu
32	Cedar	: Lady of Nippur
33	Cypress	: Kišar
34	Šimgir	: River Ordeal

35	[gi] ^š sim.sal	^d gašan
36	[gi] ^š ziqqu(gi.dùg.ga)	^d na-na-a
37	šimburāšu(li)	^d adad(iškur)
38	šipātu burrumātu(sig.gùn.a)	^d uttu mārāt ^d a-nim iš-kil-ti et-tu-tu
39	rik-su	^d nin.urta
40	nignakku(níg.na)	^d uraš
41	gi.izi.lá	^d gibil(bil.gi)
42	qu-ta-ri pešúti [?] (babbar) ^{meš}	^d li ₉ .si ₄
43	mul-lil-lum	^d igi.sig ₇ .sig ₇ ^{lú} nu.kiri ₆ ^{den} .lil.lá
44	urudu.níg.kalag.ga	^d nin-šar u ^d nergal(u.gur)
45	kuš.gu ₄ .gal	^d indagar(NINDÁ × GUD)
46	im.babbar	^d ut.u _x .lu
47	esir	^d íd
48	máš.ḫul.dúb	^d ku.šú
49	udu.ti.la	^d šakkan
50	máš.gi.izi.lá	^d mu-úḫ-ra
51	še.bir.bir.ri.da	^ú -pu-un-tum
52	še.numun ^{meš}	^{ma} -ka-lu-ú
53	^{du} gšarmū(sila.gaz) ^{meš}	^d nun.ur ₄ .ra ^d ea(idim)
54	^{gi} š ^š tukul.ma.nu	^{sibit} (7) u ₄ -mu ^{gi} š ^š kakki ^d marduk
55	guškin.sa ₅ ^{meš}	^d a-nun-na-ki
56	guškin níg.máš.zu	^d maš.tab.ba.gal.gal
57	šabītu(máš.dā)	^d un.gal.nibru ^{ki}
58	kur.gi ^{mušen}	^d nin.imma _x
59	dam(úš) ^{gi} š ^š erēni	šaman(i.giš) an-zi-i
60	dišpu(lál)	šarak(lugud) an-zi-i
61	i.ḫul	šaman(i.giš)-šú
62	kibrītu(ki.a.id)	dingir ^{meš} -šú
63	munzīqu(geštin.ḫád.a)	kak-kul-ti inē ^{II} -šú*
64	^{gi} š ^š uliltu(peš.ḫád.a)	tulātu(ubur) ^{meš} -šú
65	^{gi} š ^š nurmū(nu.úr.ma)	bir-ka-a-šú
66	^{gi} š ^š ḫašḫūru	ki-šal-la-a-šú
67	mersu(ninda.i.dé.a)	šīr(uzu)-šú

35	Simsal	: The lady
36	Ziqqu	: Nanā
37	Juniper	: Adad
38	Coloured wool	: Uttu, daughter of Anu, the spider's web
39	Rite	: Ninurta
40	The censor	: Uraš
41	The fire brand	: Gibil
42	The white fumes	: Lisi
43	The purifier	: Igisigsig, the gardener of Enlil
44	The cymbals	: Ninšar and Nergal
45	The drum	: Indagar
46	Gypsum	: Utulu
47	Bitumen	: Nāru
48	The scapegoat	: Kušu
49	The living sheep	: Šakkan
50	The offering goat	: Muḫra
51	Šebirbirrida	: milled barley
52	Šenumun	: meal
53	The porringers	: Nunurra, Ea
54	The magic wand	: The seven storms, the weapon of Marduk
55	Red gold	: Anunnaki
56	The golden appurtenance	: Maštabbagalgal
57	The gazelle	: Šarratnippuri
58	The goose	: Ninimma
59	The resin of the cedar	: the fat of Anzú
60	Honey	: the pus of Anzú
61	Rancid oil	: his fat
62	Sulphur	: his gods
63	Raisin	: his eye-balls
64	Dried fig	: his breasts
65	Pomegranate	: his knees
66	Apple	: ankle bones
67	Scone	: his flesh

Variants in CBS: 1.2 ^{du}gan.nu.tur, 1.6 ^dnin-urta, 1.8 ^der^l-ra^l, 1.16 eri^l-du^{ki}, ll.35, 36 om. giš, 1.48 máš.ḫul.dúb.ba.a, 1.56 níg.máš.zi, 1.62 [× × ×] ^díd; K: 1.1 d]ú^{at}, 1.5 ^didim, 1.6 ^dnin-urta, 1.16 šá eri^l.du^{ki}, 1.38 iš-kil-ti et-tu-tu omitted, 1.42 ud.da.meš, 1.48 .dúb.ba; BM 41361: 1.1 dú^{at}, 1.3 ^da-ni-um, 1.6 ^dnin-ur[ta] 1.8 iḫ piš-ri; BM 47463: 1.16 om. ki, 1.35 ^dbe-pi, 1.51 om. ri, 1.52 ma-ak-lu-ú, 1.53 om. meš; ^dé-a, 1.54 ^{gi}š^štukul ^{gi}š^šma.nu, ud^{meš}, 1.69 om. d; BM 44179: 1.1 -šú, 1.2 -šú.

* Lines 63-7 duplicate material discussed in Chapter Three, and are also given on p.96.

Philological Commentary

In l.2, since Nammu is feminine, *narāmti* would be expected instead of *narāmu*. In l.17, note that *asal_x* is written A.IR.GABA.LIŠ instead of the expected A.TU.GABA.LIŠ. For the final *-ma* on *^dnin.girimma_x*, see *Šurpu* p.59, note on 20, and the references there given; to these may be added *OSPI* p.13 iv 8: *^dnin.gigilimma_x^{ma}*. The reading given in l.45 for *^dNINDA × GUD*, *^dindagar*, is derived from a believed parallel between a syllabically written Sumerian text and one in normal orthography.⁴

The Subjects

It is convenient to discuss these in groups according to their nature. The groups are specified by line number. Ll.1–2 and 53, vessels, are objects known to be used in cult. Ll.3–8, 29, 32–37 and 59 are plants, and trees. Most if not all of these had a use in cult or in the making of objects used in rituals. Ll.9–12 and l.55, metals, have a relevance to cult similar to that of the preceding group. Ll.14–23, stones, may be included because of their use in making amulets.⁵ The stones are mentioned here in the same order as they are given in an incantation, *Šurpu* VIII ll.85–7. Ll.27, 40–50 and 56 are objects made particularly for use in cult or animals specially consecrated for this purpose. Ll.51–2, grains, are among the substances used in magic and rituals. The reason for including the animals in ll.57–8 is doubtful. Honey, l.60, is used in rituals.

The Deities

The deities are all at least reasonably well known. Ningirimma is in different traditions the daughter of Ea (*CT* 13 38 5), or the sister of Enlil (*CT* 24 11 40 and 16 7 254, coll.). She is a common figure as a purifier in rituals. Nammu is mother of Ea, and a watery deity (*YOS* I pl.53 57–60 dupl. *CT* 35 1 46–9). Amaraḥēea is the daughter of Sîn (*KAV* 63 obv.i 15–6). Lugalasal is the deified king or lord of the poplar (see *VAB* 4 92 ii 48; cf. *ibid.* 74 ii 29; *ibid.* 108 ii 60; *ibid.* 182 iii 7). Sakkud is identified with Ninurta (*CT* 25 11 34) and is known as an official of Anu (*CT* 24 3 18). Igisigsig is elsewhere the gardener of Anu (see *RLA* ad loc.); here he is the gardener of Enlil. Ninšar is paired with Nergal here, and also in *VR* 46 18. He is the *tābiḫu*, “slaughterer” of animals for food or offerings of Ekur (*CT* 24 10 16).

Utulu is a name of Ninurta (*CT* 25 12 6). Muḫra is a name of Nergal (*CT* 24 36 62).

The Connection Between the Subjects and the Deities

This section is arranged according to the groups distinguished above.

Ll.1–2: The basin is commonly associated with Ningirimma. For example: *^dnin.girimma_x nin a.gúb.ba u.me.ni.sikil u.me.ni.dadag* (Farber, *Ištar and Dumuzi* 60 60), “Ningirimma, the lady of the basin, has purified it and made it fine”. In a list of gods the basin is deified and equated with her: *^dnin.girimma_x nin^{a-bat} den.lil^{da} a.gúb.ba šu.luḫ.dadag.a eridu.ga.ke₄* (*CT* 24 24 57–8), “Ningirimma is the sister of Enlil; the divine Basin purifies the rites of Eridu”. Nammu, in *utukkī lemnūti*, is associated with the basin: *^dnammu nin a.gúb.ba be-let agubbê* (*Devils and Evil Spirits* 1 27 255), “Nammu, the lady of the basin”. Possibly she is equated with the small jug because the basin has already been assigned to Ningirimma. As a watery deity she is appropriate to washing. The connection between these two subjects and deities is on the basis of traditional associations.

Ll.3–8, 29, 32–7, 59: Jacobsen has put forward the idea that there is a connection between Dumuzi and the date palm. Here, the heart of the date palm is connected with Dumuzi, and the date palm itself with Sakkud. Jacobsen’s interpretation is based on the theories that the form of Dumuzi as Amašumgalanna personifies date palm husbandry, and that this name is to be analysed *ama.ušum.gal.an.a(k)* and translated “One great mother of the date cluster”. In this translation, *an* is understood as *sissinmu*, “date cluster”, rather than *šamū*, “heaven”.⁶ The correctness of these ideas is most uncertain, but they would accord with the one line in the present work mentioning Dumuzi and the heart of the date palm, as another example of a traditional association. In l.3 tamarisk is equated with Anu. In *Gudea* B iv 10 tamarisk, along with šenbar, is said to be born of Anu, but as much else was said elsewhere to be similarly born this is not really significant. Maštakal may be Ea because it grows in the marshes and Ea is god of the Apsū, but this is unsure. In l.6 the association may be between Ninurta and šul, understood as “hero”, but this also is doubtful. In l.7 the connection may be between Nanše as a pure maiden and sikil, “pure”, Akkadian *ellu*; *ki.sikil* and *elletu* would be suitable descriptions of her.

Ll.9–12 and 55: Here silver and gold are Angal and Enmešarra, copper and tin are Ea and Ninmah, and red gold is the Anunnaki. Another tradition is known from *An*, where the metals are deified:

^d kù.babbar	: ^d a-nu-[um]	Divine silver	: Anu
^d guškin	: ^d en-líl	Divine gold	: Enlil
^d urudu	: ^d é-a	Divine copper	: Ea
an.na	: ^d nin-á-zal-[le ²]	Divine tin	: Ninazal

CT 24 49 (K 4349) E 3–6

The apparent rationale is that the most important metals are the most important deities, and that other deities are added to complete the pattern. *An* follows the theological situation in the OB period when Anu, Enlil, and Ea were the most important gods. Ninazal, which may mean “Lord bright arm”, is appropriate as a craftsman god.⁷ Angal is Anu, and Enmešarra is theologically anterior to Enlil. If the rationale is the same here, the tradition represented is earlier than the OB period. It could date to such an early period or be projected back in time by a later thinker. The correct explanation for the difference between our text and *An* may be theological. Though our author or compiler was influenced by the rationale seen clearly in *An*, he needed to replace Anu by Angal and Enlil by Enmešarra because he was concerned with explaining magical techniques in which these earlier gods were prominent.

Ll.14–26: Similarity in appearance may underlie connection of lapis lazuli with Venus. Nothing can be suggested for the other equations except arbitrary correspondences between each one of a group of deities and each one of a group of related items.

L.38: Here, coloured wool is equated with Uttu. In an explanatory work discussed in the previous chapter the grease on a flock of wool was said to be taboo to Enmešarra.⁸ In a work pertaining to the art of the seer the flock of wool is equated with Adad, and the grease on a flock of wool associated with Šamaš and Adad: *it-qu* ^dad[ad] *mē*^{meš} *it-qi šip-ru šá* ^dšamaš *u* ^dadad¹ (*BBR* 24 rev.4), “Flock of wool: Adad. The grease on a flock of wool is something sent by Šamaš and Adad”. It has been believed by some that Uttu is a spider, and if this is correct it would be the explanation for the equation: she herself is a spinner of yarn. The only evidence for identification of Uttu as a spider is derived from variants in a line from *Šumma Ālu*: *lipit* ^duttu (var. *et-tu-tú*) *ina bitišu išar* (var. *kajjān*) (*K* 3769 and dupls. cited from *CAD* E 396b), “The work of Uttu (var. the spider) will prosper (var. be

steady) in his house”. The occurrence of Uttu and “the spider” as variants has been taken to mean that Uttu is a spider; it could however merely derive from the near homophony of *lipit* ^duttu and *lipit* *ettútu*. However, there is evidence in the myth of *Enki and the World Order* that Uttu is a weaver.⁹ Equation of Uttu with coloured wool is therefore based on a traditional association. One might compare a line in *PBS* 13 60, a list equating deities with objects: *túg.babbar gada.babbar* ^dnin.ME.TAG (*PBS* 13 60 7), “Bright cloth, bright linen: Nin.ME.TAG”.

Ll.51–3: The first two of these lines explain Sumerian words for types of grain in terms of Akkadian. The third, for an unknown reason, explains a type of dish as Nunurra, and then explains Nunurra as Ea.

L.54: The magic wand is explained as the seven storms, the weapon of Marduk. For the magic wand see Salonen, *Waffennamen* pp.64 and 72, and *CAD* sub *e’ru*.

Ll.57–8: Goddesses are sometimes described as gazelles; in one case the connection is clearly intended to be grace and beauty.¹⁰ In the *Bird Call Texts* the goose is the bird of Asakku (*STT* 341 and dupl. l.14) or of Duranki (*KAR* 125 obv.11), but in both cases attributed the same mythological cry. There may be a connection. Duranki is a name of Nippur, the city of Ninurta, who in the well-known myth defeated Asakku. Why the goose is here Ninimma is unknown.

L.59: Here the idea is the same as in the explanatory text in the previous chapter, where cedar resin is explained as the loose flesh of evil gods. This proves interrelation between the present work, and the explanatory works in which actions in rituals are accounted for in terms of myths.

Ll.27, 40–50, and 56: The rite or appurtenance, presumably in general, is explained as Ninurta. This may be connected with the theories in which rites are explained by myths of the defeat of enemy gods, since Ninurta is a warrior god par excellence. The reason for connection of Uraš with the censor is unclear. The fire brand is Gibil because Gibil is a fire god. The white fumes are Lisi almost certainly on the basis of the argument given in another section of the compilation, based on artificial philology. The fumes are produced by burning. The association between the purifier and Igisigsig is uncertain. Connection between the cymbal and Ninšar and Nergal is unclear. Connection between the drum, *kuš-gu₄-gal*, literally “great

ox hide", and Indagar is probably due to association with the ox. Indagar's connection with the ox can be deduced from the ideogram for his name, NINDA × GUD. Use of the sign GUD, which means "ox" suggests a connection with bovines. The connection between Šakkan and the scapegoat is that Šakkan is god of herds; an example of the god in this capacity is *ki-ma^d šakkan ir-ḥu-ú bu-ul-šú* (*Maqlû* VII 34), "as Šakkan impregnated his herds". Connection between the offering goat and the Maštabbagal, Gemini, is obscure. These identifications must be compared with the identifications in the *Ritual for Curing a Sick Man*:

Item	Deity in BM 34035	Deity in CBS 6060 and dupl.
gypsum	Ninurta	Utulu
bitumen	Asakku	Nāru
drum	Anu	Indagar
cymbals	Ea	Ninšar, Nergal
scapegoat	Ninamaškuga	Kušu
censor	Kušu	Uraš
torch or fire brand	Nusku	Gibil

Out of the seven items for which divine equivalences are recorded in both works there is a reasonable agreement in two only. Gypsum is Ninurta and Utulu, a name or form of Ninurta, and the fire gods Nusku and Gibil are the torch and fire brand. The disagreement between the two works would be explained by the existence of two different traditions. Comparison with the other information in the *Compendium* strongly suggests, however, that the situation was more complicated. The question is, were there a definite number of fixed traditions or interpretations? Or was there only a general background of tradition used to interpret rituals? The most important element of background to the works is the fact that various items were used as symbols of deities.¹¹ How many of the items in the *Compendium* were actually used as symbols of the deities with which they are equated is uncertain. Several techniques of association can be distinguished:

(i) Artificial philology was used in the interpretation of Lisi as white fumes.

(ii) One to one correspondences between individual deities and items belonging to groups of phenomena appear to be involved. Examples are the triad Anu, Enlil, and Ea equated with the three heaps of flour in the *Ritual for Curing a Sick Man*, and to some extent each of the

groups distinguished in the *Compendium*.

(iii) Similarity in character can be discerned in some of the equations. An example is the association of the fire gods Gibil and Nusku with the fire brand and torch.

The mythological background reflects, to some extent, the bias toward use of myths of the defeat of evil gods or demons in explaining rituals, noted in Chapter Four. Two clear examples are the pursuing of Asakku by Ninurta mentioned in the *Ritual for Curing a Sick Man*, and the fat of Anzû, presumably to be burned, in the *Compendium*. The equation of the magic wand with the weapon of Marduk, and the two associations of Ninurta with "rite" or "appurtenance" may also reflect this bias.

Identification of deities with objects, plants, trees, foods, minerals, and animals was facilitated by the general background of thought which existed, and which has been discussed at some length in Chapter Three. In fact there is considerable affinity between the *Compendium* and the *God Description Texts*. Here miscellaneous items are equated with individual deities, and there with parts of the body of one deity. One genre of incantations, the so called *Kultmittelbeschwörungen*, frequently includes lines which address objects or substances used in rituals as if they had divine power. An example is *at-ti tābtu ša ina aš-ri elli ib-ba-nu-ú ... puṭri kiš-pi-ja tābtu pu-uš-ši-ri ru-ḥi-e-a* (*Maqlû* VI 111 and 117), "You, salt, who were created in a fine place ... Release the spell on me! Salt, exorcise the witchcraft on me!"

A motivation for identifying objects used in rituals with deities can be suggested. In many rituals deities were represented by statues or symbols. That a deity was believed to be present in the objects representing him is indicated by phrases such as *ina pān^d ×*, "before the god ×", in reference to prayers addressed to them or actions performed in front of them. The idea is stated clearly in a letter by a scholar of the NA period: *is-pil-ur-tú ki-ze-er-tú ša^d nabû ši-i [ina] bīti ša^{uru} iš-nu-na-ak ki-zer-tú šá-kin [ina] muḥ-ḥi i-qab-bi-u ma-a^d nabû šu-u* (*LAS* 318 obv.3-7), "The cross is the symbol of Nabû. He is placing the symbol in the temple in Išnunak. They say about it, 'It is Nabû'". There were rituals for introducing a god to his statue, and in certain circumstances the god might abandon it. Sometimes figurines were made for use in a particular ritual. In other rituals the gods mentioned in ritual directions or incantations were not present in any obvious form, and the question of how their

presence was to be understood naturally arose. With this question was associated the further one of what exactly the god in question did in the ritual. These problems could be solved more easily if the deities were identified with concrete objects, and at the same time, such identifications helped to explain the significance of the objects. Against this could be argued that deities could, in ancient thought, be conceived of as present without representation as tangible objects. In the next text to be discussed, which belongs to the same compilation as the *Compendium*, deities seem to frequent certain places in some other than tangible form.

- 6 ^dku-šú ina šīr ki-i-šu
 7 ^dmu-úh-ra ina pān abulli(ká.gal)
 8 ^dsak-kut ina qabal appāri(ambar)
 9 ^dsi-lak-ki ina ma-na-ḥa-ti
 10 ^de-qu ina lib-bi ^{uz}pēmi(úr)
 11 ^dab-ba-gu-la ina igāri(é.sig₄)
 12 ^dšu-lak ina ḥur-bat

CBS 6060 rev.i 6 – 19 dupl. BM 47463. Variants in BM: 6, *ki-i-ši*; 8, *garim*;
 9, *ma-na-ḥa-a-ti*, 10, ^de-qi, omits *úr*.

- 6 Kušu: above the shrine (? = *kišsu*)
 7 Muḥra: in front of the main gate
 8 Sakkut: in the middle of the swamp
 9 Silakku: in the orchard
 10 Equ: inside the hip
 11 Abbagula: in the wall
 12 Šulak: in the ruins

(In l.10 perhaps *sūnu(úr)*, “lap”, rather than *pēmu(úr)*, “hip”).

Except for Sakkut and Šulak the gods listed are known to be Asakku demons, sons of Anu. Eight of these are given in *STT* 400 obv.16 – 24 and nine in *III R* 69 no.3, which claims to be a list of fourteen. The fact that Equ is said to be in the flesh of the hip shows that at least in this case the god did not frequent the place to which he is ascribed in the form of a tangible object such as a statue or symbol. It seems probable that this was also the case in the other examples. That the pairings of deities to places is not in all cases ad hoc is shown by a connection of Muḥra with “gate” in the *Epic of Erra*: ^dmu-úh-ra ra-bi-šu abullī-šú ina da-m[ī] eḫli u ardati ta-at-ta-di šu-bat-su (*Erra* IV 17), “Muḥra, the croucher at his gate, you threw down his abode in the blood of the young man and the young woman”. Silakku occurs in *Šurpu*, and Reiner proposes an identification with Šulak.¹² Since

both occur separately here, this seems unlikely. Silakku is perhaps the god mentioned in a Kassite name: *arad-^dsi-la-ak-ku-ku*? (*CBS* 11831, unpublished, see Clay, *PN*, p.58), “slave of Silakkuku?”. Sakkut may have been included by virtue of his membership of Anu’s divine court; he is an official of Anu.¹³

In spite of this the fact remains that by equating a deity with a tangible object his presence in a ritual could be more easily understood.

THE PLACING OF BRICKS FOR DEITIES IN RITUALS

RITUALS quite frequently require the placing of bricks for certain deities. In the ritual for covering the kettledrum, discussed in the next section, a brick is placed for Lumḥa. Another example is in a ritual for making a statue: *libittu šá ^dbēlet-ilī^{meš} tanaddi ina muḥḥi ... šir-qu ta¹-sar-raq* (*TuL* 27 obv.42 – 3 = rev.4 – 5), “You place the brick of Bēlet-ilī and offer a libation over it.” The context suggests that the brick alone is placed and represents the deity, rather than being placed as a platform for the statue or symbol of the deity. A brick of the birth goddess Mami, related to Bēlet-ilī, is mentioned in the *Epic of Atrahasis* as having to be in place for seven days when a mother gave birth. This context is important. Firstly, it shows that the idea went back to the OB period at least. Secondly, the context in which it is used is that of the original creation of mankind, by Mami. The idea that it was used then, and later, shows that every birth was considered to be a re-enactment of the original one, when man was created by Mami, from clay and spittle.

RITUAL FOR COVERING A KETTLEDRUM USED IN CULT

O 175

THIS work comprises theological and mythological explanations of a ritual for covering a bronze kettle drum to be used in cult. The reverse of the tablet gives a diagram showing the required arrangement of gods, symbols, apparatus, the drum to be covered, and the bull which is to supply the hide, in the chamber in which the ritual is to take place. The text is partially duplicated by *AO* 17626 (= *RA* 41 32; see pp.198 – 9). O 175 is published and edited in *RA* 16 144ff., by Thureau-Dangin. The ritual itself is known, and the manuscripts describing it, henceforth referred to as the “ritual texts”,

are presented and edited by Thureau-Dangin in *TCL* 6 44-6 and *RAcc* pp.1-59.

[Text continues on p. 190]

O 175
Obverse*

¹[a-šib] ^da-num ki-i rama- < ni > -šú
a-šib ^den-líl ki-i ^dlugal-du₆-kù-ga ^den-me-šár-ra ^{2d}en-me-šár-ra ^da-num

a-šib ^{dé}-a ki-i a[p-s]u-ú a[p-s]u-ú tam-tì tam-tì ^dereš-ki-gal

³an-šár ^da-num ^dlugal-du₆-kù-ga ^da-la-la ^den-me-šár-ra ^ddumu-zi ^{dé}-a
al-la ^{4d}tam-tì ^dasakku(KÛ.AN) ^dasakku(KÛ.AN) ^d[x x x x x]
^{tu}¹⁵šadû(kur.ra) nam.lú.u.₁₈.lu ^ddumu-zi ^{5d}en-me-šár-ra ^da-num šá
ana ešeri(KAR)^{ri} napšati^{meš}-šú mārī^{meš}-šú iddina(SUM)^{na} ^dereš-ki-gal
^{6d}be-li-li TUK DIŠ ^{tu}¹⁵šadû(kur) ^dnergal(U+GUR) ^den.líl^{meš} ^dda-gan
puḫri(ukkin)-ma ana ^dal-la-tu₄ ip-qid⁷šú-ú be-lu-ut-su-nu [x x x x
x x] ina muḫ-ḫi-šú-nu šubat(tuš) ^dir-kal-la ip-qid-da-áš-šú

^{8d}lugal-gir-ra ^dsín(30) māru reš-tu-ú šá ^den-líl
^dmes-lam-ta-è-a ^dgilgameš(GIŠ.GÍN.MAŠ) ^{9d}gilgameš(GIŠ.GÍN.MAŠ)
^dnergal(U + GUR) āšib(tuš) eršetiⁱⁱ

^{10d}zi-sum-ma ^dgu-la ^dbēlet(nin)-nippuri^{ki} nādinat(sum)^{at} napišti(zi)
^da-nim

^{11d}ib-gir-ḫuš ^dšu-zi-an-na an-tu₄ gāmilat(šū.gar)^{at} napišti(zi) ^da-nim
^dšenbar-ra-gim₄-gim₄-me ^{12d}en-nu-gi ^dsín(30) šá-kin eq-lu
^dūr-bād-da ^dkù-sù ^dtu-tu šá ^{mē}^{meš} ellūti(kù)^{meš} idú(zu)ⁱⁱ
^{13d}ūr-bād-ḫum-ḫum ^dnin-šar ^dnergal nāš patri(gír) siparri(ud.ka.bar)
^dgub-ba-ra-ra-è ^{14d}nin-ka-si ^dnin-gir-zi-da nāš kurunni(kaš.tin. nam)
^da-ba-ra-laḫ₅ ^dnusku ^{15d}nin-urta

^dsín(30) ^dnabû laputtú(nu.bàn.da) an-gub-ba^{meš} šá ina pān ^dda-gan
ištu šāti(ul.dù.a) ^den-me-šár-ra ina[ššaru(ùru[?])]

¹⁶qātātu^{II.meš} šá ina li-li-is siparri nadúⁱⁱ šum-ši-na ana zakār^{ár}

rēšū ⁱⁱ	^d zi-sum-ma
¹⁷ kin-kin-na	^d bi-gir-gid-da
taḫ-ḫu-ú	^d šenbar-gim ₄ -gim ₄ -me
in-sá-aš	^d ūr-bād-da
¹⁸ né-re-bi	^d ūr-bād-da-ḫum-ḫum
ub-ba-lu-ú ikaššadū(kur) ^{du}	ub-ba-lu-ú an-gub-ba ^{meš}

* The line by line arrangement of the text is by the present writer. However, the rulings and the resulting sections correspond to those of the ancient scribe. Figures corresponding to the lines of the original manuscript are given within the transliterated text.

O 175
Obverse

¹Anu [is present] as himself.

Enlil is present as Lugaldukga, (that is) Enmešarra. ²Enmešarra is Anu.

Ea is present as the Apsû. The Apsû is the sea(Tāmtu). The sea is Ereškigal.

³Anšar Anu Lugaldukuga Alala Enmešarra Dumuzi
Ea Alla ⁴Tāmtu Asakku Asakku the god [.....] East wind,
mankind Dumuzi ⁵Enmešarra Anu, who, to save his life, handed over
his sons, Ereškigal ⁶Belilī .. East wind, Nergal, the Enlils, Dagan
consigned the assembly to Allatu. ⁷He himself [...] their lordship. [...] over them, he consigned it to Irkalla.

⁸Lugalgirra is Sîn, the eldest son of Enlil.
Meslamtaea is Gilgameš. ⁹Gilgameš is Nergal, who dwells in the underworld.

¹⁰Zisumma is Gula, the Lady of Nippur, she who gives(sum) life(zi) to Anu.

¹¹Ibgiḫuš is Šuzianna, Antu who saves(šū-gar) the life(zi) of Anu.
Šenbarragimgimme is ¹²Ennugi, Sîn who looks after the field.
Urbadda is Kusu, Tutu who knows(zu) the pure(kù) waters.

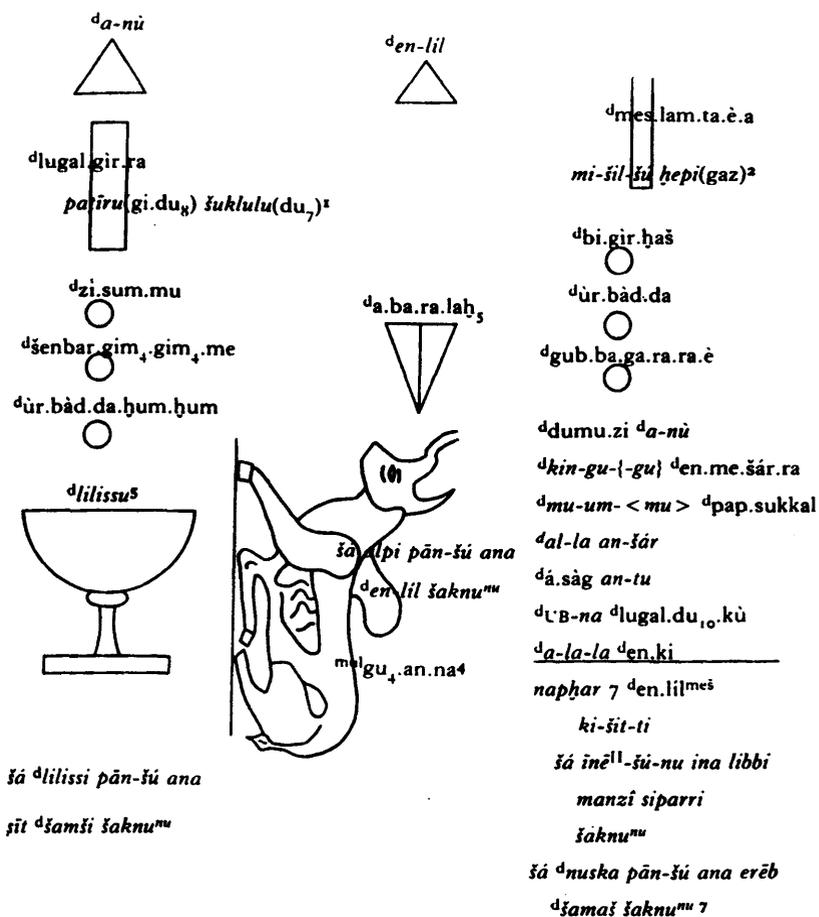
¹³Urbadḫumḫum is Ninšar, Nergal, bearer of the bronze dagger.
Gubbararæ is ¹⁴Ninkasi, Ningirzida, the wine bearer.
Abaralaḫ is Nusku, ¹⁵Ninurta. Sîn and Nabû, the steward, are the Angubba who at the command of Dagan have guarded[?]* Enmešarra since distant times.

¹⁶To mention the names of the hands† laid in the bronze kettledrum:

Principal	: Zisummu
¹⁷ ...	: Bigirgidda
Augmenting	: Šenbargimgimme
...	: Urbadda
¹⁸ Entrance	: Urbaddaḫumḫum
... ..	: Angubba

* Akkadian requires a present tense here, English a perfect tense.

† Or, handles.

O 175
Reverse

Translations

- 1 Perfect altar.
- 2 Half of it is broken.
- 3 The bull's head is set toward Enlil.
- 4 The constellation Taurus.
- 5 Kettle drum
- 6 The face of the kettle drum is set toward the West.
- 7 (The preceding list of gods are) all the seven Enlils whose eyes are directed toward the bronze *manzū* drum. Nusku's face is directed toward the West.

Text appearing around the diagram

Top: 1 d a-nū d en-lil d é-a [× × ×] he-pi eš-[šū]
 Right edge: he-pi d mes-lam-ta-è-a d šu-zi-an-na d kù-sù
 he-pi pān-šū-nu ana ^{tu} 1 šamurrī(mar.tu) šaknuᵐᵐ
 Left edge: šā d lugal.gir.ra d nin.imma_x d en.nu.gi d nin.šār pān-šū-nu
 ana ^{tu} 1 šādī(kur.ra) šaknuᵐᵐ
 Bottom: mūdā^a mūdā^a li-ka-lim là mūdā^a a-a-mur ikkib d en-lil d i-gi-gi
 d a-nun-na-ki u an-gub-ba^{mes} šā é-kur
 [gaba-r]i nippuri^{ki} kīma labirī(til)-šū šaṭir(sar)-ma ba-rù IM šā¹ d en-
 lil-kāšir ^{lu} kalú(gala) d en-lil mār-šū šā¹ d en-lil-šum-im-bi
 [lúkalú] ana tāmartī-šū iš-tur

Translation

Top: Anu, Enlil, Ea [...] new break
 Right Edge: break The face of Meslamtaea, Šuzianna, and Kusu
 break are directed toward the West.
 Left Edge: The face of Lugalgirra, Ninimma, Ennugi, and Ninšar are
 directed towards the East.
 Bottom: Let the initiate instruct the initiate. Let the uninitiated not
 see. Taboo to Enlil, the Iḡigū, the Anunnaki, and the Angubba of
 Ekur.

Copy of Nippur. Written and checked according to its original.
 Tablet of Enlilkāšir, the lamentation priest of Enlil, the son of
 Enlilšumimbi,

[the lamentation priest]. He wrote (it) for his perusal.

Philological Matters

The meaning of *umaḥ*, ŠL 512, in obv.21-4 is uncertain. *umaḥ* means "marsh" in Sumerian and is equated in lexical lists with the following Akkadian words for "marsh": *agammu*, *ḥammu*, and *miḥṣu*. In the present text it has a technical meaning. It refers to something which pertains to the deity Lugaldukuga, and it is equated with stages in, or more probably objects used in, covering the kettledrum. On the basis of the lexical evidence, two possibilities can be suggested. One is that the technical meaning is semantically related to "marsh", perhaps with the sense of an area which the deity permeates, or in which he is entrenched. The second is that *umaḥ* = *miḥṣu*, "marsh", is being used as a learned writing for *miḥṣu*, "beating", referring to hammering something onto the kettledrum. The second possibility is more convincing than the first, but must be rejected because the text has *umaḥ-ṣu*; taking *umaḥ* as *miḥṣu* this would have to appear as *umaḥ-su*, for *miḥis-su*. It is uncertain whether AN.gub.ba is to be understood as an.gub.ba or dingir.gub.ba.

A Related Text

Before continuing with detailed discussion of the text presented above, it is necessary to present a further text, which supplies important background evidence.

[Text continues on p. 198]

AO 17626 (RA 41 31)

Obverse(!)

- 1 d[...
 2 d₅₀.NIR d × [...
 3 d_{mes}.lam.ta.è.[a...
 4 6 an.gub.ba [...
 5 d_è.BAR.DU [...
 6 *naphar*(PAP) 12 *ilāni*^{meš} MU [...
 7 d_{en}.me.šár.r[a ...
 8 d_{nusku} ×
 9 d_{nin}.šar [...
 10 d_{en}.nu.gi × [...
 11 *naphar*(PAP) 6 *ilāni*^{meš} [...
 12 an.šár × [...

Reverse(!)

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | d _{dumu} -zi | d _a -[nù] |
| 2 | d _{kin} -gi | d _{en} .me.šár.[ra] |
| 3 | d _{mu} -um-mu | d _{il} -lab-rat |
| 4 | d _{alla} | an.šár |
| 5 | d _á -sàg | an-tu ₄ |
| 6 | d _{nu} -nu | d _{lugal} .du ₆ .kù.ga |
| 7 | d _a -la-la | d _{en} .ki |
| 8 | <i>naphar</i> (PAP) 7 <i>ilāni</i> (dingir.dingir) <i>ilāni</i> ^{meš} ki-šit-tu ₄ | |
| 9 | šá inē ^{II} -šú-nu ina libbi manzî siparri(UD.KA.BAR) šaknu ^{nu} | |
-
- 10 d_a-nù d_{en}-lil u d_{ea}(idim) zuq-qu-tu .
 11 d_{lugal}.gir.ra u d_{mes}.lam.ta.è.a qur-du-tu
 12 d_{an}.gub.ba^{meš}
 13 [× × × ×] d_{nusku} šum-šú

AO 17626 (RA 41 31)

Obverse

- 1 the god [...
 2 the god .. the god . [...
 3 Meslamtaea [...
 4 6 Angubba [...
 5 EBARDU [...
 6 Total 12 gods . [...
 7 Enmešarra [...
 8 Nusku .
 9 Ninšar [...
 10 Ennugi . [...
 11 Total 6 gods [...
 12 Anšar . [...

Reverse

- | | | |
|---|---|---------------|
| 1 | Dumuzi | : Anu |
| 2 | Kingu | : Enmešarra |
| 3 | Mummu | : Illabrat |
| 4 | Alla | : Anšar |
| 5 | Asakku | : Antu |
| 6 | Nunu | : Lugaldukuga |
| 7 | Alala | : Enki |
| 8 | Total 7 gods, the defeated gods, | |
| 9 | whose eyes are put in the bronze <i>manzû</i> drum. | |
-
- 10 Anu, Enlil, and Ea: ..
 11 Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea: valour
 12 Angubbas
 13 [...] Nusku is his name.

The Ritual Texts

Three of the manuscripts of the ritual texts are seventh century or earlier NA copies from Aššur and Nineveh, and one a Seleucid period copy from Uruk. It follows that the work originated in Babylonia sometime earlier than the seventh century. At one point in two of the ritual texts twelve gods are named, with equivalences to other gods and with descriptive epithets. Scribal rulings divide the twelve gods in three groups, of three, two, and seven. These three groups, and the manner in which the gods of the group of seven are explained correspond to ll. 1–2, 8–9, and 10–15 on the obverse of O 175. The relevant section of one of the ritual texts reads:

1 ^da-nù ^den-líl u ^{dé}-a ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš}

2 ^dlugal-gir-ra u ^dmes-lam-ta-è-a

3 ^dzi.sum.mu nibru^{ki} šà.ga.ke₄
^dnin-imma_x šá qé-reb ni-ip-pú-ru

5 ^dbi.gir.ḫuš < engur > .ra.ke₄

6 ^dšu-xi-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 ^dür.bàd.da en sukud.da.ke₄ ^dkù-šu be-lu šá-qu-u

10 ^dür.bàd.ḫum.ḫum dumu é.šà.ba.ke₄ ^dnin-šar mār é-šà-ba

11 ^dgub.ba.ga.ra.ra.è dumu uru.gibil₄.la.ke₄

12 ^dnin-ka-si mār āli eš-ši

13 ^da.bar.ra.laḫ₅ dumu ud.30.kám u₄.ná.àm

14 ^dnusku mār še-la-še-e bu-um-bu-lí

AO 6479 iii 1–14

1 Anu, Enlil, and Ea, the great gods.

2 Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea.

3–4 Zisumma (Ninimma), who is in Nippur.*

5–6 Bigirḫuš (Šuzianna), of the Apsû.

7–8 Šenbarragimgimme (Ennugi), who looks after the fields.

9 Urbadda (Kusu), the exalted lord.

10 Urbaddaḫumḫum (Ninšar), the son of Ešaba.

11–12 Gubagararæ (Ninkasi), the son of the new city.

* Ll.3–14 are bilingual. The gods in brackets in the English translation are from the Akkadian, and the gods preceding them are from the Sumerian.

13–14 Abarralaḫ (Nusku), the son of the thirtieth, the day of disappearance of the moon.

The other ritual text mentioning the deities sets in with the last two names (variants: ^dé.bar.ra.laḫ₅; *šá-la-še-e*). Two important comments follow:

7 ilāni^{meš} mārū ^den-me-šár-ra zid-dub-dub-bu^{meš}

12 ilāni^{meš} siparri a-na libbi lilis siparri tanaddi(šub)-ma

lilis siparri te-rim

K 4806 5–8

The seven gods, sons of Enmešarra, are heaps of flour.

You place the 12 bronze gods inside the bronze kettledrum, and you cover the bronze kettledrum.

Evidently, heaps of flour laid down during the ritual were regarded as representing the seven sons of Enmešarra. This should be compared to the section of BM 34035 in which heaps of flour represent Anu, Enlil, and Ea. The sons of Enmešarra constitute the third of the three groups of gods referred to above, and listed in the ritual texts. The three groups give a total of twelve gods, and these are presumably the same twelve who are to be placed inside the kettle drum before it is covered. The ritual texts also provide the information that *agubbû*, “basins”, are to be placed for Kusu and Ningirimma, and a brick placed for Lumḫa.

Commentary on O 175 obv.

Ll.1–2: It is clear from the diagram on the reverse of the tablet that Anu and Enlil are present in the ritual as themselves. That Anu is present as himself is restated here. Enlil and Ea are explained as being present in the form of other gods, or with their capacities. Enlil is present as his father or ancestor Enmešarra, or as Lugaldukuga.¹⁴ Enmešarra is equated with Anu. Ea is said to be present as the Apsû. The Apsû is equated with the sea (*tāmtu*), and the sea with Ereškigal. Apsû and *tāmtu* (Tiāmat) are similar in that both are watery regions; as mythological figures they were husband and wife.¹⁵ Finally, Ereškigal is equated with Tiāmat, perhaps because both are underworld deities.

Ll.3–7: The significance of the sequence of deities given in ll.3–5 is unclear. Because some gods (Dumuzi, Anu, Enmešarra) are mentioned more than once, the sequence is probably a series of

theological equivalences rather than a list. In ll.6–7 mythological events are recorded. Dagan consigned an assembly, presumably of gods, to Allatu, and he himself took over their previous authority. He then consigned “him”, or “it”, probably the assembly, to Irkalla, the underworld.

Ll.8–9: Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea are the second of the three groups of twelve. These gods are as a pair elsewhere equated with Šin and Nergal.¹⁶

Ll.10–15: This section deals with the third of the three groups, the sons of Enmešarra. In the statement of the names of the gods in the ritual texts, quoted above, the name of each son is followed by theological description of a set pattern. The names of the sons are all Sumerian and each one is followed by a description in late Sumerian associating him (except in the cases of two) with a particular place. Each line of Sumerian is followed by a line of Akkadian in which the description is translated. The name of the son is replaced by the name of another god, as if the second name was a translation. None of the names are translations, and five of them are definitely Sumerian. The explanatory work repeats the names of the sons, and the names of the gods with whom they are linked in the ritual texts. However, the description is omitted and replaced by different explanation. This is that in each case the name of a third god is added, with a further description. In the last case only a god's name is added. Note that Ninimma is replaced by her equivalent, Gula. The first, second, and fourth descriptions are based on etymologies of the names of the deities they refer to. The fourth, fifth, and sixth descriptions are directly relevant to ritual proceedings. The first and second express the mythological idea that Gula gives life to Anu, and that Antu spares the life of Anu. The final line of the section contains the mythological statement that Šin and Nabû have done something involving Enmešarra, in primeval times, and at the command of Dagan.

Ll.16–20: Interpretation is hampered by the obscure technical vocabulary. The first sentence refers to “hands”, or “handles” laid in the drum. Seven of these are singled out and each is equated with one of the sons of Enmešarra listed in the previous section. The point is that the sons become in this way part of the action of preparing the drum, and directly involved in the ritual. It is possible that the terms refer to permanent features of the drum, though whether these are

among the twelve bronze gods which according to one of the ritual texts are placed inside the drum is uncertain.

Ll.21–4: In this section Lugaldukuga is equated successively with each of the terms equated with the sons of Enmešarra in the previous section.

Commentary on O 175 rev.

The positions of the drum which is to be covered, the bull which is to supply the hide, an altar and deities, are shown. Anu and Enlil are represented by triangles. Meslamtaea and Lugalgirra are on rectangles, one of which is explained as an altar. Six of the seven sons of Enmešarra are represented by circles and one, Abaralaḥ, by a bisected triangle with its apex pointing toward the face of the bull. Remarks given in the diagram and around the edges explain what direction the various protagonists are to face. The bull is to face Enlil. The face of the kettledrum, Nusku, Meslamtaea, Šuzianna, and Kusu are to face the West. Lugalgirra, Ninimma, Ennugi, and Ninšar face the East. In the lower right hand corner of the diagram is a list of deities explained as the seven defeated Enlils, and these are to face a bronze *manzû* drum, not indicated in the diagram but presumably used in the ritual. The same list is given in AO 17626 rev.1–9 (see pp.198–9), where Anu, Enlil and Ea are mentioned with the comment *zuq-qu-tu*, of uncertain meaning, and Meslamtaea and Lugalgirra with the comment *qurdûtu*, “valour”.

Taking the information in the diagram and on the obverse of the tablet together, it is clear that the ritual is being interpreted as a mythological scene. The key figure is Enmešarra. In l.25 of the obverse it is explained that the head lamentation priest is Enmešarra. The sons of Enmešarra are identified with objects or stages used in preparing the drum, in ll.16 to 19. He himself, as Lugaldukuga (see l.1), is also identified with these objects or stages. The seven defeated Enlils facing the *manzû* drum may be his sons, as would normally be the Enlil whom the bull faces. In ll.10 to 15 the sons of Enmešarra are identified with relatively well known deities and their mythological functions. Of these, at least the functions of Nergal as knife-bearer and Ninkasi as cup bearer have a potential relevance to the ritual. The ritual is put in a cosmological context by identifying the bull with the constellation Taurus. It is probable that the myths referred to in ll.6 to 7 and l.15 were regarded as repeating themselves in the course of

the ritual. Dagan, a deity identified with Enlil, casts an assembly to Allatu and Irkalla, the underworld. It is possible that a myth in which the Enlils referred to in the diagram were defeated is also involved. Šin and Nabû are said to have been commanded by Dagan to do something in relation to Enmešarra, since the beginning of time. If the restoration is correct they were commanded to guard Enmešarra. It would then seem that a myth in which Enlil, as Dagan, subdues his father Enmešarra is being described. K 4806 (see p.201) states that the sons of Enmešarra are heaps of flour. Since a heap of flour may well be circular, one can suspect that the circles on the diagram, marked with the names of the sons, represent heaps of flour.

CHAPTER SIX

WORKS IN NEO-ASSYRIAN EXPLAINING RITUALS IN TERMS OF THEOLOGY AND MYTHOLOGY

THIS chapter is concerned with the composition, or rather compositions, which have come to be known as *Marduk's Ordeal*. In a publication referred to earlier¹ one of the manuscripts, VAT 9555, was presented and interpreted by H. Zimmern. Zimmern saw in the text an account of the death and resurrection of Marduk, and compared the events described, as he understood them, with the death and resurrection of Christ as told in the New Testament. W. von Soden re-edited VAT 9555 with a duplicate manuscript, VAT 9538, and pointed out that neither the death nor the resurrection of Marduk are mentioned in the text. He suggested that the events in the text were to be associated with the destruction of Babylon in 689 B.C., and the deportation of the statue or symbol of Marduk to Assyria. Later, von Soden and J.N. Postgate gave in different publications several more pieces belonging to the work. In the present chapter all the previously published pieces are re-edited, and an unpublished piece is added. A composite edition is given and some of the problems raised by the texts are discussed.

The Manuscripts

Marduk's Ordeal is not one single composition with a fixed arrangement of lines or subject matter to which all manuscripts conform. It is a group of compositions which may correctly be regarded as different versions of one work because there is a general similarity in subject matter between the different versions and because individual lines from different versions duplicate each other exactly. In the present state of knowledge of the work five versions are to be distinguished. These are indicated here by Roman numerals. The arrangement of the subject matter varies from version to version. For example, eighteen lines of Version I duplicate exactly, apart from minor variants, eighteen lines of Version II. But in each version these

eighteen lines are interspersed in other subject matter, and in each version they appear in a different order. Version I is represented by three manuscripts which duplicate each other in the normal sense, and Version II by two duplicate manuscripts. The different versions and manuscripts are:

Version	Manuscripts
I	VAT 9555 dupls. VAT 9538 and ND 812(a)
II	K 6330 + 6359 + 9138 dupl. Rm 275
III	BM 134503
IV	BM 134504 + Sm 1903
V	K 7979

It should be noted that K 6359 and BM 134504 do not join physically but complete a sequence of lines on, and appear from the point of view of shape and calligraphy to be part of, the tablets which they are indicated above as belonging to. It may be observed that Versions III and IV do not duplicate each other in any lines, and that they are calligraphically very similar. Discovery of further fragments may prove them to be parts of the same tablet, but for the present they must be regarded as different versions.

The Composite Edition

A composite edition constructed by the present writer is given. This includes all the lines from the different versions, and where individual lines from different versions duplicate each other they are combined. The source or sources for each line are indicated in the left hand margin. Variants are not indicated, since these can be found by consulting the editions of the individual versions. Important variants are noted in the commentary on the Composite Edition. The order of the lines is mainly arbitrary, but a general pattern has been adhered to. In ll. 1 to 13 the emphasis is on gods per se, and in ll. 14 to 18 it is on priests or temple staff, including the dog of Gula. In the largest section, ll. 19 to 78, the emphasis is on activities in general, and things which happen. In ll. 74 to 92 objects and substances are the focus of attention. Within this general pattern the writer has endeavoured to place together lines with similar subject matter. In this he has been compelled to use his own discretion. Since one line may appear to be related to several lines which themselves are otherwise unrelated, it has not been possible to achieve complete consistency. The extent to which individual lines are mutually related is discussed further

below. Many but not all the lines in the different versions follow the pattern that a statement is made and then interpreted or explained. Where this is the case in the manuscripts for Version I, the statement always begins on a new line of the manuscript. This is not however always the case in the other versions. The composite edition follows Version I in this respect, and a further element of arrangement is introduced in that the interpretation or explanation is placed on a new line and indented, though statement and explanation are given the same line number. Where statement and explanation are continued for several lines of a particular version or versions they are nevertheless numbered as one line in the combined edition. Where comparison between different versions shows that in one version a statement begins in the middle of a line, the writer has not hesitated to put the relevant half of the line with the statement to which it belongs, and the rest of the line elsewhere.

Marduk's Ordeal: Composite Text (Cf. the individual versions
on pp.236—51)

- 1 [d^{nabû} ša issu bār-s]i^{ki} il-lak-an-ni
18 :a-na šul-me ša abī-šú ša ša-bit-u-ni šu-ú il-la-ka
2 [d^{nabû}] ša a-na bār-si^{ki} i-sa-ḥar-u-ni il-lak-u-ni ^gtal-tal-le ša ina
libbī-šú is-sa-na-la-a'-u-ni
1 22, II 16 :si-ḥu šu'-u × [...]
3 [ad]nāte(gi.úr)^{meš} ša šaḥē^{meš} ša ina pān ḥarrāni ša d^{nabû}
1 24 :ki-i i[ssu] bār-si^{ki} il-lak-kan^{an}-ni i-ka-ra-bu-ni
4 d^{nabû} ša il-lak-an-ni ina muḥ-ḥi i-za-zu-u-ni im-mar-u-ni
1 25-6 :bēl ḥi-iṭ-ṭi ša issi(ta) ^dbēl šu-tú [× × ×] a-ki-i ša
issi(ta) ^dbēl šu-tú-ni im-[× ×]
5 [d^{taš-me}]tu₄ ša is-si-šú kam-mu-sa-tu-ni
1 16, III 22 :a-na šul-me-šú ta-ta-[al-ka]
6 [d^{be-let-bā}]bil^{ki} ša ina libbi bīt á-ki-it la tal-lak-u-ni
1 40-1 :mišá-ki-in-tú ša bīte [šī-i-ti × × × ×] × T1 bīte tu-
di-i ma-a bīte uṣ-ri ina qātē^{II}-ki ú-b[a-a'-šú]
7 [mišá-ki-in-t]ú ša bīte šī-i-i-šá-'u-lu-šī ma-a man-nu bēl ḥi-iṭ-ṭi ma-
a × [× × × × ×]
1 45
8 [d^{be-let-bābi}]l^{ki} ša šipātu(sig) šalmātu(ge₆) ina ku-tal-li-šá-ni
^{sig}tab-ri-bu ina pa-ni-š[á-ni × × × × × ×]
1 42-3, III 17 :pa-na-tu-uš-šá da-mu šá šur-ri šá tab-ku-ni [× ×
× ×]
9 {ú} ^dsak-ku-ku-tú ša issu āli ta-lab-ba-an-ni
1 67 :ba-ki-su šī-i issu āli ta-la-bi-a
10 ...]-ú-ni bēl ḥi-iṭ-ṭi š[a issi(ta) ^d]bēl i-zi-zu-ú-ni
II 15 :šū-nu ^daš-šur i-×-[-...]
11 ...mā]rat ^da-nim id-du-k[u ...
III 31
12 ...]-ú-ni a-ki-i ^d[× × × × × × ×] ú-šal-bu-ú-ni ú-kal-lu-mu
IV 14
13 ...] × ZI[?] MEŠ ša na-gi-i [...
IV 4
14 [ú]āšipū(maš.maš)^{meš} ša ina pa-na-tu-šú il-lak-u-ni šī-ip-tú i-ma-
an-nu-u-ni
I 77, II 22, III 6 :nišū^{meš}-šú šu-nu ina pa-na-tu-šú ú-na-ab-bu il-[lak-
u]

Marduk's Ordeal: Composite Text (Cf. the individual versions
on pp.236—51)

- 1 [Nabû, who] comes [from] Borsippa.
:He comes to greet his father, who has been taken captive.
2 [Nabû,] who turns back and goes to Borsippa, and sprinkles here
and there the stamens of the date palms there.
:That is rebellion.[...]
3 The pig reeds in the path of Nabû.
:When he comes from Borsippa and blesses.
4 Nabû, who comes, stands over, and watches.
:He is the criminal who is with Bēl. [...] Because he is with
Bēl. [...].
5 Tašmētu, who bows down with him.
:She has come to greet him.
6 [The Lady of] Babylon, who does not go to the Akītu temple.
:[She] is the governess of the temple. [...]. "You know the
temple. Guard the temple! I hold you responsible [for it]."
7 She is the governess of the temple. They ask her, "Who is the
criminal?" . [...]
8 [The Lady of] Babylon on whose back is black wool, and on her
front multi-coloured wool [...].
:[...] on her front is the blood of the heart which was shed
[...].
9 Sakkukutu, who goes round the city.
:She is his wailing woman, and goes round the city.
10 ...]. is the criminal who was present [with] Bēl.
:They Aššur ..[...]
11 ...] they have killed the daughter of Anu [...
12 ...] because the god [...] encircles, they demonstrate.
13 ...]the .. of the districts [...
14 The exorcists, who go in front of him reciting an incantation.
:They are his people, and go in front of him calling out.

- 15 ^{lú}maḥ-ḥu-u ša ina pān ^dbe-let-bābili^{ki} il-la-ku-u-ni
I 28, II 32 :^{lú}mu-pa-si-ru šu-u a-na irtī-šá i-bak-k[i]
- 16 [bēlē^{meš} ú]-ma-a-še ša ina b[ā]be ša é-sag-íl i-za-zu-u-ni
I 12 :^{lú}mašsurú(en.nun)^{meš}-šú šu-nu ina muḥḥī-šú paq-du
i-na-š[u-ru-šu]
- 17 ... K]AB ina qa-r[a-bi ...
V 16
- 18 kalbu(ur.gi₇) ša é-sa-bad eb-ber-an-ni
I 63 :^{lú}mār šipre šu-u-tú ^dgu-la ina muḥ-ḥi-šú ta-šap-pa-
ra
- 19 e-nu-ma e-liš ša da-bi-ib-u-ni ina pān ^dbēl ina ^{iti}nisanni i-za-mur-ú-
šú-ni
I 34, II 29 :ina muḥḥi ša ša-bit-u-ni šu-ú
- 20 [...]ma i-za-am-mu-ru-ú-[ni × × × ×] × × [...
II 11
- 21 šu-ul-le-e-šú-nu ú-šal-la su-ra-re-šú-nu ú-sa-r[a-ar]
I 35-6, II 30, III 12 :ina pān ^dšamaš šu-tú i-da-bu-ub ma-a dam-qa-a-te
ša ^daš-šur šī-na e-ta-pa-áš ma-a mi-i-nu ḥi-[iṭ-ṭi]
- 22 ...^mēš ša ina šá-ru-ri šá ^dšamaš [...
V 7
- 23 [× ×] ša šamē^e i-da-gal-u-ni
I 37, II 21, 31 :a-na ^daš-šur ^da-nim ^dsîn ^dšamaš ^dadad tu-ša-al-li
ma-a bal-li-ṭ[a-a-n]i
- 24 [× × ša] qa-q-ru i-da-gal-u-ni ḥu-ur-sa¹-šú ina muḥḥī-šú kar-
ru-ni
I 38 :ina muḥḥi ša issu libbi ḥur-sa-an il-[lak-u-]ni
- 25 ma-a a-na ḥur-sa-an ub-bu-lu-šú
I 29, III 15 :šī-i ta-ṭa-rad ma-a aḥu-u-a aḥu-u-a [× × × ×]
- 26 [× ×] ša ^dbēl ana ḥur-sa-an il-lik-u-ni
I 23, III 13 :ālu ana muḥḥī-[šú] it-ta-bal-kāt qa-ra-bu ina libbi
ú-tap-piš ma-a mi-i-nu ḥi-ṭa-[šú ...
- 27 [× × × × × i]-ra-kab-u-ni
I 6 :a-na ḥur-sa-an šu-ú il-lak
- 28 [× × × × × š]a il-lak-u-ni
I 7, V 5 :bītu šu-ú ina muḥḥi šap-te ša ḥur-sa-an ina libbi i-ša-
'u-ú-lu-šú
- 29 [...] TI[?] ú-bal-u-ni
I 46 :bēl ḥi-iṭ-ṭi i-[× × × × ×]
- 30 [...] áš-ru šu-ú ina muḥ-ḥ[i ...
IV 3[?], V 17

- 15 The ecstatic, who goes in front of the Lady of Babylon.
:He is a bringer of news and weeps on her breast.
- 16 The athletes, who stand at the gate of Esagil.
:They are his guards, are appointed over him and guard
[him].
- 17 ...]. in the battle [...
- 18 The dog, which crosses Esabad.
:He is a messenger. Gula sends (to inquire) about him.
- 19 *Enūma eliš*, which is recited and which they chant in front of Bēl
in Nisan.
:That concerns the prisoner.
- 20 ...]. they sing [...]. [...
- 21 He says prayers and makes supplications to them.
:He recites that before Šamaš: "They were favours for
Aššur. I did them. What is my crime?"
- 22 ...] which in the rays of Šamaš [..
- 23 [...] who scans the heavens.
:She is praying to Aššur, Anu, Sîn, Šamaš, and Adad:
"Keep me alive!"
- 24 [.. who] scans the ground on which his place of river ordeal has
been put down
:Concerning the one who comes from the place of the river
ordeal.
- 25 They carry him to the place of the river ordeal.
:She gives chase: "My brother, my brother!" [...].
- 26 [...] Bēl went to the place of the river ordeal.
:The city has revolted against [him] and done battle inside.
"What is [his] crime?"
- 27 [..... who] rides.
:He goes to the place of the river ordeal.
- 28 [..... who] goes.
:That is the temple. They question him about it at the edge
of the place of the river ordeal.
- 29 ...]. who carry.*
:The criminal [...
- 30 ...] it is the place on [...

* Or, carries.

- 47 *amēlu ša ud.7.kam ša iti*[...
 II 4
 48 [× × × × ×] KI² ša ud.8.kam ša ^{iti}nisanni šahâ ina pa-ni-šâ i-ša-
 [ba-ḥu-ni]
 I 44
 49 *šu-ú ina libbi e-nu-ma e-liš iq-[qí-b]i ki-i šamê^e eršetⁱ la ib-ba-nu-ni*
an-šâr it-[tab-ši] ki-i âlu u bitu ib-šu-u-ni šu-ú it-tab-ši mē^{meš} ša ina
muhḥi an-šâr² [× × × ×]
 I 54-5
 50 *da-ba-bu gab-bu ša ina lib-bi lúkalê(gala)^{meš} [da-bi-bu-u-ni]*
 I 61-2, III 33 :ša ḥa-ba-a-te ša i-ḥab-ba-tu-šú-ni ša ú-šal-pa-tu-
 šú-ni šu-ú ilāni^{meš} abbu^{meš}-šu-nu e-× [×]
 51 *lu-u kaspu lu-u ḥurāšu lu-u abnū^{meš}-šú ša issu libbi é-sag-il a-na*
ekurrāte^{meš} ú-še-šu-u-ni
 I 31 :bit-su šu-ú TU [× × ×]
 52 ...] × LI × × × × × × NI ša ú-ḥap-pa-tu-ú-šu-ni × [...
 II 36
 53 ...] ú šu-ú [× × ×] GA² KI ḥa-ri-ib šu × × AD DAN [...
 II 41
 54 ...ina [libbi gi-di-ma-a-ti ina libbi iš-qí šu-ra-a-re ú-šar-ra-[ru-u-
 ni]
 III 9
 55 ...] × il-lak-u-ni pa-ge-le-ša a-ki im-ma-at-ḥ[a-an-ni ×] × ŠU ú-
 ga-mar-ú-ni
 I 47-8, II 24, III 8 :ina pu-lu-uḥ-ti šu-ú mē^{meš} ár-ḥiš i-ša-am-mu-a [×
 × × × × ×]
 56 ... i]n-na-qu-ú-ni [... ...] QI Ú [... ...] × Ú NI ina [... ...] QI Ú
 [×]
 IV 6-7
 57 [× × × × × × i-ma-]ḥa-ḥu-ni ú-šar-ra-ru-u-ni
 I 49 :mū^{meš} da-al-ḥu-tu šú-nu [× × × × ×]
 58 [× × × × ×] × ša ina su-qa-qa-a-te i-du-ul-lu-u-ni
 I 9, II 19 :dbēl ú-ba-a'-ma a-a-ka ša-bit
 59 [d^{be}-let-bābili^{ki}] ša qātā^{II}-šâ tar-ša-a-ni
 I 10 :a-na ^dsîn ^dšamaš tu-šal-la ma-a ^dbēl bal-li-[s]u
 60 [× × × × ×^m]ēš ša tal-lak-u-ni
 I 11, II 33 :bāb qa-bu-rat šu-ú tal-lak tu-ba-[a'-š]u
 61 ... L]A i-bak-ku-ú-ni [... ...] TI la i-bak-ku-u-ni ina muhḥi ^dbēl šu-
 u T[A² (×)]

IV 12

- 47 The man who on the 7th day of the month [...
 48 [.....]. who slaughters* a pig in front of her on the 8th of Nisan.
 49 It is said in *Enūma eliš*: When heaven and earth were not created,
 Anšar came into being. When city and temple came into being,
 Anšar had come into being. The water which over Anšar [...
 50 All the speech which is recited among the lamentation priests.
 :It concerns the robbery and desecration which they
 commit against him. They are the gods, his fathers. [...
 51 His silver, gold, or gems which they take out of Esagil to other
 temples.
 :It is his temple. [...
 52 ...]..... whom† they make superior [...
 53 ...] .. it is [...] ...it is plundered [...
 54 They make poured offering from ladles and beakers.
 55 ... who] . goes.‡ Because her vessel was lifted and he¶ completes
 [.]..
 :It is in fear. He quickly thirsts for water.[...
 56 ...] is libated [...]. [.....]....[...].[.]
 57 ... which he¶] libates and pours.
 :That is turbid water [.....]
 58 ...] . who roams the streets.
 :He is looking for Marduk. "Where is he prisoner?"
 59 [The Lady of Babylon,] whose hands are stretched out.
 :She is praying to Sîn and Šamaš: "Keep Bēl alive!"
 60 [.....]s who goes,
 :That is the gate of graves. She goes and looks for him.
 61 ... who] weep [... who]. do not weep.
 :It is concerning Marduk..[(.)]

* Or, who slaughter.

† Or, which.

‡ Or, go.

¶ Or, they.

- 62 ... *ma-a*] *bal-li-ṭa ma-a la ta-duk-[ka ...*
III 14
- 63 ...] *ka-ri-ir la-an-tu-ḥa la-aq-be[r ...*
III 16
- 64 ... *il-]* *a-ka-an-ni i-kar-ra-ru-u-ni [...*
V 13
- 65 ... *lūmār ši-]* *ip-re ú-še-zab issu lib-bi us-se-ri-du-niš-[šú]*
I 14, III 24
- 66 ...] *ú-pat-tu-ú-ni dugkal-lu G[AL? ...*
II 9
- 67 ...] *daš-šur i-du-ak-šu-n[i ...*
V 14
- 68 *šu-u ūmu ša ḥi-ṭi-šú ina libbi ka-dam-me šu-tú e-si-ip la mē^{meš} la-biš*
ka-d[am-mu × × ×]
I 56, III 30
- 69 *li-is-mu ša ina* ^{iti} *kislimi ina pān dbēl ù ma-ḥa-za-a-ni gab-bu i-l[ab-*
bu-u-ni]
I 57-60, II 37-40, : *ki-i daš-šur dnin-urta ina muḥḥi ka-šá-de ša an-zi-i*
IV 2 *iš-pur-u-ni dner[gal(N[E) × × × ×] ina pān daš-šur*
iq-ṭi-bi ma-a an-zu-u ka-ši-id daš-šur a-na d[× ×
× iq-ṭi-bi] ma-a a-lik a-na ilāni^{meš.ni} gab-bu pa-si-ir
ú-pa-sa-ar-šú-nu ù šu-nu ina muḥ-ḥi × [× × ×]
iḥ-di[-ú]
- 70 ...] *šu-ú-ma ma-ḥa-zu [...*
III 39
- 71 ...] × *SU ši-i issu āli ta-la-[ba²-an-ni × × × × × × × ×] KAL*
LU LU × [(×)]
IV 10
- 72 ...] *lūmār šipre šu-ú [... ...] āli i-lab-bi-a-ni*
IV 11
- 73 ...] *ú-še-ša-áš-šú [... ...] × DA la lūmār šipre ša bēl^{meš}-šú man-nu*
ú-še-ša-áš-šú [× × × × × ša] il-lak-u-ni ú-še-ša-áš-šú-ni
I 3-5, II 6, V 4
- 74 [*qē*] *mu(zid.da) ša ina libbi* ^{iti} *nisanni a-na ma-gal ma-a'-du-ú-ni*
I 51, II 27 : *qēmu(zid.da) š[a] ki-i ša-bit-ú-ni šu-ú*
- 75 *ši-iz-bu ša ina pān* ^{dištar} (I 5) *ša ninua^{ki} i-ḥal-li-bu-ni*
I 33 : *né-mi-il ši-i tu-ra-bu-šú-ni re-e-mu ú-ka-al-lim-šú-*
[ni]

- 62 ...] Keep alive! Do not kill! [...
- 63 ...] is put down. Let me bear and bury [...
- 64 ... who] goes and puts down.
- 65 ...] the messenger saves.* They send him down from inside.
- 66 ... who] opens, the urn [...
- 67 ... whom] Aššur will kill [...
- 68 That is the day of his crime. It is gathered in the chamber.
Without water. He is clothed. Chamber [...
- 69 The race which is in Kislimu, and in which they go round in front
of Bēl and in all the cult places.
:When Aššur sent Ninurta to defeat Anzū. Nergal [...] spoke before Aššur, "Anzū is defeated". Aššur said to the god[...]; "Go to all the gods and give the news." He gives the news to them and they in [...] they rejoiced.
- 70 ...].. he the cult places [...
- 71 ...].. she comes round from the city [.....]
- 72 ...] He is a messenger. [... ...] He goes round the city.
- 73 ...] he makes him go out [... ..].. not the messenger of his lords.
Who makes him go out? [.....] who goes, who makes him go out.
- 74 Grain, which is extremely plentiful in Nisan.
:It is grain of when he was taken prisoner.
- 75 The milk, which they draw in front of Ištar of Nineveh.
:Because she brought him up and showed compassion to him.

* Or, he saves the messenger.

- 76 [× × × × uz]^ušumê(KA[?].NE) la-ba-ak-te ina pān^dbēl i-kar-ra-ru-u-ni
I 50, II 14, III 10 :ša qa-du-ur-te šú-u
77 ...]ša qa-du-ur-ti š[u-ú ...
II 26
78 ...i-n]a-ki-su-u-ni qa-da-ru-ut-t[u] RU [(×)]
IV 9
79 mē^{meš} qātē^{ll} ša ú-qar-rab-u-ni
I 52, II 28, III 11 :bi-it ib-ku-ú-ni šú-u di-'a-te-šú ina lib-bi × [× ×]
80 túgše-er-'i-i-tu ša ina muḥ-ḥi-šú
I 53 :ša i-qa-bu-u-ni ma-a mē^{meš} š[u]-nu si-li-'a-a-te ši-na
81 túgše-er-i-tu ša lab-bu-šu-u-ni
I 32, III 5 :ina ka-dam-me šu-ú
82 ...] × du-ši še-'i-tú-šu ši-[i ...
III 32
83 kuššenu(e.sír) ša ina bīt^dbe-let-bābili^{ki} ub-bal-u-ni
I 64-5 :it-ḥu-ur šu-u-tú ú-še-bal-āš-ši né-mi-il a-na šá-a-šú
la ú-šar-u-šú-ni la ú-šu-u-ni
84 la-bu-su-šu ša a-na^dbēlet(gašan)-uruk^{ki} ú-še-bal-u-ni
I 30, III 27 :ku-ziḫ-ḫe-šú šu-nu it-ta-a[s-šu-ši]
85 ... ina] muḥḥi mé-e-ti [× × × ×] ta-ḥab-šu ša ina šaplī(ki.ta)-šú
s[ig]tab-ri-bu ša lab-bu-šu-ni
I 15, II 23, III 7 :mi-iḥ-še ša maḥ-ḥu-šu-u-ni šú-nu ina da-me-šú [sar-pu]
86 ... K]U[?] gab-bu ša ku-ziḫ-ḫe KAL L[A] LU[?]E[?]KI[?]AD[?]bīt × ×
[× (×)]
IV 8
87 ...] × la il-lak-ú-ni × [× × ×] lubšātu(túg)^{meš}-šu šu-nu
II 20 :it-ta-aḥ-ru-uš × [...
88 [× × š]a ina^{giš}tal-li ša^dbe-let-bābili^{ki} e'-la-an-ni
I 20-1, III 26, V 15 :qaqqadu(sag.du) ša bēl ḥi-iṭ-ṭi ša is-si-šú i-zi-zu-u-ni
i-[d]u-ku-šú-ni šú-tú qaqqas(sag.du)-su ina
uzuk[išāde(gú)] ša^dbe-let-bābili^{ki} e-ta-a'[-lu]
89^{giš}dalat bir-ri
I 68-9, III 25 :ša i-qa-bu-u-ni ilāni^{meš} šu-nu i-ta-as-ru-šú ana bīte
e-tar-ba^{giš}dalta ina pāni-šú e-tē-di-li šu-nu ḥu-ur-
ra-a-ti ina libbi^{giš}dalte up-ta-li-šú qa-ra-bu ina lib-
bi up-pu-šú

- 76 The moistened roasted flesh which they place* in front of Marduk.
:It is of the darkness?
77 ...] It is of the darkness?. [...] .[(.)]
78 ...] who cuts,† darkness? [...
79 The water for (washing) the hands which they bring‡ near.
:It is because he wept. His tears inside .[.]
80 The garment which is on him.
:What they say, that is water, those are drops.
81 The garment in which he is clad.
:He is in the chamber.
82 ...]... It is his mattress [...
83 The shoe which they take to the temple of the Lady of Babylon.
:It is a standard. He sends it to her because they will not release him and he cannot go out.
84 His clothing, which they send¶ to the Lady of Uruk.
:They are his cloaks. They carried [them off.]
85 ...] concerning the dead one [...] the saddle beneath him (and) the multi-coloured wool with which he is clad.
:They are the blows which were struck. They are [dyed] in his blood.
86 ...]. all which the cloak ..[...]... the temple, ...
87 ...].. does not go. They .[...] his garments.
:He has disrobed .[...
88 [...] which hangs from the beam of the Lady of Babylon.
:That is the head of a criminal who was present with him and whom they killed. They have hung his head on the neck of the Lady of Babylon.
89 The lattice door.
:As they say, the gods have taken him captive and he has entered the temple and locked the door behind him. They bored holes in the door and did battle.

* Or, he places.

† Or, who cut.

‡ Or, he brings.

¶ Or, he sends.

90 **š^hnarkabtu ša a-na bīt a-ki-it tal-lak-u-ni ta-la-kan^{an}-ni bēl-šá la-
áš-šú ša la bēle ta-sa-ab-bu-u'**

I 66, IV 13

91 ...] × SU TE šu-ú [× × × × × × × × A]š la ku-ba-di-šú-nu

IV 15

92 ...] šamnu(i.giš) NI ŠU UR RA ZU Ú NI [× × ×] da-ru-ú [...

II 12, V 10

*Lines not used in the Composite Edition**

Version I: 1, 2

Version II: 1, 2, 3, 32(end), 34, 35, 42

Version III: 1, 3, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22(beginning), 28, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38,

40

Version IV: 1, 16, 17, 18

Version V: 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 19, 20

90 The chariot, which goes to the Akītu temple. It goes with no driver. Without a driver, it rocks about.

91 ...]... he [...]. not in honour of them.

92 ...] oil [...] lasting [...

* Lines with enough preserved to give meaning are emboldened.

Language

The manuscripts are consistently written in a literary form of NA dialect.

Provenance and Date

In view of the language there is no doubt that the work is an Assyrian composition. As will be seen, this conclusion is consistent with the subject matter. Version I is known from Aššur and Calah, and the other versions are all from Nineveh. The latest possible date is 612 B.C., the date of the destruction of Nineveh. If the work relates to Sennacherib's religious reforms and is in part a justification of or theological counterpart to Sennacherib's sack of Babylon, as is probable if not certain, then the composition dates from between 689 and 612 B.C., and probably from the reign of Sennacherib. The god Aššur is written in the manuscripts ^daš-šur, but in one line (l.49 of the composite edition) the writing *an-šár* apparently refers to Aššur. This reflects a theological equation between Aššur and the primeval god Anšar which became common in the Sargonid period but may have existed earlier. Sargonid scribes frequently wrote Aššur as an.šár but earlier scribes did not do so. The scribes of *Marduk's Ordeal* used the earlier writing, but in the one case where it was theologically appropriate they used the later one. The language, NA, can be distinguished from MA in that case endings are not given their correct grammatical form. This however is not decisive for dating the work since in later copies of a MA composition the case endings could be changed. Theological matters suggest a late date. Nabû is considered to be Marduk's son, and there is affinity with the speculation in the texts presented in Chapter Four, for which a later than MA date was suggested.

Extent of Duplication

The extent of duplication between the different manuscripts is summarised in the following table. Each figure represents the number of lines in which the version indicated across from it duplicates the version indicated directly above it.

	I	II	III	IV	V
I					
II	18				
III	18	7			
IV	2	1	0		
V	4	1	1	1	

The table given on p.252 indicates the lines of the composite edition for which lines from more than one version are used, and also indicates the versions from which they come. The total number of lines in each version is also listed.

A line by line commentary on the composite edition is given. This is followed by discussion of certain aspects of the text.

Commentary on the Composite Edition (See pp.208—21)

L.1: Nabû is suitably restored, since Borsippa is his cult centre; the restoration is confirmed by l.3. It is then Marduk, Nabû's father, who has been captured. This agrees with l.58, where it is clear that Marduk has been captured. That Nabû, represented by his statue or symbol, periodically went from Borsippa to his father's city, Babylon, to participate in religious festivals is well known. That Nabû simply comes "to greet" his captured father is certainly peculiar. The point is that a well known fact is stated and explained, but a new and ill fitting idea is slipped into the explanation. Nabû comes to Babylon to greet Marduk, but not normally because Marduk has been captured.

L.2: Nabû is said to return to Borsippa and sprinkle date palm stamens. This part of the line is probably factual although the sprinkling is not elsewhere known. The interpretation as rebellion is probably to be associated with the statement in l.4 that Nabû is a criminal.

L.3: Placing of pig reeds in the path of Nabû is said to take place when he returns to Borsippa and blesses. Since pigs were regarded as unclean, this may be a slur on Nabû. Compare the comment in l.57, that the water libated is turbid.

L.4: Nabû is said to be a criminal with Marduk.

L.5: Tašmētu, Nabû's wife, is said to bow down with "him", and to have come to greet "him". In several lines of the work a 3rd person masc. sing. pronoun occurs without specification of the person or

thing to which it refers. L.51, which states that Esagil is "his temple" shows that at least sometimes, as presumably in l.5, the indefinite pronoun refers to Marduk.

Ll.6 and 7: The Lady of Babylon is Ištar of Babylon, and the temple may therefore be Eturkalamma.

L.8: The black and coloured wool, probably forming part of a garment of the deity, is interpreted as representing blood and presumably something else lost in the lacuna. The interpretation employs the same type of symbolism as is used in the works discussed in Chapter Four. One supposes that something with red wool which the goddess would normally wear is being interpreted as representing blood, rather than coloured wool being put on the deity deliberately to represent blood.

L.9: This line comes after what is l.90 in the Composite Edition, and the *ù* appears to be redundant. The deity Sakkukutu, evidently from the verb female, and elsewhere unknown, is said to go round the city. The explanation given for this activity is that she is "his" wailing woman. She is perhaps looking for Marduk, as is the male protagonist who roams the streets in l.58.

L.10: If there is only one criminal present with Marduk, then this is Nabû, as in l.4. Who "they" are, and how exactly Aššur is involved is unclear.

L.11: The daughters of Anu included demons such as Lamaštu and Labartu. Effigies of these demons might be symbolically killed in exorcistic rituals.

L.12: The encircling mentioned here may have the same significance as the activity of the one who roams the streets looking for Marduk in l.58.

L.13: The districts may be the different places from which the gods come to Babylon. The trace at the beginning of the line cannot be read *dingir*.

L.14: The exorcists are said to go in front of "him", and to be "his" people. The indefinite pronouns probably refer to Marduk, as in l.51. The exorcists belong to Marduk because he and his father Ea are patrons of the craft of exorcism. With the idea that exorcists are Marduk's people should be associated the suggestion made in some texts, that priests represent deities.

L.15: The ecstatic priest who goes in front of the Lady of Babylon is interpreted as a messenger bringing bad news. Probably symbolism is involved. Hysterical behaviour normal for an ecstatic priest is taken to suggest the precise theological interpretation that he is a messenger bringing bad news. Since the news is brought to the Lady, it may concern Marduk.

L.16: Athletes standing at the gate of Esagil are interpreted as guards entrusted with guarding "it", the temple, or perhaps "him", presumably Marduk. Athletes are known in cultic contexts; e.g. *a-bu-um mit-hur-ti ú-ma-ši a-ba-r[u]* (TIM 9 60 iii 25' and dupl. K 2892 = AAT 90, variants K: *a-bu*, omits *a-ba-ru*), "Abu: combat of physical strength and might." "Athlete" is "he of physical strength (*umāšu*)". In l.6 the Lady of Babylon is told to guard a temple. Since Marduk is said to be a prisoner, it is reasonable to suppose that he is being guarded. In ll.34–6 guards are mentioned, and in l.34 a guard is said to be a son of Aššur. Since in l.32 it is probably against Marduk that lawsuits are opened on behalf of Aššur, it is plausible that Marduk has been imprisoned and is guarded at Aššur's instigation.

L.17: Battle is mentioned. See ll.26 and 89.

L.18: A dog crossing Esabad is interpreted as a messenger sent by Gula to inquire about him, presumably Marduk. Esabad is the name of the temple of Gula, patron of medicine. The dog was particularly associated with Gula, vigilance being important in her profession.² Archaeological finds of dog skeletons at the Gula temple at Isin, her cult centre, show that dogs were on or kept by the temple staff.³ The fact that Gula is concerned about Marduk suggests that there may be something wrong with him. One should compare another text, where Gula institutes a weeping for Enmešarra.

L.19: *Enūma eliš* is said to be recited in front of Marduk in Nisan. This accords with what is known to have been done during the new year festival in Babylon, in Nisan. The work, or its recitation, is interpreted as concerning the "prisoner". Probably the prisoner in the present context, Marduk, is meant.

L.20: Singing is mentioned.

L.21: A speaker saying prayers is interpreted as someone saying before Šamaš that he did favours for Aššur, and asking what his crime is. The subject of the interpretation is presumably Marduk. He is saying that his exploits, presumably those described in *Enūma eliš*,

were favours for Aššur. Given that Aššur is identified with Anšar, these ideas agree with *Enūma eliš*. In Tablet II it is Anšar who sends Marduk against Tiāmat, and in Tablet IV Marduk's victory over Tiāmat is said to be a victory of or for Anšar: *ir-nit-ti an.šār eli na-ki-ri ka-liš uš-zi-zu* (*Enūma eliš* IV 125), "When he had completely secured Anšar's victory over the enemy". In view of the lawsuit mentioned in l.32, Šamaš may be mentioned because he is god of justice.

L.22: This line may be related to the previous one.

L.23: Someone who is scanning the heavens is interpreted as praying to certain deities to grant whatever is to be understood by the verb *bulluṭu*. The possibilities are to keep alive or in good health, to heal, to spare or pardon, as listed in *CAD* sub *balāṭu*. That the meaning in the present context is to grant life can be inferred from l.62 where the verb occurs in apposition to the entreaty "Do not kill!". There are important variants. In Version I the deities are Sîn and Šamaš only, and the speaker is masculine. In Version II 21 the deities are Anu, Sîn, and Šamaš, with Aššur perhaps to be restored, and the sex of the speaker uncertain. In Version II 31 the deities are Aššur, Anu, Sîn, Šamaš and Adad, and the speaker feminine.

L.24: Seemingly in contrast to the previous line, and following it directly in Version I, the action of someone scanning the ground where the place of the river ordeal is located is interpreted as concerning the one who comes from the place of the river ordeal. That *huršānu* is here the "place of the river ordeal" rather than "mountain" can be learnt from l.28 which mentions the *šaptu*, "edge" of the *huršānu*; if "mountain" was meant the term *šēpu*, "foot", would be used.

L.25: The news that "he" is being carried to the place of ordeal results in a female giving chase. The identity of the brother is uncertain. Probably the female and the brother are deities.

L.26: A revolt and fighting are linked with Marduk's going to the place of ordeal. This line, and l.28, make it reasonably clear that Marduk himself is being subjected to the river ordeal. This humiliation is explained by or explains the fighting in the city.

L.27: Someone riding is interpreted as going to the place of ordeal.

L.28: The fact that they question him, presumably Marduk, at the place of ordeal suggests that the ordeal is to be associated with the

lawsuit mentioned in l.32.

Ll.29–31: The first two of these lines may be connected with the ordeal; the third definitely is.

L.32: It is unclear who does not go, and where he does not go to. Perhaps Marduk and the *akītu* are involved, as in l.45. In the interpretation lawsuits are opened on behalf of Aššur, probably against Marduk, who denies that he is a criminal and refuses to take an oath.

L.33: Someone says that something is just.

L.34: Someone who does not go with him, perhaps as in ll.32 or 45, is a son of Aššur and a guard. After *pa-qid* Version II reads *ina uru^u kutê(gú.du₈.a) × [... , "in Cutha"*.

L.35: Someone is appointed a guard. The second part should perhaps belong to a different line. It cannot however be part of l.14, which it resembles, because the verb is singular.

L.36: A guard wears a crown or turban.

L.37: The house or temple of the "prisoner" is referred to. The prisoner has here a male personal determinative and is therefore presumably not a deity, but a human being.

Ll.38–9: Someone, or something, is held fast.

L.40: Something done on the ziqqurat is explained as being because the gods took him captive and he vanished. The idea here seems to be that the gods have taken Marduk captive.

L.41: This is perhaps related to ll.54–7.

L.42: This is unclear.

L.43: This seems to involve concern for the "prisoner" on the part of one of the female protagonists.

L.44: This is unclear.

L.45: See ll.32 and 34. The prisoner with a male personal determinative is again referred to.

L.46: Activities in the Akītu temple are referred to.

L.47: The identity of the man is unclear, and the name of the month is broken off.

L.48: Mention of the 8th of Nisan suggests the new year festival, but slaughtering of a pig before a female in this context is unknown.

L.49: This does not quote from *Enūma eliš*, but expounds the meaning of part of the first lines of the epic. The point is to stress the primeval character of Anšar there stated.

L.50: Laments by *kalū* priests for destroyed cities are well known. Here the speech of lamentation priests is interpreted as referring to a specific act of desecration and plunder. *L.51* shows that it is Esagil which is plundered. *L.50* states that these acts are committed by "the gods, his fathers".

Ll.52-3: These lines are unclear.

Ll.54-7: Libations and offerings are involved. *L.56* offers an interpretation involving fear, and thirsting for water. *L.68* mentions a lack of water. *L.57* states that the water is turbid; this may be intended as an insult.

L.58: Here a masculine individual or deity roams the streets seeking Marduk.

L.59: Someone feminine, perhaps the Lady of Babylon, is praying to Šin and Šamaš to keep Marduk alive. This shows that Marduk is considered to be in danger.

L.60: A female searches "for him" at the gate of graves. Clearly she suspects that someone has been killed and entombed.

L.61: Weeping is interpreted as concerning Marduk.

L.62: Someone is invoked to keep alive, and not kill.

L.63: Someone asks to be allowed to mourn and bury.

L.64: This is unclear.

L.65: Perhaps, down from the ziqqurat is meant.

L.66: Perhaps this is to be associated with ritual opening of urns.⁴

L.67: Someone whom Aššur is expected to kill is referred to, but his name is not preserved.

L.68: For *ina kadammī esēpu* compare *amāte iḫtesi ina libbi ka-damma-ti ētesipi* (*ABL* 564 12, collated by Deller in *CAD*), "He treated the slave girls badly, gathered them in the *kadammus*". Another example of *esēpu*, "gather", (but in II stem) with people as object is *p[a]-ni u ku-tal-lu tus-sip ni-šu-tu* (*Iraq* 27 5 11), "In front and behind you have gathered members of families". This occurs in a list of oppressive actions by the ruling class. The treatment of the slave girls

is also of course oppressive, and oppressiveness may be involved in the present context. *kadammu* may be a type of chamber.

Ll.69-70: For other similar interpretations of the *lismu*, "race", see above. Here the race seems to be interpreted as symbolising defeat of Anzû by Ninurta, and the spreading of the news of Ninurta's victory. Both the defeat and the spreading of the news are represented as being at Aššur's instigation. Version II includes Kingu and Asakku as well as Anzû.

L.71: Going round the city is mentioned, as in *l.9*.

Ll.72-3: A messenger is involved.

L.74: This seems to involve the concept discussed above, of the growth of grain being caused by mythological forces beneath the surface of the earth.

L.75: The drawing of milk in front of Ištar of Nineveh is interpreted as being because she brought "him" up and showed compassion to "him", presumably Marduk. A ritual act is being explained as having a mythological meaning or significance. Ištar's rôle as nurse maid of Marduk is discussed below.

Ll.76-8: The meaning of these lines is unclear. The meaning of *qadurtu* or *qadaruttu* is unknown; the translation given is based on the meaning of the root *qdr* in Aramaic. See *AHw* sub *qadduru*.

Ll.79-80: Water for washing the hands, that is water which might be brought to the table of a deity in his temple, is interpreted as representing tears.

Ll.81-2: The point is unclear.

L.83: A shoe is interpreted as a standard, and seems to be understood as conveying a message. A shoe is used in a temple ritual for the 16th and 17th days of an unknown month at Uruk.⁵

L.84: Clothing sent to the Lady of Uruk is said to be "his" cloaks, which have been taken off.

L.85: Someone dead is mentioned. As in *l.8* the colour of materials or fabrics is understood to represent blood.

Ll.86-7: Garments are involved, but the precise point is unclear.

L.88: Something hanging from the beam of the Lady of Babylon is understood as the head of a criminal who has been killed.

L.89: See below, *l.44*.

L.90: A chariot going to the Akītu temple has no driver, and rocks about.

Ll.91-2: The point is unclear.

General Discussion

It is clear from the variety of the protagonists, activities, places, and dates that the work is not an elucidation of only one ritual. Subjects for explanation or inclusion were collected from various contexts. This may go some way toward explaining the different forms in which the work exists. If the material is drawn from different and unrelated contexts, the order in which it is presented is unimportant.

Certain themes stand out. Marduk and his associates, especially Nabû and Ištar of Babylon, are in a humiliating position, and it is clear that their humiliation has been brought about by Aššur. Marduk and Nabû are taken prisoner and regarded as criminals. One of their guards is a son of Aššur (l.34). Those who sack Marduk's temple are said to be the gods, his fathers (l.50). These would include Anšar, identified with Aššur.

Other parts of the work present Aššur in a position of supreme authority. L.21 seems to point out that it was Anšar who sent Marduk against Tiāmat. L.49 interprets the introductory section of *Enūma eliš* to stress the primeval nature of Anšar. In l.69 the defeat of Anzû is represented as being at the command of Aššur.⁶

A legal case is brought against Marduk, and he is taken to a place of the river ordeal. Something of the religious background to these events can be understood. In the explanatory works discussed in Chapters Four and Five certain gods are conceived of as defeated in the same manner as Anzû, Asakku, and other demons. In the present context Aššur opposes Marduk, but it is a legal rather than martial contest which is involved. Expression in legal terms of the rivalry between the two deities may have been suggested by the use of legal terminology in incantations, and by the occurrence of the river ordeal in cultic contexts.⁷

There is evidence that Marduk's life is threatened (l.59), but not that he is killed. However, someone is killed. Ll.60 and 63 mention the gate of graves, bearing, and burying. L.67 states that Aššur will kill "him", but whom is uncertain. From l.111 it is learned that "they" have killed a daughter of Anu. L.85 mentions a *mītu*, "dead one" and

l.88 explains something hanging from the beam of the Lady of Babylon as "the head of a criminal who was present ... and whom they killed". It cannot safely be assumed that this criminal is Marduk or Nabû, though both these gods are regarded in *Marduk's Ordeal* as criminals. Other criminals may have been present; see especially ll.37 and 45, where a prisoner with a male personal determinative is referred to.

In l.117 a battle is mentioned. L.26 offers an explanation for Marduk's going to the place of the river ordeal that the city has revolted against him, and done battle. Since Marduk is mentioned, it is reasonable to suppose that the city is Babylon. Ll.50 to 51 mention plunder and desecration of Esagil. An historical context for the fighting in Babylon, plundering of Esagil, imprisonment of Marduk, and elevation of Aššur can be suggested, and fitted to some extent with other allusions in *Marduk's Ordeal*. Since fighting in Babylon and captivity of Marduk at the instigation of Aššur are involved, one is to think of one of the occasions when Babylon was attacked by Assyria, and the statue or symbol of Marduk deported to Assyria. There are some reasons for believing that it is Sennacherib's sack of Babylon in 689 B.C. which is concerned, rather than the deportation under Tukultīnūrta,⁸ or some other king. For an account of Sennacherib's destruction of Babylon see *OIP* II 83f. 46-54 (the Bavian inscription). Marduk's captivity in Aššur is recorded as follows in the *Esarhaddon Chronicle*. The *Akītu Chronicle* offers the same text, with no important variants:

8 *šanāti*^{meš} l d *sīn-ahḫe*^{meš} *eri* -ba 12 *šanāti*^{meš} l d *aššur-aḫa-iddina*^{na}
20 *šanāti*^{meš} d *bēl* [ina a] *ššur*(bal.til)^{ki} a-šib-ma i-sin-nu a-ki-tū ba-ṭi-il
d *nabū ultu bā[r-s]ipa*^{ki} a-na ašše d *bēl u-ul illiku*^{ku}

TCS 5 Chronicle 14 31-3; cf. Chronicle 16 1-4

For 8 years of Sennacherib, 12 years of Aššurbanipal, for 20 years, Bēl stayed in Aššur, and the Akītu festival did not take place.

Nabû did not come from Borsippa for the coming out of Bēl.

An Esarhaddon inscription gives a theological reason for Marduk's return to Babylon:

70 *šanāti*^{meš} *mi-nu-ut ni-du-ti-šu iš-ṭur-ma re-me-nu-ú* d *marduk sur-riš*
lib-ba-šu i-nu-uḫ-ma e-liš a-na šap-liš uš-bal-kit-ma a-na 11 *šanāti*^{meš} a-
šab-šu iq-bi

Esarhaddon p.15

Although he wrote 70 years as the term of his abandonment, the merciful one, Marduk, suddenly relented in his heart. He changed it round upside down and commanded his (re)instatement after 11 years.

Rather than conceding that anything might be done against Marduk's will, the author of this inscription regarded Marduk's period in Aššur as a voluntary abandonment of Babylon. The unexpectedly early return is explained by an arithmetical manipulation of the type discussed in Chapter One.⁹ Marduk himself changed a period of 70 years to 11 years by reversing the positions of the digits in the sexagesimal writing for 70. 1;10 becomes 10 1, that is 11.

Something is known of religious events in Aššur during the reign of Sennacherib and associated with Marduk's captivity. A bed belonging to Marduk was rededicated to Aššur.¹⁰ It is known from an inscription of Sennacherib describing the gate of his "Akītu Temple of the Plain" that Anšar was depicted there setting out in battle against Tiāmat, followed by a retinue of gods.¹¹ In at least two manuscripts of *Enūma eliš* from Aššur, the god Anšar is substituted for Marduk.¹² The retinue of gods occurs also, in reverse order, in *KAV* 49 and *BM* 121206 col. v 4–5.¹³ *BM* 121206 is a record of cultic protocol and makes reference to reforms brought about by Sennacherib.¹⁴ These facts illustrate interest and originality in religious matters. It is possible that *Marduk's Ordeal* was composed under the influence of Sennacherib's involvement with religious reforms, especially Assyrianisation of the religion and the captivity of Marduk in Aššur. Nevertheless, it must be allowed that *Marduk's Ordeal* is more strongly speculative, and goes further than replacing Marduk by Aššur in an Akītu battle. Ištar of Nineveh is mentioned, but otherwise the cities concerned are southern: Babylon, Borsippa, Uruk, Cutha. Esagil is mentioned, and it is quite possible that the Akītu temple and the place of ordeal are those in Babylon. Some of the lines, such as that mentioning Ištar of Nineveh, may interpret cultic acts in Assyria, but much of the subject matter is set in Babylonia. Rather than describing Assyrian cult, the work interprets Babylonian cult in such a way as to accord with Assyrian ideas. In the same way as Aššur's supreme power was theologically justified by equating him with Anšar, justification for other Assyrian acts, such as the captivity of Marduk, was sought in Babylonian cult. The imaginary nature of the work can be seen in l.1. After Marduk's

imprisonment Nabû did not come to Babylon to greet Marduk, because Marduk was no longer there, and the Akītu festival had been suspended.

Finally, two sections from VAT 8917 pertaining to Marduk, Aššur, and the Assyrian Ištar goddesses may be considered.

[d]i[š]tar(15) ša^{uru}ninua(DUR.NA) ti-amat šī-i mušēniqti(um.me.ga.lá) ša^{dbēl} šī-i-ma¹
 [4 inē^{II}.]mei-ša 4 uznē(geštu)^{II}.mei-ša
 [e]lāti(an.ta)mei-ša^{dbēl} šaplāti(ki.ta)mei-ša^{dnin-lil}
^{dbēlet}(nin)-^{uru}arbailu(LI.BUR.NA) um-m[a] ša^{dbēl} šī-i-ma
 urqēti³(SAR)mei iš-ru-ka-šī šā-niš-an-tu, šī-i-ma kis-pa a-na^da-nim i-kas-si-pu

VAT 8917 obv.19–23

Ištar of Nineveh is Tiāmat; she is the wet-nurse of Bēl.

She has [4 eyes] and 4 ears.

Her upper parts are Bēl, and her lower parts are Ninlil.

The Lady of Arbēla is the mother of Bēl.

They gave her vegetables?; alternatively, she is Antu and they make funerary offerings to Anu.

The cities ^{uru}DUR.NA and ^{uru}LI.BUR.NA are shown to be Nineveh and Arbēla by a paragraph of commentary at the end of a tablet from Aššur listing and explaining the names of temples:¹⁵

^{uru}AN.TA.AŠ ^{uru}libbi-āli
^{uru}LI.BUR.NA ^{uru}arbailu

^{uru}DUR.NA ^{uru}ninua^{ki}
^{uru}BAD.A.TA.NI ^{uru}kāl-zī^{ki}

VAT 13815 rev.17–8 (see *OrNS* 17 pl.43)

Ištar of Nineveh is said to have four ears, as has Marduk in *Enūma eliš*: 4 inē^{II}-šū 4 unzē(geštu)^{II}-šū (*Enūma eliš* I 95), "His eyes are four, and his ears are four!". Using a particular technique of theological comparison, she is said to unite the characteristics of Marduk and Ninlil. The Lady of Arbēla, presumably Ištar of Arbēla, is said to be the mother of Marduk. Ištar goddesses are well known as mothers and nurse maids, and an epic puts Tiāmat in the same rôle. In a NA composition Ištar of Nineveh is described by Nabû as suckling the future king Aššurbanipal: še-eh-ru at-ta¹ aššur-bāni-apli ša ú-maš-šir-u-ka ina muhhi^d šar-rat ninua^{ki} la-ku-u at-ta¹ aššur-bāni-apli ša aš-ba-ka ina bur-ki^d šar-rat ninua^{ki} er-bi zi-ze-e šā ina pi-ka šak-na 2 te-en-ni-iq 2 ta-ḫal-lap ana pa-ni-ka (*ABRT* I 6 6ff.), "You were small, Aššurbanipal, when I left you with Ištar of Nineveh! You were weak, Aššurbanipal, when you sat on the lap of Ištar of Nineveh! The four

nipples which were put in your mouth—two you sucked, and two you drew milk from in front of you". In *Enūma eliš*, Ištar goddesses are said to be the wet-nurses of Marduk, not specified by name: *i-te-niq-ma šer-ret* ^dištarāti(eš₄.dar)^{meš} (*Enūma eliš* I 85), "He sucked the breasts of Ištar". According to the Cuthean Legend of Narāmsīn, Tiāmat suckled the barbarian hordes which overran part of Mesopotamia: *ti-a-ma-tu ú-še-niq-šú-nu-ti šá-sur-šú-nu* ^dbe-let-i-lí ú-ban-ni (*AnSt* 5 99 ll.34–5), "Tiāmat suckled them, and Bēletilī made good the womb for them".

Identification of Ištar with Tiāmat was possible on both theological and astrological grounds. As Marduk took over the name of Kingu,¹⁶ it could follow to equate other gods in Marduk's circle with those who had been in Kingu's. Ištar as morning star was equated with Išhara, and at least in astrology the latter was equated with Tiāmat: *mulgír.tab* ^diš-ħa-ra *mulgír.tab* ^dMIN(= ^diš-ħa-ra) *ti-amat* (*CT* 26 40 obv.i 6–7), "Scorpio (?) is Išhara; Scorpio (?) is Išhara as Tiāmat".

Politically, the section represents the Assyrian interest. Ištar of Nineveh is said to be as great as Marduk and Ninlil put together. Both Ištar of Nineveh and Ištar of Arbēla are represented as being in a position in which Marduk is dependent upon them. The favour of these goddesses, frequently mentioned in NA royal inscriptions, was greatly valued by the NA kings.¹⁷ Ideologically, linking of Tiāmat with Ištar must be associated with the equation of Aššur and Anšar. Anšar and Tiāmat were primeval gods, and their being equated with Assyrian deities supported the view that the latter had priority in time as well as in position.

Another section from the same manuscript is quoted:

^dmes-lam-ta-è-a ^dmarduk šá a-na eršeti ellú(e₁₁)^ú urradu(e₁₁)
^daš-šú an-šár a-na ħurri ir-du-du-šú-ma [bā]b(ká)-šú ipħú(úš)^ú

VAT 8917 rev.7–8

Meslamtaea is Marduk, who goes up and down to (and from) the underworld.

Because Anšar chased him into a hole, and he sealed his* gate.

Meslamtaea is identified with Marduk, as a god who goes to the underworld. Part of the point is that Meslamtaea is the form particularly associated with Babylon, of the underworld deity Nergal: ^dmes-lam-ta-è-a ^dnergal(U + GUR) šá bābili(TIN.TIR)^{ki} (*KAR*

142 rev.iii 28), "Meslamtaea is Nergal of Babylon". The identification of Marduk with Meslamtaea could arise from syncretistic theology, but it is here linked with a mythological contention that Marduk or Meslamtaea was chased into a hole by Anšar. This mythological episode should be compared with 1.89 of the Composite Edition of *Marduk's Ordeal*.

* Or its.

The Individual Versions

Version I (VAT 9555 dupls. VAT 9538 and ND 812(a))

- 1 ...šu-ú-tu k]a-li
 2 ... -šu]-un-ni
 3 ...] ú-še-ša-áš-šú
 4 ...] × DA la ^{lu}mār(a) šipri(kin) ša bēl^{meš}-šú man-nu ú-še-ša-áš-šú
 5 ... ša] il-lak-u-ni ú-še-ša-áš-šu-ni
 6 ... i]-ra-kab-u-ni a-na hur-sa-an šu-ú il-lak
 7 ... ša] il-lak-u-ni bitu šu-ú ina muhhi šap-te ša hur-sa-an ina libbi i-ša-'u-ú-lu-šú
 8 [^dnabú ša issu bār-s]i^{ki} il-lak-an-ni a-na šul-me ša abī-šú ša ša-bit-u-ni šu-ú il-la-ka
 9 [× × × × ×] × ša ina su-qa-qa-a-te i-du-lu-u-ni ^{dbēl}ú-ba-a'-ma a-a-ka ša-bit
 10 [^dbe-let-bāb-ili^{ki}] ša qātā^{II}-šá tar-ša-a-ni a-na ^dšin ^dšamaš tu-šal-la ma-a ^{dbēl}bal-li-[s]u
 11 [× × × ^m] ^{es} ša tal-lak-u-ni bāb qa-bu-rat šu-ú tal-lak tu-ba-[a'-š]u
 12 [bēl^{meš} ú]-ma-a-še ša ina b[ā]be ša é-sag-il i-za-zu-u-ni ^{lu}maššurū(en.nun)^{meš}-šú šu-nu ina muhhi-šú paq-du i-na-š[u-ru-šu]
 13 [ša ina muhhi s]i-qu-re-[te] e-pe-šu-ni a-ki ilāmi^{meš} e-si-ru-šu-ni iḫ-ti-liq ina libbi i[k-ka-mi]
 14 [^{lu}mār(a) š*i*]-i^p-re ú-[š]e-zab issu(ta) lib-bi us-se-ri-du-niš-[šu]
 15 [ta-ḫab-šu] ša ina šaplī(ki.ta)-šú ^s[iḡ]tab'-ri-bu ša lab-bu-šu-ni mi² iḫ-še ša maḫ-ḫu-šu-ni šu-nu ina dame^{meš}-šú [sar-pu]
 16 [^dtaš-me]-tu₄ ša is-[si]-šú kam-mu-sa-tu-ni a-na šul-me-šú ta-ta-[al-ka]
 17 [× × š]a is-si-šú la il-[la]k-u-ni ma-a la bēl ḫi-iḫ-ḫi a-na-ku ma-a la us-sa-ta-am-maḫ
 18 [ina muhhi]i ^daš-šur de-na-ni ina pa-ni-šú i^p-ti-ú de-na-ni i × [×]
 19 [× ša is-]si-šú la il-lak-u-ni mār ^daš-šur šu-u-tú ma-šu-ru šu-ú ina muh-ḫi-šu pa-qid ^{urub}er-tú ina muh-ḫi-šú i-n[a-aš-šar]
 20 [× × ša] ina ^{giš}tal-li ša ^dbe-let-bābili(ká.dingir.ra)^{ki} e'-la-an-ni qaqqudu(sag.du) ša bēl ḫi-iḫ-ḫi ša is-si-šú i-z[i-zu-u-ni]
 21 [i-d]u-ku-šu-ni šu-tú qaqqas(sag.du)-su ina ^{uzuk}[išāde] ša ^dbe-let-bābili(ká.dingir.ra)^{ki} e-ta-a'[-lu]

The Individual Versions

Version I

- 1 ...] is held.
 2 ...] to him.
 3 ...] he makes him go out.
 4 ...] .. not the messenger of his lords. Who makes him go out?
 5 ... who] goes, who makes him go out.
 6 ... who] rides: He goes to the place of the river ordeal.
 7 ... who] goes: That is the temple; at the edge of the place of the river ordeal they question him about it.
 8 [Nabû, who] comes [from] Borsippa: He comes to greet his father, who has been taken captive.
 9 [.....]. who roams the streets: He is looking for Marduk. "Where is he prisoner?"
 10 [The Lady of Babylon,] whose hands are stretched out: She is praying to Šin and Šamaš, "Keep Bēl alive!"
 11 [...]. who goes: That is the gate of graves. She goes and looks for him.
 12 The athletes who stand at the gate of Esagil: They are his guards, are appointed over him, and guard [him].
 13 [That which] they do [on] the ziggurat: Because the gods imprisoned him he disappeared and was held captive inside.
 14 The messenger saves: They sent [him] down from inside.
 15 [The saddle] beneath him, (and) the multi-coloured wool with which he is clothed: They are the blows which were struck. They are [dyed] in his blood.
 16 Tašmētu, who bows down with him: She has come to greet him.
 17 [..] who does not go with him: "I am not a criminal. I will not be made to swear."
 18 [On] behalf of Aššur they opened lawsuits before him. The lawsuits ..[.]
 19 [. who] does not go with him: He is a son of Aššur and is a guard. He is appointed over him, and on account of him guards the citadel.
 20 [...] which hangs from the beam of the Lady of Babylon: That is the head of the criminal who was present with him (and)
 21 [whom they] killed. They have hung his head on the neck of the Lady of Babylon.

- 22 [d^{nabû}] ša a-na bār-síp^{ki} i-sa-ḥar-u-ni il-lak-u-ni ^{giš}tal-t[al-l]e ša ina libbī-šú is-sa-na-l[a-a'-u-ni]
- 23 [× ×] ša ^{dbēl} ina ḥur-sa-an il-lik-u-ni ālu ana muḥḥī-[šú] it-tabal-kāt qa-ra-bu ina libbi u[p-pu]-šú
- 24 [ad]nāte(gi.úr)^{meš} ša šaḥē^{meš} ša ina pān ḥarrāni(kaskal) ša ^dnabû ki-i i[ssu(ta)] bār-síp^{ki} il-la-kan^{an}-ni i-ka-ra-bu-ni
- 25 ^dnabû ša il-lak-an-ni ina muḥ-ḥi i-za-zu-u-ni im-mar-u-ni bēl ḥi-iṭ-ṭi ša issi(ta) ^{dbēl} šu-tú [× × ×]
- 26 a-ki-i ša issi(ta) ^{dbēl} šu-tú-ni im-[× ×]
- 27 [l]^úāšipū^{meš} ša ina pa-na-tu-šú il-lak-u-ni šī-ip-tú i-ma-an-nu-u-ni nišū^{meš}-šú šu-nu ina pa-na-tu-šú ú-na-bu-u
- 28 ^{lú}maḥ-ḥu-u ša ina pān ^{dbē}let-bābili(ká.dingir.ra)^{ki} il-la-ku-u-ni ^{lú}mu-pa-si-ru šu-u a-na irtī-šá i-bak-k[i × × ×]
- 29 ma-a a-na ḥur-sa-an ub-bu-lu-šú šī-i ta-ṭa-rad ma-a aḥu(šēš)-u-a aḥu(šēš)-u-a [× × × ×]
- 30 la-bu-su-šú ša a-na ^{dbē}let-uruk^{ki} ú-še-bal-u-ni* ku-zip-pe-šú šu-nu it-ta-a[š-šu-šī]
- 31 lu-u kaspu lu-u ḥurāšu lu-u abnū^{meš}-šú† ša issu libbi é-sag-il a-na ekurrāte(é.kur)^{meš} ú-še-šu-u-ni bīt-su šu-ú TU [× × ×]
- 32 ^{túg}še-er-i-tu ša lab-bu-šú-ni ina ka-dam-me š[u-ú]
- 33 šī-iz-bu ša ina pān ^dištar(15) ša ninua^{ki} i-ḥal-li-bu-ni né-mi-il šī-i tu-ra-bu-šú-ni re-e-mu ú-ka-al-lim-šú-[ni]
- 34 e-nu-ma e-liš ša da-bi-ib-u-ni ina pān ^{dbēl} ina ^{iti}nisanni i-za-mur-ú-šú-ni‡ ina muḥḥi ša ša-bīt-u-ni [šú-ú]
- 35 šu-ul-le-e-šú-nu ú-šal-la su-ra-re-šú-nu ú-sa-r[a-ar]¶
- 36 †ina pān ^dšamaš[†] šu-tú i-da-bu-ub ma-a dam-qa-a-te ša ^{daš}-šur šī-na e-ta-pa-áš ma-a mi-i-nu ḥi-[iṭ-ṭi]
- 37 [× ×] ša šamē[†] i-da-gal-u-ni a-na ^dsin ^dšamaš ú-šal-la ma-a bal-li-[ta-a-n]i
- 38 [× × ša] qaq-qu-ru i-da-gal-u-ni ḥu-ur-sa-šú ina muḥḥī-šú kar-ru-ni ina muḥḥi‡ ša issu libbi ḥur-sa-an il-[lak-u]-ni
- 39 [× × ša iss]i(ta) ^{dbēl} a-na bīt a-ki-ti la ú-šu-ni [^{giš}]KA × KIB^ú ša ^{lú}ša-ab-te i-na-áš-šī i-si-šú × [×] IB
- 40 [^{dbē}let-bā]bili(ká.dingir.ra)^{ki} ša ina libbi bīt á-ki-it la tal-lak-u-ni munus^{šá}-ki-in-tú ša bīte [šī-i-ti]

* VAT 9538: ú-bal-u-ni

† VAT 9538: omits šú after abnū^{meš}

‡ VAT 9538: i-za-mur-šú-ni

¶ VAT 9555: i-sa-r[a

VAT 9538 omits ina muḥḥi

- 22 [Nabû,] who turns back and goes to Borsippa, and sprinkles here and there the stamens of the date palms there.
- 23 [...] Bēl went to the place of the river ordeal. The city has revolted against [him] and done battle inside.
- 24 The pig reeds in the path of Nabû: When he comes from Borsippa and blesses.
- 25 Nabû, who comes, stands over, and watches: He is the criminal who is with Bēl. [...]
- 26 Because he is with Bēl. [...]
- 27 The exorcists, who go in front of him reciting an incantation: They are his people, and go in front of him calling out.
- 28 The ecstatic, who goes in front of the Lady of Babylon: He is a bringer of news, and weeps on her breast.
- 29 They carry him to the place of the river ordeal. She gives chase: "My brother, my brother!" [...]
- 30 His clothing which they send to the Lady of Uruk. They are his cloaks. They carried [them off.]
- 31 His silver, gold, or gems, which they took out of Esagil to other temples: It is his temple [...]
- 32 The garment in which he is clad: He is in the storeroom.[...]
- 33 The milk, which they draw in front of Ištar of Nineveh: Because she brought him up and showed compassion to him.
- 34 *Enūma eliš*, which is recited and which they chant in front of Bēl in Nisan: That concerns the prisoner.
- 35 He says prayers and makes supplications to them.
- 36 He recites that before Šamaš, "They were favours for Aššur. I did them. What is my crime?"
- 37 [...] who scans the heavens: He is praying to Šin and Šamaš, "Keep me alive!"
- 38 [...] who scans the ground on which his place of river ordeal has been put down: concerning the one who comes from the place of the river ordeal.
- 39 [...] who] does not go out with Bēl to the Akītu temple: He holds the fetter² of the prisoner and [...] with him.
- 40 [The Lady of] Babylon, who does not go to the Akītu temple. [She] is the governess of the temple.

- 41 [x x x x] x Ti bīte tu-di-i ma-a bīta uš-ri ina qātē¹¹-ki ú-b[a-a'-
šu]
- 42 [^dbe-let-bābil]i(ká.dingir.ra)^{ki} ša šipātu(sig) šalmātu ina ku-tal-li-
šá-ni ^{si}tab-ri-bu ina pa-ni-š[á-ni x x x]
- 43 [x x x pa-na-t]u-uš-šá da-mu ša šur-ri ša tab-ku-ni [x x x x]
- 44 [x x x x x] KI⁷ ša ud.8.kám ša ^{iti}nisanni šahâ ina pa-ni-šá i-ṭa-
[ba-ḥu-ni]
- 45 [ša-ki-in-t]ú šá bīte šī-i i-šá-'u-lu-ši ma-a man-nu bēl ḥi-iṭ-ṭi ma-a
x [x x x x x]
- 46 [x x x x x x] T1⁷ ú-bal-u-ni bēl ḥi-iṭ-ṭi i-[x x x x x]
- 47 [x x x x x x] x il-lak-u-ni pa-ge-le-ša* a-ki im-ma-a[t-ḥa-
an-ni x x x x]
- 48 [x x x x x x x x]-mu† mē^{meš} ár-ḥiš i-ša-am-m[u-u x x x
x x x]
- 49 [x x x x x x i-ma-]ḥa-ḥu-ni ú-šar-ra-ru-u-ni mū^{meš} da-al-
ḥu-tu šū-nu [x x x x x]
- 50 [x x x u]^{zu}šumē(KA.NE) la-ba-ak-te i-kar-ra-ru-ni ša qa-du-ur-ti
šu-[u x x x x]
- 51 [qē]mu(zid.da) ša ina libbi ^{iti}nisanni a-na ma-gal ma-a'-du-ni
qēmu(zid.da) š[a] ki-i ša-bit-u-ni šu-u [x x x x]
- 52 mē^{meš} qātē ša ú-qar-rab-u-ni bi-it ib-ku-ni šu-ú di-'a-a-t[u-šu ina
libbi x x x]
- 53 ^ugše-er-'i-i-tu ša ina muḥ-ḥi-šú ša i-qa-bu-u-ni ma-a mē^{meš} š[u]-nu
si-li-'a-a-te šī-na
- 54 šu-ú ina libbi e-nu-ma e-liš iq-[qí-b]i ki-i šamē^{er}šet^{iti} la ib-ba-nu-ni
an-šár it-[tab-ši]
- 55 ki-i ālu u bītu ib-šu-u-ni šu-ú it-tab-ši mē^{meš} ša ina muḥḥi an-šár [x
x x x]
- 56 šu-u ūmu ša ḥi-ṭi-šú ina libbi ka-dam-me šu-tú e-si-ip la mē^{meš} la-biš
ka-d[am-mu x x x]
- 57 li-is-mu ša ina ^{iti}kislimi ina pān ^{db}bēl ù ma-ḥa-za-a-ni gab-bu i-l[ab-
bu-u-ni]
- 58 ki-i ^{da}aš-šur ^{dnin}-urta ina muḥḥi ka-šá-de ša an-zi-i iš-pur-u-ni
^{dn}er[gal(N)E] x x x x]
- 59 ina pān ^{da}aš-šur iq-ṭi-bi ma-a‡ an-zu-u ka-ši-id ^{da}aš-šur ana ^d[x x
x iq-ṭi-bi]

- 41 [...] .. "You know the temple. Guard the temple! I hold you
responsible [for it.]"
- 42 [The Lady of] Babylon on whose back is black wool, and on her
front multi-coloured wool [...]
- 43 [...] on her front is blood of the heart which was shed. [...]
- 44 [...] . who slaughters a pig in front of her on the 8th of Nisan.
- 45 She is the governess of the temple. They ask her, "Who is the
criminal?" [...]
- 46 [...] . who carry. The criminal . [...]
- 47 [...] who] goes. Because her vessel was lifted [...]
- 48 [...]he quickly thirsts for water.
- 49 [...] which he] libates and pours: That is turbid water. [...]
- 50 [...] the moistened roasted meat which they place [in front of
him]: That is of the darkness?. [...]
- 51 Grain, which is extremely plentiful in Nisan: It is grain of when
he was taken prisoner. [...]
- 52 The water for (washing) the hands which they bring near: It is
because he wept. [His] tears [...]
- 53 The garment which is on him: What they say, "That is water,
those are drops."
- 54 It is said in *Enūma eliš*: "When heaven and earth were not created,
Anšar came into being.
- 55 When city and temple came into being, Anšar had come into
being. The water which over Anšar [...]
- 56 That is the day of his crime. It is gathered in the chamber.
Without water. He is clothed. Chamber [...]
- 57 The race which is in Kislim and in which they go round in front of
Bēl and in all the cult places.
- 58 When Aššur sent Ninurta to defeat Anzû,
- 59 Nergal [...] spoke before Aššur, "Anzû is defeated." Aššur said to
the god [...]

• VAT 9555: -š[u]⁷

† VAT 9538: ...] x ú

‡ VAT 9538 omits ma-a

- 60 *ma-a a-lik a-na ilāni^{meš} gab-bu pa-si-ir ú-pa-sa-ar-šú-nu ù šú-nu ina muḫ-ḫ[i × × × ×]ih⁷-di[-ú]*
 61 *da-ba-bu gab-bu ša ina lib-bi lúkalê(gala)^{meš} [da-bi-bu-u-ni]*
 62 *ša ḫa-ba-a-te ša i-ḫab-ba-tu-šú-ni ša ú-šal-pa-tu-šú-ni šu-ú ilāni^{meš} abbū^{meš}-šú šu-nu × × ×*
 63 *kalbu(ur.gi₇) ša é-sa-bad eb-ber-an-ni lúmār(a) šipre(kin) šu-u-tú dgu-la ina muḫ-ḫi-šú ta-šap-pa-ra*
 64 *kuššēnu(e.sír) ša ina bīt^dbe-let-bābili(ká.dingir.ra)^{ki} ub-bal-u-ni it-ḫu-ur šu-u-tú ú-še-bal-aš-ši*
 65 *né-mi-il a-na šá-a-šú la ú-šar-u-šú-ni la ú-šu-u-ni*
 66 *gišⁿnarkabtu ša a-na bīt a-ki-it tal-lak-u-ni ta-la-kan^{an}-ni bēl-šá la-aš-šú ša la bēle ta-sa-bu-u'*
 67 *ù^dsak-ku-ku-tú ša issu(ta) āli ta-lab-ba-an-ni ba-ki-su ši-i issu(ta) āli ta-la-bi-a*
 68 *giš^ddalat bir-ri ša i-qa-bu-u-ni ilāni^{meš} šu-nu i-ta-as-ru-šú ina bīte e-tar-ba giš^ddalta ina pāni-šú e-te-di-li*
 69 *šú-nu ḫu-ur-ra-a-te ina libbi giš^ddalte up-ta-li-šú qa-ra-bu ina lib-bi up-pu-šú*

Version II (K 6330 + 6359 + 9138 dupl. Rm 275)*

- 1 ...] × di-at^den-lil [...
 2 ...] × mātāte(kur.kur)^{meš} i-ḫe-ep-pi × [...
 3 ... k]i-i amēli ša ḫuppu(dub)-šú i-ra-'a-bu-ú-ni × [...
 4 ...] šu-ú-tu ka-li amēlu ša ud.7.kam ša itiⁱ[...
 5 ...] dšamaš^d adad šu-ú-tu issu bīt lúša-ab-[te ...
 6 ... la-]a lúmār(a) šipri(kin) ša bēl^{meš}-šú man-nu ú-[še-ša-aš-šú]
 7 ... ana ḫur-sa-]an šu-ú il-lak i-na libbi bīt á-k[i-ti ...
 8 ...-]ni ina muḫḫi ša ka-lu-ú-ni šu-ú[-tu ...
 9 ...] ú-pat-tu-ú-ni dugkal-lu G[AL⁷ ...
 10 ... u]š-ši a-s[u]-ḫur-ka × [...
 11 ...]-ma i-za-am-mu-ru-ú-[ni] × [...
 12 ...] šamnu(i.giš) ni-šú URRAZU Ú [× × × × ×] da-ru-ú [...
 13 ...] šu-ú [× × × ×] × ŠU [...
 14 ...] × a-na ma-šar-ti-šú šaknuⁿ[u × × × × D]I ina pa-ni-šú il-lak uzušú[mē(KA.NE) ...

- 60 "Go to all the gods and give them the news!" He gives the news to them and they in [... rejoiced.]
 61 All the speech which is recited among the lamentation priests [...]
 62 It concerns the robbery and desecration which they commit against him. They are gods, his fathers [...]
 63 The dog, which crosses Esabad: It is a messenger. Gula sends (to inquire) about him.
 64 The shoe which they take to the temple of the Lady of Babylon. It is a standard. He sends it to her,
 65 because they will not release him and he cannot go out.
 66 The chariot, which goes to the Akītu temple: It goes with no driver. Without a driver, it rocks about.
 67 And Sakkukutu, who goes round the city. She is his wailing woman and goes round the city.
 68 The lattice door. As they say, the gods have taken him captive and he has entered the temple and locked the door behind him.
 69 They bored holes in the door and did battle.

Version II

- 1 ...] ... Enlil [...
 2 ...] . the lands, he breaks . [...
 3 ...] like a man whose tablet rages . [...
 4 ...] he is held. The man who on the 7th day of the month [...
 5 ...] Šamaš and Adad. That is from the temple of the prisoner [...
 6 ...] not the messenger of his lords. Who [makes him go out ...
 7 ... to the place of the] river ordeal he goes. In the Akītu temple [...
 8 ...] . It concerns the one who is held fast. [...
 9 ...] opens, the urn [...
 10 ...] goes out. I am looking for you .. [...
 11 ...] . they sing [....] .. [...
 12 ...] oil, oath [....] lasting [...
 13 ...] he [....] .. [...
 14 ...] placed to guard him . [....] . goes in front of him. Roast meat .. [...

* Transliterated from the tablets, not from the published copies.

- 15 ...-ú-ni bēl hi-iṭ-ṭi š[a issi^d]bēl i-zi-zu-ú-ni šu-nu^daš-šur i-
× [...
16 ... il-lak-]ú-ni^{giš}tal-tal-le ša [ina libbi-]šu i-sa-al-la-'u-ú-ni
si-ḥu šu¹-ú × [...
17 ... šu]-ú-tu ma-šu-ru šu[-ú × ×] × ina muḥ-ḥi-šú pa-qid ina
uru¹ku^{té}(gú.dug.a) × [...
18 [la bēl hi-iṭ-ṭi]i a-na-ku ma-a la us[-sa-tam-ma-]aḥ is-si-šu ina
muḥ-ḥi^daš-šur de-na-a-ni [...
19 ...] i-du-ul-[lu-u-]ni^dbēl ú-ba-a'[-ma ...
20 ...] × la il-lak-ú-ni × [× × ×] lubšātu(túg)^{meš}-šu šu-nu it-ta-
aḥ-ru-uš × [...
21 a-na^daš-šur] ^da-nim ^dsîn [dša]maš [tu-šal-l]a ma-a bal-li-ṭa-a-ni
túgše-er-at¹[...
22 ...] ši-ip-tu [i-man-nu-ú-ni n]išū^{meš}-šu šu-nu ina pa-na-tu-š[u ...
23 ...] muḥḥi mé-e-ti [× × × ×] ta-ḥab-šu ša¹ ina šaplī(ki.ta)-šu [...
24 ... pa-ge-l]a-ša a-ki im-ma-at-ḥ[a-an-ni × ×] × šu ú-ga-mar-ú-
ni [...
25 ... i-ka-r]a-ru-ú-ni pa-ḥa-a-t[u × × × ×] IḤḤIZU ina libbi gi-di-
ma-a-[ti ...
26 la ú-š]u-ú-ni^{giš}KA × KIB^u ša lú[ša-ab-te × ×] ša qa-du-ur-ti š[u-ú
...
27 ... m]a-a'-du-ú-ni ša ki-i ša-bit-ú-ni i[z-z]i-zu-ú-ni š[u-u ...
28 ... ú-qar-rab-]ú-ni bi-it ib-ku-ú-ni šu-ú di-'a-a-te-šu ina lib-bi ×
[...
29 ... i]na^{iti}nisanni i-za-am-mu-ru-ú-šu-ni ina muḥḥi ša ša-bit-ú-ni
šu-ú mē^{meš}[š ...
30 ... d]am-qa-ti ša^daš-šur ši-na e-ta-pa-áš ina muḥḥi pi-i [š]a^daš-šur
ša × [...
31 ... a]-na^daš-šur ^da-nim ^dsîn ^dšamaš^dadad tu-ša-al-li × [...
32 ...]il-lak-ú-ni^{lú}mu-pa-si-ru × × [× ×] ^dbēl ki il-lak-ú-[ni ...
33 ...] ša tal-lak-ú-ni bāb qa-bu-ra-[te ...
34* ...] × ri × [...
35 ...] × × × [...
36 ...] × LI × × × × × NI ša ú-ḥap-pa-tu-ú-šu-ni × [...
37 ...] ma-ḥa-za-ni gab-bu i-lab-[bu-ú-ni ...
38 ... š]a an-zi-i^dqi-in-gu^da-sak-ku [...
39 ... ma-]a an-zu-ú^dqi-in-gu^da-sak-ku × [...
40 ...] pa-si-ir ú-pa-sa-ar-šu-nu šu-nu ina muḥḥi × [...

- 15 ...] .. the criminal who was present [with] Bēl. They Aššur ..
[...
16 ... who goes] and sprinkles here and there the stamens of the
date palms there. That is rebellion . [...
17 ...] that. He is a guard. [..] He is appointed over him. In
Cutha [...
18 ...] "I am [not a criminal!] I will not be made to swear." With
him, on behalf of Aššur, lawsuits [...
19 ... who] roams. He is looking for Marduk [...
20 ...] . does not go. They [...] his garments. He has disrobed [...
21 ...] She is praying [to Aššur,] Anu, Sîn, and Šamaš, "Keep me
alive!" The garment [...
22 ... who recite] an incantation. They are his people; in front of
him . [...
23 ...] concerning the dead one [....] The saddle beneath him [...
24 ...] because her vessel was lifted [..] .. he completes [...
25 ... which they] place, responsibility [....] ... in the ladles [...
26 who does not] go out. The fetter¹ of the [captured] man [..] ... It
is of the darkness². [...
27 ...] are many. It concerns when he was taken prisoner. [...
28 ... which they bring near.] Because he wept. His tears in [...
29 ...] which they chant in Nisan. That concerns the prisoner. The
water on [...
30 ...] They were favours for Aššur. I did them." At the command
of Aššur . [...
31 ...] She is praying to Aššur, Anu, Sîn, Šamaš, and Adad . [...
32 ... who] goes. A bringer of news. [..] Bēl, when he goes [...
33 ... who] goes. The gate of graves [...
34 ...] ... [...
35 ...] ... [...
36 ...] whom they make superior . [...
37 ...] they go around all the cult places [...
38 ... who] Anzû, Kingu, Asakku [...
39 ...] "Anzû, Kingu, Asakku [...
40 ...] "Give the news!" He gives the news and they about [...

* After l.34, K 6330 + 6359 + 9138 may have as much as two lines before its edge.

41 ...] ú šu-ú [× × ×] GA³ KI¹ ha-ri-ib šu × × AD DAN [...
 42 ...] MA [...

Version III (BM 134503)

1 ...] × × ^dmarduk [...
 2 ...] ú ma-a ke-e-nu šu-ú DI × [...
 3 ...] × KA ZA [...
 4 ...] × šú a-na muḫḫi hur-sa-an it × [...
 5 ... ša lab-]bu-šu-u-ni ina ka-dam-me šu-ú [...
 6 ... ina p]a-n[a-t]ú-šu ú-na-ab-bu-u il-[lak-u-ni ...
 7 ...] mi-iḫ-še ša maḫ-ḫu-šu-u-ni šú-nu ina da-me-[šú ...
 8 ... ú-ga-]mar-u-ni ina pu-lu-uḫ-ti šu-ú mē^{meš} ár-ḫiš i-ša-am-
 mu-a [...
 9 ... ina [libbi gi-di-ma-a-ti ina libbi iš-qí šu-ra-a-re ú-šar-ra-[ru-
 u-ni]
 10 ... ^{uz}u^ušumē la-ba-ak-te ina pān ^{dbēl}i-kar-ra-ru-u-ni šá qa-du-
 ur-te šú-u [...
 11 ... ša] ú-qar-ra-bu-u-ni bi-it ib-ku-u-ni šú-u di-'a-a-te-šú ina
 lib-bi × [...
 12 ... šu-ul-le-]e-šú-nu ú-šal-la su-ra-re-šú-nu ú-sa-r[a-ar ...
 13 ... qa-r]a-bu ú-tap-piš ma-a mi-i-nu ḫi-ṭ[a-šú ...
 14 ... ma-a] bal-li-ṭa ma-a la ta-duk-[ka ...
 15 ...] ub-bu-lu-šu ši-i ta-ṭa-rad ma-a aḫu(šeš)-u-a
 aḫu(šeš)-[u-a ...
 16 ...] ka-ri-ir la-an-tu-ḫa la-aq-be[r ...
 17 ...] [pa-na-tu-uš-šú da⁷-mu šá šur-ri šá [tab-ku-ni ...
 18 ...] ši-i [...
 19* ...] × [...
 20 ... il-]li-ku-ú-šú-ni šu-ú × [...
 21 ...] × lu-ú × [...
 22 ...] × -ni la ú-šu-u-ni ^dtaš-me-tu₄ šá is-si-šú kam-mu-sa-
 tú[-ni ...
 23 ... ana muḫḫi] bīt šib-ta-te-šú tu-še-bal-áš-[šú ...
 24 ...] ú-še-za-ab issu lib-bi us-se-re-d[u-niš-šú ...
 25 ... ḫu-ur-ra-a-t]i ina libbi ^{giš}dalte up-tal-li-šú qa-ra-bu ina lib-
 b[i up-pu-šú ...
 26 ... bēl ḫi-iṭ-ṭ]i šá issi ^{dbēl}iz-zi-zu-u-ni i [

41 ...] .. it is [...] .. it is plundered [...
 42 ...] . [...

Version III (BM 134503)

1 ...] .. Marduk [...
 2 ...] It is just. .. [...
 3 ...] ... [...
 4 ...] his . to the place of the river ordeal .. [...
 5 ... in which] he is clad. He is in the storeoom [...
 6 ...] They go [in] front of him calling out [...
 7 ...] They are the blows which were struck. In [his] blood [...
 8 ... which] he fills. It is in fear. He soon thirsts for water [...
 9 ...] . They make poured offerings from ladles and beakers.
 10 ...] The moistened roast meat which they place in front of
 Marduk: It is of the darkness?. [...
 11 ... which] they bring near. It is because he wept. His tears inside
 [...
 12 ...] he says prayers and makes supplications to them [...
 13 ...] He has done battle. "What is his crime?" [...
 14 ...] "Keep alive! Do not kill!" [...
 15 ...] They carry him. She gives chase. "My brother, [my]
 brother!" [...
 16 ...] is put down. Let me bear and bury! [...
 17 ...] on her front is blood of the heart [which was shed ...
 18 ...] she [...
 19 ...] . [...
 20 ...] who went to him. He [...
 21 ...] [...
 22 ...] . who does not go out. Tašmētu, who bows down with
 him [...
 23 ...] She makes carry to him, to the temple of his
 imprisonment. [...
 24 ...] he saves. He made go down from inside [...
 25 ...] they have bored [holes] in the door. They [waged]
 battle inside. [...
 26 ...] the criminal who was present with Bēl . [...

* The edge of the tablet is between ll.19 and 20.

- 27 ...] × *i-na-šu-ni* × [...
 28 ...] × IK DI [...
 29 ... *mā*]r ^d*aš-šur šu*-[*u-tú* ...
 30 ... *šu*-]ú *e-si*-[*ip* ...
 31 ... *mā*]rat ^d*a-nim id-du-k*[*u* ...
 32 ...] × *du-ši še*-ⁱ*-tú-šu ši*-[*i* ...
 33 ...] × *ilāni*^{meš} *abbū*^{meš}-*šu šu-nu e*- × [...
 34 ...] × *ilāni*^{meš} *abbū*^{meš}-*šu šu-nu e-l*[*i* ...
 35 ...] AN [...
 36 ...] × RU [...
 37 ...] KA AŠ [...
 38 ...] IL LU [...
 39 ...] *šu-ú-ma ma-ḥa-zu* [...
 40 ...] KI.TA *ina muḥ*[*ḥi* ...

Version IV (BM 134504 + S 1903)

- 1 ...] × [...
 2 ...] *ú-pa-s*[*a-ar* ...
 3 ...] KI ŠU Ú [...
 4 ...] × ZI² MEŠ *ša na-gi-i* [...
 5 ... *né*-]mi-il *la-a la-bi-ru šu*-[*tu-ni* × × × × × × × × × ×
 ×] × × *a-na šu-me-š*[*ú* ×]
 6 ... *i*]n-na-qu-ú-ni [× × × × × × × × × × × ×] QI Ú [×]
 7 ...] × *ú-ni ina* [× × × × × × × × × × × ×] QI Ú [×]
 8 ... K]U² *gab-bu ša ku-zip-pu* KAL L[A × × × × × × × × × ×
 × ×] LU² E² KI² AD² *bīt* × × [× ×]
 9 ... *i-n*]a-ki-su-u-ni *qa-da-ru-ut-t*[*u* × × × × × × × × × ×
 × × × × ×] RU [(×)]
 10 ...] × SU *ši-i issu āli ta-la*-[*ba*²-*an-ni* × × × × × × × ×]
 KAL LU LU × [(×)]
 11 ...]^ú*mār*(a) *šipri*(kin) *šu-ú* [× × × × × × × × × ×] *āli i-*
lab-bi-a-ni
 12 ... L]A *i-bak-ku-ú-n*[*i* × × × × × × × × × ×] TI *la i-bak-*
ku-u-ni ina muḥḥi ^{dbēl} *šu-u* T[A (×)]
 13 ... *tal*-[*a*-[*k*]a²-*an-ni* [*bēl-šá la-aš-šú ša la bēli*] *ta-sa-ab-bu-u'*
 14 ...]-*ú-ni a-ki-i*^d[× × × × × × ×] *ú-šal-bu-ú-ni ú-kal-lu-*
mu
 15 ...] × *su-te šu-ú* [× × × × × × × × × ×] Š *la ku-ba-di-šú-nu*

- 27 ...] . they take off . [...
 28 ...] ... [...
 29 ...] . He is [a son of] Aššur [...
 30 ...] it is gathered [...
 31 ...] They have killed the daughter of Anu [...
 32 ...] ... It is his mattress [...
 33 ...] . they are the gods, his fathers [...
 34 ...] . they are the gods, his fathers; on [...
 35 ...] . [...
 36 ...] .. [...
 37 ...] .. [...
 38 ...] .. [...
 39 ...] . he the cult places [...
 40 ...] below . on [...

Version IV (BM 134504 + S 1903)

- 1 ...] . [...
 2 ...] he gives the news [...
 3 ...] ... [...
 4 ...] ... of the districts [...
 5 ...] because it is not old . [.....] .. as his name . [.]
 6 ...] is libated [.....] ...
 7 ...] ... in [.....] ..
 8 ...] . all which, the cloaks .. [.....].. the temple ... [(.)]
 9 ...] who cuts, darkness? [...
 10 ...] .. she comes round from the city [.....] ..
 11 ...] He is a messenger . [.....] who goes round the city.
 12 ... who] weep [... who]. Do not weep. It is concerning Bēl. .
 [(.)]
 13 ...] It goes [with no driver. Without a driver] it rocks about.
 14 ...] because the god [...] encircles, they demonstrate.
 15 ...] ... he [.....] not in honour of them.

- 16 ...] × -su lu-u LÚ [× × × × × × × ×] lu-u ina nāri lu-u ina
būrti i-kar-ra-ru-u-[ni]
17 ...] × × [× × × × × × × ×] a ú-šá-áš-mu-ú-[ni]
18 ...] ištār(15) šá bīt kit-mur¹-ri ilāni^{me}[š × × × ×]
19 ... adi ūmē^{meš} ba]l-tu a-a ir-šu-šu [re-e-mu]
20 ... liš]-ku-[nu]

Version V (K 7979)

- 1 ...] × [...
2 ...] TA × [...
3 ... šu-ú-t]u issu bīt lú[ša-ab-te ...
4 ...] × NU ú-še-ša-áš-šú lú × [...
5 ...]a il-la-ku-u-ni bītu šu-ú [...
6 ...] pa-ar-ru-ku ki-i ša bīti NU × [...
7 ...]^mēš ša ina šá-ru-ri šá dšamaš [...
8 ...] × AN NI ma-a šá-ru-r[i ...
9 ...] × NI ina muḥḥi ša ša-a[b-ti ...
10 ... ša]mnu(i.giš) ni-šu UR RA ZU U NI × [...
11 ...la-]áš-šú iz-za-az pa-ḥa-[ti ...
12 ...ana m]a-šar-ti-šú a-pi-ir a-g[e-e ...
13 ...il-l]a-ka-an-ni i-kar-ra-ru-u-ni [...
14] dāš-šur i-du-ak-šu-n[i ...
15 ...N]I² ina giš²tal-[li...
16 ...K]AB ina qa-r[a-bi...
17 ...] áš-ru šu-ú ina muḥ-ḥ[i...
18 ...la bēl] ḥi-iṭ-ṭi a-na-k[u² ...
19 ...] ina × [...
20 ...] × [...

- 16 ...] [.....] he who places (it) either in a river or in a well.
17 ...] .. [.....] . who should not make hear
18 ...] Ištār of Bīt Kitmuri, the gods [....]
19 ... as long as he] lives, may they not show him [mercy.]
20 ...] may they place.

Version V (K 7979)

- 1 ...] .. [...
2 ...] .. [...
3 ...] it, from the house of the [captured] man [...
4 ...] .. he makes him go out. The man . [...
5 ...] who goes. It is the temple [...
6 ...] when of the temple not . [...
7 ...] . which in the rays of Šamaš [...
8 ...] "The rays [...
9 ...] .. above the captured [one ...
10 ...] oil, oath [...
11 ... there] is no; he stands, responsibility [...
12 ... to] guard him. Wearing a crown [...
13 ...who] goes and places [...
14 ...whom] Aššur will kill [...
15 ...] . on the beam [...
16 ...] .. in the battle [...
17 ...] It is the place on [...
18 ...] I² am [not a] criminal [...
19 ...] in . [...
20 ...] . [...

TABLE SHOWING THE COMPOSITION OF THOSE LINES OF THE COMPOSITE EDITION FOR WHICH MORE THAN ONE VERSION SUPPLIES THE TEXT

Version	I	II	III	IV	V
Composite Edition					
2	x	x			
5	x		x		
8	x		x		
14	x	x	x		
15	x	x			
19	x	x			
21	x	x	x		
23	x	x			
25	x		x		
26	x		x		
28	x				x
30				x [?]	x
32	x	x			x
34	x	x	x		
37		x			x
45	x	x			
50	x		x		
55	x	x	x		
58	x	x			
60	x	x			
65	x		x		
68	x		x		
69	x	x		x	
73	x	x			x [?]
74	x	x			
76	x	x	x		
79	x	x	x		
81	x		x		
84	x		x [?]		
85	x	x	x		
88	x		x		x
89	x		x		
90	x			x	
92		x			x

Total number of lines:	Version	I	69
	II	42	
	III	40	
	IV	15	
	V	20	

APPENDIX I

FOR the sake of completeness the remaining sections of BM 34035, VAT 8917, K 3476, and VAT 10099 are given here.

ina^{iti} *du'ūzi* ud. 11. kam *šá*^d *šilluš*(*ge*)^u - *ṭāb*(*dùg*) *u*^d *ka-gin-na mārāte*^{meš}
é-s[ag-il]
ana é-zi-da il-la-ka-ni u ina^{iti} *kislimi* ud. 3. kam *d* *gaz-ba-[ba]*
u^d *kiri*₄ - *zal-sur-ra mārāte*^{meš} *é-zi-da a-na é-sag-il il-[la-ka-ni]*
a-na muḥ-ḥi mi-ni-i ki-i il-la-ka-a' ina^{iti} *du'ūzi mu-ši ki-i i[k-ru]-ú*
ana muḥ-ḥi ur-ru-ku šá mu-ši mārāte^{meš} *é-sag-il ana é-zi-da it-tal-ka-ni*
é-zi-da bīt mu-ši šu-ú ina^{iti} *kislimi u*₄ - *mu ki-i ik-ru-ú*
mārāte^{meš} *é-zi-da ur-ru-ku šá u*₄ - *mu ana é-sag-il it-tal-ka-a'*
*é-sag-il bīt u*₄ - *mu šu-ú*

BM 34035 1-8

On the 11th of Tammuz, Šilluštāb and Kaginna, the daughters of Esagil,

go to Ezida, and on the 3rd of Kislim Gazbaba and Kirizalsurra, the daughters of Ezida, go to Esagil.

Why do they go? In Tammuz, when the nights have become short, the daughters of Esagil go to Ezida to lengthen the nights.

Ezida is the night temple. In Kislim, when the days have become short,

the daughters of Ezida go to Esagil to lengthen the days.

Esagil is the day temple.

The dates mentioned come closely before the summer and winter solstices, as given by ^{mul}apin. Šilluštāb and Kaginna are the hairdressers of Zarpānītu (see *CT* 24 15 11-12; 28 66-67). For a cult procession involving the two pairs of deities mentioned here, see *SBH* VIII v 44-47. The movements of the deities timed to immediately precede the solstices are interpreted as causing the lengthening of the days and nights.

A qu-le-e ḥi¹-ri¹-i¹-tum¹

[t]ú¹ *zi¹-ri¹* ud¹.4¹.kam¹ *ana¹* ud¹.20¹.lá¹.1¹.1¹ KU¹: ud¹.20¹.lá¹.1¹.kam¹ *ana¹*
ud¹.12¹.kam¹ *kun¹-nu¹*

šá ina^{iti} *gan* ud.4.kam *gaz ina*^{iti} *gu*₄ ud.24.kam *a-šá-bi*

šá ina^{iti} *apin* ud.20.lá.1.kam *gaz ina*^{iti} *sig* ud.12.kam *a-šá-bi*

šá ina^{iti} *gan gaz ina gu*₄ *gaz dug*₄ *ga šá ina apin gaz ina sig gaz dug*₄ *ga*

BM 34035 23-7

Part of the point of the first and second of these lines is that túl is a Sumerian equivalent of the Akkadian *herītu*, "ditch" (see *MSL* 14 213 166). Otherwise, the lines remain obscure.

bi-ki-tu, šá^{iti} du'ūzi a-na^d dumu-(é)-zi
nu-re-e-tu, šá^{iti} du'ūzi bi-ki-ta ana^d lugal-du₆-kù-ga
bi-ki-tu, šá^{iti} tebet a-na^d en-me-šár-ra
 gi.dub.ba.a qa-an-tup-pu-ú-tu^d marduk māru ke-nu
 šu^{II} an.ta im-na: šu^{II} šap-lit: šu-me-lu

BM 34035 33-7

The weeping in Tammuz is for Dumuzi.
 The illumination in Tammuz is a weeping for Lugaldukuga.
 The weeping in Tebet is for Enmešarra.
 gi.dub.ba.a: writing stylus. Marduk, the true son.
 Hands up: right. Hands down: left.

The weeping for Dumuzi in Tammuz is well known. Weeping for Enmešarra in Tebet, or the preceding month, Kislim, is known from *SBH* VIII col.v 35-43; it is explained that Enmešarra was bound, and that Gula established a weeping for him (ll.35 and 42). The fifth line records a Sumerian idiom for the left and right hands. This is known from two lines appened to a copy of *An* (*CT* 24 45 44-5) and one could note also a Sumerian literary text where šu ki.ta is translated into Akkadian as š[u-me]l-ti-ka (Enlil and Ninlil: the Marriage of Sud, *JAOS* 103 (1983) 53 42). This reminds one of the apparent rule in hepatoscopy, where "up" has often the same significance as "right", while "down" has the same significance as "left"; see *CT* 30 23 1-4 for an example.

[1 še]n.šen.bal^{mušen}: ur-bal-lum: ha-aḥ-h[u-ru ×]
 [1 še]n.šen.bal.ba.ug₇ hur-ba-qa-nu šá ina ta-ḥa-zu × [× ×]
 1 × -za-gu-nu uz-nu qa-né-e × × ×
 1 iṣ-šur kirī(kiri₆): za-an-zi-riⁱ
 1 [iṣ]-šur me-e^{mušen}: a-ra-bu-ú
 1 iṣ-šur šá-di-i^{mušen}: il-lab-ra-a
 1 iṣ-šur ap-pa-ri: ni-qu-du

k[i]-i as-su-qak-ku ki-i ú-ba-a-a-ku ina 1 me 1 šu
 gú na₄ ultu(ta) ud.18.kam šá^{iti} du'ūzi adi(en) ud.28.kam šá^{iti} kislími
 1 me 1 šu ūmē^{meš} ina^{iti} du'ūzi ud.18.kam^d nergal(U.GUR) eršet^{iti} ur-rad
^{iti} kislímu ud.28.kam elli(e₁₁)^d šamaš u nergal(U.GUR) istēn(1)^{em}

BM 34035 43-53

The šenšenal is the *urballu*, the raven?
 The šenšenalbaug is the vulture?, which in battle . [...]
 The ... ear, reeds ...
 The bird of the orchards is the starling.
 The water bird is the arabû.
 The mountain bird is the illabrâ.
 The marsh bird is the niqudu.

When I chose you, when I sought you from/with 160
 Neck/Load, stone. From the 18th of Tammuz to the 28th of Kislim
 is 160 days. On the 18th of Tammuz Nergal goes down to the
 underworld.

On the 28th of Kislim he comes up. Šamaš and Nergal are one.

The first line below the ruling reads like a literary excerpt introducing the required number 160, but the first two signs of the following line must somehow belong, and their connections are obscure. What is involved is a myth of a god descending to the underworld at the time of the summer solstice in Tammuz, and remaining in the underworld until the winter solice six months later, in Kislim. The god is Nergal; with this should be compared *KAV* 218 iii 1-10, which states that Kislim is the month of Nergal, and that in Kislim Nergal rises from the underworld.

NAM BU UM × bēl āribu(ú.naga^{em}) ki-pil-šú

VAT 8917 rev.9

The first part of this line is obscure. The second part repeats part of obv. 1.9 of the same tablet; see pp.94-5 and p.99.

...] su-ḥa-ti [...
 ...] × meš-šú [...
 ...] × LU-šú [...
 ...] šamnū(ú)^{bi.a} gišSAR UD LA ŠÚ? [...

...] ubānu(šú.si) KI BAR [...
 ...] × GIŠ na-mul-li ú-ma-ta-ḥu MUL? [...
 ...] × : LU šú-nu igi.lá^{meš} igi^{meš} SAR un^{meš} KI × [...

× UŠ PA^d en.líl.lá TI^d AS TI ina lib-bi KI × [...

K 3476 rev.

This is almost entirely obscure.

...^d]é-a [...
 ...] ša [...
 ... ×] BU eš.bar AN [...
 ...] ša AN šá [...
 ...] ^da-num u ^d[...
 ...] GA ú [...
 ...^da]-num ^d[...
 ...] × × [...

VAT 10099 rev.

Introductory Invocation

Note that BM 34035 has an introductory invocation:

[ina a]-mat ^dbēl u ^dbēlti(gašan)-iá liš-lim¹

At the command of my Lord and Lady, may it prosper!

APPENDIX II

COLOPHONS of some tablets have been given in the main part of the book. The colophons are given here of those tablets of which different sections have been discussed and presented in different parts of the book and of those tablets having duplicates.

BM 34035

ultu(ta) muḥ-ḫi ^{im}gi-ṭi labiri(labir.ra) gaba-ri bar-zip^{ki}
 šatir-ma bari(igi.tab) ^{im}gi-ṭi ^{ld}bēl-aḫḫe^{meš}-iddina(mu) māri(a) šá ^{ld}bēl-
 ku-ṣur-šú
 mār(a) ¹ēṭiru(SUR)^{ru} ina qātē¹¹-šú iš-ṭur-ma bar-zip^{ki}
 itⁱajjāru ud.27.kam šattu 1 me 11 kam šá ši-i
 šattu 1 me 74 kam ¹ar-šá-ka-a šarri

Written and checked according to an old long tablet, an original of Borsippa. Bēlaḫḫēiddina, son of Bēlkuṣuršu, descendant of Ḫēṭiru, wrote it with his own hand. Borsippa, the 27th of Ajjār, the 111th year; that is the 174th year of Arsaces, the king.

K 4245 +

... ba.an.]è
 ...] BU
 ...] × GI
 ...] ilāni^{meš} an.šār
 ... i-t]ab-ba-lu
 ...]-ia SAR rù

(Cf. H. Hunger, *Bab. und Ass. Kolophone* no.319 9-10.)

BM 47463

nig.mu.pà.da nig diri? × × ×
 gaba.ri ^{uru}ba-bi-ili u bar-sip^{ki}
 šatir(sar)-ma bari(igi.kár) ù up-pu-uš
 tuppi ^{m1}še-ma-a'-iá mār(a) ¹a-di-rum

.....
 Copies from Babylon and Borsippa,

written, checked and made ready,
tablet of Šemaya, son of Adirum.

The meaning of the first line of the colophon is uncertain; see R. Labat, *Commentaires* p.16. Note the Hebrew scribe.

CBS 6060

mūdū^u {A} mūdā^a li-kal-lim

lā mūdū^u lā immar^{mar}

ki-ma labirī-šú^{1d} ninurta(MAŠ)-nāšir^{ir}

mār(a)^{1d} ninurta-iqīša^{1a} lū āšipu(maš.maš)

ištur(in.sar) makkūr(nig.ga) é.šu.me.ša₄

The copy in *UM* 10/iv n.12 omits MAŠ from the scribe's father's name; see W.G. Lambert, *WO* 5 291.

Let the initiate instruct the initiate.

The uninitiated shall not see.

Ninurtanāšir,

the son of Ninurtaiqīša,

wrote (it) according to its original. Property of Ešumeša.

VAT 8917

pirišti(AD.ḪAL) ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš} mūdū^u mūdā^a li-kal-lim lā mūdū^u a-a imur(igi.lá)

[i]kkib ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš} kīma labirī-šú šà-ṭir-ma ba-ri

[(x x)] PA TU U kīma labirī-ma

[ṭupp]i¹ ki-šir-aš-šur maš.maš bīt an.šár mār(a)^{1d} nabū(PA)-bi-su-nu

[lú]maš.maš bīt an.šár

[mār^{1db}]a-ba₆-šuma-ibni zabardabbi(zabar.dab.ba) é.šár.ra

A secret of the great gods. May the initiate instruct the initiate. Let the uninitiated not see.

Taboo of the great gods. Written and checked according to its original.

[(. .)] ... like an original.

A tablet of Kiširaššur, exorcist of the temple of Aššur, son of Nabúbessun,

exorcist of the temple of Aššur,

son of Babašumaiḫni, the official of Ešarra.

K 3476

× [×] kīma gaba-ri⁸ⁱ lē'iⁿⁱ ninua^{ki} šaṭir(ab.sar)-ma bar[i(an.ba.an.è)]
[× ×] × × × × [× ×] × šá^d nabû-tuk-lat-s[u] × × × é.[...]

× [.] like an original, a wax tablet, of Nineveh, written and checked.
[. .] . . . [.] of Nabûtuklatsu . . . temple of[...]

VAT 9946

...[i]-kal-lim lā mūdā^a āj(nu) imur(igi.bar) ik[kib ...

...] let instruct. The uninitiated may not see. Taboo [...]

VAT 10099

...] × [× × ×] li-kal-[lim ...

...] × × ×^d šamaš × × × × × × × × × [...]

VAT 9947

kīma labirī-šú šaṭir-ma [ba]-ri

Written and checked according to its original.

VAT 9555

man-nu ša ṭup-ṭu an-ni-u e-mar-ra-qu-u-ni lu-u ina mē^{meš} i-kar-ra-ar-u-ni

ù im-mar-u-ni a-na ša la ú-du-u-ni la ú-šá-áš-mu-u-ni

^daš-šur^d sin^d šamaš^d adad^d ú^d iš-tar^d bēl^d nabû^d nergal^d ištar^d ša ninua^{ki}

^dištar^d ša uru^u arba-il^d ištar^d ša bīt kit-mur-r[i]

ilāni^{meš} ša šamē^e eršetⁱtiⁱ ù ilāni^{meš} māt aš-šur^{ki} ka-le-šú-nu

ar-rat la nap-šu-ri ma-ru-uš-tu li-ra-ru-šu-ma a-di ūmē^{meš} bal-ṭu a-a ir-šu-šu re-e-m[a]

šum-šú zēr-šú ina māti li-še-lu-ú širē^{meš}-šú ina pi-i ša kal-bi liš-kun-[nu]

He who breaks this tablet or places it in water, or reads it, one who does not know and should not be allowed to hear—

May Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad and Ištar, Bēl, Nabû, Nergal, Ištar of Nineveh,

Ištar of Arbēla, Ištar of Bītkitmuri,

the gods of heaven and underworld, and all the gods of Assyria, curse him with a foul and irrevocable curse. May they not show

mercy to him as long as he lives.

May they cause his seed to vanish from the land. May they place his flesh in the mouth of dogs.

ND 812(a)

... *tu* *p-pu a* [*n-ni-*] *ú*' *e-ma* [*r-ra-qu-u-ni*]

...] *ú em-mar-u-ni a-* [*na ša la ú-du-ni*]

... *dīštar ša ninua* ^{ki} *dīštar ša* ^{uru} *arbēla* (tab.tab.dingir) × × [...

... *māt aš-šur* ^{ki} *ka-li-šū-nu* ...

... *š* *a kal-bi* [*liš-kun-nu*]

...] × × × [× × × ×] × [...

...] × [× × × ×] × [...

... he who] breaks this tablet [...

...] or reads to [one who does not know]

...Ištar of Nineveh,] Ištar of Arbēla . . [...

...of the land of Assyria,] all of them [...

...] ... [...

...]...[...]. [...

...].[...]. [...

NOTES

Notes to Introduction

1. Many of the texts in question are listed in Borger HKI III under *Geheimwissen*, "secret knowledge".
2. Notable examples are T. Jacobsen in *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, ed. H. Frankfort (Chicago, 1946), Chapters V–VII; T. Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness* (Yale, 1976); W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, 1960), especially pp.1–20; W. von Soden, *Sprache, Denken und Begriffsbildung im Alten Orient* (Mainz, 1975), especially pp.1 ff.; E. Speiser, in *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East* (American Oriental Series, 38); G.S. Kirk, *Myth, Its Meaning and Functions* (Cambridge, 1970), Chapter III.
3. This criterion was used in *RIA* III pp.188–91 by R. Borger, who concedes there its unsatisfactory nature.
4. W.G. Lambert, "Myth and Ritual as Conceived by the Babylonians", *JSS* 13, pp.104–12.
5. This third reason alone does not constitute decisive proof because unrelated works were sometimes included by scribes on the same tablet.
6. See *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1972) under "Hermeneutics" (VIII 366ff.) and "Gematria" (VII 370ff.); also H.L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*, (Beck'sche Elementarbücher 7, Munich, 1982).
7. G.S. Kirk, *op.cit.*

Notes to Chapter One

1. See H. Hunger, "Neues von Nabû-zuqup-kēna", *ZA* 62 (1972) 100; H. Hunger, *Kolophone* 90ff. 293–311; D.J. Wiseman, "Assyrian Writing Boards?", *Iraq* 17 (1955) 9.
2. One would have to concede, however, the relative paucity of native literary Assyrian compositions.
3. Especially relevant is the scheme for determining the length of the night on the 1st and 15th days of the month throughout the year. See pp.24–8 and B.L. van der Waerden, *Die Anfänge der Astronomie* (Groningen, 1956), pp.82–88.
4. By W.G. Lambert, in *Seed of Wisdom*, ed. W.S. McCullough (Toronto, 1964), pp.3ff.
5. See W.G. Lambert, *op.cit.*, and *BWL*, "Time Chart".
6. See R. Borger, "Bemerkungen zu den akkadischen Kolophonen", *WO* 5 (1970) 167.
7. See *GAG* §56k.
8. See *AHw* s.v. *nabû G I*.
9. See G. Farber-Flügge, *Inanna und Enki* (Studia Pohl 10, Rome, 1973), pp.181ff. for study of the meaning of *giš.hur* in Sumerian contexts; see *CAD* s.v. *gišhuru* for Akkadian occurrences.
10. See E. Reiner, "A Sumerian-Akkadian Hymn of Nanā", *JNES* 33 (1974) 222.
11. See *MCT* p.132, *CAD* s.v. *igigubbá*, and A. Draffkorn Kilmer, "Two New Lists of Key Numbers for Mathematical Operations", *OrNS* 29 (1960) 273ff.
12. See *MCT*, Glossary, s.v. *iku*.
13. See *MCT*, pp.132 and 165.
14. One is reluctant to appeal to the fact that the vowel change might be possible in Sumerian, because of the lateness of the text, and because it is not absolutely certain that *arahhu* is, as stated by *CAD*, a loan word from Sumerian *a.ra.ah*, rather than the reverse. See *PBS* 5 106 iv 11'–12' (*Diri* V) [*a-ra*]-*ah* E.US.G1D.DA *a-ra-ah-hu na-āš-pa-ku*.
15. See *MCT* p.174.
16. Cf. B. Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender* pp.105ff.

17. Here, *ú-fir* has been understood as being from *firru*, "to make famous". Otherwise, it could be derived from *epéru*, "to draw" (used in Stem II in the same senses as in Stem I). A third possibility would be to transliterate *ú-muš* (instead of *ú-fir*) at the end of the line and translate "Monthly without ceasing put yourself in motion with your crown!" [*namāku* I, imper.].
18. One Akkadian word, *lutamburu*, expresses "be in opposition" and "be in conjunction".
19. *CAD E* p.373.
20. Sumerian *ba(r)* is a correct equivalent of Akkadian *mišlu*, "half". Equations in lexical texts are *ba.a EŠ(= 30) mi-iš-lu* (A II/4 171; also with variant *miš-li Ea* II 167), with the EŠ or 30 sign, and with the bar sign *ba.ár bar mi-iš-[lu]* (variant *meš-[lu]* A I/6 143). The sequence of equivalences given in the text is partly paralleled in an astrological work *BAR: sa-a-zu BAR: meš-lu* (*ACh Samat* 16 3).
21. That is the so-called "Götterzahl", for which see *RIA* III p.499.
22. An Assyrian royal inscription demonstrates the meaning of the expression in its present context; see p.231.
23. See *MSL* 4 148ff. for examples; cf. *RIA* III p.615. The terms refer to relative positions forward or backward in the Sumerian verbal chain.
24. Cf. B. Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender* pp.141-4.
25. F. Kugler, *Sternkunde, Erstes Ergänzungsheft*, p.89.
26. *VAT* 9412 II 43-III 12. Cf. E. Weidner, *AJO* 12 147 note 23.
27. See B. van der Waerden, *Die Anfänge der Astronomie*, pp.84ff., and O. Neugebauer, "The Water Clock in Babylonian Astronomy", *Isis* 37 (1947) 37ff.
28. The etymology of *um babbuli* is in fact from the secondary form *babālu* of the verb *wabālu*, "to carry", and the original idea was presumably of the moon being carried away.
29. *u.ná.a* is from the Sumerian roots *u*, "day" and *ná*, "to lie down", or "to fall asleep". The absence of the letter *k* in the writing *u.ná.àm* shows that the expression is not a genitive construction. It must therefore be construed as "resting day", with ellipsis of "moon".
30. A. Falkenstein, *Das Sumerische* §9c.
31. See *CAD A* II p.196 and B p.138.
32. See *GAG* §2k.
33. *CT* 24 39 24 cf. *KAV* 51 obv.6. The reading is probably established by *CT* 25 27 (K 8308) where ⁴áb.[x] is glossed as *ab.ka.rù*. The word may be the same as the *áb.gar.ra lit-tu*, "cow", of *MSL* VIII/I 48 335. For the basic meaning of *áb.gar.ra*, cf. Sjöberg's suggestion (in A. Sjöberg, *Mondgott*, p.21) that the Sumerian root for milk, usually considered to be *ga*, is *ga(r)*, and *CAD*'s equation of *lišdu* and *eldu*, "cream", with *gara*.
34. *CT* 24 39 15.
35. See above, pp.28 and 44.
36. Cf. the forms given above, p.41. *inbu* and *imbú* are, respectively, nominative and subjunctive, while *inbi* and *imbi* are genitive and indicative. *imbú* and *imbi* are derived from *inbú* and *inbi* following a regular phonetic change.
37. See V. Christian, "Die Namen der assyrisch-babylonischen Keilschriftzeichen", *MVAG* 18 I (1913) 58.
38. See *RIA* III pp.469-70.
39. See *BWL* p.88 l.276 and the comment at the foot of the page; see also *BWL* p.310.
40. See B. Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender* pp.105ff.
41. See L. King, *STC* I pp.176 and 189; II pl.LXII and LXIII; *CT* 13 32.
42. See L. King, *STC* II pl.LI-LX; T. Meek, *RA* 17 169; *CT* 19 6; edited by J. Bottéro in *Essays on the Ancient Near East*, ed. M. de Jong Ellis (1977), pp.5-28.
43. See J. Durand, "Un Commentaire à *TDP* I, AO 17661", *RA* 73 (1979) 153ff.
44. See for example E. Leichty, *Izbu*, p.153 and the explanation in Commentary O, ll.aff. (*op.cit.*, p.232).
45. A. Falkenstein, "Untersuchungen zur sumerischen Grammatik", *ZA* 48 (1944) 112.
46. See in general K. Tallqvist, "Akkadische Götterepitheta", *StOr* VII (1938) 389 and A. Falkenstein, "Sumerische religiöse Texte", *ZA* 55 (1963) 30 note 114. Note the gloss in S. Parpola, *LAS* 68 obv.2-3: ^{mul}li₃-^{aj}li₄.
47. B. Alster, "On the Interpretation of 'Inanna and Enki'", *ZA* 64 (1975) 33 note 33.
48. See G. Farber-Flügge, *Inanna und Enki*, pp.54-6 ll.5, 6, and 35. For ^{mul}šū₃.nir rather than ^{mul}šū₃.nir] see Farber-Flügge's note on p.107. No weapons are mentioned, but observe that

- before l.35 there is a lacuna of six lines, preceded by ^{mul}šū₃...
49. Cf. the translation by A. Falkenstein, *Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* (Stuttgart, 1953), p.171: "ihres göttlichen Amtes walten".
50. Cf. *me.ninnu*(50) ⁴inanna(M08) in *PBS* 13 60 10, a list pairing deities with objects, animals(?), and perhaps other things. *Nisaba* is paired with *dub.kù*, "fine tablet"; cf. p.183.
51. Cf. below, p.183; R. Harris, "The Journey of the Divine Weapon", *AS* 16 (1965) 217.
52. See ll.132, 141, and 146 in the edition of J. Cooper, "The Return of Ninurta to Nippur" (*AnOr* 52, Rome, 1978). Note that ^{mul}tukul.sag.50 and ⁴erim.á.bi.nu.tuku of the *SB* recension of *Angim* replace the analogous ^{mul}šū₃.sag.50 and ⁴erim.á.bi.nu.šub.bu in the *OB* and *MA* recensions.
53. See *AHW* s.v. *rētu*, *rabá*, and *pānu*.
54. For an example of storms as divine weapons, see *Enūma eliš* IV 41-8.
55. See V. Christian, "Die Namen der assyrisch-babylonischen Keilschriftzeichen", *MVAG* 18/I (1913) 53.
56. Examples of the Sumerian verb *gú.šub*, "shun", are: *Inanna's Descent*—e.ne.[em] a.ra.dug₄.ga.mu *gú.zu* la.ba.š₃i.šub.[bé.en] (S.N. Kramer, "Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld Continued and Revised", *JCS* 5 (1951), p.4 l.71), "Do not scorn the word I spoke to you!". A popular saying—*ninda.ḫul.ba.gál.la gú.zu* la.ba.š₃i.šub (E.I. Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs* 1.21, p.52), "You did not shun the stale bread!", perhaps more probable than Gordon's translation, "You have not been lax to the evil which exists!".
57. See *CT* 25 23 20b.
58. See *ŠL* IV/2, p.91; see below, pp.64 and 66.
59. See *GAG* §83g.
60. See A. Sachs, "Babylonian Horoscopes", *JCS* 6 (1952) 66 obv.37-40, and 74 13. For *dur* see *TCL* 6 13 rev.1-20.
61. See R. Labat, "Jeux numériques dans l'idéographie Susienne", *AS* 16 (1965) 259; R. Labat, *Manuel d'Épigraphie Akkadienne*, no.593.
62. See p.68, where *Marduk's* temple, *Esagila*, is 3,20; cf. J. Nougayrol, *RA* 66 (1972) 96, section 12.
63. The text has been previously discussed by R. Labat in *BiOr* 10 (1953) 184f. [= review of C.H. Gordon, *Smith Tablets*] and by W.G. Lambert in "The Gula Hymn of Bulluša-rabi", *OrNS* 36 (1967) 114ff.
64. A. Sjöberg, *TSC* III, no.35; cf. A. Falkenstein, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*, no.30.
65. See for example *KAR* 142 obv.i 22.
66. For example, *CT* 25 11 15 and 15 5.
67. See *Angim* ll.37-9, in the edition of J. Cooper, *The Return of Ninurta to Nippur*; see also *Lugale* (main text: *SEM* 44 9-14; see M. Cohen, "The Identification of the Kušú", *JCS* 25 (1973) 208) and E. Reiner, "Le char de Ninurta et le prologue du mythe de Zú", *RA* 51 (1957) pp.107ff.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. See for example W.G. Lambert, "The Historical Development of the Mesopotamian Pantheon", in *Unity and Diversity*, ed. H. Goedicke (Baltimore, 1975); T. Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness* (Yale, 1976); M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* (Giessen, 1905), esp. I 48ff. and 193ff.; W.G. Lambert in *RIA* III, 543ff.
2. A situation resembling that described by anthropologists as totemism, where different culturally related groups distinguish themselves from each other through allegiance to a particular symbol or part of nature.
3. See *BWL* 126ff.
4. See E. Weidner, "Die Bibliothek Tiglatpileasers I", *AJO* 16 201.
5. See K. Tallqvist, *StOr* 7 45.
6. The text, which reads *ud.3¹.kám*, "3rd day", has been emended.
7. See B. Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender* p.105 (for Anu) and p.137 (for Šamaš); see *CAD*

- s.v. *ibbu* (for *Gula*).
8. VAT 8917 rev.7-9; see pp.234 and 257.
 9. For an account of Babylonian cosmology, see W.G. Lambert in C. Blacker and M. Loewe, *Ancient Cosmologies*, pp.42-65.
 10. See E. Weidner, *AfO* 19 105ff.
 11. A perhaps multicoloured stone; see *CAD* s.v. *lulludanitu*.
 12. A perhaps blueish stone; see *AHW* s.v. *sangil(i)mud*.
 13. See A. Falkenstein, "Die Anunna in der sumerischen Überlieferung", *AS* 16 (1965) pp.127-58.
 14. See above, note 1.
 15. See W.G. Lambert and A.R. Millard, *Atrahasis*, II v 27-31; x rev.i 8-11.
 16. See W.G. Lambert, *op.cit.*, p.153.
 17. See R. Campbell Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p.20 (owl), p.54 (wolf and lion), p.77 (camel).
 18. F. Thureau Dangin, "Rituels et Amulettes contre Labartu", *RA* 18 (1921) 161ff. includes a lion, an ass, and creatures with heads like those of antelope.
 19. The metaphor is also used for Lamaštu in *PBS* 1/2 113 12; *IV R* 55 1 rev.7; *IV R* 58 obv.ii 59-60. The two *IV R* texts appear to be duplicates.
 20. *ACT* pp.197-8; a more technical sense is "eclipse magnitude".
 21. Such an interpretation was put forward by O. Neugebauer (*ACT* p.198). He pointed out that the ratio in eclipse magnitude between a lunar eclipse and a total solar eclipse can reach 3/2.

Notes to Chapter Three

1. See *AHW* s.v. *nabātu*.
2. See the list of gods, *CT* 25 27 14.
3. As in VAT 8917 obv.19, the same manuscript as *God Description Text I*; see p.233.
4. See M. Krebernik, "Zu Syllabar und Orthographie der lexikalischen Texte aus Ebla", *ZA* 73 (1984) 35 no.972b.
5. See W.G. Lambert, "The Reign of Nebuchadnezzar I, a Turning Point in Ancient Mesopotamian Religion", in *Seed of Wisdom*, ed. W.S. McCullough, 1964, pp.11f.
6. See W.G. Lambert, "The Historical Development of the Mesopotamian Pantheon: A Study in Sophisticated Polytheism", in *Unity and Diversity*, ed. H. Goedicke, 1975, pp.191ff.
7. For use of parts of the body as a means of expressing relationships one might compare from outside Mesopotamia a hymn from the *Rigveda*, *Rigveda* X 90ff. Division of a man's body expresses a cosmic and social order: The high caste *brāhmiṇ* comes from the head, and the low caste *śūdra* from the feet. The sun comes from the eye, the air from the navel, the gods Indra and Agni from the mouth, etc.
8. See E. Cassin, *La Splendeur divine* (Paris, 1968), pp.3-8, and generally.
9. This might be compared with Marduk's address to the demons (see W.G. Lambert, "An Address of Marduk to the Demons", *AfO* 17 (1954) 310ff., and *AfO* 19 (1959) 114ff., "An Address of Marduk to the Demons, Further Fragments"), where an exorcist presumably read out the series of lines beginning "I am Asalluhi...". Note also the explanatory work discussed in Chapter Five, which seems to include the statement (see p.192) that the head lamentation priest is Enmešarra.
10. For other Akkadian love lyrics see W.G. Lambert, "Divine Love Lyrics from the reign of Abi-Ešuḫ", *MIO* 12 (1966) 41 (Mu'ati, that is Nabū, and Nanā); W. von Soden, "Ein Zwiegespräch Hammurabis mit einer Frau", *ZA* 49 (1950) 152ff. (secular, see also M. Held, *JCS* 15 1 and *JCS* 16 37); W.G. Lambert, in *Unity and Diversity*, ed. H. Goedicke, pp.98ff. (Marduk and Ištar).
11. *ša*, which follows *ki.min*, "ditto", in the next two lines would fit here with the restored *ki-* in the lacuna after *ki.min*. There would not however be room for it in the corresponding position in the lacuna in the preceding two lines.
12. See T. Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness* pp.47ff.
13. Strong evidence is W. Hallo, *BiOr* 23 244-5, where one manuscript (YBC 4609) has

- Dumuzi's title *sipa-zi*, where a duplicate (*TCL* 16 97) has a king's name, Išmedagan. Other examples are *SRT* 1 (+ dupls., cf. *SKIZ* 128 ff.) where Iddindagan is identified with Amaušumgalanna, and *TLB* II 2 1 23 where *su.ba du₅.mu.zi.dè*, "the shepherd Dumuzi", refers to Šulgi.
14. See T. Jacobsen in *Unity and Diversity*, ed. H. Goedicke, p.90; note 30 for translation of *TCL* 15 8 (quoted below), with duplicates. Two lines are: "I have adorned my forearms with cedar perfume for him."
 15. The translation is of the Sumerian. The Akkadian omits "my", and, like the English, replaces the Sumerian participles by relative clauses.
 16. *da* means "arm" and *zag* means "side". By analogy with *šu*, "hand", and *šu.si*, "finger", one might think that the otherwise obscure *da.si* and *zag.si* mean the tips of the arm and side, corresponding to the fingers as tips of the hands. If the arm or side was conceived as a wing this would make good sense as pinions.
 17. See *AHW* sub voce *tāritu*.
 18. See S.N. Kramer, "Cuneiform Studies and the History of Literature: The Sumerian Sacred Marriage Texts", *PAPS* 107 (1963) 509.
 19. See F. Köcher, "Der babylonische Göttertypentext", *MIO* 1 (1953) 64ff.
 20. *Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide to the Collections, Ancient Near Eastern Art*, 1966, V. Crawford et al., p.11.
 21. B. Alster, *Dumuzi's Dream*, ll.170-1 etc.
 22. S.N. Kramer, "Inanna's Descent", *JCS* 5 14.

Notes to Chapter Four

1. Except par.1 of VAT 10099 and dupls., which appears to be introductory in character, and VAT 9947 obv.14 to rev.12.
2. See A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1974), pp.183ff.
3. See K. Tallqvist, *Der Assyrische Gott* (StOr 4/III), pp.10ff.
4. See D.O. Edzard in *The Near East, The Early Civilisations*, ed. J. Bottéro et al. (1967), pp.69-70 and 87.
5. See N. Schneider, *AnOr* 13, pp.73 (Puzrišdagan), 80 (Umma), 89 (Lagaš), 101 (Nippur), 105 (Ur), 107 (Adab).
6. For example, Sargon participated in the new year *akitu* festival at Babylon. See A. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, *TCS* 5, Chronicle 1 ii 1'.
7. See *GAG* §83g.
8. See I.J. Gelb, *Old Akkadian*, *MAD* 3 122ff.
9. Reading with the collations given by W.G. Lambert in *JThS* 21 429.
10. See *GAG* §55k.
11. This form is used for adjectives describing habitual actions, especially from "i" verbs; see *GAG* §55m.
12. See *GAG* §55f.
13. See *RLA* s.v. Emašmaš and s.v. Egašankalamma. Temples of Ištar in Babylonia are listed in *RLA* s.v. Ištar and do not include the name Egašankalamma.
14. See W.G. Lambert, *RLA* 5 211.
15. See E. Weidner, "Ein Astrologischer Sammeltext aus der Sargonidenzeit", *AfO* 19 105ff. (on K 250+ and dupls.).
16. Or from *kamū* "binding".
17. Sum.: (*sipa.zi.an.na*), "True shepherd of heaven"; Akk.: (*šitaddalu*), "The one smitten with a weapon".
18. See B.L. van der Waerden, *Science Awakening*, p.86.
19. Or *qi-mi-tu*, "burning".
20. See W. Farber, *Beschwörungrituale an Ištar und Dumuzi*, *A* IIa 7-8 and 16; *A* IIb 1 and 8-9.
21. See T. Jacobsen, *Towards the Image of Tammuz* (Yale, 1976), pp.62-71, B. Alster,

- "Dumuzi's Dream", and S. Kramer, *JCS* 5 1-14.
22. In the edition of J. Cooper, "The Return of Ninurta to Nippur"; see also T. Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness*, pp.128-9.
23. Ablution is of course a common feature of rituals.
24. See the collation by W.G. Lambert in *JThS NS* 21 429.
25. In the edition of J. Cooper, "The Return of Ninurta to Nippur", ll.99-177.
26. Note the winged horses on Assyrian cylinder seals from the 13th century on: A. Moortgat, *ZA* 47 p.64; 48 p.32.
27. See *KAR* 176 rev.i 5 and dupls.; K 2809 ii 2, quoted by *CAD* s.v. *ibbu*.
28. Evidently part of the terminology of liver omens; see E.G. Klauber, *Politisch-Religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidzeit* (Leipzig, 1913), Nr.106 10.
29. See *RLA* s.v. Göttergenealogie.
30. See W.G. Lambert, *Kadmos* 4 65ff.
31. See J. Nougayrol, *RA* 46 87ff.
32. The main text is *SEM* 44 9-14, for which see the discussion of M. Cohen, *JCS* 25 (1973) 209 and E. Reiner, *RA* 51 (1957) 109-10 (cf. Chapter One, note 67).
33. In fact "confirmed", since Ea had already taken Apsû as his abode in the course of events described in Tablet I of the epic: *ú-kin-ma eli apsi ku-bat-su* (*Enûma elîš* I 71), "He (Ea) established his abode on Apsû".
34. See W.G. Lambert, *MIO* 12 44.
35. See W.G. Lambert, "The Great Battle of the Mesopotamian Religious Year, the Conflict in the Akitu House", *Iraq* 25 (1963) 189ff.
36. Presented in G. Cagiran, "Babylonian Festivals" (University of Birmingham Ph.D. thesis, 1976), pp.86ff.
37. The pieces joined to this tablet since it was published by Craig are listed on p.66; they do not contribute to this section of the text.
38. This line is given in both Sumerian and Akkadian. A plural, 'festivals', would be grammatically possible.
39. See *PSBA* 30, p.80ff.; the registration number of the tablet is not given in the publication. See pp.161 and 226.
40. *u₄.g₄.am iti.g₄.ni iti.nam.munus.a.ka* (*BASOR Supplementary Studies* No.1, p.14, l.83), 'Nine days being her nine months, the months of womanhood.'
41. See W.G. Lambert, *Atrahasis* pp.60-4.
42. Examples are an Akkadian literary series (*BWL* p.186ff.), the Sumerian myth of Enki and Ninhursag, and another Sumerian myth in which a fox rescues Iškur from the underworld (*BASOR Supplementary Studies* No.1 p.1ff. and S.N. Kramer, *The Sumerians*, p.169) and many Sumerian proverbs (E.I. Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs* l.65, 2.58-62, 2.65-70, 2.118).
43. P. Harvey, *Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* (1951), p.97.
44. Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbêla, etc.
45. See the "Sumerian Farmer's Almanac" in S.N. Kramer, *The Sumerians*, p.342; for modern practices see *Iraq and the Persian Gulf, B.R. (Restricted) Geographical Handbook Series*, 1944, photo 171 and fig.77.
46. T. Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness* (Yale, 1976), p.27.
47. B. Alster, *Dumuzi's Dream* (Copenhagen, 1972), pp.12-13.
48. E. Ebeling, *TuL* p.45.
49. T. Jacobsen, in *Unity and Diversity*, ed. H. Goedicke, p.72.
50. More likely a rendering of a West Semitic fem. pl. participle of the verb corresponding to the Arabic *bakâ*, "to weep", than "rattle", as understood by T. Jacobsen in *Unity and Diversity*, n.72.
1. See E. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, p.2747. A certain type of flour seems to have been made using terebinth (see M. Stol, *On Trees, Mountains, and Millstones in the Ancient Near East* *CKI* (1979) 14; cf. the equation in a lexical text from Ebla: NINDA.LAM = *a-ga-lu bu-da-ma-tim* *ZA* 73 2 no.32), "NINDA.LAM = terebinth bread"; = Pettinato, *Testi Lessicali Bilinguio* 308 (1969).
2. Translated by the writer from the *Fihrist* of Abu 'l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm, ed. Flügel, pp.321ff. Cf. the translation by B. Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm* (New York/London, 1970), pp.758-9. A manuscript utilized by Dodge and unavailable to Flügel

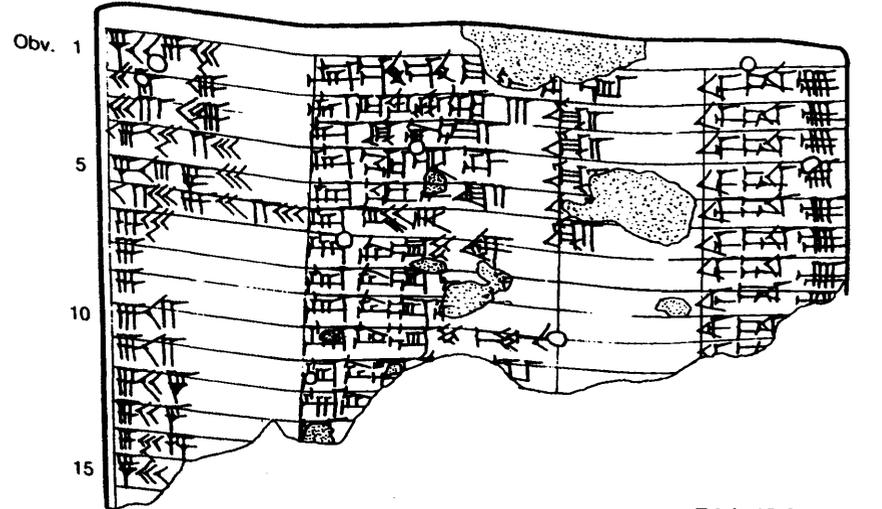
- indicates that *nmz* (+ "one or two undecipherable letters") should perhaps be read, rather than *nmryh*.
53. For the beginning of l.39 and the end of l.41, see pp.73 and 76.
54. See pp.141, 144, 145, 146, 147, 150.
55. I.e. new year; see the lexica.
56. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* XI p.168.
57. *BSGW* 58 126ff.
58. = *BM* 34035; the section is given on p.172.
59. *BSGW* 58 p.128.
60. *BSGW* 70/V.
61. Presented in Chapter Six; see pp.205 and 236.
62. *Unity and Diversity*, ed. H. Goedicke, pp.65ff.
63. I.e. the new year festival in Babylon.
64. *Ibid.*, p.76.
65. See W.G. Lambert, *Iraq* 31 (1969) 28ff.; E. Weidner, *Afo* 16 (1953) 197ff.
66. See G. Dossin, "Un rituel du culte d'Ištar provenant de Mari", *RA* 35 (1938) 1ff.
67. See *UET* 3 57.
68. See W.G. Lambert, in *The Seed of Wisdom*, ed. W.S. McCullough, pp.3ff.
69. See W.G. Lambert, *MIO* 12 44.
70. See Chapter Three, note 12.
71. See A.L. Oppenheim, "Dream Book", *TAPS NS* 46, esp. pp.206ff., "Content of the 'Symbolic' Dream". Examples are *Dumuzi's Dream*, ll.68-9 in the edition of B. Alster (Copenhagen, 1972), and *Gudea Cyl. A IV* 13ff.
72. Cf. W.G. Lambert, "Myth and Ritual as Conceived by the Babylonians", *JSS* 13 (1968) 104ff., and the myth and ritual explanatory works generally.

Notes to Chapter Five

1. A priest reports on a similar ritual in S. Parpola, *LAS* 172.
2. See *GAG* §83g.
3. See *GAG* §105b.
4. See J. Krecher, in *ZA* 58 319.
5. See E.A. Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions*, pp.82ff.; E. Reiner, "Plague Amulets and House Blessings", *JNES* 19 (1960) 148.
6. See T. Jacobsen, *Toward the Image of Tammuz*, p.376.
7. See K. Tallqvist, *StOr* 7 398.
8. As is clear from *CAD* s.v. *mû*, the word can refer to liquids other than water.
9. See A. Falkenstein, "Sumerische Religiöse Texte", *ZA* 56 (1964) pp.89 and 11; C. Benito, "Enki and Ninmah, and Enki and the World Order" (*Disa. Phil.* 76, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor 70-16, 124), p.108 ll.384ff. Cf. S. Lieberman, *AJA* 84 (1980) 347-8 with note 58.
10. See p.108; cf. pp.61 and 82.
11. See *RIA* s.v. Göttersymbole (*RIA* III 483ff.).
12. See *Šurpu* III 75, p.56.
13. See *CT* 24 3 18.
14. See *CT* 24 5 37.
15. See *Enûma elîš* I 113.
16. See *V R* 46 ll.4-5.

Notes to Chapter Six

1. For this and other publications mentioned in this paragraph, see the index of publications, pp.6-9.
2. See, for example, *BE* Series D IV p.94, and *Afo* 4, 74 rev.10; compare the dog of Asclepius.
3. See "Excavations in Iraq 1972-73, Isin", *Iraq* 35 192.
4. See p.143 and p.122, par.9.
5. See *TCL* 6 41ff.
6. In this line Version II includes Asakku and Kingu as well as Anzû.
7. E.g. in a cultic explanatory work: ^did.lú.ru.gú.gid.da i-si-in ^diš-tar (*TIM* 9 60 iii 27' dupl. K 2892 (J. Craig, *Astrological Texts* p.90) rev.3; var. *TIM* i-si-in-nu), "Long river ordeal god: festival of Ištar". Cf. *Ast* B 33.
8. A. Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chronicle 22, iv 2-6 and 12-13.
9. See especially p.41.
10. See K 8664 (*OECT* 6 pl.2-3 and pp.70-2; *JRAS* 1929 767-72); compare K 2411 (*ABRT* 1 76-9; H. Streck, *Asb* 292-303; R.D. Barnett, appendix to "Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale near Van", *Iraq* 12 40).
11. OIP II p.141 (K 1356) ll.10-15.
12. *KAR* 117 rev.3-4 (Tablet I); *KAR* 173 obv.1, 10, 13, rev.19 (Tablet III).
13. See G. van Driel, *Cult of Ashur*, pp.86ff., and W.G. Lambert, "Critical Notes on Recent Publications", *OrNS* 40 (1971) 90-91.
14. BM 121206 col.ix 5-6 and 24-6.
15. A list of the same names on a similar tablet suggests by its graphic divergences that they are not learned ideograms but phonetic writings: ^{uru}AN.TA.AŠ.SA ^{uru}DUR.NA ^{uru}LI.BUR.NA ^{uru}ŠIAD.NI (VAT 13818 rev.11-4; see *OrNS* 17 pl.47). This suggestion is supported by the writings in Assyrian colophons, in which scribes are described as "of Antašša": ^{lú}bārū ^{uru}[an]-ta-aš-ša (*KAR* 111), "the Antašite seer"; ^{lú}an-ta-su-ú (*STT* 84), "Antašite". Another text gives: ... ^{uru}minua^{ki} / ...]-a-ta-^rni^r ^{uru}kál-xi^{ki} / Ú NI / ma-ša-xi mu.ne.ne.
16. See W.G. Lambert, *Atrahasis*, p.153.
17. Cf. the oracle texts, and other instances where Ištar dictates Assyrian policy.



BM 47860

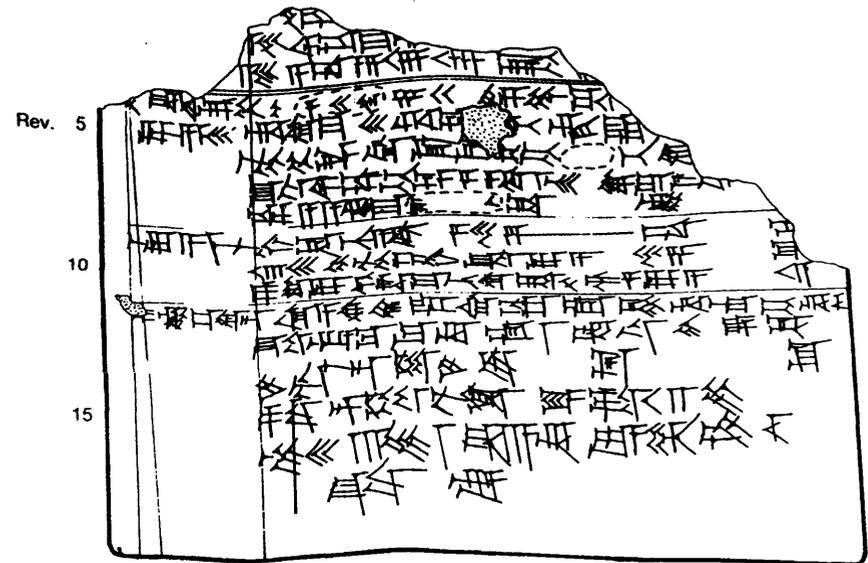
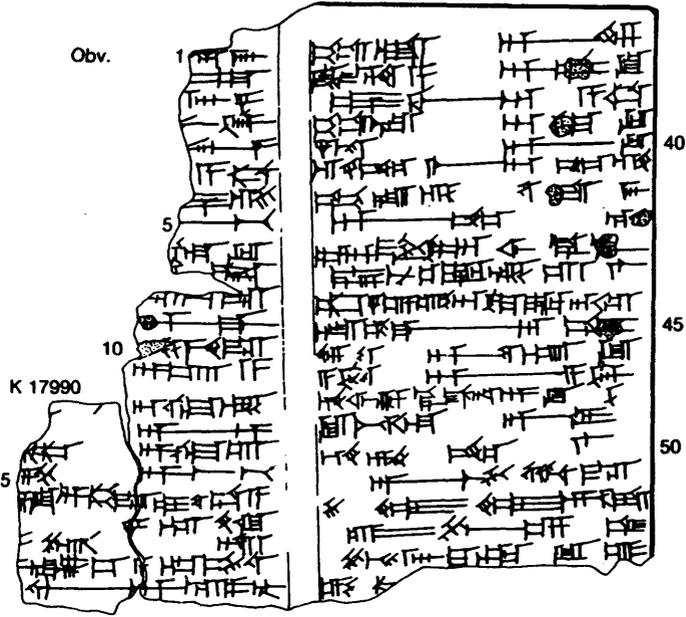


PLATE I

K 4245+17990

K 4245

Obv.



Rev. 1

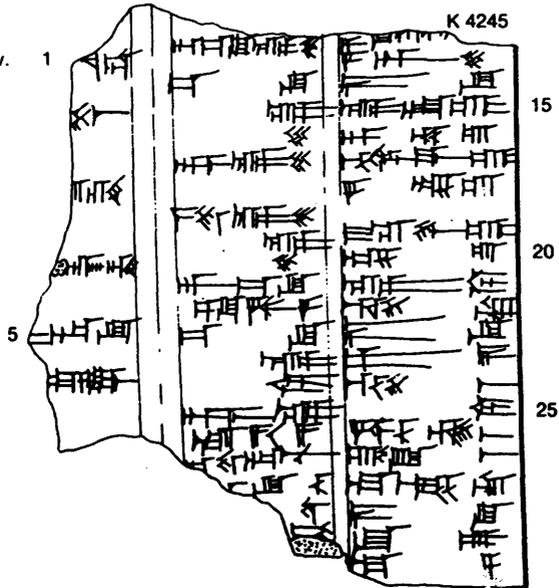


PLATE II

BM 47463 =
81-11-3, 168
Obv.

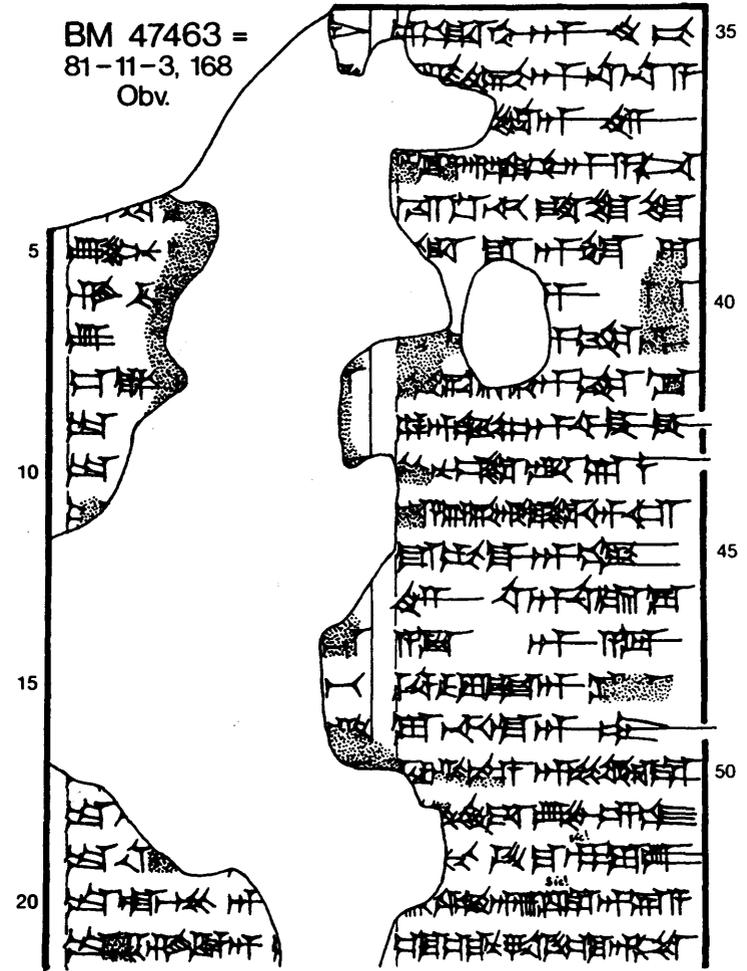


PLATE III

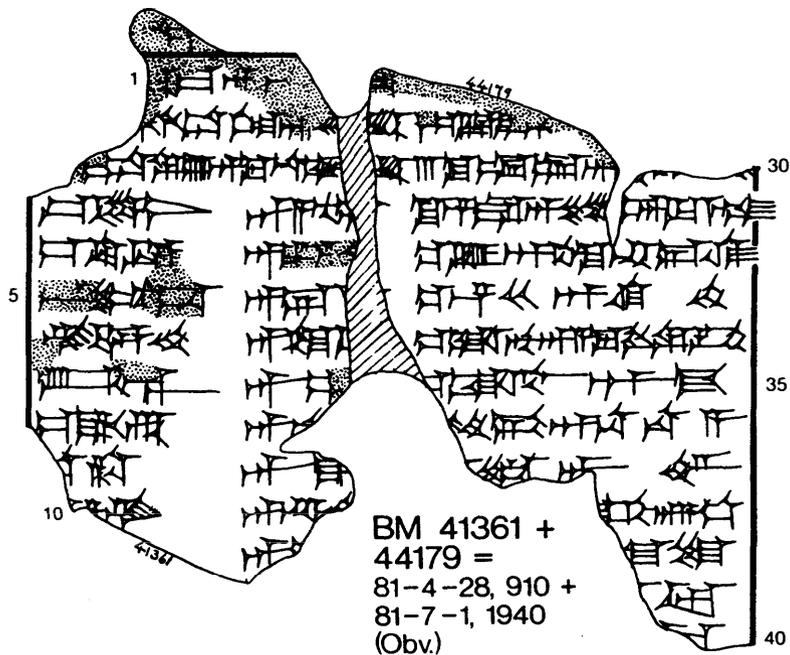
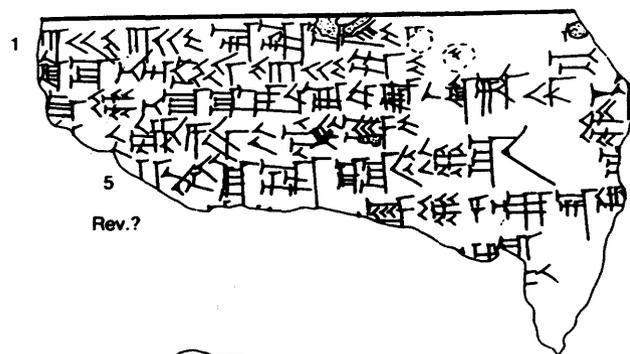
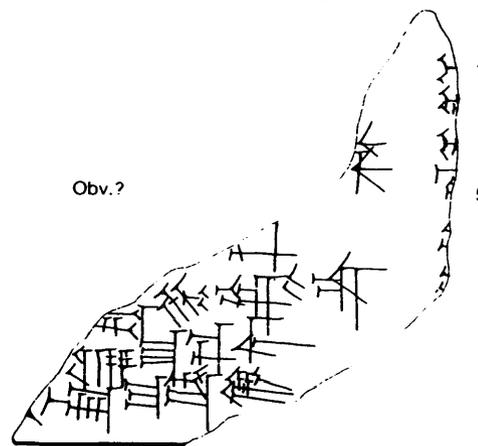


PLATE VI



K 7979

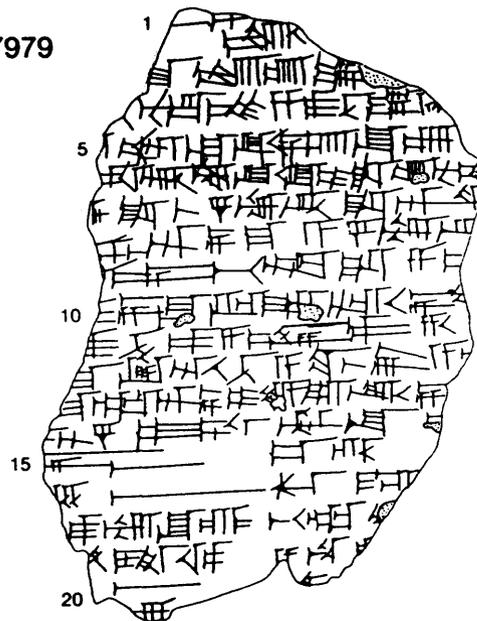


PLATE VII