

Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.  
Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser **XII**, 1.

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# THE BABYLONIAN AKĪTU FESTIVAL

BY  
SVEND AAGE PALLIS

WITH 11 PLATES



KØBENHAVN

HOVEDKOMMISSIONÆR: ANDR. FRED. HØST & SØN, KGL. HOF-BOGHANDEL  
BIANCO LUNOS BOGTRYKKERI

1926

Pris: Kr. 15,60.

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Selskabets Hovedkommissionær er *Andr. Fred. Høst & Søn*, Kgl. Hof-Boghandel, København.

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## PREFACE

Contrary to what I have done in a previous work, *Mandaean Studies* (1919), in which the nature of the material rendered it necessary, I have not, in this investigation of the Babylonian Akîtu Festival, drawn upon parallels from other religions in order to attain to a clearer understanding of details connected herewith. The expert will understand in how many cases such a comparative exposition would have been possible (e. g. in the treatment of the cultual procession ships, of the death of the god of agriculture, of the contest with the dragon, of the ritual *ἔερός γέμος*, etc.). Here it has only been my object to deal with the Babylonian New Year's Feast, which has never previously been subjected to an independent and general investigation, and it seemed to me that the nature of the Babylonian cult festival must first be determined by means of the testimonies in the sources, before even the most superficial comparison with similar annual festivals in other cultures could take place. Hence the reader will seek in vain in this book for comparisons with the Jewish Purim, the Persian Sacaea, or with the teaching of Talmud concerning the ceremonial of New Year's Day, which most scholars who merely touch briefly upon the Babylonian cult festival generally take occasion to adduce as parallels. Only on a single, but most important point, when dealing with the cult drama in *bit akîtu*, the

nature of the material rendered it necessary to place the investigation on a broader basis, since it was impossible to arrive at a full comprehension of the cult drama of the akîtu festival within the limits of the Babylonian urban culture. In addition to a detailed treatment of the conditions peculiar to Babylon, my investigations on this point caused me to give, in Chapter IV, a general exposition of the real character of the religious cult drama, its origin and further development through different strata of cultures.

A supplement is appended in which three texts which are very important for the comprehension of the akîtu festival are published, viz. K. 1356, K. 3476, and K. 9876; of these the latter has not previously been published, while the two former are given in my own collation. My respectful thanks are due to Sir Ernest Budge, sometime Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, by whose courtesy I was enabled to copy these tablets and to collate a number of texts of importance for my work (e. g. K. 1234; K. 4245; Sp I 131; and others) at the British Museum in August 1922. — A plan is appended, (worked out by me on the basis of Weissbach, *SB*, p. 12), showing the extent of the city of Babylon and the position of the mounds and the temples excavated, further a topographical sketch of the Kaşr and the northern part of the 'Amrân at the time of Nebuchadnezzar, founded partly on the results of the excavations and partly on observations to which I was led by my investigation in Chapter III B.

It is my pleasant duty to offer respectful thanks to the University Council for the award through several years of the J. L. Smith Scholarship, and to the Directors of the Carlsberg Fund for financial aid, by which these institu-

tions have rendered possible the publication of the present work. I am greatly indebted to Professor Stephen Langdon who went through Sumerian Gudea texts with me at Oxford in July 1922 and has since assisted me with valuable advice whenever I applied to him.

Finally I beg Vilhelm Grönbech, foremost among enquirers in the modern study of the history of religion, to accept through this work that tribute of gratitude to which words cannot render justice.

Copenhagen, 20th November 1923.

SVEND AAGE PALLIS.

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## SUPPLEMENT

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## TEXTS

**I**n my own transcriptions I employ the method used by Stephen Langdon in *VAB*, IV. Where I have only had other transcriptions to go by, I have not felt justified in equalizing them with my own mode of transcription as I have not been able to verify them by reading the cuneiform texts. — Three points (...) denote abbreviations in the text made by the author, five points (.....) denote that the text is in a broken condition in this place. Conjectural additions are placed in square brackets.

The inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings: Nabopolassar (Nabop.), Nebuchadnezzar (Neb.), Neriglissar (Nerigl.), and Nabonidus (Nabon.) are, with the exception of Nabonidus' Annals, cited after *VAB*, IV.; Nabop., Neb., etc. with a number added denotes the number of the text in *VAB*, IV.

Text abbreviations (the abbreviations in the right column must be sought in the section Abbreviations):

- AO: Antiquités Orientales, Louvre.
- BE: [Deutsche Expedition nach Babylon.] Quotation mark for some of the cuneiform tablets in the museums at Berlin.
- BM: British Museum.
- Bu: Sir Ernest Budge Collection, BM.
- DT: Daily Telegraph Collection, BM.
- K.: Kouyunjik Collection, BM.
- MNB: Monuments de Ninive et de Babylone, Louvre.
- I-V R: H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. I-V, Lond. 1861-84.

Rm: Hormuzd Rassam Collection, BM.

SA: Sainte-Anne, Jerusalem; cf. *RA*, IX. p. 39.

Sm: George Smith Collection, BM.

Sp: Spartoli Collection, BM.

VAT(h): Vorderasiatische Abtheilung. T(h)ontafeln, (Königl.)  
Museen zu Berlin.

Gudea Inscriptions (Stat. B, D, E, G; Cyl. A, B): *VAB*, I.  
pp. 66—140.

Code of Hammurabi: R. F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi*,  
2. ed. Chic., Lond. 1904.

Hammurabi Louvre A: King, *Letters*, III. pp. 186—87.

Agum-kakrimi: V R 33; cf. *KB*, III<sub>1</sub>. pp. 134—53.

Nebuchadnezzar I.: V R 55.

Shalmaneser II. Balâwât: *BA*, VI<sub>1</sub>. pp. 133—37.

Sargon, Sarg.: *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons* nach den Papier-  
abklatschen und Originalen neu hrsg. von Hugo Winckler,  
I. Lpz. 1889. (PJ = the Pomp Inscription; Ann. = the  
Annals; the Stele).

Sarg. Cyl.: *KB*, II. pp. 38—51.

Merodach-Baladan (II.): *BA*, II. pp. 258—73.

Sennach.: Sennacherib.

Sennach. Prism Inscription (Taylor Cyl.): *KB*, II. pp. 80—113.

Sennach. Nebi Yûnus Inscription: I R 43—44.

Sennach. Bavian Inscription: III R 14.

Esarh. NY: Esarhaddon's Nebi Yûnus Inscription; cf. Esarh.  
Prism Inscription.

Esarh. Prism Inscription: I R 45—47; cf. *KB*, II. pp. 124—141  
and *BA*, III. pp. 196—203.

Ašurb.: Ašurbanipal.

Ašurb. Ann. (Rassam Cyl.): *VAB*, VII<sub>2</sub>. pp. 2—91.

Ašurb. Ann. (Cyl. B): *VAB*, VII<sub>2</sub>. pp. 92—139.

Ašurb. Ann. (Cyl. C): *VAB*, VII<sub>2</sub>. pp. 138—153.

Ašurb. Emah Cyl. (BE 5457): *VAB*, VII<sub>2</sub>. pp. 238—41.

(Ašurb.) S<sup>3</sup>: *VAB*, VII<sub>2</sub>. pp. 244—49.

- (Ašurb.) L<sup>1</sup>: *VAB*, VII<sub>2</sub>. pp. 226—29.  
 (Ašurb.) L<sup>3</sup> (K. 891): *VAB*, VII<sub>2</sub>. pp. 248—53.  
 (Ašurb.) L<sup>4</sup> (K. 3050): *VAB*, VII<sub>2</sub>. pp. 252—71.  
 (Šamaš-šum-ukîn) S<sup>1</sup>: *AB*, VIII<sub>2</sub>. p. 10.  
 (Šamaš-šum-ukîn) L<sup>5</sup>: *AB*, VIII<sub>2</sub>. p. 12.  
 EJ: East India House Inscription; Neb. No. 15.  
 WB: Wadi Brisa Inscription A; Neb. No. 19.  
 WB, B: Wadi Brisa Inscription B; Neb. No. 19.  
 Neb. Pennsylvania Cyl. A: Neb. No. 20.  
 Neb. Pennsylvania Cyl. B: Neb. No. 17.  
 Nerigl. Ripley Cyl.: Nerigl. No. 2.  
 Nabon. Ann. (BM 35382): *BA*, II. pp. 214—25.  
 Nabon. Stele: Nabon. No. 8.  
 Antiochus Soter (80—6—17): *KB*, III<sub>2</sub>. pp. 136—39.  
 The Babylonian Chronicle (84—2—11, 356): *KB*, II. pp. 274—85.
- Enuma eliš: King, *STC*, I. pp. 2—114.  
 The Gilgameš Epic: *KB*, VI<sub>1</sub>. pp. 116—264.  
 Ištar's Journey to the Abyss: IV R 31.  
 (The) Labartu (text): *ZA*, XVI. pp. 154—200.  
 (The) Pinches (text): *PSBA*, XXX. pp. 80—82.  
 Maqlû: *Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlû nach den Originalen im British Museum hrsg von Knut L. Tallqvist, Helsingf. 1895. (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, XX<sub>6</sub>).*
- S<sup>a</sup>: Delitzsch, *AL*<sup>5</sup>, pp. 43—49.  
 S<sup>b</sup>: Delitzsch, *AL*<sup>5</sup>, pp. 95—112.  
 ST: The Smith Tablet; *MDOG*, LIX. pp. 2—7.  
 Šurpu: Zimmern, *Beiträge*, pp. 1—51.
- I R 43—44: cf. Sennach. Nebi Yûnus Inscription.  
 I R 45—47: cf. Esarh. Prism Inscription.  
 I R 52 No. 3: Neb. No. 7.  
 I R 52 No. 4: Neb. No. 8.  
 I R 65: Neb. No. 9.  
 I R 67: Nerigl. No. 1.  
 I R 68 No. 1: Nabon. No. 5.

- I R 68 No. 6: Nabon. No. 14.  
 II R 26 No. 1: cf. K. 5433.  
 III R 14: cf. Sennach. Bavian Inscription.  
 IV R 31: cf. Ištar's Journey to the Abyss.  
 V R 33: cf. Agum-kakrimi.  
 V R 34: Neb. No. 1.  
 V R 55: cf. Nebuchadnezzar I.  
 V R 64: Nabon. No. 1.
- K. 29: *CT*, XXV. Pl. 36.  
 K. 38: *MVAG*, VIII<sub>5</sub>, pp. 12—15.  
 K. 133: *MVAG*, VIII<sub>5</sub>, pp. 40—43.  
 K. 174: Harper, I. No. 53.  
 K. 470: Harper, VIII. No. 831.  
 K. 474: Harper, V. No. 496.  
 K. 499: Harper, I. No. 119.  
 K. 501: Harper, I. No. 113.  
 K. 623: Harper, II. No. 191.  
 K. 628: Harper, V. No. 526.  
 K. 629: Harper, I. No. 65.  
 K. 631: Harper, II. No. 136.  
 K. 673: Harper, VIII. No. 846.  
 K. 822: Harper, VIII. No. 858.  
 K. 891: cf. (Ašurb.) L<sup>3</sup>.  
 K. 1234: Harper, II. No. 134.  
 K. 1260: Johns, *Deeds*, No. 865.  
 K. 1286: Craig, *RT*, Pl. 7—8.  
 K. 1356: cf. Plates III—IV.  
 K. 1685: Neb. No. 11.  
 K. 1688: Nabon. No. 4.  
 K. 2096: partly in *AV*, pp. 104, 554, and 640; parallel with K. 6308: partly in Bezold, *Cat.* II. p. 778.  
 K. 2128 + K. 4098: *RS*, XIII. pp. 362—64.  
 K. 2411: *VAB*, VII<sub>2</sub>. pp. 292—303.  
 K. 2619 + K. 2755: *KB*, VI<sub>1</sub>. pp. 60—69.  
 K. 2637: *VAB*, VII<sub>2</sub>. pp. 320—23.  
 K. 2652: *VAB*, VII<sub>2</sub>. pp. 188—95.  
 K. 2674 + Sm 2010 + 82—2—4, 186: *VAB*, VII<sub>2</sub>. pp. 323—33.  
 K. 2694: cf. K. 3050.  
 K. 2711: *BA*, III. pp. 264—69.  
 K. 2755: cf. K. 2619.  
 K. 2892: Craig, *AT*, Pl. 90.  
 K. 3050 + K. 2694: cf. (Ašurb.) L<sup>4</sup>.  
 K. 3351: *BA*, V. pp. 329—30.  
 K. 3445 + Rm 396: *CT*, XIII. Pl. 24—25.  
 K. 3449 a: *CT*, XIII. Pl. 23.  
 K. 3454 + K. 3935: *BA*, II. pp. 409—10.  
 K. 3473 + 79—7—8, 296 + Rm 615: S. A. Smith, *MT*, No. 1.  
 K. 3476: cf. Plates V—VII.  
 K. 3935: cf. K. 3454.  
 K. 4098: cf. K. 2128.  
 K. 4181: *CT*, XVIII. Pl. 26.  
 K. 4210: *CT*, XXV. Pl. 43.  
 K. 4245: Zimmern, *Beiträge*, Pl. 45.  
 K. 4338: Landsberger, *KK*, p. 52<sup>5</sup>.  
 K. 4397: *CT*, XVIII. Pl. 23.  
 K. 5418 a + K. 5640: *KB*, VI<sub>1</sub>. pp. 290—98.  
 K. 5433 (+ II R 26 No. 1): *AV*, p. 388; cf. Bezold, *Kurzgefasstes Überblick über die Babylonisch-Assyrische Literatur*, Lpz. 1886, pp. 208, 316.  
 K. 5640: cf. K. 5418 a.  
 K. 6012 + K. 10684: *PSBA*, XXVI. pp. 56—57.

- K. 6308: cf. K. 2096.  
 K. 7592 + K. 8717 + DT 363: BA, V. pp. 309—12.  
 K. 8519: King, *STC*, I. p. 165.  
 K. 8521: Delitzsch, *AL*<sup>5</sup>, p. 113.  
 K. 8531 + Rm 126: *MVAG*, VIII<sub>5</sub>, pp. 8—13.  
 K. 8717: cf. K. 7592.  
 K. 8957: Johns, *HDB*, Pl. 15.  
 K. 9876: cf. Plates VIII—XI.  
 K. 10684: cf. K. 6012.
- Sm 671: Bezold, *Cat.* IV. p. 1424.  
 Sm 2010: cf. K. 2674.
- DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 129—146.  
 DT 83: *PSBA*, XVII. pp. 33—35.  
 DT 109: cf. DT 15.  
 DT 114: cf. DT 15.  
 DT 122: *AV*, p. 1101.  
 DT 363: cf. K. 7592.
- Rm 126: cf. K. 8531.  
 Rm 282: *CT*, XIII. Pl. 33.  
 Rm 396: cf. K. 3445.  
 Rm 610: *CT*, XXV. Pl. 35.  
 Rm 615: cf. K. 3473.  
 Rm 2174: Virolleaud, *AC*, Second suppl. LXVII.
- Sp I 131: *ZA*, VI. pp. 241—44.
- 79—2—1, 1: Neb. No. 5.  
 79—3—22, 1: Neb. No. 4.  
 79—7—8, 296: cf. K. 3473.  
 80—6—17: cf. Antiochus Soter.  
 81—2—1, 37: *KB*, III<sub>2</sub>, pp. 70—75.  
 81—4—28, 3 + 4: Nabon. No. 6.  
 81—7—1, 9: Nabon. No. 2.  
 81—7—27, 30: Harper, VII. No. 667.
- 82—2—4, 186: cf. K. 2674.  
 82—5—22, 96: Harper, IV. No. 366.  
 82—5—22, 168: Harper, VII. No. 656.  
 82—5—22, 1048: *CT*, XIII. Pl. 35—38.  
 82—7—14, 1042: Neb. No. 13.  
 84—2—11, 356: cf. The Babylonian Chronicle.  
 85—4—30, 1: Neb. No. 14.  
 85—4—30, 2: Nabon. No. 3.  
 86—7—20, 1: Nabop. No. 1.
- Bu 88—5—12, 75 + 76: *BA*, III. pp. 240—58.  
 Bu 89—4—26, 6: Harper, XI. No. 1164.  
 Bu 91—5—9, 90: Harper, VIII. No. 807.  
 Bu 91—5—9, 329: King, *Letters*, III. p. 165.
- 17298: King, *Letters*, III. p. 162.  
 17334: King, *Letters*, III. p. 164.  
 17416: King, *Letters*, III. p. 167.  
 17531: King, *Letters*, III. p. 166.  
 26472: King, *Chron.* II. pp. 3—14.  
 27859: King, *Chron.* II. pp. 57—69.  
 29623: *CT*, XV. Pl. 12—13.  
 35382: cf. Nabon. Ann.  
 35968: King, *Chron.* II. pp. 70—86.  
 47406: *CT*, XXIV. Pl. 50.  
 55466 + 55486 + 55627: King, *STC*, II. Pl. 67—72.  
 55486: cf. 55466.  
 55547: *CT*, XVII. Pl. 50.  
 55627: cf. 55466.  
 92691: *CT*, XII. Pl. 10—11.  
 103399: *CT*, XXXII. Pl. 16.
- VATh66: Peiser, *KAS*, pp. 18—20.  
 VATh67: Peiser, *KAS*, pp. 22—26.  
 VATh73: Peiser, *KAS*, pp. 46—50.  
 VATh77: Peiser, *KAS*, pp. 58—60.

- VATh283 + VATh401: Reisner, *SBH*, Pl. 45—46.  
 VATh367: Reisner, *SBH*, Pl. 143.  
 VATh401: cf. VATh 283.  
 VATh408 + VATh2179: Reisner, *SBH*, Pl. 73.  
 VATh451: *KB*, IV. pp. 172—74.  
 VATh554: Reisner, *SBH*, Pl. 142.  
 VATh663: Reisner, *SBH*, Pl. 145.  
 VATh757—758: Meissner, *Beitr.* No. 102.  
 VATh2179: cf. VATh408.  
 VATh2499: Reisner, *TT*, No. 276.  
 VAT 7849: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 99—103.  
 VAT 9304: *KTAR*, No. 16.  
 VAT 9418: *KTAR*, No. 142.  
 VAT 9555: *KTAR*, No. 143.  
 VAT 10105: *KTAR*, No. 104.
- BE 5457: cf. Ašurb. *Emah* Cyl.  
 BE 7447: Weissbach, *BM*, No. XV.  
 BE 13420: Weissbach, *BM*, No. XIII.  
 BE 13987: Weissbach, *BM*, No. XII.  
 BE 14940: Nabop. No. 4; cf. Weissbach, *BM*, No. IX.  
 BE 21211: Neb. No. 44.
- AO 3179: *VAB*, I. pp. 2—4.  
 AO 3867: *VAB*, I. pp. 4—5.  
 AO 5482: Landsberger, *KK*, pp. 72—73.  
 AO 6444: *RA*, XI. pp. 109—13.  
 AO 6451: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 75—80.
- AO 6459: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 89—90, 92—93.  
 AO 6460: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 118—121.  
 AO 6461: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 108—110.  
 AO 6463: *TU*, No. 9.  
 AO 6465: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 90—92.  
 AO 6472: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 34—40.  
 AO 6479: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 10—20.  
 AO 7439: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 114—15.
- MNB 1848: cf. DT 15.
- SA 47: *RA*, IX. p. 58.  
 SA 217: *RA*, IX. p. 63.
- DCL: Tablets from Draham in the Public Library of Cleveland, Ohio; cf. *JAOS*, XXXIII. pp. 167—79.
- EAH: E. A. Hoffman Collection of Babylonian Tablets in the General Theological Seminary, New York, U.S.A.; cf. Radau, *EBH*, pp. 319—434.
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## ABBREVIATIONS

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- OLZ: Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung,* Berl. 1898 ff.
- Ost.: Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag (2. März 1906) gewidmet . . .* hrsg. von Carl Bezold, I.—II. Bd. Gieszen, 1906.
- PSBA: Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology,* Lond. 1879 ff.
- RA: Revue d'Assyriologie,* Paris, 1886 ff.
- Recueil: Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes . . .* publié sous la direction de G. Maspero, Paris, 1870 ff.
- RS: Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne,* Paris, 1893 ff.
- SAJ: B. Meissner, Seltene assyrische Ideogramme,* Lpz. 1910. (AB, XX.).
- SBAW: Sitzungsberichte der (Königlich) Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin,* Berl.
- TU: Tablettes d'Uruk à l'usage des prêtres du temple d'Anu au temps des Séleucides.* Publiées par F. Thureau-Dangin, Paris, 1922. (Musée du Louvre. — Département des Antiquités Orientales. Textes cunéiformes, VI.).
- VAB: Vorderasiatische Bibliothek,* Lpz. 1907 ff.
- VAB, I.: Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften* bearbeitet von F. Thureau-Dangin, Lpz. 1907.
- VAB, IV.: Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* bearbeitet von Stephen Langdon, Lpz. 1912.

- VAB, V.: *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts* bearbeitet von M. Schorr, Lpz. 1913.
- VAB, VII.: *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Niniveh's* bearbeitet von Maximilian Streck, I.—III. Teil, Lpz. 1916.
- WVDOG: *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Lpz. 1900 ff.
- ZA: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Lpz., Strassb. 1886 ff.
- ZDMG: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Lpz. 1847 ff.

## ERRATA

Page 1, note 1, l. 4.	Bagdad	<i>read</i>	Baghdad
» 6, l. 3	<i>rabi-i</i>	»	<i>rabi-[i]</i>
» 9, note 2, l. 7	Friis	»	Fries
» 12, note 6, l. 5	Kūthā	»	Cutha
	<i>zagnukku</i>	»	<i>zakmukku</i>
» 19, l. 6 fr. below	<i>I<sup>il</sup>u<sup>sin</sup>-ah<sup>i</sup>-ir<sup>ba</sup></i>	»	<i>I<sup>il</sup>u<sup>sin</sup>-ah<sup>ê</sup>-er<sup>ba</sup></i>
» 22, l. 9 fr. below; p. 27, l. 11; p. 43, ll. 16, 18, 21, and p. 49, l. 1	Niniveh	»	Nineveh
» 23, l. 12	<i>tu-ša-a</i>	»	<i>tu-ša-a</i>
» 27, l. 6 fr. below	35968 II 3—4	»	35968, II 3—4
» 27, note 1, l. 3	ZNB	»	ZBN
» 31, note 2, l. 1	IV R 33*	»	IV R* 33
» 32, l. 11 fr. below	IV R 32, I 16. 39 II 31	»	IV R* 32, I 16. 39; II 31
» 40, l. 5	Esarh. NJ	»	Esarh. NY
» 46, note 1	<i>Niniveh</i>	»	<i>Nineveh</i>
» 47, l. 13	<i>kašti</i>	»	<i>kašti</i>
» 47, l. 3 fr. below	<i>kakkab kašti</i>	»	<i>kakkabu kaštu</i>
	“the bowstar”	»	“the bow-star”
» 48, note 1, ll. 3—4	<i>kakkab kašti</i>	»	“the bow-star”
» 94, note 1, l. 2	Labartu II 17	»	Labartu, II 17
» 95, note 2	<i>RBA</i> , pp. 456—57	»	<i>RBA</i> , I. pp. 456—57
» 147, note 2, ll. 1—2	<i>Pantheon</i> 1264, 1269	»	<i>Pantheon</i> , Nos. 1264, 1269.
» 157, note 2, l. 1	<i>giš<sup>ma</sup></i>	»	<i>giš<sup>ma</sup></i>
» 171, l. 9	[ <i>hur</i> ] <i>š<sup>i</sup></i>	»	[ <i>hur</i> ] <i>āš<sup>i</sup></i>
» 171, l. 10	[ <i>hur</i> ] <i>āš<sup>i</sup></i>	»	[ <i>hur</i> ] <i>š<sup>i</sup></i>
» 250, l. 6 fr. below	to	»	to

## I

In the interesting Nabonidus Annals (BM 35382), discovered during Rassam's excavations in Babylonia, we hear, in a very fragmentary text, of events in the last years of the reign of Nabonidus (555—538), when the Neo-Babylonian empire was facing its doom. The brief annalistic remarks of each year give us the strongest impression of a perpetual futile struggle to keep out the foreign invaders. How great was the disintegration and confusion in the vast empire may be seen from isolated passages in the records of the renewed struggles; thus we read of the ninth year: *Šarru ana Nisanni ana Bâbili lâ illi-ku Nabû ana Bâbili lâ illi-ku Bêl<sup>1</sup> lâ ittaša-a i-sin-nu a-ki-tu ba-til* (II 10—11), and in almost similar words the same is recorded of the seventh, tenth, and eleventh years of the reign of Nabonidus (II 5—6. 19—20. 23—24). In the twelfth year of his reign, however, it seems that, in spite of all, Nabonidus was able to celebrate the great annual cult festival, . . . . . *ab šarru ana Ê.TUR.KALAM.MA êrub. Ina<sup>arah</sup> . . . . . u tam-lim šaplî(?) -tum . . . -bal-ki-tum a(?)šit(?) . . . . . [Nabû ana Bâbili illi-ku?] Bêl ittaša-a isinnu a-ki-tu ki šal-mu ep-šu*

<sup>1</sup> A frequent name for Marduk (cf. the *Βῆλος* of the Berossus fragment), we must, however, remember that this name is also used for Enlil from Nippur (IR 65, I 3; IV R 12); *im Bêl-šar-bi* (IR 65, II 48), finally, is the chief god in the city of Baš (near Bagdad, on the western bank of the Tigris).

(III 6—8). But soon after, the empire collapsed under the renewed attacks of Cyrus (*Ku-raš*), *Ūmu 14 Sippar<sup>ki</sup> ba-la-ša-l-tum ša-bit. <sup>m</sup>Nabû-na'id ihliḫ* (III 14—15), and *Araššamna ūmu 3<sup>kan</sup> <sup>m</sup>Ku-raš ana Bâbili êrub* (III 18); he did not deal as Sennacherib did with the conquered city, but *Šu-lum ana âli ša-kin <sup>m</sup>Ku-raš šu-lum ana Bâbili gab-bi-šu ḫi-bi* (III 19—20). And the following year Cambyses (*<sup>m</sup>Kan-bu-zi-ia mâru ša <sup>m</sup>Ku-[raš]* III 24) went as the representative of his father (?) to the temple *Ê.ŠA.PA.KALAM.MA.SUM.MU<sup>1</sup>* (III 25) on the fourth of Nisan, in order to celebrate the great *isinnu akîtu* like a true Babylonian. In this very passage, however, the text has come down to us in a very fragmentary condition. Thus the words *ḫâtâ Nabû* in III 26 lack both subject and verb, but from related passages we learn that we may venture to supply an *aš-bat<sup>2</sup>*. Thereupon he (?) took Nabu to Esagila and made sacrifices to Marduk, . . . . . *Nabû ana Ê-šak-kil usaḫḫir immerniḫê ina pân Bêl u šu . . . . .* (III 28), but the succeeding text is in such a fragmentary condition that we must give up making sense of it.

This text, which records the important historical events in the Neo-Babylonian empire during the second half of the sixth century B. C., is not the only one in which the exceedingly brief notes of the annals mention the celebration of the *isinnu akîtu* side by side with the destiny of the empire in the political history of the world. In numerous other texts (annalistic chronicles, inscriptions of the kings) we constantly meet with brief remarks about the great annual cult festival. Thus in BM 35968, which contains

<sup>1</sup> Identical with *e-nig-pa-kalama-suma biḫ <sup>ilu</sup>na-bi-um*, VR 34, II 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e. g. Sarg. PJ 140 b—141 . . . *a-na Babilu . . . i-ru-um-ma kâtâ bili rabi-i (ilu) Marduk aš-bat . . .*



annalistic notes from Babylonia in the eleventh century B. C., we read that the king (Eulbar-shakin-shum or Simmash-shîkhu <sup>1</sup>) ordered sacrifices to be made: *niḫê<sup>pl</sup> u paššur ili ša a-di u-mi a-ki-tim [il]-ḫu-u IV u-mi ina E-sag-ila u bît ilâni<sup>pl</sup> ki-i šal-me iḫ-ḫu* (II 3—4), and further on we read: *ina ar<sup>hu</sup>Nisannu ša šattu XV<sup>KAN</sup>* (i. e. during the reign of the same, above-named king) *iluBêl ul u-ša-a* (II 18). During the reign of the next king, Nabû-mukîn-apli, the Arameans (*amêlu* *A-ra-mu*) began their raids, *ina ar<sup>hu</sup>Nisannu ša šattu VII<sup>KAN</sup> amêlu A-ra-mu na-kir šarru ana Bâbili<sup>KI</sup> la el-l[a-a]mma iluNabû la il-li-ku* (III 4—5), and the next few years the king had again to give up celebrating Babylon's annual cult festival. In the eighth year of his reign, in the month of Nisan, the Arameans captured the city of Kâr-bêl-mâtâti, and *iluNabû la il-li-ku u iluBêl la u-ša-a šimêtan ša a-ki-ti ina E-sag-ila ki-i pi-i . . . . ik-ki* (III 6—9). In the nineteenth and twentieth years of the reign of Nabû-mukîn-apli *iluBêl ul u-ša-a u iluNabû ul illiku(ku) IX šanâti<sup>pl</sup> arki a-ḥameš iluBêl ul u-ša-a u iluNabû ul illiku(ku)* (III 10. 14—15). It is of great interest to compare 35968 with another text, BM 27859, which, in the form of annals, records events in Babylonia during the period from the eleventh to the seventh century B. C. Here we read: *ina BARA šattu V E-ul-bar-šakin-šum šarri šattu XIV šattu IV iluA-e-aplu-ušur šattu I iluNabû-mukîn-ap[li šar]ri . . . . ê<sup>pl</sup>-iddina* (Obv. 14 ff.). The passage is difficult as the preserved text is fragmentary, . . . . *ê<sup>pl</sup>-iddina* seems to contain the termination of the name of a fourth king. King has very acutely seen <sup>2</sup> that 27859 has been written by an expert scribe who has combined herein two different originals. It seems probable from the

<sup>1</sup> King, *Chron.* I. p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> *Chron.* I. pp. 187 ff.

text that these two annals gave similar accounts of the events of the reigns of the four above-mentioned kings. The above-cited passage (Obv. 14 ff.) seems to contain a list of the years in which some *ina BARA*, and King here concludes that *ina BARA* is the same as *ina parakki*, i. e. Marduk remains in his temple or, to speak Babylonian, *ilu Bêl ul u-ša-a*. According to this statement, the great cult festival was not celebrated in the fifth and fourteenth years of Eulbar-shakin-shum's reign, in Ae-aplu-ušur's fourth year, and in Nabû-mukîn-apli's first year, nor was it probably celebrated in several succeeding years. It seems to me that King's hypothesis deserves attention even though there are several obscurities in the passage itself. That *šattu* should everywhere be implied before *ina BARA* is beyond doubt, but the interpretation of the words themselves is difficult. The character *BARA* has the ideographic value *parakku* (S<sup>b</sup> VI 352), or preceded by *arhu*, *Nisannu*. This latter value, which it is tempting to assume because, as we have seen, the *isinnu akîtu* was celebrated in the month of Nisan, must be abandoned, because the determinative of the month is never omitted in historical texts dating from this period<sup>1</sup>, nor does it make sense to read *ina Nisanni*. But *ina parakki*, used absolutely, is uncommon. However, we have 35968 for comparison. The situation is evidently the same in 27859. The hostile Aramean tribes over and over again disturb the peace of the realm<sup>2</sup> and amongst other things prevent the celebration of the great religious festivals. It is therefore highly probable that King is right when he thinks

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 35968, II 1. 19 *arhu Airu*, 6 *arhu Dûzu*, 7. 12 *arhu Abu*, 9 *arhu Tišritu*, 14 *arhu Simānu*, 17. 18 *arhu Nisannu*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rev. 10 *mātu A-ra-mu ša ina Ši-gil-tu u Su-bar-tu eḫlê<sup>pl</sup> a-šib Bābīlī<sup>kl</sup> u B[ar-sī]<sup>pl</sup> i-kī-mu*.

that the words *ina BARA* supply evidence that Marduk remained in the temple at the great annual festival. I should consider it proved if the years mentioned in 27859, Obv. 14 ff., coincided with the years mentioned in 35968, but the condition of the texts prevents a comparison. In 35968, we hear of the omission of the festivities in the seventh, eighth, and far later years of the reign of Nabû-mukîn-apli, but we hear nothing of his first years. Of his predecessors we hear that <sup>iii</sup>*Bêl ul u-ša-a* in the fifteenth year of the reign of an un-named king. If this king, as conjectured above, should be Eulbar-shakin-shum, this would not, it is true, contradict 27859, Obv. 15, which mentions the fourteenth year of the reign of this king, but it would necessitate that the compiler of 27859 had only followed one of his sources in the passage in Obv. 14 ff., an explanation attempted by King<sup>1</sup>, though neither he nor, presumably, any one else can give any grounds for it.

Thus we see that during periods of great peril to the country it was found necessary to give up the celebration of the *isinnu akîtu*, a festival which was of such central importance in the state cult that its omission is mentioned in the brief records of the annalists side by side with the conquest of provinces and cities such as Borsippa and Babylon. The great weight attached by the Babylonians to this solemnity appears from the fact that the normal state of things, i. e. the annual celebration of the cult festival, is noted down in the annals side by side with the greatest victories of the kings. In his Pomp Inscription Sargon (722—705) says: *a-na Babilu ma-ḥa-zi (ilu) Bil ilâni i-na i-li-iṣ lib-bi nu-um-mur pa-ni ḥa-diš i-ru-um-ma kâtâ bili rabi-i (ilu) Marduk aṣ-bat ma u-šal-lî-ma u-ru-uḥ bît a-ki-ti*

<sup>1</sup> *Chron.* I. p. 197.

(140 b—141), and in the Annals we read the almost identical statement: *arah Nisannu a-rah a-ši-i (ilu) bil ilâni kâtâ (ilu) bilu rabi-i (ilu) Marduk (ilu) Nabû šar kiš-šat šami-i irši-tim aš-[bat]ma u-šal-li-ma u-ru-uḫ bût a-ki-ti* (309—11). Esarhaddon's son Šamaš-šum-ukîn (668—648), who tried in vain to defeat Ašurbanipal, but perished in the flames during the capture of Babylon, has recorded his participation in the cult festival in several inscriptions (S<sup>1</sup> 1—7; L<sup>5</sup> 15—17). No direct mention is made of the festival itself, but the passages referring to the sacrifices at Esagila should be compared with the above-cited words in 35968, II 3—4, or with the passages in Nabonidus' Annals II 7—8. 12. 20—21 *niḫê ina Ê-šak-kil u Ê-zi-da ilâni šu-ut Bâbili u Bar-sap<sup>ki</sup> ki šal-mu nad-nu*. That these last sacrifices took place in the month of Nisan, and hence during the *isinnu akîtu*, is rendered probable by II 13—14, where, immediately after such a passage, it says: *Nisannu ûmu* <sup>5<sup>kan</sup></sup> *ummi šarri ina Dûr-ka-ra-šu ša kišâd Purâti e-lanu Sip-par<sup>ki</sup> im-tu-ut*. But it is not only the late Assyrian and late Babylonian inscriptions of the kings that record the participation of the rulers in the annual festival; in the most ancient of the more extensive texts we possess, dating from the earliest culture of Mesopotamia, in the Gudea inscriptions (abt. 2450 B. C.), the Sumerian patesi of Lagaš (Shirpurla) relates how he sent wedding gifts to the old and the new temple at Bau's festival on New Year's Day. *Ud-zag-mu ezen-dingir<sup>ba-u nig-sal-uš-sa ag-da</sup> . . .* (these are mentioned) *nig-sal-uš-sa* <sup>dingir<sup>ba-u e-IGI+ŠU ud-bi-ta-kam</sup></sup> *dingir<sup>ba-u e-gibil gu-de-a pa-te-si ŠIR-BUR-LA<sup>ki</sup>-a galu e-dû-a-g</sup>* *ba-an-tah-ha-am* (Stat. E 5<sub>1</sub>—7<sub>21</sub>, almost identical with Stat. G 3<sub>5</sub>—6<sub>19</sub>; cf. also Stat. B 8<sub>11</sub>). That the day *ud-zag-mu*

mentioned here is the same as Semitic *ûm rêš šatti*, on which, as we mentioned above, the *akîtu* festival was celebrated, is shown not only by the purely linguistic and ideographic relationship between Sumerian and Babylonian, but also by such passages as Neb. WB III 47—52 *e-zi-da ša e-sag-ila pa-pa-ĥu ilu<sup>u</sup>nabû ša ki-sa-al-lum<sup>1</sup> ša i-na zag-mu-kam ri-e-eš šatti a-na i-si-in-ni a-ki-it ilu<sup>u</sup>na-bi-um . . . iš-tu bar-sip<sup>ki</sup> i-ša-ad-di-ĥa-am-ma* or the Nabon. inscription 81—7—1, 9, II 30-31 . . . *zag-muk ri-eš šat-ti i-sin-nu a-ki-it . . .*

That the above-mentioned *akîtu* festival was the principal religious festival of Babylon is a fact stated in all text-books. Our above-cited passages have shown that it was celebrated for abt. two thousand years in Babylonia, from the earliest Sumerian period until the establishment of Persian rule in Mesopotamia. Cyrus sent his son Cambyses to take part in the celebration of the *akîtu* festival in the first Nisan after the conquest of the old empire in the third Arahšamna, thus making it dynastically manifest that he and his kin were true successors of the Neo-Babylonian rulers. Much later, during the rule of the Seleucids in Mesopotamia, Antiochus Soter (280—260 B. C.), in an inscription on a foundation stone records how he rebuilt the decayed temples at Borsippa and Babylon, i. e. Ezida and Esagila, and in terms borrowed from the inscriptions of the great kings of Babylonia he calls himself ruler of Babylon. *An-ti-<sup>2</sup>ku-us šarru rabu-u šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar Babilî šar mâtâtî za-ni-in I-sag-il u I-zi-da aplu ašaridu ša Si-lu-uk-ku šarri* (80—6—17, I 1—4). Whether,

<sup>1</sup> This is the name given to Nabu from Borsippa who annually, at the *akîtu* festival, visits the neighbouring city. *Nabû ša ĥariri*, on the other hand, is the name of the Nabu who resides permanently at Babylon (82—7—14, 1042, I 44).

like Cambyses and many previous Babylonian and Assyrian rulers, he took part in the great annual festival, and whether it was still celebrated in his time, we cannot tell; our last, and even fragmentary, account of it dates from Nabonidus' Annals.

If we go to one of the current text-books<sup>1</sup> for information, we learn of a number of things which the festival is supposed to symbolize, or which occur in the cult, but if we look for actual facts the result is poor; the particulars given are couched in vague language carrying weight only at the first glance. The akitu festival is the Babylonian New Year's festival, and is celebrated at the vernal equinox in the month of Nisan. On that occasion Marduk leaves Esagila in a festive procession, to meet other gods coming from distant towns, the most important of these deities being Nabu from Borsippa. The latter join in the procession and together they proceed to "the chamber of destiny", where the "destiny" of the coming year is determined by the assembled deities, Nabu being their scribe. At this festival, too, the king receives his investiture as ruler of Sumer and Akkad at the hand of the god, and a Sacred Marriage takes place between the god and goddess. Cosmically the festival is interpreted to represent the victory of the spring sun (Marduk) over the winter sun (Nabu) or the victory of spring over the waters (Tiamat) that threaten to inundate the earth, or anthropologically, the death and resurrection from the dead of the god of vegetation. A few passages are cited from the Babylonian literature, Herodotus and Aelian are quoted, and parallels from the cult of Osiris, the Persian Sacaea<sup>2</sup>, and the Satur-

<sup>1</sup> KAT<sup>3</sup>; A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, Lpz. 1913.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e. g. Langdon, *JRAS* 1924, pp. 65—72.

nalía<sup>1</sup> are adduced. The result is that a series of hypotheses and conjectures take the place of an exposition of what we actually know about the *akitu* festival, and symbolic and astro-mythological interpretations of a pan-Babylonistic character<sup>2</sup> further obscure the question. Hence it is greatly to the credit of Heinrich Zimmern that he attempted to throw some light on the subject of this important cult festival in his two publications on the Babylonian New Year's festival (*ZBN*, Lpz. 1906, 1918), in which he made known a series of cultural texts of the greatest importance. François Thureau-Dangin has subsequently continued the work with the previously published texts, and has also brought to light important new texts, e. g. from Uruk (Erech), in his most interesting work *Rituels Accadiens* (Paris, 1921). But neither these texts nor the rest of the materials at our disposal have hitherto been studied with a view to extracting information about the *akitu* festival.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Langdon, *JRAS* 1924, pp. 69—70 and Gudea Stat. B 7<sup>26—35</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The chief representatives of this school are mentioned with the following works: H. Winckler, *Himmels- und Wellenbild der Babylonier als Grundlage der Weltanschauung und Mythologie aller Völker*, Lpz. 1901 (*Der alte Orient*, 3. Jhrg. Heft 2—3); E. Stucken, *Astralmythen. Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, (1.—5. Th.) Lpz. (1896—)1907; P. Jensen, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur*, 1. Bd. Strassb. 1906; C. Friis, *Studien zur Odyssee*, 1. *Das Zagmuk-Fest auf Scheria*, Lpz. 1910 (*MVAG*, XV. 2—4); R. Eisler, *Wellenmantel und Himmelszell. Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Urgeschichte des antiken Weltbildes*, 1.—2. Bd. Münch. 1910, and A. Jeremias, *Das alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*<sup>3</sup>, Lpz. 1916. But almost all German orientalist who occupy themselves with the Mesopotamian cultures belong to this school, cf. e. g. Zimmern in *KAT*<sup>3</sup>, Meissner in *AR*, V. pp. 224 ff., Weissbach in *OLZ* 1917, pp. 20 ff. For the fanciful conception of the *akitu* festival set forth by this school, upon which I have not entered at all, see once for all F. X. Kugler, *Im Bannkreis Babels. Panbabylonistische Konstruktionen und religionsgeschichtliche Tatsachen*, Münster in W. 1910, pp. 12—45, with whom I quite agree in principle even though I cannot follow him in several details.

Hence, in the succeeding chapters, it has been attempted for the first time to collect all the material known up to the present date from the Assyro-Babylonian literature and the archæological excavations (especially at Babylon) and on the basis thereof to review what may be learnt both as to the ceremonial of the festival and its religious significance.



## II

In the Assyro-Babylonian literature the chief religious festival in the city of Babylon, a festival which returns annually, is called *isinnu zagnuku* or *isinnu akitu*. *isinnu* is the common Babylonian term for a "periodical festival" in contrast to other expressions such as *ûm ili*<sup>1</sup>, *kirêtu*<sup>2</sup>, and *melultu*<sup>3</sup>, and since P. Jensen's conjecture<sup>4</sup> it has generally been considered to be a Sumerian loanword *EZEN*. I, however, believe with Landsberger<sup>5</sup> that *isinnu* is a genuine Akkadian word<sup>6</sup>, the etymology of which a study of the texts in Reisner's large collection of hymns will help us to approach. Thus in VATh 408 + VATh 2179, Obv. 5, a word *is/sinnu* occurs, which in a quite identical context, in the hymn *Ša kima ûmi šuršudu* (No. 4), 160, is replaced by the word *simânu*, "appointed time"<sup>7</sup>. This latter word is known to us from the familiar passage in Sennacherib's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ûm palâh ili* IVR<sup>2</sup> 60\* B, Obv. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. K. 2892, Rev. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *i-na ri-kis si-pit-ti u me-lul-ti-šu* 55466 + 55486 + 55627, Obv. 14, and Jensen's remark in *KB*, VI<sub>1</sub>. p. 395 to IVR<sup>2</sup> 28\*, 68.

<sup>4</sup> *KB*, III<sub>1</sub>. p. 60<sup>2</sup>, supported by a fragment of S<sup>a</sup>, published in *ZA*, IV. p. 394.

<sup>5</sup> *KK*, pp. 8 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also that the vocabulary K. 6012 + K. 10684, 24 has *UD.SAR = ûmu i-sin-nu*.

<sup>7</sup> VATh 408 + VATh 2179, Obv. 5 *e-bu-ru ina i-šin-ni-šu u-ḷa-ab-bi* = No. 4, 160 *e-bu-ru ina si-ma-ni-šu u-ḷa-ab-bi*.

Prism Inscription, in which he describes the mutilation of his fallen enemies, *bal-ta-šu-un a-bu-ut ki-ma bi-ni kiš-ši-i si-ma-ni u-na-ak-kis ʕa-ti-šu-un* (VI 1—2); here we must translate *simānu* by the word “ripe, that which has reached its appointed time”<sup>1</sup>, and the probability that *isinnu* and *simānu* are identical takes us back to \**w-s-m* as an etymological possibility<sup>2</sup>.

The word *zāgmuku*, on the other hand, is the Akkadian rendering of the Sumerian *ZAG.MU*, i. e. “head, beginning + year” + the genitive particle *-ge*<sup>3</sup>. The Akkadian form is sometimes written *zāgmuku* and sometimes *zakmuku*; in some passages, in the inscriptions of the late Babylonian kings, we have an assimilation of the palatal guttural and the bi-labial nasal to *zammuku*<sup>4</sup>. In Sumerian the word means “the beginning of the year”, Semitic *rēš šatti*<sup>5</sup>, and in many passages of the texts these words are actually added after the loanword as a translation of it.<sup>6</sup> A more accurate definition of what we are to understand by *zāgmuku* or *rēš šatti* is given us in Esarhaddon’s Prism Inscription (IR 45—47), in which it says: *ina ki-bit Ašur šar ilāni . . . ina zak-muk-ki arḫi riš-ti-i kul-lat mur-ni-iš-ḫi parī*

<sup>1</sup> Delitzsch, *AL*<sup>5</sup>, p. 176 b has “Siwan-Gurken”.

<sup>2</sup> *m* assimilated to the dental spirant, cf. Broeckelmann, *Grundriss*, I, p. 154.

<sup>3</sup> Leander, *SL*, p. 18 No. 133; Langdon, *SG*, p. 25<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Neb. 85—4—30, 1, I 48 *i-na i-si-in-ni za-am-mu-ku*; Nerigl. IR 67, I 34 [*i-na*] *za-am-mu-[ku] ri-e-ša ša-at-ti*.

<sup>5</sup> Amiaud, *ZA*, III, p. 41; Jensen, *KdB*, p. 87<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the bilingual hymn to Marduk IVR 18 No. 1, 22—23, in which [*za*] *g-muk* is translated *rēš šatti*; Neb. WBV 31 *i-na zak-mu-kam rēš šatti*; VII 29; III 47—52; Neb. EJ II 56 *i-na zāg-mu-ku ri-eš ša-at-ti*; Nabon. 81—7—1, 9, II 30—31. — Passages where *zāgmuku* occurs alone are e. g. in the Kūthā Legend K. 5418 a + K. 5640, III 14 *zāgmukku ša ribūti(-ti) š[atti . . . .]*, 17 *niḫī zakmukki illūti* and in K. 2128 + K. 4098, 8.

*imirî . . . gi-mîr ummanâti šal-lat na-ki-ri . . . lu-up-ki-da ki-rib-ša* (VI 41—51); in this passage *zakmukku* is merely a term indicating time and “the first month” is placed in apposition to it. The first month was Nisan in which, as stated above, the great cult festival was celebrated<sup>1</sup>. But *zagnuku* is often preceded in the texts by *isinnu*, the term then denotes the great Babylonian cult festival. This usage occurs especially in the Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions<sup>2</sup>, which would seem to indicate that this compound is of late origin.

The other word, *akîtu*, by which the festival is designated, presents far greater problems. It occurs with much greater frequency in the texts than *zagnuku*, and chiefly in the following three ways: alone, in the connection *isinnu akîtu*, and in the connection *isinnu bît akîtu*. To this we must add the frequently occurring *bît akîtu* and we can then proceed with our attempt to determine the etymology and sense of the word by means of our material. — *akîtu* is frequently written *ID-ki-tu*<sup>3</sup>; but amongst other values the sign *ID* has the phonetical value *a*<sup>4</sup>, hence we often find the word written *a-ki-tu*<sup>5</sup>, especially in later periods. For our etymological enquiry it is important that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nabon. Ann. II 10—11; III 24 ff.; BM 35968, II 18; III 4—5; we shall subsequently, when dealing with the date of the celebration of the *akîtu* festival, return to the passage in IIR 52, 51 b, in which it is mentioned under Adar that *zagnuku* is celebrated at the close of this month, . . . *zag-muk ana ki-ti-šu . . .*

<sup>2</sup> Neb. EJ IV 1—2 *zag-mu-ku i-si-in-nim šu-an-na<sup>ki</sup>*; VII 23 *i-na i-si-nim zag-mu-ku*.

<sup>3</sup> K. 822, Obv. 11 *ina libbi bît ID-ki-ti*; K. 6012 + K. 10684, 27 *UD. ID-KI-IT = ûmu a-ki-tum*.

<sup>4</sup> S<sup>n</sup> I 1; IIR 24, 50 c.

<sup>5</sup> 81—7—27, 30, Obv. 9 *a-ki-it*; K. 2674, Rev. I 19; Sm 671, catch-line; Morg. II 22,3; VAT 9555, Obv. 40, Rev. 15.

the word is always spelt with a *k*. True, Landsberger points out<sup>1</sup> that in two passages we have the spelling *a-ki-tu* (BE 13420, Rev. 80; K. 1260, Rev. 6), but if we look more closely at these passages, it appears that in his transcription of BE 13420, Weissbach writes *it-ki-ti*, while his autographic copy of the tablet, plate 14, quite plainly has *it-ki-ti*<sup>2</sup>. The other passage, in Johns, is, however, spelt with a *k*: *I-en iršu ta-kil a-ki-tu*. But Ungnad's investigations in 1912<sup>3</sup> gave another result, viz. [*I*]-en iršu ša <sup>is</sup>*a-ri-šu-tu*, the correctness of which I can confirm from my personal collation at the British Museum in the summer of 1922.

Multifarious have been the attempts to solve the etymology of this obstinate word. Hommel<sup>4</sup> thought that *akitu* must be a nomen relativum from *Aku*, one of the numerous epithets of the moon god<sup>5</sup>, and as evidence adduced the passage in VATH 554<sup>6</sup>, Rev. IV—III 4 [*ka*]-gal *A-ku ši-tum bēl bīt zi-be*. He considered *bīt zi-be*, "sacrificial temple", identical with *E-siqiš-siqiš* which has *a-ki-ti ši-ir-ti ša* <sup>ilu</sup>*en-lil ilāni marduk* as apposition in Neb. EJ IV 7—8. Hence he drew the conclusion that, as *Aku*'s city gate in Babylon gave on to *bīt akitu*, this temple and the festival were named after it. Quite apart from the problematic proceeding of concluding from the temple to the festival, it must be emphasized that there is very little probability that special local conditions in Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon should have contributed to give its name to a festival

<sup>1</sup> *KK*, p. 12<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The autographic text has been followed by Jensen in *KB*, VI<sub>2</sub>. p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> *ZA*, XXXI. p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> *GGAO*, p. 324<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Deimel, *Pantheon*, p. 49 a.

<sup>6</sup> The so-called Berlin topographical tablet of Babylon.

which is mentioned in the earliest sources from the Sumerian Ur (3000 B. C.). But furthermore, E-sigiš-sigiš is hardly identical with *bīt zi-be*. Of contemporary sources I shall mention Nabon. Stele IX 3—10 *ina arah nisanni . . . e-nu-ma . . . <sup>ilu</sup>marduk . . . i-na e-sigišše-sigišše<sup>1</sup> *bīt ik-ri-bi bīt a-ki-ti . . . ra-mu-u šu-ub-ti . . .*; here the temple mentioned by Hommel is called “the house of prayer”, not *bīt zi-be*. — Jensen<sup>2</sup> accepts Delitzsch’s explanation<sup>3</sup> of the word which is quite hypothetical, viz. *akitu* < \**waḳitu*, which only occurs in Assyrian in the form II<sub>2</sub> *utaḳḳušu* (Neb. EJ II 61), and proposes some such translation as “homage (to the gods)”<sup>4</sup> or a word of a similar sense. Both Haupt and Streck have assumed that *akitu* was originally spelt with a *k*. Haupt<sup>5</sup> suggests a connection between Talm.  $\text{אָקִיטוּ}$ <sup>6</sup> and Babylonian \**akitu*, a parallel which was also subsequently pointed out by Streck.<sup>7</sup> — Later on Haupt has, however, compared *akitu* with Arab. *ittikā*’, “accubation”, and *muttaka*’, “banquet” (Ḳorān XII 31)<sup>8</sup>, and under the influence of this, and from his obser-*

<sup>1</sup> Streck has proposed another reading of the name of this temple in *OLZ* 1905, pp. 330 ff., *E-SAKKUR-SAKKUR-RA* (cf. Meissner’s counter remark *OLZ* 1905, pp. 579—80); on the correct reading *e-zur* see Chapter III B. *ṛ.* 3.

<sup>2</sup> *ZA*, VII. p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> *BA*, II. p. 239 (quoted by Hagen); *HWB*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Arab. *ittakā* < *waḳā*, “to fear God.”

<sup>5</sup> *ZDMG*, LXI. p. 276.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also Kohut, *AJSL*, XIV. p. 186; Sarsowsky is doubtful on this point, *OLZ* 1913, p. 183 f.

<sup>7</sup> *OLZ* 1905, p. 379; the inserted *-n-* which Streck calls “ein irr-tümlich eingedrungenener Parasit”, is naturally explained like similar forms in Mandæan, cf. Pallis, *MS*, p. 146<sup>3</sup>. It is a matter for surprise that Streck insists on a possible etymological *k*, since his ingenious observation (*OLZ* 1905, p. 378) of the possible connection between *Baudyus* (Hesych. s. v.) and *bīt akitu* would rather seem to suggest an original *k*.

<sup>8</sup> *BA*, VI<sub>2</sub>. p. 31.

vation that *akîtu* alternates with *kirêtu* Delitzsch has come to adopt the view that it might mean "Schmaus, Mahl, Festmahl".<sup>1</sup>

Many years' enquiry into the etymology of *akîtu* has thus only produced few results. Owing to the consistent spelling with a *k* only Delitzsch's original hypothesis and the subsequent Haupt-Delitzsch hypothesis can receive consideration, but none of these can claim to be anything but random conjectures. The key to the mystery would seem to be that the word is originally Sumerian (cf. the frequent spelling *ID-ki-tu* and our investigation below as to its earliest occurrence), but has subsequently become modified in accordance with a special Akkadian sound-form (*fa'îlu*). We must thus abandon any attempt to arrive at a precise definition of the word *akîtu* based on Semitic etymology, but we may try to discover the general sense of the word by reviewing the passages in which it occurs in the Assyro-Babylonian literature.

However, before we survey all the passages which mention the *akîtu* festival in Babylon, we must ascertain when the word *akîtu* first occurs in the Sumerian sources and in those texts which deal with the festival in other cities than Babylon, in case this may help us to a better understanding of the word. When Radau published the text EAH 134,<sup>2</sup> it came to be seen that it contained the official state calendar (a series of months), based on the system of months in use in the city of Ur.<sup>3</sup> Tablets found in Tello mention a few of the names of the festivals occurring in the various months, stating expressly that they

<sup>1</sup> *MDOG*, XXXIII. p. 34 note; *AL*<sup>5</sup>, p. 161 a.

<sup>2</sup> *Early Babylonian History down to the End of the Fourth Dynasty of Ur*, N. York, Lond. 1900, p. 299.

<sup>3</sup> Landsberger, *KK*, pp. 65 f.

are local festivals of Ur. Thus VATH 2499 mentions a [m]aš-da-ri-a, a “sacrificial gift“, consisting of dates, for the *akitu* festival, dated <sup>itu</sup>a-ki-ti, with the addition šag ŠEŠ. UNU<sup>ki</sup>, “in Ur“. Another text, referred to by Scheil in *MDP*, X. p. 22, is dated in the same way and mentions Ā-KI-TI ŠIS-AB(-ki) (i. e. Ur), stating that the sacrificial gifts were presented in the royal palace, Ê-GAL-LA BA-AN-TU. In the list of months from Ur the sixth (or seventh) month is called a-ki-ti, which must here be interpreted as the original name of a festival for Nannar<sup>1</sup>, after which the month was then subsequently named<sup>2</sup>. For in the same list of months the twelfth month is called še-KIN.KUD. In this month Sin’s *akitu* festival was celebrated, as we learn from SA 217, Obv. 2 ff., where the following sacrifices are mentioned šag ŠEŠ.UNU<sup>ki</sup>-ma: — 1) šag a-ki-ti 2) <sup>d</sup>[Nanna(r)] 3) <sup>d</sup>Nin-gal. The same festival is mentioned in SA 47, Obv. 2, as a-ki-ti še-KIN.KUD, i. e. the *akitu* festival of the twelfth month. And Landsberger has rendered it probable that the name which has been replaced by *akiti* as the name of the sixth or seventh month in the Ur list, was šu-KUL-na, which various investigations<sup>3</sup> have shown to be the name of the fourth month in the Nippur list. One of the Tello texts<sup>4</sup> mentions maš-da-ri-a <sup>itu</sup>a-ki-ti šu-KUL šag ŠEŠ.UNU<sup>ki</sup>-ma, and DCL VIII, Obv. 5—6 has maš-da-ri-a a-ki-ti šu-numun (i. e. šu-KUL-na) ša(g) ga-eš<sup>ki</sup>. The occurrence of šu-KUL-na as the sixth month in Ur but the fourth month in Nippur (both lists have še-KIN.KUD as the twelfth month) cannot invalidate the above suggestion, as it may be due to purely local variations. Thus the pas-

<sup>1</sup> Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* p. 87<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Landsberger, *KK*, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> *KK*, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> *Inv. de Tello*, III<sup>2</sup>. 6167, Obv. 2. — Rev. 1.

sage in 103399, Obv. Col. II 8 *a-ki-ti š[u]-KUL-na*, probably indicates the sixth month in the Ur calendar. Another passage which perhaps belongs to the Ur calendar<sup>1</sup> is Legr. No. 21, 9 ff., where *šag a-ki-ti* occurs in a reference to the seventh month in the Nippur list, the name of which, *du(l)-azag(-ga)*<sup>2</sup> is probably borrowed from another festival, *EZEN du(l)-azag*. — To return to the Ur list, it may seem strange that the local festival for Sin in that city did not give its name to the twelfth month, since this festival was the chief annual festival. The explanation may perhaps be found in the fact that the festival in the twelfth month was limited to Ur, while several of the other festivals we have mentioned (e. g. *a-ki-ti šu-KUL-na*) were general festivals, celebrated by a great number of cities which had adopted the Ur calendar<sup>3</sup>. — As regards the sense of the word *akiti* it must undoubtedly be regarded as a proper name, whether it is the name of a month or of a certain festival. In the expression *maš-da-ri-a a-ki-ti* this conception is rendered probable by the direct parallel *maš-da-ri-a itūa-ki-ti*, in *Inv. de Tello*, III<sub>2</sub>. 6167, and I see no cogent reason why we should understand *šag a-ki-ti* as meaning “(sacrifice) in the festival house”<sup>4</sup>. The translation “(sacrifice) for the akiti (festival)” seems to me much more reasonable for the Sumerian texts, to which we have no right to ascribe ideas from a much later period. The same is the case with two passages in a text from Ur<sup>5</sup> pointed out by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the dating *itūa-ki-ti* and Landsberger, *KK*, p. 33<sup>3</sup>. — Thureau-Dangin in *Rit.* p. 87 surmises that we may perhaps infer from this that the akitu festival at Nippur was celebrated in Tišrit.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. VR 43, 34 a *itū* . . . . *KLIT* | *itūDULAZAG*.

<sup>3</sup> Landsberger, *KK*, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> Landsberger, *KK*, pp. 33<sup>3</sup>, 79.

<sup>5</sup> Legr. No. 370, 7 f., 10 f.



Thureau-Dangin<sup>1</sup>. In these passages sacrifices to Nannar are mentioned, *igi šu-nir-ra ša(g) a-ki-ti*, and later on, also to Nannar, *ma a-ki-ti-ta tu(r)-ra*. Thureau-Dangin translates as follows: “devant (son) emblème, dans le (temple d’) *a-ki-ti*” and “(r)entrant en barque du (temple d’) *a-ki-ti*.” But I do not think it can be shown that *akîti* means the *akîti* temple in any of these passages. The fact that at a much later period, as we shall see below, we often have *akîtu* = *bît akîtu*, should not influence our view of conditions in the Sumerian period. Important in this connection is the evidence from AO 5482, where we find a list of the sacrifices to be offered at the *akîti* festival in the sixth month at Ur and other cities. The passage mentions sacrifices in the *Gu-la* temple, in the temple to *Ur-<sup>d</sup>Šu-<sup>d</sup>Sin*, in the palace, in the *Nin-sun* temple, in *Šubarû*, and in the temples to *<sup>d</sup>Asaru-lu-dug* and to *<sup>d</sup>Nin-dam-an-na*, but we find no mention of an *akîti* temple.

We have thus seen that an *akîtu* festival was mentioned in the calendar of festivals from Ur, and that this festival was also celebrated at *Ga-eš<sup>ki</sup>* and perhaps also at Nippur in the third millennium B. C. And we have evidence from a much later period to show that the *akîtu* festival was celebrated at various other cities besides Babylon, which we shall now quote arranged alphabetically according to the cities. — Assur. K. 1356, Obv. 1—3 *<sup>I</sup> ilu<sup>u</sup>sin-ahî-irba šar<sup>u</sup> mâtu aš[šur<sup>ki</sup>] e-piš ša-lam<sup>u</sup> aššur u ilâni<sup>meš</sup> rabûti<sup>meš</sup> bît a-ki-it šêri . . . . . ša . . . . . [t]u ûmi<sup>meš</sup> rûkûti<sup>meš</sup> im-ma-šu-u . . . . . ki-bit ilu<sup>u</sup>šamaš u ilu . . . . .*; the *bît akîtu* mentioned here, which was built by Sennacherib to Aššur, was excavated in 1906—7 by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in the imme-

<sup>1</sup> *Rit.* p. 88.

diatē vicinijai of Assur<sup>1</sup>, as is attested by a building inscription<sup>2</sup> found on the site, which amongst other things contains the following words: *te-me-en bīt a-ki-ti ša i-sin-ni ki-re-ti* <sup>il</sup>Ašur.

Dilbat.<sup>3</sup> — Two purchase deeds from the time of Darius, published by Peiser, mention *ḥarrân ša a-ki-tum mu-ta-ku (ilu) Ib* (VATh 73, 7) and *ḥarrân šarri ša a-ki-tum (ilu) Ib* (VATh 77, 2). Streck erroneously connects these passages with Babylon<sup>4</sup>, Landsberger, on the other hand, refers them to Dilbat without giving any grounds for his supposition<sup>5</sup>. In one of Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions we read: *ka-ar a-ra-aḥ-ti bal-ri šit* <sup>ilu</sup>šamši *iš-tu abulli* <sup>ilu</sup>iš-tar *a-ti abulli* <sup>ilu</sup>u-ra-aš *i-na ku-up-ri u a-gu-ur-ri a-ba-am a-lī-tu ik-zu-ur-ma* (82—7—14, 1042, II 8—11); from this we learn that there was a gate in Babylon named after the god Uraš, but the latter is identical with <sup>ilu</sup>Ib<sup>6</sup>, a name given to the god Marduk in Dilbat where his main temple was called Imbi-Anum<sup>7</sup>. But the two passages from the purchase deeds mention no *abullu* <sup>ilu</sup>Ib. In Sippar there was also an "Uraš Gate"<sup>8</sup>, hence we have no reason not to connect the two passages in question with Dilbat. In AO 6444 Nabonidus mentions his restoration of cities and temples<sup>9</sup>, but the text does not show whether the *bīt akītu*

<sup>1</sup> W. Andrae in *MDOG*, XXXIII. pp. 24 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *MDOG*, XXXIII. p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hommel, *GGAO*, pp. 396 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *OLZ* 1905, p. 380.

<sup>5</sup> *KK*, p. 13<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. VATh 66, where the male names *Ib-šum-išku-un*, *Ib-nadin*, *Ib-nadin-aḥi*, *Ib-aḥi-iddin*, *Arad-Ib* are mentioned.

<sup>7</sup> VATh 66, 9 *ina bīt im-bi (ilu) A-nim pa-pa-ḥu (ilu) Ib u (ilu) Bilil ikalli* . . .

<sup>8</sup> VATh 757—758, 13.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. II 1 *dūr Kūtu(ki) ul-la-a ri-ši-šu*, II 5—6 *ša (ālu) u-ba-ug-si birit Bābili (ki) u Barsip (ki) i-na kupri u a-gur-ru ri-e-ši-šu ul-lī-ma*.

for Uraš referred to in II 3—4 *a-na (ilu) Uraš bêli ga-aš-ru bît a-ki-tum ta-ap-šu-uh-ti-šu ki-ma la-bi-ri-im-ma e-eš-ši-iš e-pu-uš* is in Dilbat; with the above considerations in mind, however, everything would seem to suggest this.

Harran. — 81—7—27, 30, Obv. 8—9 *ûmu 17<sup>kam</sup> ilu<sup>sin</sup> i-ta-bi ina a-ki-it u-šab*<sup>1</sup>; cf. Sm 671, catch-line [*bît*]<sup>2</sup> *a-ki-ti ilu<sup>sin</sup> ša alu<sup>h</sup>harrân*.

Milkia. — Ašurb. K. 891, Obv. 6—7 *alu<sup>h</sup>mil-ki-a*<sup>3</sup> *ê-gal-edin*<sup>4</sup> *mu-šab ilu<sup>h</sup>iš-tar an-ĥu-us-su ud-diš bît-a-ki-tu ar-šip*. The text opens with a reference to the king's restoration of Arba-ilu, which has made Hagen<sup>5</sup> erroneously assume that the passage referred to this place. In spite of the masculine suffix in *bît-a-ki-tu* it is probable that this temple in K. 891 is identical with *ê-gal-edin*, and this supposition is confirmed by another Ašurb. text, K. 2674 + Sm 2010 + 82—2—4, 186, Rev. I 18—23<sup>6</sup> *a-na-ku*<sup>1</sup> *ilu<sup>h</sup>aššur-bân-aplu šar mâtu. ilu<sup>h</sup>aššur<sup>ki</sup> ul-tu immeru<sup>h</sup>niĥê<sup>mes</sup> ilu<sup>h</sup>Kur-ri*<sup>7</sup> *aĥ-ĥu-u e-pu-šu i-sin-ni bît a-ki-ti at-mu-ĥu mašku<sup>h</sup>a-ša-a-ti ilu<sup>h</sup>iš-tar . . . e-rib alu<sup>h</sup>arba-ilu e-pu-uš ina ĥidâti<sup>mes</sup>*. The passage in Obv. 45—46 in the same text, in which Milkia<sup>8</sup> is specially mentioned, shows us that the passage in Rev. I 23 cannot mean that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. K. 1234, Obv. 7—11.

<sup>2</sup> Only four upright wedges are seen.

<sup>3</sup> That we cannot read *Iš-ki-a* is seen from Bu 89—4—26, 6, as has been pointed out by Streck in VAB, VII<sup>2</sup>, p. 248.

<sup>4</sup> = Sem. *ĕkal šêri*, cf. the Sennacherib text above (K. 1356, Obv. 2).

<sup>5</sup> BA, II, p. 238 note.

<sup>6</sup> K. 2637, 6—8 is identical with this.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the same text Obv. 45—46 *ki-rib alu<sup>h</sup>mil-ki-a immeru<sup>h</sup>niĥê<sup>mes</sup> aĥ-ĥi ĕpu<sup>us</sup> i-sin-ni ilu<sup>h</sup>Kur-ri*. Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 112, 112<sup>3</sup> reads *ilu<sup>h</sup>Šat-ri* here, which is confirmed by Bu 89—4—26, 6, 1; he points out that in this way we gain a better understanding of the parallel text K. 2637, 6 which has *ilu<sup>h</sup>Še-ri*, an error for *ilu<sup>h</sup>Šat-ri*.

<sup>8</sup> This city was situated near Arba-ilu. Other passages where it is mentioned are K. 623, Obv. 4; K. 628, Obv. 4, and K. 631, Obv. 6. (Cf. Streck, *OLZ* 1905, p. 377).

the king entered Arba-ilu after having celebrated the festival in a temple just outside this city. The festival mentioned in Ašurb. Ann. (Cyl. B) V 16—19 *ina ar<sup>hu</sup>abi arah<sup>h</sup> na-an-mur-ti kakkab kašti i-sin-ni šar-ra-ti ka-bit-ti mârat il<sup>u</sup>ellil a-na pa-lah<sup>h</sup> ša rabîti aš-ba-ak ina al<sup>u</sup>arba-ilu al na-ram libbi-bi-ša*, is quite another festival in the month of Ab, connected with the appearance of Sirius and the specially Assyrian chief festival of Ištar. One of Esarhaddon's building inscriptions, K. 2711, has the following statement Rev. 20 *bît A-ki-it bît ni-gu-ti* and Rev. 29 *ki-rib (bît) A-ki-it u-še-šib-šu-nu*. It is possible that these two passages also refer to Milkia near Arba-ilu, since this latter town is mentioned in Rev. 16. The fact that Nannar (Sin) is mentioned later on in the text in Rev. 33 does not necessarily imply that the *bît akîtu* of these passages is connected with Harran, but the deplorable condition of the text renders it impossible to obtain further knowledge of the facts; perhaps there were two *akîtu* temples, one at Milkia and one at Harran.

Nineveh. — In Ašurb. Ann. (Rassam Cyl.) X 24 ff. we read of the captive Elamite princes: *ul-tu a-na na-dan (?) immeru ni<sup>k</sup>ê<sup>mes</sup> e-lu-u ina ê-maš-maš (Ištar's main temple at Niniveh) šu-bat bêlu-ti-šu-un ma-ḥar il<sup>u</sup>nin-lil ummi ilâni<sup>mes</sup> rabûti<sup>mes</sup> ḥi-ir-tu na-ram-ti il<sup>u</sup>aššur e-pu-šu a-di ilâni<sup>mes</sup> bît-a-ki-it<sup>1</sup> i<sup>su</sup>nîr i<sup>su</sup>ša ša-da-di u-ša-aš-bit-su-nu-li*.

Uruk. — AO 6459, Obv. 3 *ana bît a-ki-i-tum e-lit ša dAni illa-ak<sup>pl</sup>-ma*, Obv. 14 *ma-la-ku su-qa<sup>pl</sup> i<sup>su</sup>maqurrê<sup>pl</sup> u bît a-ki-i-tum*. Both passages deal with the great Anu festival in Tišrît; the Ištar festival, on the other hand, is mentioned in AO 7439, Rev. 4 *a-na kisal bît a-ki-i-tum irrub[-ma]*, 5 *ina kisal bît a-ki-i-tum ušša-ab*, 6 *ina kisal bît a-ki-i-tum ina pa-ni-šu*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 15<sup>7</sup>.

*izza-za*, cf. Morg. II 22,3 *bît a-ki-tum ša iluīštar*, a legal document from Uruk from the period of the Seleucids. A third *bît akîtu* at Uruk besides those for Anu and Ištar is mentioned in a text<sup>1</sup> referring to the restoration of Ušur-amâtsu's<sup>2</sup> temple at that city, which reads: *a-na a-ki-ti bîli-ša ha-diš ina e-ri-bi-ša* (L. 14). Finally VAT 7849 tells us of the *akîtu* festival in Nisan in IV 6. 7. 10, where we read: *a-na* (or *ina*) *dê bît a-ki-tum êrum-ma*.

Unknown places. — Finally we have some passages in which *akîtu* is mentioned, but which do not refer to any special city. In K. 822, Obv. 9—12 we read: *ilu taš-me-tum da-at-tu lu-ša-a ina libbi bît a-ki-ti tu-u-šab*. At the beginning of the much broken text the writer mentions Nabu and Marduk, but only to invoke their blessings on his master, *ilu nabû u ilu marduk a-na šarri be-li-ia lik-ru-bu* (Obv. 5—6). Perhaps this is a reference to a local *akîtu* festival at Borsippa where Tašmet, Nabu's wife and queen, belongs. But the question must remain open since we know that by the side of Nabu she took part in the great *akîtu* festival at Babylon, even though the brief remarks in the letter can hardly be conceived to allude to some part of this festival. — In K. 474, dealing with *šubâlu lu-bu-uš-ti ša ilu bêl* and *pi-il bâbi rabûu* (Obv. 9—10) on the third and fourth day of Ulûlu, but giving no indication of place, Behrens<sup>3</sup> thinks that we may reconstruct Rev. 8—11 as follows: *šarru i-di a-na ũe-mi-i a-na-ku man-ma ša-nam-ma [i]t-ti-ia ia<sup>2</sup>-a-nu [ana a]-ki-it lu-bu-uš-ti*. The whole question is, however, highly problematic, partly because Obv. 9 has not *a-ki-it lu-bu-uš-ti ša ilu bêl*, and partly because Behrens'

<sup>1</sup> Nies and Keiser, *Bab. Inscr.* II. No. 31.

<sup>2</sup> This goddess is also mentioned in the Uruk texts (cf. VAT 7849, II 13 and Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XVI. p. 123, also Streck, *VAB*, VII<sub>2</sub>. p. 186<sup>5</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> *ABBr.* pp. 56, 68.

supplementation rests on the hypothesis that *akîtu* means "festival (in general)", a question upon which we shall enter later on. If our subsequent investigations, founded on all the passages in the Assyro-Babylonian literature in which *akîtu* occurs, should prove to take us in the same direction as Behrens, we should here have had a certain right to conceive the text supplied as above indicated. But we have no right to add to the material which is to serve as a foundation for our enquiry into the sense of the word *akîtu* a passage which rests on a hypothetical reconstruction. The passage in K. 474 giving the date of the festival and referring to Ulûlu would not *a priori* seem to suggest that the text should be supplemented in the above-described way. — In the Gilgameš Epic *akîtu* is mentioned in the passage describing the sacrifice offered before the embarkment and the coming of the flood, *a-na nî[ši] uṭ-ti(a)b-bi-ih alpī aš-gi-i[š] [immir]ī ūmi(-mī)-šam-ma si-ri[-šu ku-ru-]un-nu šamnu u karanu um-ma-n[a aš-ki] ki-ma mī nāri-ma i-sin[-nu aš-ku-n]a ki-ma ūmi(-mī) ak(ḫ)i-tim-ma ap(b)-t[i šik-kat] piš-ša-ti ḫa-ti ad-di (XI 71—76)*<sup>1</sup>. — Finally the word is mentioned in IV R\*33, III 53 f.<sup>2</sup> *ina Araḥsamna šarru māli lū bīt-il ibne . . . lū a-ki-tum ana ūli iškun . . . libbi-šu lā [iṭāb]*.

We shall now proceed to the passages in which it is stated that the *akîtu* festival is celebrated in the city of Babylon. The material may be divided into four groups.

A. *akîtu* occurs alone. Neb. EJ IV 7—8 *bīt-niḫī a-ki-ti ṣi-*

<sup>1</sup> Though the badly preserved text renders the reading difficult in this place, I think the most reasonable translation of *kima* in l. 75 is "of the same might as, just as magnificent as", and not "in close agreement with."

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from Behrens, *ABBr.* p. 72.

*ir-ti ša ilu<sup>u</sup>en-lil ilâni marduk*; Neb. IR 65, III 7—17 *i-si-na-a-ti-šu-nu da-am-ga-a-tim a-ki-su-nu<sup>1</sup> ra-be-tim . . . in ma-ḥa-ri-šu-nu e-le-it-ti-iḫ*; Neb. WBV 34—35 *a-na i-si-nu tar-ba-a-tim a-ki-ta-šu ši-ir-ti u-ša-aš-di-iḫ-ma*; BE 13420, 79—81 *ina arḫi BARA-ZAG-GAR ina ûmi XI KAN il<sup>u</sup>Bêl ištu it-ḫi-ti ana Ê-sag-ila ir-ru-um-ma*; Pinches, Col D 5—7 *ana Bâbili il-la-ku-nim-ma it-ti-šu ana it-ki-tum du-u šarri ina ma-ḥar-šu-nu šir-qa i-šar-raq*. In one of Nabonidus' inscriptions, 81—7—1, 9, referring to his restoration of the temple at Sippar in honour of Šamaš and Bunene, we read in II 27—34 [*kir-bu-*]uš *bi-lat-su-nu ša ka-liš kib-rat ma-ḥar ili-šu u ilu<sup>u</sup>zar-pa-ni-tum ilu<sup>u</sup>nabû u ilu<sup>u</sup>nergal ilû<sup>mes</sup>-u-a u ilâni gimir-šu-nu a-šib ma-ḥir-tam a-ki-it ša šarri ili ša-ḫu-u bêl bêlê zag-muk ri-eš šat-ti i-sin-nu a-ki-it ana ni-ḫi-e ma-as-ḥa-ṭam u pa-ḫa-du bît maḥir ḥegalli u ut-ni-en-na bêl bêlê lu sa-at-ra-ak tal-lak-tum a-na dârâ-a-tam*. The title of *bêl bêlê* and the reference to Zarpanitum, Nabu, and Nergal suggest the *akitu* festival at Babylon, and it is hardly probable that it should have been repeated at Sippar, in which we hear neither of a *bît akitu* or a *parak šimâti*<sup>2</sup>, even though our inscription comes from that city and Babylon is not mentioned in it at all. Our theory is confirmed by another Nabonidus text, 81—4—28, 3+4, dealing with the restoration of Ebarra at Sippar. After a description of the building operations and the invocation of Šamaš follows a conclusion, II 42 ff., a parallel to that in 81—7—1 9, running as follows in 47 ff. *ina ḫi-rib bâbili<sup>ki</sup> li-kun šu-ub-ti . . . i-na maḥ-ri be-lum ilu<sup>u</sup>na-bi-um u ilu<sup>u</sup>nergal ili<sup>mes</sup>-e-a u ilê<sup>mes</sup> si-ḫi-ir-ti bît a-ki-it<sup>3</sup> ša ilu<sup>u</sup>enlil ilâni<sup>mes</sup> ili-šu a-na ni-ḫi-i*

<sup>1</sup> < \**a-ki-ti-šu-nu*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. VAT 9418, Obv. II 11—15.

<sup>3</sup> Variant *si-ḫi-ir a-ki-it* (cf. VR 65, II 50 and B. Teloni, ZA, III, p. 173).

*ma-as-ḥa-ṭi pa-ḥa-du bît maḥir-ḥegalli u ut-nin-ni bēl bēlē lu-u sa-ad-ra-ak ta-lak-ti a-na Da. Ir-a-ti.* Further *akītu* occurs alone in 35968, II 3 *u-mi a-ki-tim*, in III 9 *šimētan ša a-ki-ti ina E-sag-ila ki-i pi-i . . . . ik-ki*, in VAT 9418, Obv. II 32—33 *7 ilāni<sup>meš</sup> rabūti<sup>meš</sup> ina sa[-ḥa-ri] ta-lu-ku ša<sup>arhu</sup> nis[anni] ūm a[kīti]*, and in the vocabulary K. 6012 + K. 10684, 27 *ūmu a-ki-tum*.

B. *isinnu akītu*. As a transition stage between this group and the former we have Neb. WB VII 30 . . . *a-na i-si-nu ša a-ki-ti* . . . Other passages are Neb. WB III 50 . . . *a-na i-si-in-ni a-ki-it* . . . ; Nerigl. I R 67, I 35 . . . [*a-na i-sin-ni a*]-*ki-ti ta-bi-e<sup>ilu</sup>en-lil ilāni<sup>ilu</sup>marduk* . . . , the size of the open space has here suggested the words supplied; Nabon. Ann. II 6. 11. 20. 24; III 8 *Bēl lā ittaša-a i-sin-nu a-ki-tu ba-ṭil*; DT 83, Obv. 7 *ar-aḥ ša ba-la-ṭi i-sin-ni a-ki-ti liš-ša-kin ni-gu-tu*.

C. *isinnu bît akītu*. Nabon. Stele IX 41—42 *ultu e-pu-šu i-sin-nu bît a-ki-ti* . . .

D. *bît akītu*. In five letters from Ammizaduga, the fourth (fifth) king of Babylon after Hammurabi, four of which are addressed to Ibni-Sin mār Marduk-našir, the much broken texts have all the same statement, *bu-ku-mu i-na bît a-ki-tim iš-ša-ak-ka-an* (17298, 5—7; 17334, 5—7; Bu 91—5—9, 329, 5—7; 17531, 5—7, and 17416, 5—6). In three passages in Sargon's inscriptions we have *u-šal-li-ma u-ru-uḥ bît a-ki-ti* (Ann. 310—11; PJ 141; Stele II 5); Nabon. 81—4—28, 3 + 4, II 50 *bît a-ki-it*; Nabon. Stele IX 9 *bît a-ki-ti*; K. 9876, Rev. 28 *ki-ma<sup>ilu</sup>bēl ina bît a-ki-tum ina paramaḥḥi it-taš-bu ana tar-ši<sup>ilu</sup>bēl an-nu-u iḥ-ḥab-bi*; VAT 9555, Obv. 40 ([*Be-lit*(?)]-) *Bābili ša ina libbi bît a-ki-it*



*l[a] t[a-]a[l])-lak-u-ni . . .<sup>1</sup>, Rev. 15<sup>isu</sup> narkabtu ša a-na bit a-ki-it tal-lak-u-ni ta-la-kan-an-ni . . .*

A survey of the whole of the material has thus shown us that Sumerian as well as Assyro-Babylonian sources mention *akîtu* — either the word or the festival itself — in connection with various cities of Mesopotamia. The former, which go back to the middle of the third millennium B. C., especially mention the word in connection with Ur, the latter, dating from Ammizaduga (abt. 2060 B. C.) to Nabonidus (538 B. C.) take us to the cities of Assur, Babylon, Dilbat, Harran, Milkia, Niniveh, and Uruk, and to a city the name of which we cannot determine (K.822). The identity of the festival above referred to as *zagnuku* with the *akîtu* festival is shown e. g. by Neb. WB III 47—52 and Nabon. 81—7—1, 9, II 30—31, which we cited above (p. 7). —

The *akîtu* festival takes place in the month of Nisan, as is directly attested by Sargon's Annals (see p. 6), by VAT 9418, Obv. II 32—33 (see p. 26), and by the negative evidence in Nabonidus' Annals (see p. 1), but there are various passages at which we must look more closely, since they seem to give another date for the celebration of the festival. The passage which we cited on p. 3 in 35968 II 3—4, and which mentions *ûmu akîtu*, does not, as will be seen, actually refer to any date, but an examination of Col. II which, in contrast to Col. I, is in an excellent state of preservation as regards the first twenty lines, will help us to better knowledge. In Col. II 1—2 we read: *ina<sup>arhu</sup> Airu ûmu XI<sup>KAN</sup> šarru ik-šu-da[m-ma] buḥadê<sup>pl</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zimmern, ZBN, II. p. 16; in his transcription of VAT 9555 he has supplied missing parts from a duplicate VAT 9538 (cp. the long passage in round parenthesis, and see ZNB, II. p. 3<sup>1</sup>).

ša a-ši-e <sup>ilu</sup>Bêl u-n[ak-kis]-ma ul . . . . ., whereupon follows the passage cited on p. 3; l. 6 begins *ina* <sup>arhu</sup>Dûzu, l. 7 *ina* <sup>arhu</sup>Abu, l. 9 *ina* <sup>arhu</sup>Tišritu, in l. 12 the first year of a new reign is mentioned, *ina* <sup>arhu</sup>Abu ûmu XVI<sup>KAN</sup> ša šattu VII<sup>KAN</sup> . . . If now we compare this sequence of the months with the common Assyro-Babylonian sequence, as we have it e. g. in K. 8521, and at the same time bear in mind that the annals only record special events and thus do not mention the happenings of every month, we shall find complete correspondence. That we find Ab mentioned before Simânu in II 13—14 cannot invalidate the accuracy of the rest of the text, which we trace again in ll. 17—18. The sacrifices mentioned in l. 4 must therefore be supposed to take place in the month of Airu after the eleventh day. The question then arises whether the sacrifices mentioned here are sacrifices at the akîtu festival, and whether this passage thus attests its celebration in the month of Airu. The expression *buhadê<sup>pl</sup>* ša a-ši-e <sup>ilu</sup>Bêl in Col. II 2 would seem at once to point in this direction, for in the preceding passages we have frequently met with the verb *ašû* when the procession of the gods at the akîtu festival was mentioned (cf. Nabon. Ann. II 6. 11. 20. 24; 35968, II 18; K. 822, Obv. 9—10). But we cannot conclude anything from this single word, especially as the verb has been supplied in II 3, though probably correctly. Now in II 3—4 we find the expression *ki-i šal-me* used about the sacrifices performed in Esagila (*ni-ḱê<sup>pl</sup>* u *paššur ili . . . ina E-sag-ila . . . iḱ-ḱu*). This expression is often found in the texts, e. g. in Nabon. Ann. II 6—7. 11—12. 20—21. 23—25. All four passages state that the akîtu festival was suspended, amongst other reasons because of war with the Persians, as has been already referred to on p. 1, but in each passage it

says directly after *isinnu a-ki-tu ba-til*, that *niḫê ina Ê-šak-kil u Ê-zi-da ilâni šu-ut Bâbili u Bar-sip<sup>ki</sup> ki šal-mu nad-na*. The fact that the words *ki šal-mu* occur in the same text III 8 in the connection *a-ki-tu ki šal-mu ep-šu* cannot invalidate our conjecture that the sacrifices in Esagila referred to in 35968 took place at a later date than the *akîtu* festival and were independent of this festival, since, as we see from Nabonidus' Annals, they were offered even if the *akîtu* festival was suspended. Thus the passage in 35968 does not invalidate our assertion that the chief Babylonian festival took place in the month of Nisan, but it gives us an important exact date for the sacrifices offered after the festival and mentioned in other passages too, amongst other things the sacrificial gifts received at the *ûmu akîtu*.

However, we learn from several passages that the *akîtu* festival was not always celebrated in the month of Nisan in the period from the Sumerian time to the conquest of Babylon in 538 B. C. If we go back to the Sumerian time, we find nothing about the *akîtu* festival under *itubar-zaggar(-ra)*, Nisan, in the month list from Nippur<sup>1</sup>, while from Ur we have evidence that Nannar's *akîtu* festival took place in *itušē-KIN.KUD*, Adar (SA 47, Obv. 2, see p. 17). The passage in III R 52, 51 b *zag-muk ana ḫi-ti-šu* directly after the reference to Adar<sup>2</sup>, should be compared herewith. These evidences would seem to indicate that the close of

<sup>1</sup> Landsberger, *KK*, pp. 24—25.

<sup>2</sup> The celebration of the *akîtu* festival in *itūšu-KUL-na*, the 4th month in the Nippur list, the 6th or 7th in the Ur list (cf. p. 17), Sem. *Du'ûzu*, will perhaps suggest the original connection of the festival with the Tammuz cult, but the material is so scanty that the problem must be left open. — How complicated is the whole question of dating in the Sumerian time is seen by the Umma list (cf. Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, VIII. pp. 152 ff.) whose 1st, 2nd, and 6th months are borrowed from the Nippur list, but whose 12th month is called *itūDumu-zi*, i. e. *itūšu-KUL-na*.

Adar which is followed by Nisan, was previously the time for the festival, or, in other words, that the coincidence of the new year with the beginning of spring could not always be fixed with accuracy<sup>1</sup>, a fact which we have met with elsewhere<sup>2</sup>. But we have also evidence to show that the akîtu festival was celebrated in the autumn. Thus in AO 6459 we read Obv. 1—3 *arab<sup>h</sup>tišrîtu ûmu 1<sup>kam</sup> dEn-lîl<sup>d</sup> E-a u šu-ut Uruk<sup>ki</sup> il-lab-biš-u<sup>3</sup> is<sup>3</sup>narkabat<sup>d</sup> Ani kaspi is<sup>3</sup>narkabat<sup>d</sup> Ani ħurâši û-mu 1-šu a-di ûmi 8<sup>kam</sup> it-ti qut-tin-nu ša še-rim a-na<sup>bit</sup>a-ki-i-tum e-lit ša<sup>d</sup> Ani illa-ak<sup>pl</sup>-ma*, cf. also Obv. 14; further we see from VR43, 34a, that *itu* . . . . *KI.IT* = *ituDUL.AZAG*<sup>3</sup> under the seventh month, or that the month of akîtu is the same as Tišrît, which is the first month in the period from the beginning of autumn to the close of winter (Adar). We know, too, that in the time of Sargon of Agade, and of Gudea, and partly also in the time of Hammurabi<sup>4</sup>, the new year began in Tišrît<sup>5</sup>, and not until after that time in Nisan. —

Our brief survey of the months in which the akîtu festival was celebrated may perhaps be summarized as follows: — During the extremely complicated conditions in the Sumerian time the festival seems to have been celebrated at Ur sometimes in *itušu-KUL-na* (Dûzu), and sometimes in *ituše-KIN.KUD* (the close of Adar), and at Nippur in *itudu(I)-azag(-ga)* (Tišrît). The reason for celebrating it

<sup>1</sup> Cf. here Thureau-Dangin's interesting investigations of tablets from Drehem (near Nippur) in *RA*, VIII. pp. 84 ff., from which it appears that *ituše-KIN.KUD* was the first month in the spring section.

<sup>2</sup> In late Judaism, among the Arabs, see M. P. Nilsson, *Primitive Time-reckoning*, Lund, 1920, pp. 244 ff., 251 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Legr.* No. 21, 9 ff. and above pp. 18, 18<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> For the names of the months during his time see VR29 No. 1, 1—13 and King, *Letters*, III. p. XXXV<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hommel, *GGAO*, p. 221<sup>2</sup>.

at these different times we cannot tell. The dating of the Nippur system seems subsequently to have gained the ascendancy in several places. Under Sargon of Agade, Gudea, and Hammurabi we find Tišrît as the first month<sup>1</sup>; perhaps, then, under the latter king the beginning of the civil year was transferred from Tišrît to Nisan. In astronomical calculations, however, the autumnal equinox was still used as the point of departure, hence the time fixed for celebrating the *akîtu* festival was Nisan, for in this month the annual festival was celebrated throughout post-Hammurabian Mesopotamia.<sup>2</sup> —

Since we have considered futile any attempt to arrive at the etymology of the word *akîtu* from Semitic parallels, we will now try to determine the sense of the word on the basis of the material given above. As regards the Sumerian material the case is clear enough; in this material *akiti* is most frequently the name of a month, probably derived from the name of some festival celebrated in that month. In both cases the word must be interpreted as a proper name which gives us no key to the semasiology of *akiti*. Turning next to the Assyro-Babylonian material, in which the word occurs in five different ways, viz, *akîtu* by itself, and in the connections *ûmu akîtu*, *isinnu akîtu*, *isinnu bît akîtu*, and *bît akîtu*, we must at once emphasize that the chronology of the texts is of no importance to

<sup>1</sup> The evidence from the Uruk text AO 6459 as to the celebration of the *akîtu* festival in Tišrît cannot be adduced in support of the period before Hammurabi since the text dates from the time of the Seleucids (see Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* p. I); from another Uruk text from the same time, VAT 7849, we see that an *akîtu* festival has also been celebrated in Nisan. Of the reasons for this double celebration we cannot say anything decisive.

<sup>2</sup> On IVR 33\*, III 53 f., which refers to Arahšamna and *akîtu* in connection with each other, see below, pp. 36 f.

our investigation; thus it does not matter which of the five expressions given above is the earliest, which is derived from which, etc. In the earliest sources (Ammizaduga) as well as the latest (Nabonidus) we find *bît akîtu*, and in Nabonidus we find *bît akîtu* and *isinnu bît akîtu* side by side in the same text (the Stele), while in another Nabonidus text (the Annals) we have *isinnu akîtu*. Hence we shall be obliged to examine each group separately.

1. *ûmu akîtu*. (Gilgamesh, XI 75; 35968, II 3; K. 6012 + K. 10684, 27; VAT 9418, Obv. II 33). We learn nothing from the passage in the Gilgamesh Epic, since the words are merely used here in comparison, but most probably *ûmu akîtu* here means "the akîtu (festival) day", for, from a study of the context, the translation "festival day" seems hardly likely. Thus Behrens<sup>1</sup> interprets the statements of the vocabulary (K. 6012 + K. 10684), in which l. 24 has *UD.SAR = ûmu i-sin-nu* which must be translated "festival day", l. 25 *UD.EŠ.EŠ = ûmu eš-še-e-šu*, and l. 27 *UD.ID.KI.IT = ûmu a-ki-tum*. Now we see from IVR 32, I 16. 39 II 31 that the fourth, eighth, and seventeenth days of each month are an *ûmu eššēšu*, a statement which is corroborated by a number of letters from the time of the Sargonids<sup>2</sup>. This seems to me to indicate that in these words we have a technical term for a festival connected with the cult of the moon<sup>3</sup>. Hence it is not very probable that *ûmu eššēšu* can be translated "festival day" or support a translation of *ûmu akîtu* as "festival day" because this term is given immediately after in the same vocabulary. Moreover, our investigation above on pp. 27—28 of 35968

<sup>1</sup> *ABBr.* pp. 11—12.

<sup>2</sup> Behrens, *ABBr.* p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Phen. שָׁדַי, Heb. שָׁדַי and Ass.-Bab. *iddišû*, especially as an epithet of the moon god.

showed us *ûmu akîtu* used in the definite sense of “the akîtu day” in Nisan, and in VAT 9418 we have *ûmu akîtu* in apposition to or even synonymous with *ar<sup>hu</sup>nis[annu]*. Therefore I can only see two ways in which we can interpret *ûmu akîtu*: either we must translate it “the akîtu day” or else “New Year’s Day”. In the latter case we take *akîtu* to be identical with *zagnuku* which we saw above was identical with Akkadian *rêš šatti*. Of the two possibilities the latter is probably to be preferred in the special combination with *ûmu*.

2. *isinnu akîtu*. (81—7—1, 9, II 30; Neb. WB III 50; VII 30; Nerigl. IR67, I 35; Nabon. Ann. II 6. 11. 20. 24; DT 83, Obv. 3). This expression causes no difficulty, the only way it can be translated is “the akîtu festival”. This sense is particularly conspicuous in the passage in Neb. WB VII 30 where we have *i-si-nu ša a-ki-ti* which in connection with the other passages quoted under 2. entirely invalidates any attempt to translate *akîtu* by “festival.”

3. *bît akîtu* (and *isinnu bît akîtu*). By far the greater part of the passages in our material quoted above have this expression. By two unquestionable testimonies, viz. the Sennacherib inscription K. 1356, and the excavations in Assur of a temple in the building inscription of which we read amongst other things: *bît a-ki-ti ša i-sin-ni ki-re-ti* <sup>il</sup>*Ašur*, we see that in Assur it meant a certain sanctuary. That the same was the case in Uruk and Harran is attested by Morg. II 22, 3 and Sm 671, and we have no reason to doubt that also in Babylon and other places the words designate a sanctuary in which an important part of the akîtu festival was celebrated. The question now arises whether we can translate the expression by “festival

temple”<sup>1</sup> or “akîtu temple”. Our answer must be that we can say nothing decisive about this until we have determined what *akîtu* means when it stands by itself, but that there is of course a possibility that *bît akîtu* might have come to mean “festival temple  $\kappa\alpha\tau' \xi\xi\omicron\chi\acute{\eta}\nu$ ” owing to the central position of the akîtu festival in the Mesopotamian cult, and because the ceremonies of *bît akîtu* were of predominant importance in the whole ordering of the festival. The possibility is thus present, but we must make it quite clear to ourselves that this does not in any way, either from a historical or a philological point of view, warrant the conclusion that hence *akîtu* means “festival”. True, the passage above in the Wadi Brisa Inscription (VII 30) shows this plainly enough, and it appears with even greater distinctness when we consider the expression *isinnu bît akîtu* (K. 2674, I 21—22; Nabon. Stele IX 41—42); here it would be absurd to translate it “the festival temple festival”. A much more probable translation, both here and where the expression *bît akîtu* occurs, would be, in one case, “the akîtu temple festival”, and in the other, “akîtu temple”. The temple of *bît akîtu* probably derived its name from its central importance<sup>2</sup> in the akîtu festival<sup>3</sup>, and the expression *isinnu bît akîtu*, which is a parallel to the more common expression *isinnu akîtu*, must probably be understood as a term which came into existence at a

<sup>1</sup> Thus Behrens, *ABBr.* pp. 32—33; Landsberger, *KK*, p. 13<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Chapter IV.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Streck, *OLZ* 1905, p. 375<sup>3</sup> who even to this assumption opposes the conjecture that *akîtu* alone is an abbreviation of *isinnu akîtu* or *isinnu bît akîtu*. The latter of these possibilities I have thought it right to reject above, whereas I think that *akîtu* may possibly have come from *isinnu akîtu* by abbreviation, though this does not appear from the Sumerian material, where no *isinnu akîtu* occurs.



later period owing to the prominent place occupied by *bît akîtu* in the annual festival.

4. *akîtu* occurs alone (VATh 73, 7; VATh 77, 2; 35968, III 9; 81—7—27, 30, Obv. 8—9; 81—7—1, 9, II 27—33; Neb. EJIV 7—8; Neb. WBV 34—35; Neb. IR 65, III 7—17; BE 13420, 79—81; Pinches, Col. D 5—7; IVR\*33, III 53 f.). The investigation of these passages is of great importance, but presents many difficulties. In VATh 73,7 we may either translate “the *akîtu* road, Ib’s procession street<sup>1</sup>”, or “the road to [*bît*] *akîtu*, Ib’s procession street”, and in VATh 77, 2 we have also two alternatives, “the king’s *akîtu* road, Ib’s”, or “the king’s road to Ib’s [*bît*] *akîtu*.” The texts are in good order, even if we assume that we must insert a *bît* in both passages; from Sargon’s Pomp Inscription 140 we see that the language does not require *ana* in such cases. That such a *bît* may not only be implied, but may even be absolutely required, may be seen from several passages where *akîtu* occurs alone. In 81—7—27, 30, Obv. 8—9 *ûmu 17<sup>kam</sup> ilu<sup>sin</sup> i-ta-bi ina a-ki-it u-šab*, we see that Sin takes up his abode in *akîtu*, i. e. in *bît akîtu*, this cannot be doubted; and the correctness of this view is entirely corroborated by an inscription from Nabonassar’s reign<sup>2</sup> referring to the restoration of the *akîtu* temple to Ušur-amâtsu in Uruk, for here we read: *a-na a-ki-ti bîli-ša ha-diš ina e-ri-bi-ša*. BE 13420, 80—81 *<sup>il</sup>Bêl ištu it-ki-ti ana Ê-sag-ila ir-ru-um-ma* can therefore only be translated “B. went

<sup>1</sup> *Mûtaķu*, one of the technical designations of the procession street, cf. Neb. WB VII 46 *mu-tak bêlu rabû<sup>ilu</sup> marduk*, 50 *mu-tak aplu rubû<sup>ilu</sup> nabû*, and BE 7447, Obv. 9 *mu-tak<sup>il</sup> Nergal ša ha-di-e*; other designations are *mašdaķu* Neb. WBV 44. 50; EJ IV 1; Sarg. Ann. 303—4, in Babylon *ai-i-bur-ša-bu-um* Neb. EJ V 15. 45; VII 46; Nerigl. IR 67, II 17, or we have an expression such as *u-ru-uķ bît a-ki-ti* Sarg. PJ 14.

<sup>2</sup> Nies and Keiser, *Bab. Inscr.* II. No. 31, 14.

from [bît] *akîtu* to Esagila”<sup>1</sup>, and in Pinches, Col D 6 we must interpret *akîtu* in the same way in the passage ... *ana it-ki-tum du-u šarri* ... In this passage *dû šarri* is an apposition to *it-ki-tum*, and it is important to get to the bottom of the meaning of *dû* in order to understand how we are to interpret *it-ki-tum* here. In Neb. EJ III 57 we have *du-u parakkê ři-ir-bi-šu* (i. e. in Ezida in Borsippa), and in Neb. BE 21211, 2—4, we read: *e-zi-da bîtu ki-nim i-na ři-rib bar-zi-pa<sup>ki</sup> lu-u e-pu-uš du-'-u-um mu-ša-ab<sup>ilu</sup> na-bi-um* ... *pa-pa-ři be-lu-ti-šu* ... *ki-ma řa-di-i lu-u e-ir-ti-e*. I cannot agree with Langdon in his translation “Postament”<sup>2</sup>; in this last passage *papařu* is appositional to *dû*, and in the syllabarium IIR35, I 16 we have *di-'|pa-rak-ku*, so that in EJ III 57 we must interpret *dû* as part of or identical with *parakku*. If now we adduce VAT 7849, IV 6. 7. 10 *a-na* (or *ina*) *dê bît a-ki-tum êrum-ma* as a parallel to the passage in Pinches, we see in the first place that *dû* must be a room, a chamber, the holy of holies in *bît akîtu*<sup>3</sup>, and further that there is an overwhelming probability that we are to imply a *bît* in the passage in Pinches, thus ... *ana [bît] it-ki-tum du-u šarri* ... — The passage in IVR\* 33, III 53 f. mentioned above in pp. 24, 31<sup>2</sup> is very peculiar. The context expresses that the king of the country who

<sup>1</sup> Weissbach, *BM*, p. 38 who has not observed this, has to resort to the following translation “B. zieht von der Procession in E. ein”, but this interpretation is contradicted by all other passages in which *akîtu* occurs, thus cf. 81—7—27, 30, Obv. 8—9 above p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> *VAB*, IV. p. 326.

<sup>3</sup> The word *dû*, *di'u* is originally Sumerian < *dul*, “to cover, conceal, protect” (cf. *andul*, “shadow”; *udul*, “shepherd”). In Semitic it has assumed various senses (cf. *AV* 2032, 1954), the most frequent of which are *šubtu*, *kalâmu*, *ašâbu*. *HWB*, p. 207 a “Göttergemach, abgeschlossener Raum innerhalb eines Tempels” covers the sense of the word better than “Postament”.

builds a temple (*bît-il ibne*) in the month of Arahšamna or *lū a-ki-tum ana ili iškun*, commits a bad act (literally "his heart, his inner man, is not good"). The passage cannot be translated "who celebrates an *akîtu* festival in honour of the god", for in such cases the verb *epêšu* is generally used<sup>1</sup>, but this translation would also be contrary to everything we know about the date of the *akîtu* festival. The verb *šakânu* is not generally used when building operations are mentioned, but we have hardly any possibility left but to explain the expression here as a repetition of *bît-il ibne* just above (first an ordinary temple is referred to, and then the temple of the *akîtu* festival). Thus we have probably here one more passage in which *bît* has been omitted<sup>2</sup> as in 81—7—27, 30; BE 13420; the Pinches text, and several others mentioned above. On the other hand, in order to make sense, there seems to be no reason to translate [*bît*] *akîtu* in IVR\* 33 as "festival temple" (instead of "akîtu temple"), as Landsberger does<sup>3</sup>, on the assumption that *akîtu* must here mean "festival" in general; the contents of the passage may be quite naturally understood as rising to a climax: in the month of Arahšamna the king should not begin the erection of a(n ordinary) temple, much less of an *akîtu* temple. — If now we return to the two passages in the Babylonian purchase deeds from Dilbat (VATh 73 and 77), we perceive that here, too, we have the possibility that a *bît* may have been omitted before *a-ki-tum*. It is also worth considering whether *bît* must not be regarded as a determina-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e. g. Nabon. Ann. III 8 *isinnu a-ki-tu ki šal-mu ep-šu*; the passage in Gilgameš, XI 75 (p. 24) is founded on conjecture.

<sup>2</sup> Also Landsberger, *KK*, p. 13<sup>5</sup>, though he gives another reason.

<sup>3</sup> *KK*, p. 13<sup>5</sup>.

tive<sup>1</sup> in all the passages in our texts in which it occurs in the connection *bît akîtu* (Ašurb. Ann. (Rassam Cyl.) X 24 f.; Morg. II 22, 3; the building inscription from Assur, *MDOG*, XXXIII. p. 19; VAT 7849, IV 6. 7. 10; K. 891, Obv. 7; K. 822, Obv. 9—12; K. 1234, Obv. 7—10; K. 1356, Obv. 2; K. 2674, Rev. I 18. 23; K. 2711, Rev. 20. 29; Sm 671, catch-line; 81—4—28, 3+4, II 47 ff., and Babylon D. see p. 26). Thus it would clear up the syntax in K. 891, Obv. 7, if we here read *bît-a-kit-su* instead of *bît-a-kit-su*. Further, on this assumption we should be able to explain the omission of *bît* before *akîtu* in the above-mentioned passages. In that case we must, however, assume that *akîtu* can only mean one thing, i. e. be a proper name in this place, for determinatives are not generally omitted in Assyrian. But the development of the language in this case will always remain a problem, since we have *akîtu* sometimes in the sense of “the *akîtu* festival” and sometimes in the sense of “the *akîtu* temple”. That *bît* may be omitted at a later period (though it occurs invariably in the Ammizaduga texts), may be plainly seen in the Nabonidus text 81—4—28, 3+4, II 47 ff., in which the variant of *si-ḫi-ir-ti bît a-ki-it* is *si-ḫi-ir a-ki-it*. Landsberger’s explanation<sup>2</sup>, that the name of the temple was not originally *bît akîtu* but *akîtu*, is not very probable, partly owing to the evidence of the Ammizaduga letters, and partly because this view is based on his incorrect reading of one of the Sumerian Ur texts (Legr. No. 21)<sup>3</sup>. From the earliest Sumerian times the names of temples are almost without exception preceded by an *E* (*bît*).

<sup>1</sup> Similarly Behrens, *ABBr.* p. 33; Landsberger, *KK*, p. 12<sup>4</sup>; Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* p. 86<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *KK*, p. 12<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See above pp. 18—19.

We have still some difficult passages left in which *akitu* occurs alone. In Neb. EJ IV 7—13 we read: *bît-niķî a-ki-ti ŝi-ir-ti ŝa<sup>itu</sup> en-lil ilâni marduk ŝi-kin ħi-da-a-ti u ri-ša-a-ti ... ŝa-da-ni-iš e-ir-te*. In this passage Langdon<sup>1</sup> interprets *akitu* as a proper name and translates it “das erhabene Neujahrsfest”. The passage mentions a *bît-niķî*, an abode (*ŝi-kin*) of rejoicing and exultation which Nebuchadnezzar builds up as high as the mountains. However, there is also the possibility that *a-ki-ti ŝi-ir-ti* with *bît* omitted might be appositional to *bît-niķî*, for from the passages in Neb. WBV 31—48 and Pinches, Col. D 1—14, it appears that *bît-niķî* and *bît akitu* are identical, on which subject see further below in Chapter III B. 7. 3. We cannot, however, say anything decisive about the passage in EJ, since in Neb. WBV 34—36, we have a form parallel with the expression used in this text, *a-na i-si-nu tar-ba-a-tim a-ki-ta-šu ŝi-ir-ti u-ša-aš-di-ih-ma*. Here as in 35968, III 9 and in the interesting passage in Neb. IR 65, III 7—8 ... *i-si-na-a-ti-šu-nu da-am-ga-a-tim a-ki-su-nu ra-be-tim ...*, in which *akitu* in the singular is co-ordinated with *isinâti* in the plural, we quite clearly see the use of *akitu* as a proper name. — Very difficult is the long passage in Nabon. 81—7—1, 9, II 27—34 (see p. 25). Here the king says that at *zag-muk ri-eš ŝat-ti i-sin-nu a-ki-it* he is going to sacrifice to Marduk, Zarpanitum, Nabu, and Nergal *u ilâni gi-mir-šu-nu a-šib ma-ħir-tam a-ki-it ŝa ŝarri*. Langdon has the translation<sup>2</sup>: “welche sitzen angesichts des Festes des Königs”, but I hardly think that either *maħirtu* or *akitu* are correctly interpreted. The first word we have in various senses, viz. 1) *e-lip ma-ħi-ir-tum* (Brünnow 4506;

<sup>1</sup> VAB, IV. p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> VAB, IV. p. 235.

AV 4963), to which probably belongs the plural *maḥ-rat elippi* which comes immediately after *sik-kat elippi* in the Assyrian ship vocabulary<sup>1</sup>. 2) *ma-ḥi-ir-tum|saniḫ-tum*, “door”<sup>2</sup>. 3) In the compound *e-kal ma-ḥir-ti* (IR 44, 85), *ēkal ma-ḥir-ti* (Esarh. NJ IV 49)<sup>3</sup>. In P. Jensen’s opinion<sup>4</sup> this latter expression means “Vorderpalast” in contrast to *ēkal kutalli*, but in Sennacherib’s Nebi Yūnus Inscription (IR 43—44) *ēkal maḥirti* is also called *ēkal kutalli*<sup>5</sup>. From the Esarhaddon inscription we see that *ēkal maḥirti* was used as an armory and treasure chamber, hence Meissner-Rost suggests the translation “Vorrathspalast”<sup>6</sup>. — In the passage from Nabonidus mentioned above *ma-ḥir-tam a-ki-it* must probably belong together, more exactly defined as the king’s (*ša šarri*), because we cannot interpret *maḥirtam* prepositionally and parallel e. g. with *ma-ḥar* in l. 27. The whole passage is, however, very obscure, the definition *ša šarri* is unusual and does not aid us in understanding the passage, and *a-šib* connected directly with *ma-ḥir-tam a-ki-it*, which otherwise we only know from such connections as *ēkal maḥirti*, is also peculiar. Even if, as warranted in some degree by our investigations above, we put *a-ki-it* = <sup>*bīt*</sup>*a-ki-it*, it is very uncertain whether we can translate: “(the gods) sitting in the front part of *bīt akītu*”, and then take this front part to be more exactly defined as the king’s. However, it is at any rate a provisional possibility which other textual evi-

<sup>1</sup> HWB, p. 403 b.

<sup>2</sup> Muss-Arnolt, p. 531 b.

<sup>3</sup> An expression of a similar character is *abar ma-ḥi-ir-tim*, Nergl. Ripley Cyl. II 8.

<sup>4</sup> ZA, IX. p. 129.

<sup>5</sup> Meissner-Rost, BA, III. p. 210.

<sup>6</sup> BA, III. p. 210.

dence may perhaps one day corroborate or invalidate. — We may then briefly summarize the results of our enquiry concerning *akîtu* when it occurs alone as follows: — In one passage we have undoubtedly a proper name, but in the greater part of the cases *akîtu* is identical with *bît akîtu*; three or four passages are doubtful, so that we cannot say for certain whether *akîtu* = *bît akîtu* or whether it must be interpreted as a proper name.

In the above semasiological investigation of *akîtu* we have several times rejected explanations advanced by other scholars. The word has had a hard fate in Assyriological research, partly because scholars were convinced that its etymology could be determined on the basis of Semitic parallels, and partly because they attempted to translate it. Most of the semasiological attempts interpret *akîtu* as a word for “festival”; thus Peiser (1889) translates *ḥarrân ša a-ki-tum* as “Feststrasse”<sup>1</sup>, Schrader (1892) translates *i-sin-nu a-ki-tam* as “ein isinnu Fest” or “Festfeier”<sup>2</sup>, and Langdon (1912) translates *akîtu* by “festival”<sup>3</sup>. Behrens (1906) tried to prove this sense of “festival in general” from his study of the vocabulary K. 6012 + K. 10684, which he considered supported by IVR\* 33 and by the passage in 81—7—27, 30 referring to the Sin festival at Harran<sup>4</sup>. He correctly observed that *bît* may be omitted, may perhaps even be a determinative, but from this he drew the premature conclusion that hence *akîtu* must mean “Festfeier”. We have pointed out above (p. 34) that we cannot reject the possibility that the expression *bît akîtu* at some (probably very late) period obtained the sense “festival temple”, but nothing in all

<sup>1</sup> KAS, p. 49, 5.

<sup>2</sup> KB, III 2. pp. 133, 131.

<sup>3</sup> VAB, IV. p. 235.

<sup>4</sup> ABBr. pp. 11—12, 32—33.

the material adduced warrants the conclusion that hence *akitu*, when it occurs alone, originally meant "festival". We have such a number of passages in which *akitu* or its compounds unquestionably refer to a particular festival that we have no reason for such an assumption. Streck (1905) points out<sup>1</sup> that *akitu* originally meant "Neujahrsfest" but subsequently became an appellation for the chief festival of any deity. He suggests the following senses: "eine mit einer Prozession verbundene Feier", "Hauptfest für die betreffende Gottheit", and further, in 1916<sup>2</sup>, "Festfeier überhaupt". This view is adopted by Landsberger<sup>3</sup>, whose remarks on *akitu* are otherwise confusing and contradictory<sup>4</sup>, amongst other things he rejects the translation "Neujahrsfest"<sup>5</sup> without giving any reason, though he points out that perhaps every city had one such festival once a year. —

Contrary to these scholars we must emphasize that the material here adduced hardly seems to us capable of the interpretation suggested by them without compulsion. In our opinion it can only be interpreted as follows: *akitu* both in compounds and alone must everywhere be understood as a proper name derived from the Sumerian language, and its literal sense eludes even our most assiduous researches. If, however, we must needs translate the word, it seems to us warrantable, when we consider *akitu*'s identity with *zagnuku* (see pp. 6—7, 13, 27) and the celebration of the festival in Nisan, the first month of the year (see

<sup>1</sup> *OLZ* 1905, pp. 375—381.

<sup>2</sup> *VAB*, VII<sup>2</sup>, p. 82<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *KK*, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> In spite of his rejection of Behrens' translation "festival", he translates *a-ki-tum* by "festival house" in IVR\*33, see p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> Keineswegs aber ist das Wort, wie früher üblich, mit "Neujahrsfest" wiederzugeben (*KK*, p. 13).



pp. 27—31), to interpret the *akitu* festival as the Assyro-Babylonian “New Year’s Feast”, if only we realize that such a translation neither etymologically nor semasiologically covers the original sense of the word *akitu* which is quite unknown to us.

In *Rituels Accadiens* (1921) Thureau-Dangin opposes this assumption: *Cependant l’akitu n’avait pas toujours, semble-t-il, le caractère d’une fête du nouvel an; car il est très probable, comme nous le verrons (ci-dessous, pp. 111 sqq.), que l’akitu d’Ištar de Ninive avait lieu au mois de Tēbêt, et celle d’Ištar d’Arbèles au mois d’Ab.*<sup>1</sup> We shall examine more closely what might favour such a conjecture. Thureau-Dangin points out that our texts give us no means of dating the Ištar festival at Uruk (cf. AO 7439), whereas we can fix the dates of the festivals for Ištar Niniveh and Ištar Arba-ilu. In *Ašurb. Ann.* (Rassam Cyl.) X 24 ff. we hear of the festival to Ninlil (i. e. Ištar at Niniveh), and that on this occasion the king *e-pu-šu a-di*<sup>2</sup> *ilâni*<sup>mes</sup> *bît-a-ki-ût*<sup>3</sup>. The month in which this takes place is not indicated, but Thureau-Dangin has called attention to a text referring to a Ninlil festival at Niniveh, K. 1286, in which we read *Obv. 10 ff. ûmu 16<sup>kam</sup> ša arah<sup>h</sup>tebêti e-ra-ša e-maš [-maš t]a-nam-ma-ra [<sup>d</sup>Nin-lil] tu-ša-a be-lit mâti*. Here we are told how the gods rejoice at her departure in procession, *a-na ašê-ša ša <sup>d</sup>Be-lit Ninua<sup>ki</sup> e-reš-šu kal ilâni<sup>pl</sup>*, and how Ašurbanipal takes part in it. About this passage Thureau-Dangin remarks: *la déesse sortait de son temple pour une procession, qui paraît bien être celle de l’akitu*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Rit.* p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> “Ceremonies”, cf. Streck, *VAB*, VII<sub>2</sub>. p. 82<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 15<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *Rit.* p. 112.

To this we must, however, object that precisely this exceptional date, the sixteenth day of the month of ʾEḫēt, excites our just doubts, since otherwise during the Assyro-Babylonian period we always find the akītu festival mentioned in connection with Nisan. This raises the question whether processions, "the egress of the gods" from the temples, only took place at the akītu festival, or do we find in the Assyro-Babylonian literature any reference to processions that are independent of the great annual festival? We consider ourselves entitled to answer the latter question in the affirmative. In the first place we have some curious passages in the so-called Babylonian Chronicle (84—2—11, 356); we read in III 28—29 *šattu VIII(kan) šarru ina Babīli [la išû] (araḥ) Dûzu ûmu III (kan) ilâni šu-pur Uruk ištu Iridu ana Uruk iribû*, and in IV 34—36 we have the same use of the verb *ašû* as in K. 1286 and in numerous other texts, *šattu riš Šamaš-šum-ukîn ina (araḥ) Airu Bil u ilâni ša Akkadî ul-tu (maḥâzu) Aššur u-šu-nim-ma ina araḥ Airu . . . . ana Babīli irubû-ni*. The casual occurrence of these passages in the text, detached from all connection with the preceding or succeeding sentences, renders it very difficult to form any decisive opinion of these processions of the gods. A reference to IV 17—18, in which it is stated that Ištar from Agade leaves Elam (*ultu Ilamti illikû-nim-ma*) would seem to suggest that these passages merely allude to the bringing back of captured images of the gods.<sup>1</sup> Such a view is warrantable

<sup>1</sup> When images recaptured from foreign powers were brought home, this may perhaps have taken the form of a solemn procession. Cf. the hymn in IV R 20 No. 1, which describes Marduk's return from Elam. In Nabon. Ann. III 21—22, where the return of the images is referred to, the verb *târu* is used, but from this we can draw no decisive conclusion as our texts show a strong vacillation in the use of *târu*, *ašû*, and *alâku* in such cases.

from a consideration of IV 34—36, while the passage in III 28 f. more probably refers to processions of the gods between two adjacent cities, as we know them from Babylon and Borsippa. That the passage cannot refer to an *akitu* procession appears from the date assigned to the procession. But while these passages from 84—2—11, 356 do not furnish us with conclusive evidence as regards processions of the gods independent of the *akitu* festival, we have another series of passages which leaves us in no doubt that such processions frequently took place. Thus, in a text from Warka (Uruk), AO 6460, describing a nocturnal ceremony in honour of Anu we read Rev. 8 ff. (cf. also Obv. 2—3) *dPap-sukkal dNusku dŠa u dPisangunuqu it-ti gizillî ultu ub-šu-ukkin-na-ki ka-maḥ a-na su-u-qa uššû<sup>pl</sup>-nim-ma dPisangunuqu ina pa-ni-šu dPap-sukkal dNusku u dŠa it-ti-šu illa-ak<sup>pl</sup>-ma bîta ilammu-u iturru<sup>pl</sup>-nim-ma dPap-sukkal ina ka-maḥ dNusku ina ka-gal u dŠa ina ka-sag.* Evidence as indubitable as this of the processions of the gods is found in Nabon. Ann. III 10—12 *Adi kêt Ulûli ilâni ša mâtAkkadî<sup>ki</sup> ša eli šâri u šapli šâri ana Bâbili êrubû-ni ilâni ša Bar-sip<sup>ki</sup> Kûtû<sup>ki</sup> u Sip-par<sup>ki</sup> lâ êrubû-ni.* Other evidence occurs in the Gudea Cyl. A 18, 5—17, where the laying of a foundation stone is referred to, and in K. 629, Obv. 16; L<sup>4</sup> III 5—20<sup>1</sup>; AO 6459, Rev. 16—18 *ina namâri bâbu ippete-ma mêt<sup>pl</sup> qâtê<sup>II</sup> inaš-ši dAdad dSin dŠamaš dInurta dPisangunuqu dPap-sukkal dNusku dŠa u dAzag-su(g) itebbû<sup>pl</sup>-nim-ma ina kisalmaḥḥi a-na dAni itarra-aš ina kisalli ina muḥḥi šu-bat<sup>pl</sup> ušša-ab<sup>pl</sup>-ma,* further in VAT 9304, Obv. 3—10, where Ninkarrag's procession in Nippur is referred to. — To this indubitable evidence must be added various pic-

<sup>1</sup> See below Chapter III C.

torial representations of processions of gods, the chief of which are the alabaster bas-reliefs found in the north-west palace of Ašurnaširpal (885—60) at Nimrūd<sup>1</sup>. Here we see a fragment of a procession, four deities being carried each by four men<sup>2</sup>, first two goddesses seated one behind the other, then a smaller deity standing, and finally a standing god carrying a weapon (the thunderweapon? Perhaps it is Adad or the foreign god Tešub). Further we may mention the large rock sculpture from Malatia in the Anti-Taurus Mountains<sup>3</sup>, and Esarhaddon's stele from Sinjerli<sup>4</sup>. From the place in which the two latter bas-reliefs have been found we may perhaps consider it probable that what they represent has nothing to do with the Babylonian akītu festival, but even if it seems reasonable to assume that these pictures of processions derive their details from Hittite culture (cf. the rock sculptures from Boghaz-keui), the nucleus of the representations, the procession, is undoubtedly of Assyro-Babylonian origin. On the basis of the passages and pictorial representations here adduced I am therefore of opinion that we cannot with Thureau-Dangin conclude that the Ištar procession in Tebēt mentioned in K. 1286 is identical with the akītu procession, and I do not hesitate to add to the passages mentioned above (84—2—11, 356, III 28—29; AO 6460, Rev. 8 ff.; Gudea Cyl. A 18, 5—17; K. 629, Obv. 16; L<sup>4</sup> III 5—20; AO 6459, Rev. 16—18; VAT 9304, Obv. 3—10) the evidence in K. 1286 as a state-

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Layard, *The Monuments of Niniveh*, I. Lond. 1849, Pl. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Isa. 45, 20.

<sup>3</sup> V. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, III. Paris, 1867, Pl. 45.

<sup>4</sup> *Ausgrabungen in Sindschirli*, ausgeführt und hrsg. im Auftrage des Orient-Comités zu Berlin, I. Berl. 1893, p. 18 and Taf. I (*Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen*, XI.).

ment referring to processions independent of that of the *akītu* festival.

Thureau-Dangin's opening passage when he speaks of the festival of Ištar at Arba-ilu runs as follows: — *L'akītu* (i. e. the *akītu* temple) d'Ištar d'Arbèles était située à Milkia, localité probablement voisine d'Arbèles<sup>1</sup>, but this is saying more than we can vouch for. As mentioned above in pp. 21—22, in two Ašurb. texts, K. 891 and K. 2674, we see Ištar<sup>2</sup> as the central figure of an *akītu* festival at Milkia, but as yet we know nothing to show that this Ištar is identical with Ištar Arba-ilu. The festival of the latter is mentioned as follows in Ašurb. Ann. (Cyl. B) V 16 ff. *ina ar<sup>hu</sup>abi araḥ na-an-mur-ti kakkab ḫašti i-sin-ni šar-ra-ti ka-bit-ti mârât illu<sup>ellil</sup> a-na pa-laḥ ša rabiti aš-ba-ak ina alu<sup>arba</sup>arba-ilu al na-ram libbi<sup>bi</sup>-ša . . .*<sup>3</sup>; here I find it difficult to follow Thureau-Dangin: Cette fête du mois d'Ab était probablement la fête d'*akītu*<sup>4</sup>, for the festival of the queen of the gods (*i-sin-ni šar-ra-ti*) is expressly mentioned in connection with *araḥ na-an-mur-ti kakkab ḫašti*, and we hear nothing of the *akītu* festival. The reference is no doubt to an astral festival connected with particular astronomical conditions (cf. p. 22); *kakkab ḫašti*, "the bowstar"<sup>5</sup>, has its heliacal rising in the month of Ab, or abt. August 10th, at the time of Ašurbanipal, and the astro-mythological

<sup>1</sup> *Rit.* p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps *Kur-ru* or *Šat-ru* (see p. 21<sup>7</sup>) is Ištar's cultual name at Milkia (Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* p. 113) cf. Bu 89—4—26, 6, Obv. 1—3 *i-ši-a-ri illu<sup>ša</sup>at-ru illu<sup>ištar</sup> ultu alu<sup>mi</sup>il-ki-a ta-ḫar-ru-bu pa-an šarri te-e-rab.*

<sup>3</sup> Parallel passages are Ašurb. Ann. (Rassam Cyl.) IX 9—12 and K. 2652, Obv. 7—8.

<sup>4</sup> *Rit.* p. 114.

<sup>5</sup>  $\alpha$  in *Canis major*, name for Sirius (Kugler, *SS*, pp. 239, 248, 271 b).

connection of the star of Venus (Ištar) herewith<sup>1</sup> is no doubt the basis of the Ab festival at Arba-ilu. — Nor can I follow Thureau-Dangin when, after having pointed out that Ištar in K. 2049, 6 is mentioned as connected with the month of Ulûlu, he assumes that an Ištar akîtu festival in Ulûlu<sup>2</sup> is referred to in K. 2711, (one of Esarhaddon's building inscriptions which, as stated above on p. 22 mentions *bît akîtu* several times), because we read . . . . *ina (arah) Ulûli ûm XVII (KAN) . . . .* in Rev. 25. Above, where we cited the passages from K. 2711, I considered it probable that these must be referred to Milkia. True, our textual evidence of an akîtu festival there was undated, but here as in other passages where no month is given, we have assumed Nisan to be the month of the festival on account of the numerous passages from the same period attesting this. Now, the text in K. 2711 has come down to us in such a fragmentary condition that we cannot from the words in Rev. 25 gather what connection there is between the sacrificial supplies for *bît akîtu* mentioned in Rev. 29 and 32 and this dating. Our investigation above on pp. 27—29 of 35968, II 3—4, shows how cautious it is necessary to be even in the case of a well-preserved text. But as far as I understand K. 2711, Reverse, mention is here made partly of the (re)building of *bît akîtu* (Rev. 20), partly of supplies of sacrificial animals, wine, corn, etc. for the temple, but there is no reference to the celebration of a festival. — I am therefore of opinion that Thureau-Dangin's suggestion that there

<sup>1</sup> Cf. VR 46 No. 1, Obv. 23, where we read: *kakkabu BAN | ilu ištar bâbili* and Rm 2174, Obv. 15 *k. BAN il Iš-tar NIM-MA<sup>um</sup> mārāt il Bêl*. Thus both in Babylon, Elam, and Arba-ilu we have Ištar identified with *kakkab kašti*.

<sup>2</sup> *Rit.* p. 113<sup>3</sup>.

may have been an *akîtu* festival to Ištar at Niniveh and Arba-ilu in the months of Tebêt and Ab and Ulûlu respectively, is not sufficiently well founded to affect the above-stated result of our investigations concerning the date of the *akîtu* festival (pp. 30—31), or to make us hesitate to adopt the sense "New Year's Feast", if only, as previously emphasized, we remember that such a translation by no means expresses a knowledge of the original sense of the word *akîtu*.

## III

## A.

The investigations of the previous chapter gave us no insight into the actual nature of the *akitu* festival. By a closer examination of the two names *zagnuku* and *akitu*, by which the chief Babylonian cult festival was designated, we learned that these names could furnish no information as to the particular character of the festival, and at the same time we tried to show what the material permitted us to conclude about the two words from an etymological as well as a semasiological point of view. In this connection we saw that the *akitu* festival was celebrated in the month of Nisan throughout the later period of the Assyro-Babylonian culture, from which we possess abundant and detailed sources. Of features occurring over and over again in our quotations referring to the proceedings of the festival, we point out the mention made of Marduk's procession. Often a similar procession led by Nabu is referred to, as well as the ceremony which consisted in the king's seizing Marduk's hand. These are, however, merely details which can hardly give us any idea of the course or actual nature of the cult festival.

On the basis of all the texts at our disposal, (some of which were quoted above in connection with our enquiry into the exact sense of the word *akitu*), and by the aid of the material furnished by the excavations, we shall now



attempt to describe the course of the *akîtu* festival as it was celebrated in the city of Babylon. We know for certain that it was also celebrated in a great many other places. Thus we have seen in Chapter II that besides Marduk at Babylon several other deities had a *bît akîtu*, a fact which undoubtedly implies that they were central figures in an *akîtu* festival. We saw that this was the case with Aššur (Assur), Uraš (Dilbat), Sin (Harran), Bau and Ningirsu (Lagaš), Anu, Ištar, Ušur-amâtsu (Uruk), and Tašmet (?? locality uncertain), and further we know that the festival was celebrated in the Sumerian Ur, Nippur (?), and at Nineveh, the last Assyrian capital. But in the case of most of these deities and cities we are told little of the character and course of the festival, and indeed know so little beyond the mere fact that it was celebrated, that it will be impossible to describe the circumstances and ceremonies connected with it from any other place than Babylon. From the festival hemerology of this city there have probably been deviations due to local historical and religious conditions at the Mesopotamian cities above-mentioned, a fact of which we gain important knowledge from the detailed texts from Uruk. Babylon's cultural supremacy in Mesopotamia after 2000 B. C. may have been one of the causes which induced the surrounding cities to celebrate *akîtu* festivals<sup>1</sup> imitating that of Babylon during the later period, but we must remember that we have evidence dating as far back as the Sumerian time which attests the celebration of the *akîtu* festival independently of Babylon. Further we know that Marduk, the city god of Babylon, after his exaltation during the

<sup>1</sup> Each city god has his *akîtu* festival. Cf. on this an expression such as *ûm<sup>um</sup> il ali* in AO 6463, Obv. 21.

Hammurabi dynasty, took over the functions of other gods, thus e. g. the rôle of creator in *Enuma eliš*. Enlil and the festival to him at Nippur have formerly been pointed out as the possible basis of the Babylonian ritual, but it is more probable that the great Anu festival at Uruk was the prototype which furnished the ceremonial of the Babylonian *akītu* festival.<sup>1</sup> However, as regards our texts from Uruk we must note that they date from a very late period, probably from the time of the Seleucids<sup>2</sup>, so that it is possible that the ritual of Uruk may in the intervening period have been influenced by the Babylonian rites. Hence we are entitled to adduce our evidence from cities other than Babylon, partly as parallels to the texts from Babylon, partly as supplementary evidence in every case where it seems able to supply the missing link in order to reproduce the picture in its entirety. From Assur and Uruk our sources are somewhat ampler than from the rest of the cities above-mentioned, from which only scanty evidence exists, and they often aid us considerably in our investigation of many difficult points. For even though the material from Babylon is exceptionally rich compared with what has survived concerning other Babylonian festivals, and other cult festivals of Babylonia, Assyria, and Nearer Asia, yet the texts often fail us on important points owing to their fragmentary condition. In addition they are often difficult to understand as some of them (e. g. those concerning the ritual) have been intended for the use of the priesthood, who knew all about the main course of the

<sup>1</sup> Zimmern, *ZBN*, II. p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> During which time Anu, Antu, and Ištar were the chief gods of the city, cf. Schroeder in *SBAW* 1916, No. 49, and Zimmern, *ZBN*, II. pp. 20–21 and in *ZA*, XXXIV. pp. 87–89.

festival and its religious significance beforehand, hence they often deal mainly with complicated ceremonies relating to libations and sacrifices, which are of no great interest.

To help us to understand the *akîtu* festival of Babylon we have various materials at our disposal. Thus we have the archæological excavations and discoveries from Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon made by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (1899—1917), which has published its results partly in its *Mitteilungen* and partly in its *Veröffentlichungen*. Further we have a series of texts, the most important of which we shall mention here. Of the profane texts the so-called inscriptions of the kings are by far the most essential, and among these especially such as originate from the four Neo-Babylonian kings, Nabopolassar (86—7—20, 1; BE 14940), Nebuchadnezzar (the East India House Inscription; the Wadi Brisa Inscription; the Grotfend Cylinder, IR 65; VR 34; 82—7—14, 1042; 85—4—30, 1, etc.), Neriglissar (IR 67; the Ripley Cylinder), and Nabonidus (the Annals; the Stele; 81—4—28, 3+4; 81—7—1, 9). Of non-Babylonian inscriptions of kings we shall especially mention the Sumerian Gudea texts (particularly Statues D and E, and Cylinders A and B) besides the very important Sennacherib text K. 1356.

The sacred texts proper may be divided into three groups, viz. Ritual Texts, i. e. texts containing directions to the priests concerning the performance of ceremonies of a sacred nature, sacrifices at the *akîtu* festival, etc., or describing the external details of the festival (AO 5482; AO 6459; AO 6465; AO 7439; DT 15+DT 114+DT 109+MNB 1848; VATH 663; VAT 7849; VAT 9418; Pinches, Col. D). Liturgical Texts, i. e. hymns to the gods which are recited as part of the ritual during the performance of the

ceremonies at the akîtu festival. These texts are thus strictly speaking likewise ritual texts, and therefore we find such liturgical passages entering into these as a link in the directions (thus in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848). For practical purposes I have kept these texts distinct as a special group, amongst other things because they have come down to us merely as hymns, which to some extent diminishes their value for our understanding of the ritual. For as a rule the hymns merely contain praises of the deity in the most general terms, only in a very few cases we have allusions to the mythology or cult showing the connection of the hymns with the cult (K. 9876; BE 13420; AO 6461). The most important of all the liturgical texts is *Enuma eliš* (for further details see Chapter IV), which may also be called a *Cult Text*. By this name I designate my last group of religious texts, viz. the texts that have the character of commentaries, interpreting symbolically and mythologically cultual actions performed during the akîtu festival. (K. 1356; K. 3476; VAT 9555; Pinches, Col. A; cf. K. 4245; Sp I 131).

## B.

### a.

In order to obtain a clear idea of the purely external course of the akîtu festival we must begin by making ourselves thoroughly familiar with the topography of Babylon. On the basis of our evidence from the excavations and the texts we must try to determine the exact position of the localities around which and in which the various ceremonies of the annual festival were performed. The texts mention several temples and sacred parts of these (chapels, chambers), palaces, city gates, canals, and pro-

cession streets along and in which the *akitu* festival gradually unfolds itself in its entire course. It is often very difficult to form any clear idea of the various localities on the basis of the textual evidence alone, and therefore the great archaeological excavations at Babylon are not only a very valuable but also an absolutely necessary supplement if we wish to gain a tolerably clear notion of the extremely complicated conditions.

The first extensive excavations in Mesopotamia, which are indissolubly linked with the names of Paul Émile Botta and Sir Henry Layard and which began in 1843, took place within the district which has been shown by subsequent historical researches to have belonged to the Neo-Assyrian kingdom. About ten years later (July 1st 1851) a French expedition conducted by Fulgence Fresnel, Jules Oppert, and Félix Thomas was sent out for the purpose of making investigations and excavations in the city from which the entire culture of Mesopotamia took its name, the capital of the south of Mesopotamia since the year 2000 B. C., the city of Babylon. Three or four years activities here furnished the basis of that reconstruction of the topography of Babylon which was published by Oppert<sup>1</sup>, and which he had largely founded on the evidence of the inscriptions of the kings. In his plans the city walls have been sketched in, besides a series of details such as city gates, palaces, temples, canals, and streets. Valuable though these plans were, because they supplied a long-felt want and were founded on the personal inspection of the expedition of those mounds of ruins which had once constituted Babylon, they were nevertheless very unreliable.

<sup>1</sup> J. Oppert, *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie*, [Tables.] Paris, 1856.

The reason was that they were not primarily based on the systematic excavation of a series of details, but depended in most cases on the personal judgment of the enquirer, who relied in the main on the textual evidence. But this is often difficult to interpret from a topographical point of view. The excavations made on the same site by Hormuzd Rassam in 1880 were of no significance for the solution of the numerous problems of topographical nature raised by Oppert's plans. His excavations were of short duration, the chief result being a series of texts, mainly of a commercial character, while the topographical problems were not more closely investigated. The chief credit for the excavation of the ancient city is due to the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft under the leadership of R. Koldewey, W. Andrae, B. Meissner and others who, from 1899 till the work was interrupted by the military events of 1917, conducted the excavations with the greatest assiduity. These German scholars have done great service by their energetic work on a site of such importance as that of Babylon, which they found almost untouched when they began their operations. The chief results of their investigations are accessible to the public in the works mentioned above in p. 53, so that it is now possible to form a clear idea of the topography of Babylon.

Taking a retrospective view of the activities of the German expedition, which covered abt. eighteen years, we cannot but notice that the results are mainly restricted to one field. For while the explorations of the expedition have enabled us to understand the architectural history of the temples and palaces of Babylon, and we have gained an excellent view of the main parts of the topography of the city, the discovery of texts has been very scanty, and the

terracotta finds, chiefly from the Merkes, cannot well be compared with the extensive discoveries of texts and sculptures from the first days of the Assyrian excavations. This paucity of actual finds is as yet unexplained. If we take a brief survey of the various vicissitudes to which it was the hard fate of the city to be subjected, e. g. from its destruction by Sennacherib in 689 B. C. to its capture by Cyrus in 538 B. C., these do not alone seem able to account e. g. for the absence of the state archives of Nebuchadnezzar. Cities have been excavated, both in Assyria and Babylonia, of which we know that they have been totally destroyed when captured by the enemy, and yet, in various respects, we have made rich discoveries in such places.

The German expedition found the ruins of the once mighty metropolis covered by a series of mounds (see Plate I). In addition to the outer and inner city walls, the ruins covered by three of these (the Kaşr, the 'Amrân, and the Merkes) have in the main been excavated and uncovered, also part of "the red ridge" (Homera), and certain localities here and there within the domain of the city (Epa-*ṭut*ila, the temple of Ninib; the temple known as "Z"). The city with which we become acquainted by these excavations is throughout the Babylon of the Neo-Babylonian empire, Nabopolassar's and especially Nebuchadnezzar's capital, and we only find few and fragmentary remains from the period between Esarhaddon's restoration and the accession of Nabopolassar (681—625 B. C.), not to mention the Babylon from the period before Sennacherib. The capital seems to have suffered so much damage during its capture by Sennacherib (689 B. C.) and Aşurbanipal (648 B. C.) that the Neo-Babylonian kings had to rebuild it almost entirely, at any rate as

regards its temples, palaces, and other ornamental edifices. Drawing upon the knowledge gained by the above-mentioned excavations and the evidence afforded by the texts we shall now attempt to sketch a picture of Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon. We shall, however, restrict the more detailed substantiation of the facts and our discussion of the problems to those buildings and topographical particulars which are of special value to us in our enquiry concerning the great, annually returning, akîtu festival.

*β.*

Like every large city Babylon was fortified against the invasions of enemies even as far back as the period of the Hammurabi dynasty, and one of its chief means of protection was the city wall. The two walls *im-gur-<sup>ilu</sup>en-lil* (often merely called *dûru*) and *ni-mi-it-ti-<sup>ilu</sup>en-lil* (often called *šalhû*) which are so frequently referred to, meet where the Istar Gate is found. They have perhaps enclosed the main part of Hammurabi's Babylon. When Sennacherib captured the city, they were destroyed, but were rebuilt by Esarhaddon and Ašurbanipal, though only to be demolished again when the latter took the city in 648 B. C. Nebuchadnezzar and his father rebuilt the walls, making them higher than before; a great deal of the building material has, however, been used in modern times to build houses in the Bedouin village, Hilla, to the south of Babylon. But the German excavations have given us some idea of their considerable size and thickness. In EJ VIII 42—IX 44 Nebuchadnezzar has described his reconstruction of the walls, and we have an excellent supplement to this passage in an almost parallel text, the so-called Nimitti-



Bêl Cylinder, dating from the time of Ašurbanipal.<sup>1</sup> These two adjoining walls can hardly have been walls of enclosure in the usual sense of city walls, as an expression like *dâr bâbili<sup>ki</sup>* in EJ VIII 44 would seem to denote. More probably they have been two fortification walls running immediately beside one another to the south and the north on the *Ḳašr*. Perhaps Ingur-Bêl subsequently came to be the outermost defence of Nebuchadnezzar's Southern Palace, while Nimitti-Bêl seems originally to have been a kind of inner city wall in the time of Ašurbanipal. These problems are as yet unsolved. In 1904 Hommel<sup>2</sup> advanced the conjecture, on the basis of one of Esarhaddon's building inscriptions (Bu 88—5—12, 75 + 76, VI 34 ff.), that these walls enclosed Etemenanki and, in consequence, Esagila, within which Etemenanki must in his opinion be sought. We shall subsequently return to his hypothesis of the situation of Esagila, but must point out here that the results of the excavations are of such a nature that nothing supports this conjecture. The excavation of Esagila on the *Amrân*, and the situation of the walls on the *Ḳašr*, renders this beyond doubt. But further, a closer examination of the Esarhaddon passage will convince us that the words in line 34 *Im-gur-(il)Bêl dâra-šu*, 42—43 *Ni-mit-(il)Bêl šal-ḥu-šu*, cannot show that the suffix for the third person refers to Etemenanki in line 28. We need only adduce some passages from the Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions in which the same expressions occur in order to realize that *-šu*, here as there, can only refer to an implied *bâb-il<sup>ki</sup>*; thus we have identical passages in VR 34, I 17—18; 82—7—14, 1042, I 56—57; WB, B V 6—7 *im-gur-<sup>ilu</sup>en-lil u ni-mi-it-ti-<sup>ilu</sup>en-lil dârâni-šu*, where in lines 16, 54, and 4 we have *ba-bi-lam<sup>ki</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Published in *MDOG*, XI. and XIX.

<sup>2</sup> *GGAO*, p. 322, see also pp. 325 ff., 333, 336.

or *bâb-ili<sup>ki</sup>* as the subject of -*šu*, cf. also IR 52 No. 3, II 3—4; EJ IV 66—68 *im-gur-<sup>ilu</sup>en-lil u ni-mi-it-ti-<sup>ilu</sup>en-lil dârâni rabûti ša bâb-ili<sup>ki</sup>*. — The great expansion of Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar gradually necessitated the building of large defensive walls outside the original domain of the city, and *ina kamât bâbilam<sup>ki</sup>*, at the limits of the city, the king caused the north and south wall to be built, of which we find remains east of the Homera<sup>1</sup>, and later on the large outer city wall which has probably enclosed the entire domain of the city within a square. Only parts of this have been excavated here and there, but it seems that it also enclosed the mound of Bâbil where Nebuchadnezzar's third palace, (the Northern Palace), was built, and that it extended beyond the Euphrates, towards the west. Perhaps it was when this wall was built, that Imgur-Bêl and Nimitti-Bêl were reduced to the rôle of palace defences. — On the Arahtu Wall see below in *ε*.

γ.

The texts state that numerous gates in these great enclosing walls gave admission to the city. Our main source in this respect is the so-called Berlin topographical tablet, VATh 554, which, in addition to the walls and their gates, mentions Esagila and other sanctuaries. In this and other texts the larger gates are called *abullu*, the smaller ones *bâbu*, but though the texts referring to the gates are

<sup>1</sup> Neb. IR 65, II 5—6 (identical with Neb. 79—3—22, 1, I 14 and 79—2—1, 1, I 2) *in ka-ma-at ba-bi-lam<sup>ki</sup> dûri dannî ba-la-ar šit<sup>ilu</sup>šamši ba-bi-lam u-ša-aš-ĥi-ir*; in these passages *kamātu* means "limit of the city, environs, suburb, near neighbourhood", cf. Langdon, VAB, IV. p. 333 "Weichbild". I think, however, that *kamātu* was also the name of a district, a quarter of Babylon. — For the other senses of the word see Jensen, KB, VI.1. pp. 496 f. and Muss-Arnolt, s. v.

well preserved, it has only in some degree been possible to identify them during the excavations. One of them, the Ištar Gate, has been found and excavated on the centre east front of the mound of Ẓaṣr where Ingur-Bêl and Nimitti-Bêl meet. In the texts it is referred to as *ilu ištarsa-ki-pa-at-te-e-bi-ša*. It had two entrance ways and was often re-built by Nebuchadnezzar, amongst other things for the purpose of forming a thoroughfare for the procession street which we shall mention below, and was finally transformed into a regular fortification. On the Ištar Gate are seen the magnificent pictorial representations of bulls and dragons in coloured, glazed and enamelled bas-relief, which Nebuchadnezzar mentions in his inscriptions, e. g. EJ VI 4—7 *i-na a-gur-ri abnuukni elli-tim ša rîmê u mušruššû ba-nu-u ẓir-bu-uš-ša* (i. e. the Ištar Gate) *na-ak-li-iš u-še-piš*.<sup>1</sup> Of the other gates mentioned in the texts we must probably look for the Uraš and Šamaš gates to the south in the outer city wall, and the gate *ilu bêl-mukîn-šarrûtîšu* towards the east.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the Ištar Gate, the position of which the excavations have established, we are specially concerned with two other gates, the *bâbu ellu* and the *bâb bêlit*, but for a determination of their position we have only the texts to guide us. In WB VII 43—53 we read: *ištu ilu ištarsa-ki-pat-te-e-bi-šu a-di bâbu el-lu ilu ištarsa-lamassi-ummani-šu sulû rapšu mu-tak bêlu rabû ilu marduk ištu ik-kip-šu-na-ka-ar a-di ni-rib ilu nabû e-sag-ila ilu nabû-daian-ni-šî-šu sulû rapšu mu-tak aplu rubû ilu nabû tam-la-a zaḳ-ru u-ma-li-[ma] i-na ku-up-ru u a-gur-ru u-da-am-mi-iḳ*. Before we enter upon a further discussion of the topographical statements of this

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also I R 65, I 42—45 and V R 33, III 13.

<sup>2</sup> Weissbach, *SB*, p. 16.

passage, we must, however, quote the important passages from the East India House Inscription, V 12—20, in which Nebuchadnezzar describes the building operations of his father Nabopolassar in order to magnify his own in V 43—56. In EJ V 12—20 we read: *iš-tu du-azag ašar šimâti pa-ra-ak ši-ma-a-ti a-di ai-i-bur-ša-bu-um su-li-e bâb-ilî<sup>ki</sup> mi-iḫ-ra-at bâb bêlit in libitti <sup>abnu</sup>dur-mi-na-ban-da ma-aš-da-ḫa bêli rabî <sup>ilu</sup>marduk u-ba-an-na-a ta-al-lak-ti* and in V 43—56 *i-na libitti <sup>abnu</sup>dur-mi-na-ban-da u libitti <sup>abnu</sup>ši-ti-ik šadi-i ai-i-bu-ur-ša-bu-u iš-tu bâb el-la a-di <sup>ilu</sup>ištar-sa-ki-pa-at-te-e-bi-ša a-na ma-aš-da-ḫa i-lu-ti-šu u-da-am-mi-iḫ-ma it-ti ša a-bi i-pu-šu e-is-ni-iḫ-ma u-ba-an-na-a ta-al-la-ak-ti <sup>ilu</sup>ištar-sa-ki-pa-at-te-e-bi-ša*. If now we compare these three passages, which contain the only information we have of the above-mentioned two gates, we shall understand the words of the Wadi Brisa Inscription which are not quite clear in themselves. From this inscription we see that two procession streets have been repaired, one for Marduk and one for Nabu. The former extends from the Istar Gate to *bâbu ellu* which is mentioned by its real name, *<sup>ilu</sup>ištar-lamassi-ummanišu*. For this cannot be the name of Marduk's procession street in spite of the fact that the words immediately following about Nabu's street, which is called *<sup>ilu</sup>nabû-daijan-nišišu*, are syntactically in exactly the same position as *<sup>ilu</sup>ištar-lamassi-ummanišu* in the preceding sentence. For from the passages in EJ we see that Marduk's procession street which lies in the same place<sup>1</sup>, and which has been excavated on the Kaşr with simultaneous discovery of building inscriptions<sup>2</sup>, was called Aiburšabu. Consequently we are justified in interpreting *<sup>ilu</sup>ištar-lamassi-ummanišu* as

<sup>1</sup> Cf. EJ V 43—56.

<sup>2</sup> Published in WVD OG, II.

an apposition to *bâbu ellu*, and not as a name for *sulû rapšu*. The lack of parallelism in the descriptions of the two procession streets appears from the fact that *ik-kip-šu-na-ka-ar* is not a gate but probably a street in the southern quarter of the city.<sup>1</sup> — Thus we see from the Wadi Brisa passage that Marduk's procession street extended from the Ištar Gate to *bâbu ellu*, but the question is whether *bâbu ellu* was north or south of the Ištar Gate, and the passages in EJ give us no answer to this. They refer to the restoration by the father and son of Aiburšabu, Nabopolassar having restored the part running from Du-azag to the part near *bâb bêlit*. Nebuchadnezzar then restored the street from *bâbu ellu* to the Ištar Gate. But we cannot from these statements alone learn anything about the position of the two gates above referred to. As we shall subsequently see it is probable that Aiburšabu stretched from Esagila to the Marduk Canal north of the Ẓaṣr in the direction east-west and then south to north, but from our passages we only learn that four important points in the procession street were *bâbu ellu*, *bâb bêlit*, the Ištar Gate, and Du-azag. Of these points of orientation we only know the position of the Ištar Gate. If *bâb bêlit* was the gate to the E-maḥ temple<sup>2</sup>, we should be warranted in seeking Du-azag north of the Ištar Gate and *bâbu ellu* south of it, perhaps near Esagila. It might even be one of the gates of that temple. But what is here conjectured from the name *bâb bêlit* as regards the position of the gate near

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps lying near the gate *abullu ina kip-šu-na(?) -kar*, which is mentioned in VATh 554, Obv. II 5; I consider it impossible to look for this as the northernmost of Imgur-Bêl's eastern gates (Hommel, *GGAO*, pp. 327<sup>2</sup>, 329<sup>3</sup>), even if we identify the *ina-kip-šu-na-kar* (gate) with the *ik-kip-šu-na-ka-ar* (gate) of the Wadi Brisa Inscription.

<sup>2</sup> As conjectured by Langdon, *VAB*, IV. p. 131<sup>3</sup>.

Emah, is not confirmed e. g. by the position of the Bêl Gate far from Esagila (see p. 61). Further, we must bear in mind the possibility which the name itself, "the gate of the queen of the gods", seems to suggest, that *bâb bêlit* was the same as the Istar Gate. That would leave us where we were, and all now depends on the position of Du-azag. We shall soon examine this problem more closely, but we cannot insert our enquiry here in order to settle the point, as it is one of the most complicated problems in the topography of Babylon's sacred buildings. Our subsequent investigation of the topographical conditions of the procession street will clear up these questions.<sup>1</sup> Hommel<sup>2</sup> adduces a badly preserved passage in the Kassite king Agum-kakrimi's inscription, VR 33, V 37, in which a *KA.SU.ŠI* is referred to, through which (?) the king proceeds to *pa-pa-ḥa-at* <sup>ilu</sup>*marduk* (in Esagila?), thereupon he compares *bâb šalummati* with *bâbu ellu*, and finally says: — Mit *bâb el-la* 'glänzendes Tor' ist vielleicht geradezu Esagilla (pars pro toto) gemeint, wie ja auch der Name der ganzen Stadt, *Ka-dingir-ra* (*Bâb-ili*) schliesslich die gleiche Vorstellung enthält, but in so doing he has proceeded so far on to the insecure ground of hypothesis that others will scarcely venture to follow him. Weissbach suggests<sup>3</sup> that *bâbu ellu* may have belonged to Imgur-Bêl or to the palaces, but gives no reason for his suggestion. It might also be supposed that *bâbu ellu*, Sumerian \**ka-azag*, was to be sought by or in Du-azag, but the passages in EJV above seem to

<sup>1</sup> What is mentioned in VAT 9555, Obv. 20 *ina isu<sup>u</sup>tal-li ša ilu<sup>u</sup>be-lit bâbili* . . . has nothing to do with *bâb bêlit*, probably it is a locality somewhere in Esagila.

<sup>2</sup> *GGAO*, pp. 310 and note 2, 329.

<sup>3</sup> *SB*, pp. 16—17.

argue against such a conjecture. Here we read Nebuchadnezzar's statement that he had joined the part of the procession street which he had restored, on to his father's piece, *it-ti ša a-bi i-pu-šu e-is-ni-iḫ-ma*, from which it seems to me tolerably certain that Du-azag and *bābu ellu* must denote the two opposite termini of the procession street.

δ.

As regards the royal palaces of Babylon it is probable that the old palace was from very early times situated within the part enclosed by Imgur-Bêl and Nimitti-Bêl, but it results from the nature of the case that the conquering Assyrian kings (Sennacherib, Ašurbanipal) directed their most violent attacks against this part, thus Šamaš-šum-ukîn met his death in his burning palace. Nabopolassar built a palace in the same place or, more exactly stated, in the part called *iršit bâbili*, extending on the *Ḳaṣr* from the Euphrates to Aiburšabu (east), from Imgur-Bêl (north) to the canal Libilḫegalla (south), but the inundations of the unreliable Euphrates seem to have destroyed it<sup>1</sup>. Nebuchadnezzar rebuilt it of more solid material, the remains of which have now been excavated. This Southern Palace was divided into two sections, a smaller western part, and a larger eastern part. However, besides restoring his father's palace Nebuchadnezzar wished to build a palace for himself, and he tells us of this in the East India House Inscription, VIII 27—58 which reads as follows: *i-na bâb-ili<sup>ki</sup> ku-um-mu mu-ša-bi-ia a-na si-ma-at šar-ru-ti-ia la šu-um-ša aš-šum pu-lu-uḫ-ti<sup>itu</sup> marduk bêli-ia ba-šu-u li-ib-bu-u-a i-na bâb-ili<sup>ki</sup> maḫâzi ni-ši-ir-ti-šu a-na šu-un-du-lam šu-ba-at šar-ru-ti-ia su-uḫ-šu la e-nim parakki-šu*

<sup>1</sup> EJ VII 34—VIII 18.

la u-ni-iš pa-la-ga-šu la e-is-ki-ir ku-um-mu ra-ap-ši-iš aš-te<sup>2</sup>-e-ma aš-šum ga-an ta-ḥa-zi a-na im-gur-<sup>ilu</sup>en-lil dūr bâbili<sup>ki</sup> la ṭa-ḥi-e 490 am-ma-at ga-ga-ri i-ta-at ni-mi-it-ti-<sup>ilu</sup>en-lil ša-al-ḥi-e bâb-ili<sup>ki</sup> a-na ki-da-a-nim 2 ka-a-ri dannû-fim i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri dūra ša-da-ni-iš e-pu-uš-ma i-na bi-e-ri-šu-nu bi-ti-ik a-gur-ri e-ip-ti-ik-ma i-na ri-e-ši-šu ku-um-mu ra-ba-a a-na šu-ba-at šar-ru-ti-ia i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri ša-ḫi-iš e-pu-uš-ma it-ti e-gal abi u-ra-ad-di-ma. We see from this that this new palace meant an extension of the restored Southern Palace, on to which it was joined, and a glance at the Kašr will show us that such an extension could only be made in the part north of Imgur-Bêl. And even there the space was limited, by the Euphrates on the west, by the Marduk Canal on the north, and on the east by Aiburšabu, but within these boundaries the new palace was built as has been shown by the excavations. In addition to the Marduk Canal and Aiburšabu Marduk's *parakku* is mentioned as another obstacle to Nebuchadnezzar's plans of extension on the north side of the Kašr. Both Weissbach and Hommel identify this with *parak šimâti*, Du-azag, but while the former places it as an independent sanctuary at the spot where Aiburšabu intersects the Marduk Canal to the north<sup>1</sup>, the latter interprets it as a *pars pro toto* term for Esagila<sup>2</sup> in which *parak šimâti* is situated according to some texts, one of Hommel's many arguments to prove that Esagila was situated on the Kašr. We shall subsequently discuss these theories in more detail. — A third palace was built by Nebuchadnezzar in the northern part<sup>3</sup> where the mound

<sup>1</sup> *SB*, pp. 18, 24.

<sup>2</sup> *GGAO*, p. 333.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 85—4—30, 1, III 11—29.



of Bâbil lies, the scanty excavations here have brought to light building inscriptions which render this beyond doubt. On the other hand no palaces for the individual members of the royal family have been discovered during the excavations.

ε.

Before we proceed to the closer investigation of the important question of the temples and the chapels in these sanctuaries we will briefly review what we know of the streets, canals, and various quarters of Babylon. Chief among all the streets, not only in connection with our subject, but also because it is the only one of which we have detailed evidence both from the texts and the excavations, is the so-called Procession Street of Marduk. Along this the religious processions at the great *akitu* festival in the month of Nisan were conducted, with Marduk and the king at the head of them. Its sacred designation was *mašdaḥu* or *mûtaḥu*<sup>1</sup>, we also meet with profane names such as *sûḫu* (e. g. EJ VIII 37) and *sulû*; its name was *ai-i-bur-ša-bu-um*. Arguing from the passages in EJ V and WB VII mentioned above (pp. 61—62) both Hommel<sup>2</sup> and Weissbach draw the conclusion that only part of the procession street was called Aiburšabu. The former thinks it was the part north of the Istar Gate, while the latter<sup>3</sup> thinks that the part between this gate and *bâbu ellu* was called *ilu-istar-lamassi-ummanišu*. Above on pp. 62—63 we rejected this explanation arguing from EJ V 43—56, where it is expressly stated that the part between the Istar Gate and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 35<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *GGAO*, p. 329.

<sup>3</sup> *SB*, p. 27.

*bâbu ellu* is called Aiburšabu. But we pointed out at the same time that for the present we were unable to determine more exactly the topographical position of the various points of the procession street. We must therefore go to other passages referring to the position and extent of the procession street before we can express an opinion, for in EJ V 12—20, 38—56 we only hear of two parts of the procession street built by Nebuchadnezzar and Nabopolassar which meet at the Ištār Gate, but from this we can determine nothing as to the northerly or southerly direction of these parts.

We learn nothing from the passages in EJ VII 34 ff. and the parallel passage in the Neriglissar inscription IR 67, II 16—22, where the boundaries of the quarter called *iršit bâbili<sup>ki</sup>* are defined or from EJ VIII 31—41, in which Nebuchadnezzar describes the building of the new palace. But two interesting passages in the Wadi Brisa Inscription supply valuable information of the further course of the procession street. In V 31—48 we read: *i-na zak-mu-kam reš šatti ilu marduk ilâni ki-ir-ba-šu u-še-ši-im-ma a-na i-si-nu tar-ba-a-tim a-ki-ta-šu ši-ir-ti u-ša-aš-di-iḥ-ma i-na isuelippu rukub Ku el-li-ti ilu marduk [us]-si-im-ma ka-ar [šam-ri]-iš a-ra-aḥ-ti i-[ka-]ab-bi-is bît-niḫê a-na e-ri-bi bêt ilâni ša-ku-um bêt bêtê iš-tu ma-ka-al-li-e isuelippi rukub Ku a-di bît-niḫê ma-aš-[da-ḥi]-i bêlu rabû ilu marduk up-pa-ti . . . . ši-ib . . . . nu-uḥ-šu im-nim u [šu-me-] lu isuašuhû ši-ḥu-ti aš-tak-kan-[šu]-ma. From this we see that part of the procession street led from the wall of the Araḥtu Canal, from the landing stage of the ship Ku in which Marduk sailed at the akîtu festival, to *bît-niḫê*. Another part of the procession street is mentioned in WB VII 54—63 *li-bi-il-ḥe-gal-la palgu šit ilu šamši<sup>1</sup> bâbili<sup>ki</sup> [ša] iš-tu [û-um]**

<sup>1</sup> Cf. EJ VII 43—44; IR 67, II 6—7.

*ri-e-ku-* [tu in-na-mu-u] *a-ša-* [ar-] *šu aš-* [te<sup>2</sup>e-ma] *i-na ku-up-ru* [u a-gur-ru] *ab-na-a* [su-uk-ki-šu] *i-na ai-* [i-bur-ša-bu-um] *su-li-e* [bâb-ili<sup>ki</sup>] *a-na ma-aš-da-ḥu* [bêlu rabû <sup>ilu</sup>mar-duk] *ti-tu-ur-ru* [palgi ak-zur]; the much broken text is vouched for by the parallel text in IR 52 No. 4, I 11—II 12, from which we further learn that the canal Libilḥegalla stretches *ul-tu kišad nâru puratti a-di ai-i-bu-ur-ša-bu-um* (I 21—22). From the latter statement we see that south of the Ištar Gate the procession street led across Libilḥegalla over a bridge built across it. From here it must have been continued towards Esagila which was probably reached by a special larger by-road; this is entirely beyond doubt, for from BE 13420 we see that the procession street extends between Esagila and *bît-niḫê*<sup>1</sup>.

This was mentioned in WB V 31—48, but in order to obtain a clearer view of the conditions, we must ascertain the position of the Araḫtu Wall. This wall is mentioned in several passages, e. g. EJ V 5—11. Our most important information we obtain from WB, B VI 46—64 and 82—7—14, 1042, II 8—14. From the first passage we learn that the Araḫtu Wall is a wall of defence stretching *iš-tu* [kišad] *nâru puratti e-la-* [an maḥâzi] *a-di kišad nâru puratti ša-ap-la-an* [maḥâzi dâru dannu bal-] *ri šit* <sup>ilu</sup>šamši *ba-bi-lam<sup>ki</sup> u-ša-al-me* and lying east of Babylon, running southward *iš-tu ma-aš-da-ḥu* (i. e. the procession street) *ša kišad nâru puratti a-di ḫi-ri-ib kiš<sup>ki</sup>*; the second passage speaks equally plain language, *ka-ar a-ra-aḫ-ti bal-ri šit* <sup>ilu</sup>šamši *iš-tu abulli* <sup>ilu</sup>iš-tar *a-ti abulli* <sup>ilu</sup>u-ra-aš<sup>2</sup>, from which we see amongst other things that the Uraš Gate, as observed on p. 61, must be sought towards the south. As the result of our con-

<sup>1</sup> = *bît akitu*, see above p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Neb. Pennsylvania Cyl. A, II 19—25.

siderations concerning the Arahtu Canal and its wall it thus appears that both must be sought east of the Kašr connecting those places where the Euphrates, in its winding course, appears above and below the city. The Arahtu Canal lies to the east, running north and south.

Returning to the procession street the question now arises where we are to seek the localities mentioned as part of this street in WB V 31—48. Having established the fact that Esagila and *bīt-niḫê* (*bīt akītu*) were the two opposite termini of the procession street, we think it reasonable to seek Marduk's landing stage by the Arahtu Wall, assuming that he sailed up the Arahtu Canal, and that the procession thereupon went to the *bīt akītu* north of the Istar Gate. Information of the greatest importance concerning the whole extent of the procession street as well as its various momentous stages is gained from VAT 9418, in which a series of "sevens" among gods, stars, demons, sanctuaries, and other places of worship are enumerated. To begin with, Obv. I 1—9 mentions seven holy names for Marduk, according to Obv. I 9 7 *šumāti ša ilu marduk ina alâki u târi*, i. e. Marduk's various names during the procession. The first name is *an-šar ša šamû*, by which name Marduk is called *ina bīt pa-pa-ḫi*. The second and third names, which are uncertain owing to the badly preserved text, are borne by Marduk in two localities, which we shall subsequently examine more closely. They are called *ina bi-rit šid-di* and *ina šubti pa[-an]kakkab*. The fourth name is *ilu lugal-d[im-me-î] r[-an]ki-a*, by which he is called *ina parak ilu šimâte<sup>te</sup>*. By the fifth name *ilu asari-lu-dug* Marduk is called *ina sūki*, i. e. in the procession street. The sixth name *ilu šul-ba-ab* is employed during the voyage in the ship *gis ma-HU-SI* which sails up the Arahtu Canal, and the

seventh, finally, is *itu-e-zur*<sup>1</sup>, which is Marduk's holy name *ina bit a-ki-ti*. If now we compare the sequence of the stages in this text with the texts cited above referring to the extent and position of the procession street, we shall see that for stages five to seven there is complete coincidence with the statement in the Wadi Brisa Inscription, V 31—48 (see p. 68); we move in the direction from south to north from Esagila through the Ištār Gate on the *Ḳaṣr*. In some place or other, probably where the procession street stops owing to the confluence of the Marduk Canal with the Araḥtu Canal, the procession street has been carried on by water, whereupon it is continued on shore in the direction of *bit akitu*. We shall subsequently deal with the probable position of the latter. Before Marduk leaves the procession street on the *Ḳaṣr* to embark in the *gisma-HU-SI*, he and some of the participators in the festival, such as the king and the attending priests, have performed ceremonies in a sanctuary situated at the point where the procession street and the Araḥtu Canal cut each other towards the north. This is the sanctuary referred to in EJ VIII 27—58, in which, as we saw above in pp. 65—66, Nebuchadnezzar records that, on building the new palace he *parakki-šu la u-ni-iš* out of reverence for Marduk; further, it is probably this sanctuary which is mentioned in the important liturgical text K. 9876 (see Plates VIII—XI), which contains hymns and prayers with directions when and where they are to be recited during the *akitu* festival in Nisan. Here, preceding a hymn of praise, we read the following words Obv. 14 *an-nu-u ša ina parak si-ḥir nāri iḳ-ḳab-bu-u*, and I consider it probable that this

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Langdon, *EC*, p. 204.

*parak siḫir nâri* is identical with the *parakku* referred to in EJ VIII 38<sup>1</sup>.

If now, after these considerations, we turn our attention to the archæological excavations of the procession street, we can, by their aid, follow the street both north and south of the Iṣtar Gate. It is abt. 10—12 metres broad and carefully made. First there is a substratum of burnt brick and on the top of this large slabs, either of mountain limestone or *durminabanda*<sup>2</sup>, the latter have been made as early as the time of Sennacherib. Both Nabopolassar<sup>3</sup> and Nebuchadnezzar restored the procession street, thus it has several times been raised to a higher level. On the side walls were found amongst other things coloured bas-reliefs of lions facing northwards, i. e. from Esagila to *bît akītu*, in which we may perhaps see another indication that the procession started from Esagila, and several building inscriptions have almost identical accounts as follows: (II) *Nabû-ku-dur-ru-u-ṣur šar TIN-TIR (ki) mâr (il) Nabû-apli-uṣur šar TIN-TIR (ki) a-na-ku su-li-e Ba-bi-lu (ki) a-na ša-da-ḥa be-li rabi (il) Marduk ina libitti abnu šadi u-ban-na-a tal-la-ak-ti (il) Marduk be-li balâṭam da-er-a šur-kam*<sup>4</sup>. — From the different building materials employed, considered in conjunction with the important passages in EJ V, in which Nebuchadnezzar mentions partly his father's, partly his own restoration of the procession street, we can gain interesting information of the topographical conditions. Of Nabopolassar it is said that he employed *durminabanda* (V 12—20), whereas Nebu-

<sup>1</sup> Weissbach, *SB*, pp. 18, 24, on the other hand identifies the sanctuary in EJ VIII 38 with Du-azag, on which subject see further below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. EJ V 43 and *MDOG*, IX.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. EJ V 12—20.

<sup>4</sup> *WVDOG*, II. p. 4, a.

chadnezzar in addition used *libitti abnušī-ti-ik šadi-i* (V 43—56) for the upper layer. Now the excavations have shown us that north of the Ištār Gate we have slabs both of mountain limestone<sup>1</sup> and *durminabanda*, but south of the Ištār Gate to the Libilḥegalla Canal we have only the former<sup>2</sup>. To the south of this canal, where the procession street is continued at a lower level, it is as broad as on the Kaṣr and runs between the Merkes and Etemenanki's peribolos in the immediate proximity of the latter at a suitable distance from the buildings of the business quarter. In this part of the procession street we find, above a foundation of burnt brick, large slabs of *durminabanda*<sup>3</sup> with inscriptions such as the above-mentioned by Nebuchadnezzar. On the lower side of these we find Sennacherib's name, which shows us that it was he who originally built this part of the street, but his building operations are not mentioned by Nebuchadnezzar in the passage in EJ V 12—20 where he refers to his father's restoration of the procession street. And finally, as regards the part from Etemenanki's peribolos to Esagila, the excavations have revealed various layers of which only the upper ones bear Nebuchadnezzar's mark; the lower layer of burnt brick of smaller size (32 cm.) points in the direction of Nabopolassar's activities<sup>4</sup>. North of the Ištār Gate, however, everything bears Nebuchadnezzar's stamp exclusively. There is thus a high probability that the passage in EJ V 43—56 refers to that part of the procession street which lies north of the Ištār Gate, whereas Nabopolassar's building operations (EJ V 12—20) were done somewhere in the part south of

<sup>1</sup> *MDOG*, VI. pp. 3—11.

<sup>2</sup> *MDOG*, IX. p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Koldewey, *Babylon*, pp. 52—53.

<sup>4</sup> Koldewey, *op. cit.* p. 53.

Libilḫegalla and as far as Esagila; the part south of the Iṣtar Gate to Libilḫegalla does not seem to be mentioned in the texts. From the probable conditions mentioned above we may now draw very significant conclusions as to two hitherto obscure topographical points, viz. *bābu ellu* and *bāb bēlit*. The former we must probably seek either as an entrance gate to *parak siḫir nāri* or to the landing stage of Marduk's procession ship, while *bāb bēlit* must be interpreted as the gate at the bridge over Libilḫegalla<sup>1</sup>. And as a final consequence it follows that Du-azag must be sought to the south in Esagila or as a sanctuary in close proximity within its domains. We shall examine this supposition more closely under our subsequent investigation of the temple conditions. — Whether Marduk's procession street was called Aiburšabu in its full extent from Esagila to *bit akitu* we cannot tell. True, it is only in the description of the procession street on the Ḳaṣr that this name is mentioned<sup>2</sup>, but we can show that no other name for it has come down to us<sup>3</sup>, neither on the Ḳaṣr nor to the south of it.

In addition to that of the city god there were two other procession streets in Babylon, the most important of which was that by which Nabu came from Borsippa to celebrate the great annual festival in Nisan. Like Marduk's, this procession street ran partly by water partly by land. In the Wadi Brisa Inscription Nebuchadnezzar says: *ina zag-mukam* [*rēš šatti*] *a-na i-si-nu ša a-ki-ti ša ilu<sup>u</sup>en-lil ilāni<sup>meš</sup> ilu<sup>u</sup>marduk ilu<sup>u</sup>nabû aplu šī-te-lu-ḫi ištu bar-sip<sup>ki</sup> i-ša-dī-ḫu a-na ḫi-ri-ib bâbil<sup>ki</sup> ina iṣu<sup>u</sup>elippi nâruGan-Ul . . .* (VII 29—35);

<sup>1</sup> See Plate II.

<sup>2</sup> Koldewey perhaps draws too far-reaching conclusions from this in *Babylon*, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> We have mentioned the passage in WB VII 43—53 in pp. 61—62.



this voyage was made on the Borsippa Canal which debouched in the Euphrates on the bank opposite the 'Amrân (see Plate I) to the south of the city. Already Sargon recorded in his Annals that he had constructed such a canal, possibly in the place of an earlier one which had been choked up with sand, *nâru Barsipa maḥ-ru-u ša šarrâ-ni a-li-kut pa-ni-ia i-ḥi-ru [ma?] nâru iš-šu a-na maš-ṭa-aḥ (ilu) Nabû bili(?) -ia ki-rib Šu-an-na (ki) aḥ-ri ma* (302—304). Thence the procession street ran a good way towards the north along the Euphrates, how far we cannot tell, we merely learn from two passages that part of it, probably the last, was a broad road on shore. In WB VII 47—53 we read: *ištu ik-kip-šu-na-ka-ar a-di ni-rib ilu nabû e-sag-ila ilu nabû-daian-ni-ši-šu sulû rapšu mu-taḥ aplu rubû ilu nabû tam-la-a zaḥ-ru u-ma-lî-[ma] i-na ku-up-ru u a-gur-ru u-da-am-mi-iḳ*, from which we also learn the name of Nabu's procession street on land. The other passage is Nerigl. IR 67, I 33—40 *parak ši-ma-a-ti ša ḫi-ri-ib e-zi-da [ša i-na] za-am-mu-[ku] ri-e-ša ša-at-ti [a-na i-sin-ni a]-ki-ti ta-bi-e ilu en-lil ilâni ilu marduk [ištu bar-sip<sup>ki</sup> i]ṭ-ṭi-ḫu a-na ḫi-ri-ib bâbili<sup>ki</sup> [ilu nabû su]-la u na-a-ri ša ba-bi-lam<sup>ki</sup> [i-ra]-am-mu-u ši-ru-uš-šu [ša šarru ma-aḥ-ri i-na ḫurâši ip-ti-ku] pi-ti-ik-šu [ḫurâši ru-uš-ša-a u-ša-al-bi-iš]*, in which amongst other things it is mentioned that Nabu is coming to Babylon as well "by road as by river". From the very important ritual text DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 we learn of various ceremonies which are performed (in Esag-ila) before and upon the arrival of Nabu at Babylon on the fifth of Nisan. Unfortunately the passage referring to Nabu's arrival, lines 407—12, is much broken, and since the whole of the text, as we observed above about all the ritual texts, merely gives directions concerning certain

details, taking it for granted that the rest is perfectly familiar to those who are to use it, we cannot expect to learn all the particulars of Nabu's procession and arrival. It seems apparent from the text, however, that the way Nabu traversed by land was very short, which would seem to indicate that the voyage ended to the west of and just opposite Esagila<sup>1</sup>; hence we must probably seek the street *ik-kip-šu-na-ka-ar*<sup>2</sup> near the eastern bank of the Euphrates.

One more procession street is mentioned in our texts though we hardly know more about it than the mere fact that it existed. This is Nergal's. In a Babylonian purchase deed from the nineteenth year of Nabopolassar's reign (BE 7447) mention is made of the purchase of a site for the rebuilding of a dilapidated house in the quarter of Babylon known as Hallab (or Kullab), and part of this site is said to be adjacent to *mu-tak* <sup>il</sup>*Nergal ša ha-di-e* (Obv. 9), but what was the position of Hallab we do not know. However, from our detailed temple lists, which we shall deal with below, and from the excavations, it appears that Nergal had no temple at Babylon, while, on the other hand, other texts show that he took part in the great annual festival. Hence it seems a reasonable conclusion that, like Nabu, Nergal came in a procession to Babylon, from Cutha, thus moving in a south-westerly direction. This renders it probable that his procession street must be sought somewhere within the outer city wall in the north-eastern part of the ground covered by Babylon, and here

<sup>1</sup> Compare the passage in Nerigl. IR 67, 141 ff. True, it is much broken, but by the aid of the duplicate 81-2-1, 37 we learn that the Euphrates flowed close by Esagila.

<sup>2</sup> See above pp. 63 and 63<sup>1</sup>.

too, we must probably look for Ḫallab. Perhaps he did not join Marduk's procession until he had reached *bīt akītu*<sup>1</sup>.

In other cities than Babylon we find such procession streets mentioned in connection with the *akītu* festival. During our enquiry above into the sense of the word *akītu* we frequently mentioned passages (pp. 19–24) in which a procession street was referred to. To these we refer the reader here, since they state nothing of these streets beyond the fact that they are used by such and such a deity at the processions. Even the detailed Uruk texts merely mention processions of gods from the *papaḥāni* of the various deities to the temple courts and thence on to other chapels or temples (as e. g. *bīt akītu*), which does not enable us to form any clear idea of the exact topographical conditions. Only the conditions at Assur are better known to us thanks to the German excavations there since 1903 under the leadership of W. Andrae. No mention is made in our texts of an Aššur procession street, whereas the excavations have brought to light the blocks of buildings corresponding to the Babylonian termini Esagila and *bīt akītu*, viz. the Aššur temple and Sennacherib's *bīt akīt šēri* (cf. K. 1356, Obv. 2). The report on the excavation of the latter is found in *MDOG*, XXXIII. From this report we learn that this temple was abt. 900 metres removed from the Aššur temple in a north-westerly direction, standing outside the actual defences of the city at the mouth of one of the numerous Wadis found in this part of the plain, or more exactly stated, if we look at the map of Assur drawn by Andrae and J. Jordan in 1904 it stands in the square running parallel to a3 only more westerly, that is to say, outside the map as then drawn. From

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Nabon. text 81–4–28, 3+4, II 49 ff.

these topographical conditions we see that the procession street which connected Aššur's temple with the *bît akīt šêri* was of a similar considerable length as that at Babylon. Possibly the knowledge we have gained of the conditions in the important cities of Babylon and Assur warrants the conclusion that *bît akîtu* everywhere stood outside the town proper; but more of this below.

ç.

There is no reason for us to deal in more detail here with the other streets mentioned in the texts and partly found during the excavations, nor with the two Royal Roads (one running from west to east in the direction of Kiš, the other from north to south through the Uraš Gate to Borsippa). For the many important canals found partly in and partly in the neighbourhood of the metropolis we refer the reader to Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies? Eine biblisch-assyriologische Studie*, Lpz. 1881, pp. 188 ff., in which the three lists of canal names from the library of Ašurbanipal are treated, and to K. 2096 (= K. 6308). The four canals which are important to us, the Arahtu, Libilḫegalla, Marduk, and Borsippa canals, have all been mentioned above when we dealt with the course of the procession street and Nebuchadnezzar's building of the new palace. The Libilḫegalla and Marduk canals were almost parallel, connecting the eastern bank of the Euphrates in the direction east to west with the Arahtu Canal, running respectively south and north of the Ẓaṣr (see Plate II). — Of the various quarters of the city of Babylon, finally, our knowledge is very slight. We know that the quarter on the Ẓaṣr which, in the time of the Neo-Babylonian empire, was chiefly occupied by Nebuchad-

nezzar's palaces, the constructions Imgur-Bêl and Nimitti-Bêl, part of the procession street with the Istar Gate, and by the E-maḫ temple, was called *irṣit bâbili<sup>ki</sup>*<sup>1</sup>, and it is probable that in the age of Hammurabi and at the height of the Assyrian power this was the heart of Babylon, where the old part of the city stood. Of other parts we may mention Ḫallab which, as we saw in pp. 76—77 was perhaps to be located to the north-east of the Araḫtu Canal inside the outer city wall. This is perhaps the quarter mentioned in a purchase deed from the time of Kandalanu (i. e. Ašurbanipal; VATh 451, 2) which does not, however, state particulars of its position. Of the quarter called *kumari* we only know that it contained Adad's temple Enamḫe<sup>2</sup>, while *irṣitim te-e-ki* and *alu eššu*, "the new city", are mere names to us. Finally it seems that one quarter was called *šu-an-na-ki*; this was otherwise one of the many names of Babylon, besides *e-ki*, *tin-tir-ki*, and *ka-dingir-ra-ki*, but in a purchase deed, VATh 67, 1, we read: *dup-pi šu-pil-ti bitâti ša irṣi-tim šu.an.na ša ki-rib Babilî*, from which we may be permitted to infer the existence of a quarter *irṣit šu-an-na* parallel with the *irṣit bâbili<sup>ki</sup>* above. It must, however, be strongly emphasized that we know nothing of the position of this quarter, since in all other passages the natural interpretation of *šu-an-na-ki* is that it is a name for Babylon<sup>3</sup>, and the passage in BE 14940, 22 *e-pa-ṭu-ti-la bit [ilu nin-ib š]a ki-rib šu-an-na-ki* must no doubt be interpreted in the same way. That mention should here be made of a quarter in the city of Babylon is improbable in view of the context. But

<sup>1</sup> Nerigl. I R 67, II 16—18; Neb. EJ VIII 40—46.

<sup>2</sup> Neb. VR 34, II 8.

<sup>3</sup> Nerigl. I R 67, I 37; Neb. EJ IV 1; WB VII 29—34.

I must further emphasize that I do not consider it impossible that *iršit šu-an-na-ki* is identical with *iršit bâbili<sup>ki</sup>*<sup>1</sup>. — The excavations have shown us a separate quarter of the city, most likely a business quarter, in which larger and smaller dwelling houses are also found, and which is situated on the mound of Merkes. Here a series of smaller objects have been found, such as tablets with cuneiform script, terracotta figures, ornaments, amulets, etc., but we find no evidence in the texts by which we can determine which quarter of Babylon this was.

7.

We now come to the last, but not least important, section of our topographical investigations, which was to deal with the temples proper and other sanctuaries of Babylon. Forty-three temples in all are mentioned in the so-called Berlin topographical tablet<sup>2</sup>. From the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings we know fifteen (sixteen) by name, and of these three have been excavated (Esagila, E-maḥ, Epaṭutila), besides two others (Koldewey's "Z" temple<sup>3</sup>; the Iṣtar temple on the Merkes)<sup>4</sup> which have not as yet been identified with any of those mentioned in the inscriptions, i. e. in all seventeen (eighteen) temples. As will be seen, it is thus only a small number of the numerous temples of the metropolis that are known to us, most of them we only know by name and are quite unable to localize them. But fortunately Esagila, the chief

<sup>1</sup> No trace of Weissbach's Irsit Schusehan (*SB*, p. 30) is to be found in the texts.

<sup>2</sup> VATH 554, Rev. IV—III 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Babylon*, pp. 218 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. R. Koldewey, *Die Tempel von Babylon und Borsippa nach den Ausgrabungen durch die Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft* (WVDOG, XV.).

temple of Babylon, has been in great part uncovered, and, in addition, it is frequently referred to in the texts. It will therefore be natural to begin with this.

1. Esagila is mentioned as far back as the Sumerian time<sup>1</sup> in the important text BM 26472, which contains annalistic records from the period of Sargon of Agade, Narâm-Sin, and other early Babylonian rulers. Here we read (Rev. 5—7): *m ilu Dun-gi* (abt. 2400 B. C.) *mâr mUr-ilu Engur Eridu<sup>KI</sup> ša kišad tam-tim ra-biš iz-nun limutta iš-te<sup>2</sup>e-e-ma makkur E-sag-ila u Bâbili<sup>KI</sup> ina šil-lat ušêši*, and that it must have been Marduk's temple and the chief sanctuary of Babylon from the time of the first Babylonian dynasty and in the Kassite period appears partly from an annalistic list of dates which mentions *10. mu ê-sag-il[a ba-du]*<sup>2</sup> under the tenth year of Zabum's reign, and from the Code of Hammurabi, II 12; XL 67. 93; XLI 50. 51, and partly from Agum-kakrimi's inscription VR 33, I 44; V 14; VI 42—45. That Esagila subsequently continued to hold this central position among the numerous temples of Babylon we see not only from the inscriptions of the Assyrian<sup>3</sup> and Neo-Babylonian kings, but also from Antiochus Soter's archaic inscription from the Hellenistic period in which he records that in the forty-third year<sup>4</sup> he *uš-šu ša I-sag-il . . . ad-di-i uš-ši-šu* (80—6—17, I 14—16). That it was not only the latter who rebuilt Esagila<sup>5</sup>, but that many previ-

<sup>1</sup> Esagila is mentioned in the Sumerian account of the creation *En. E-azag-ga* (82—5—22, 1048, 12) which is difficult to date as it is a copy made in the Neo-Babylonian period, but the reference to Esagila suggests post-Hammurabian times.

<sup>2</sup> *VAB*, V. p. 585.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Shalmaneser II. *Balâwât* V 5—VI 1; Merodach-Baladan, II 2—7.

<sup>4</sup> After the Seleucid era which begins in 312 B. C., hence abt. 270 B. C.

<sup>5</sup> After its destruction by Xerxes. Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* VII. 17; Strabo, XVI. 1, 5, where Alexander the Great's command that it should be rebuilt is also mentioned.

ous rulers of Assyria and Babylonia tried to repair the ravages of war from which the temples and royal palaces had especially suffered, or desired to make it larger and handsomer than before, is exemplified by Ašurbanipal's completion of the reconstruction and restoration of Esagila begun by Esarhaddon<sup>1</sup> after it had been destroyed by Sennacherib<sup>2</sup>. This is recorded in the E-maḥ Cylinder (BE 5457), 8—9, as follows: *ši-pir ê-sag-ila ša abu ba-nu-u-a la u-ka-at-tu-u a-na-ku u-šak-lil*<sup>3</sup>, and in numerous passages in Nebuchadnezzar, e. g. EJ III 18—20 *a-na e-bi-šu e-sag-ila na-ša-an-ni li-ib-bi ga-ga-da-a bi-tu-ga-ak*.

As regards the position of Esagila the excavations have shown that it was situated south of the Kašr about midway both between Libilḥegalla and the outer city wall and between the eastern bank of the Euphrates and the Araḥtu Canal. It was excavated on the mound of 'Amrân after the 23rd of November 1900, and the efforts of the succeeding years have more and more revealed its enormous dimensions. Thus the area now excavated shows us a square block, 86 metres long and 79 metres broad<sup>4</sup>. Hence the conjectures advanced by previous scholars as to the position of Esagila are entirely nullified by the excavation of its site on the 'Amrân. In 1875 George Smith supposed that the temple must be sought in the mound of Bâbil<sup>5</sup>, while Hommel, on the other hand, assumed in 1904<sup>6</sup> that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bu 88—5—12, 75 + 76, VI 12 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Sennach. Bavian, III R 14, 51 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. K. 499, Obv. 12 ff. in which a builder <sup>1</sup>*Arad-aḥi-šu* is referred to (Obv. 2) as the restorer of some few parts of Esagila under Ašurbanipal.

<sup>4</sup> For further particulars see Koldewey, *Babylon*, pp. 200 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Assyrian Discoveries; an Account of Explorations and Discoveries on the Site of Nineveh during 1873 and 1874*, Lond. 1875, p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> *GGAO*, pp. 325—36.



the site of Esagila must be looked for in the northern part of the *Ḳaṣr* and adduced a series of passages, especially from the Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions, in proof of his hypothesis. We shall, however, just note here that even if no excavations had taken place in Babylon, it could never have been inferred from the evidence of the texts that Esagila's site was on the *Ḳaṣr*. Hommel's conjecture is really based on two passages which form the premises of his erroneous inference, and in accordance with which he adapts, understands, and interprets all the rest. One of the passages in question is Bu 88-5-12, 75 + 76, VI 34 ff., from which he erroneously infers that *Imgur-Bêl* and *Nimitti-Bêl* were walls round *Etemenanki* and, according to his interpretation of the famous *Smith Tablet*, round *Esagila* too<sup>1</sup>. The second passage is *Neb. EJ VIII 38*, in which he interprets *parakku* as being identical with *Esagila*, a conjecture which we referred to and rejected on pp. 66, 71-72 above, being of opinion that we could more exactly determine the position and character of the sanctuary mentioned in this passage.

As regards the interior of *Esagila* we have hardly anything but the evidence of the texts to go by, since on this subject the excavations can of course merely furnish us with some dimensions, here and there supplemented by a few conjectures. From the texts we see that it had gates, courts, sacred chambers (chapels, rooms) within the large main temple. In addition to the *Nebuchadnezzar* inscriptions we have a very important source in the so-called *Smith Tablet (ST)* which has been subject to many vicissitudes. *George Smith* found this tablet during the digging of his expedition in *Babylonia* in 1872-76, and published

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 59.

an English translation in the *Athenæum* of February 12. 1876 which became generally known by A. H. Sayce's reprint of it in his *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians* (The Hibbert Lectures 1887), Lond. 1887, pp. 437—40. The original, however, disappeared without leaving the slightest trace after Smith's death at Aleppo on August 19. 1876. But about ten years ago it was found by Vincent Scheil who published it in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, XXXIX. Paris, 1914, pp. 293 ff. In *OLZ* 1914, pp. 193 ff. Weissbach has made valuable comments on it, and in *MDOG*, LIX. Koldewey has re-edited the text, using Scheil's edition as a foundation, in a paper entitled *Der babylonische Turm nach der Tontafel des Anubelschunu*. This rediscovery was of the greatest importance, and even though we are confronted with almost insoluble difficulties in some parts of the text, our possession of the original is of great value for our whole conception of the problems attaching to Esagila and Etemenanki. The theories hitherto advanced<sup>1</sup> on the basis of Smith's translation have, it follows, now lost their interest.

ST refers to six gates admitting to Esagila (Obv. 12—13), four of which may perhaps be identified with those mentioned in Nerigl. IR67, I 23. 29; ST mentions *kâ mah*, *kâ (an) Babbar ê*, *kâ gal*, *kâ (an) Lama-r[a?]*, *kâ he-gal*, and *kâ ū-di-bar-ra*; to No. 2 and 4—6 of these correspond Neriglissar's *bâb šit<sup>iu</sup>šamši*, *bâb<sup>iu</sup>lamassi a-ra-bi*, *bâb hegalli*, and *bâb tabra<sup>tam</sup>*<sup>2</sup>. Of the position of these gates we can only conjecture that, according to the Babylonian concep-

<sup>1</sup> E. g. by Jensen, *KdB*, pp. 492—94; Weissbach, *SB*, pp. 19 f.; Hommel, *GGAO*, pp. 315—22.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *VAB*, VII. s. p. 825 on the mention of these gates in the Ašurb. inscriptions.

tion, *bâb hegalli* must have been the north gate in front of Libilhegalla, and from this we can then determine the position of the east gate. Perhaps *kâ mah* was the main gate, for by this name a main gate at Uruk is mentioned in AO 6465, Obv. 8 f.<sup>1</sup> through which gate the king proceeds to *parak šîmâti: šarru ... ka-maḥ irru-ub-ma ina muḥ-ḥi parak-šîmâti*<sup>[pl]</sup> . . . . The Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions mention two other gates at Esagila, *ka-dug-lî-sug bâb ku-uz-bu u bâb e-zi-da e-sag-ila u-še-piṣ nam-ri-ri* <sup>ilu</sup>*šam-ši*<sup>2</sup>. Is the former identical with *bâb hegalli* and the latter with *ni-rib* <sup>ilu</sup>*nabû e-sag-ila*?<sup>3</sup> — Of courts are mentioned two in ST, Obv. 1—2, viz. *kisallu šîru*<sup>4</sup> and *kisallu (an) Ištar u (an) Za-mâ-mâ*, with a statement of their dimensions; the former is also referred to in the large ritual text DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 273<sup>5</sup>, as the place whence the priest pronounces the blessing on Esagila towards the close of the ceremonies on the fourth of Nisan. In Uruk, too, is found a *kisalmahḥu* in which the gods and processions of the king and priests assemble at the celebration of the great *akîtu* festival<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AO 6460, Rev. 9. 12.

<sup>2</sup> EJ II 51—53, the former is also mentioned in WB III 45; IR 65, I 31 and in VR 34, I 49, but in the latter passage it is Zarpanitum's abode.

<sup>3</sup> WB VII 48.

<sup>4</sup> Or *kisalmahḥu*. For the form of the name cf. *gu(d)-maḥ-ḥi* (Sarg. Ann. 311) and *para(k)maḥḥu* below.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. l. 456.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. AO 6459, Obv. 16. 20. 25, Rev. 18; AO 6460, Obv. 3. 34; AO 7439, Obv. 2; VAT 7849, I 2. 7. 20. 30. In this latter text Zimmern reads *du(l)maḥḥu* (ZBN, II. pp. 28 ff.), which gives him the meaning "Gemach"; however, the first of the two characters is not *DU(L)* but *BUR*, cf. SAJ 3783 and Weissbach, *OLZ* 1914, p. 194<sup>2</sup>, these characters being quite similar in the Neo-Babylonian script. In one passage, however, *kisallu* alone seems to mean "place, square", not "open space, court", viz. in Bu 88—5—12, 75 + 76, X 28 [*ina Up-šu-gin-na(ki)*] *ki-[sal puḥur ilâni] šu-bal [ši-tul-ti]*.

As in other Assyro-Babylonian temples, the sacred chambers in Esagila are called *papaḥu* or *parakku*. These two designations are apparently employed at random in the texts<sup>1</sup>, and it is very difficult to ascertain wherein the difference between them consists. The large dimensions given for the six *pa-pa-ḥa-a-ni ša nu-ḥar* in ST, Obv. 25 ff., the use of the term *bītu* about Ekua and Ezida which are always designated as *papaḥāni* in Esagila, and the passage in Nerigl. IR 67, I 33 *parak šī-ma-a-ti ša ḫi-ri-ib e-zi-da* would seem to indicate<sup>2</sup> that by *papaḥu* was meant a small sanctuary or at any rate a larger unit of space than *parakku*. On the other hand, our investigations on pp. 71—72 rendered it probable that the *parak šī-ḥir nāri* mentioned in K. 9876, Obv. 14, must be understood as a small sanctuary by the Araḥtu Canal, and above on p. 36 we saw, in addition, that two passages in the Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions rendered it plausible that *dū*, *parakku*, and *papaḥu* were synonymous, and perhaps even that *dū*, which is appositional to *papaḥu* in BE 21211, 2—4, was part of *parakku*. An examination of EJ III 38—64, in which Ezida, the chief temple of Borsippa, is mentioned, does not help us in this dilemma. Here we read in 44 *pa-pa-ḥa-a-ti ilu nabû*, in 48 *bâb pa-pa-ḥa*, in 54 *ta-al-la-ak-ti pa-pa-ḥa*, and in 57 *du-u parakkê ḫi-ir-bi-šu*. We cannot, however, infer from l. 57 that the suffix of the third person refers to *papaḥu* which is mentioned in the singular<sup>3</sup> in the preceding lines 48 and 54. More probably it refers

<sup>1</sup> In the Nabon. Stele III 29 (cf. K. 3445, Rev. 11); VIII 24 a third designation is employed, viz. *simakku*, according to K. 4181, 53 = *šubat ili*, cf. VAB, IV. p. 274 note.

<sup>2</sup> For Ezida, to which belongs a *bâbu* (EJ II 52), is, as we shall soon see, Nabu's *papaḥu* in Esagila.

<sup>3</sup> In the plural we may have both *papaḥāni* and *papaḥāti*.

to *bîtu*, "temple", (i. e. Ezida) in l. 55. If next we turn our attention to the respective modes of decoration of the *papahâti* and the *parakkê*, mentioned in the long passage, they are almost identical, but only the former are said to be ornamented with gold (l. 45 *hurâši u-ša-al-bi-iš*). Thus there seems after all to have been some difference between the two sorts (?) of places which the names designate, but in what it consisted, we are unable to ascertain.

Several of these sacred chambers in Esagila are known to us by name. In EJ II 40—45 we read: *i-na e-sag-ila . . . e-ku-a* <sup>1</sup> *pa-pa-ḥa ilu en-lil ilâni ilu marduk u-ša-an-bi-iṭ ša-aš-ša-ni-iš*, and in III 21—32 Nebuchadnezzar further records how he decorated Marduk's *papaḥu* Ekua, *ri-e-ša-a-ti isu erini-ia ša iš-tu sadû la-ab-na-nim isu kišti el-li-tim ub-lam a-na zu-lu-lu e-ku-a pa-pa-ḥa ilu bêl-u-ti-šu aš-te<sup>2</sup>-e-ma i-ta-am libbi isu erinê dannû-tim a-na zu-lu-lu e-ku-a hurâši nam-ri u-ša-al-bi-š ši-i-bi šap-la-nu isu erini zu-lu-lu kaspi u ni-si-iḫ abni u-za<sup>2</sup>-in*. Besides Ekua two other chapels in Esagila are mentioned in other passages in the Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions, viz. Ezida to Nabu, and Zarpanitum's *bîtu*, a place called *ka-dug-li-sug* <sup>2</sup>. WB III 35—58 has *e-sag-ila . . . e-gal šami-e u irši-tim . . . e-[ku-a pa-pa]-ḥu [ilu] en-lil [ilâni] ilu marduk hurâša rušša-a u-ša-al-bi-š-ma bîtu a-na ilu marduk bêli-ia u-ša-an-biṭ ša-aš-ša-ni-š ka-dug-li-sug bâb ku-uz-bu za-a-nu ša-ri-ri u-za-in-ma bîtu a-na ilu [zar-pa-ni-tu] bêlti-ia lu-lî-e uš-ma-lu e-zi-da ša e-sag-ila pa-pa-ḥu ilu nabû ša ki-sa-al-lum ša i-na zag-mu-kam ri-e-eš šatti a-na i-si-in-ni a-ki-it ilu na-bi-um aplu ši-it-lu-ṭu iš-tu bar-sip<sup>ki</sup> i-ša-ad-di-ḥa-am-ma i-ra-am-mu-u ḫi-ri-ib-šu . . . hurâša ru-uš-ša-a u-ša-al-bi-iš-ma*

<sup>1</sup> The reading here is uncertain, perhaps we should read *e-še-a, e-šu-a*, cf. Langdon, *VAB*, IV. p. 178 note.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 85<sup>2</sup>.

*bītu a-na* <sup>ilu</sup>*nabû* . . . *u-ša-an-[bi-i!]* *ša-ru-ru-u-šu*. Or in a more condensed form we read in IR 65, I 29—38 *pa-pa-ḥa šu-ba-at be-lu-ti-šu ḥurâši na-am-ra-am ša-al-la-ri-iš lu aš-ta-ak-ka-an ka-dug-li-sug ḥurâši u-ša-al-bi-iš-ma bīti a-na* <sup>ilu</sup>*šar-pa-ni-tum be-el-ti-ia ku-uz-ba-am u-za<sup>2</sup>-in e-zi-da šu-ba-at ilu šarri šar ilâni šamê iršitim pa-pa-ḥa* <sup>ilu</sup>*na-bi-um ša ḫi-ri-ib e-sag-ila . . . ḥurâši u-ša-al-bi-iš-ma bīti ki-ma ū-um lu u-na-am-mi-ir* and in VR 34, I 46—51 *i-na e-sag-ila ki-iz-zi ra-aš-ba-am e-kal ša-mi-e u ir-ši-tim šu-ba-at ta-ši-la-a-tim e-ku-a pa-pa-ḥa* <sup>ilu</sup>*enlil ilâni* <sup>ilu</sup>*marduk ka-dug-li-sug šu-ba-at* <sup>ilu</sup>*zar-pa-ni-tum e-zi-da šu-ba-at* <sup>ilu</sup>*šar ilâni šamê iršitim ḥurâšu na-am-ru u-ša-al-bi-iš-ma*.<sup>1</sup> In the great ritual text in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 these three chapels are likewise mentioned, though Kaduglisug is not referred to, but lines 344—45 have *ana pa-pa-ḫi ša* <sup>d</sup>*Bêl u* <sup>d</sup>*Bêl-ti-ia ul irrub*. Numerous passages mention Ekua's priest, <sup>amīl</sup>*urigal e-ku-a* (ll. 34. 199. 245. 281. 364. 367. 372), and of Ezida it says partly that this same priest *ana e-zi-da ana pa-pa-ḫi* <sup>d</sup>*Nabû irrub-ma* (ll. 346—47), and partly that it is covered (ll. 370—71).

As regards these passages we must in the first place remark that the statements about Zarpanitum's *bītu* or *mûšabu* (it is not called *papaḥu*) are far from clear, and that, if we had not the direct statement in VR 34, I 49, we should suppose that Kaduglisug was a gate somewhere in Esagila; perhaps her *bītu* derived its name from its position near this gate. Further, our attention is arrested by the fact that Marduk's as well as Nabu's *papaḥu* and

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the passages cited, Ekua and Ezida are mentioned in the following passages in the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings: K. 1685, I 17. 19; 82—7—14, 1042, I 29. 31; 85—4—30, 1, I 33. 35; Neb. Pennsylvania Cyl. A, I 29. 31; EJ II 52 (Ezida); EJ III 24. 28 (Ekua); Neriql. IR 67, I 33 (Ezida).

Zarpanitum's "abode" are called *bitu*, which would seem to indicate that these *papaḥâni* were detached sanctuaries within the great temenos of Esagila<sup>1</sup>, a designation which renders it probable that *bit papaḥu* in VAT 9418, Obv. I 1, is Ekua. — The name Ezida for Nabu's *papaḥu* is peculiar. This was the name of Nabu's great temple at Borsippa<sup>2</sup> which seems to have been built by Hammurabi in honour of Marduk<sup>3</sup>. Ezida in Esagila must probably be interpreted as a cultual repetition of the Nabu temple at Borsippa, as the abode of the god during his stay at Babylon at the celebration of the *akîtu* festival. A similar interpretation, though without any connection with the *akîtu* festival, must be given to the Ezida found at Calah<sup>4</sup> in the time of Rammân-nirari III. (812—783 B. C.), and to Ezida at Nineveh and at Assur<sup>5</sup>.

In addition to these three chapels to Marduk, Zarpanitum, and Nabu there were probably other *papaḥâni* to various deities (e. g. Tašmet and Nergal) in Esagila, but only one of them is mentioned, viz. Ea's *bitu* which is called *e-kar-za-gin-na*<sup>6</sup>. The six *papaḥâni* referred to in ST, Obv. 25 ff., on the other hand, belong to Etemenanki

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above pp. 86—87.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. K. 2711, Rev. 10; EJ III 38—64; WB VI 1—57.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hammurabi Louvre A, Rev. 31—37 *a-na ilu Marduk ili ba-ni-šu in Bar-zi-pa<sup>KI</sup> ali na-ra-mi-šu E-zi-da parakka-šu el-lam ib-ni-šum.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. IR35 No. 2, an inscription on a statue of Nabu in which it says of him in line 7 *a-šib e-zi-da ša ki-rib ilu kal-ḥi.*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Streck, *VAB*, VII s. p. 823.

<sup>6</sup> Ašurb. S<sup>3</sup> 65—67 *in[a ūme]<sup>me</sup> šu-ma e-kar-za-gin-na bi[t] ilu[e-a] ša ki-rib e-sag-ila eš-šiš u-še-pi[š]; Nabon. Stele VIII 16—24 a-na ilu e-a . . . a-rat-te-e hurāši hu-uš-ša-a . . . e-pu-uš-ma ina e-kar-za-gin-na ina si-ma-ak-ki-šu u-kin; VATH 283 + VATH 401, Rev. 27 [e]-kar-za-gin-na. The *papaḥâti* mentioned in Agum-kakrimi, VR 33, II 40—41; V 10—12. 38 and VII 30, to Marduk and Zarpanitum are no doubt Ekua and Kaduglisug. On the expression *ina parakki* in 27859, Obv. 14 ff. see above on pp. 4—5.*

and cannot be used in a description of Esagila as done by Weissbach<sup>1</sup> and partly by Hommel<sup>2</sup>. — However, in two important texts we hear of a couple of localities in Esagila which we must examine more closely. In DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 it is stated four times in the hymns which Ekua's urigallu recites to Marduk that the latter *a-šib e-ud-ul* (ll. 29. 231. 296. 375), and there is a similar statement about Zarpanitum in l. 252<sup>3</sup>. The most probable translation of the word, "the house (temple) of the radiant splendour" does not aid us very much, and what renders the matter even more difficult is that (as far as I know, at any rate) this is the only known Assyro-Babylonian text in which the locality *e-ud-ul* is mentioned. The whole character of the text renders it probable that *e-ud-ul* must either be Esagila or part of it. Should the latter view be the most probable, we may presumably suppose that *e-ud-ul* was another name for Ekua, especially when we call to mind Nebuchadnezzar's descriptions<sup>4</sup> of his decoration of this sanctuary. — In another important text, K. 9876, containing directions as to what hymns are to be recited in the course of the akītu festival, it is mentioned in the first section containing the hymns that some deities (?) are seen seated in (or in) *e-eš-maḥ*<sup>5</sup>. The passage is, as far as I can see, unique in Assyro-Babylonian literature, yet I hardly believe that the E-maḥ temple at Babylon is here referred to<sup>6</sup>. But perhaps *e-eš-maḥ* may be identified with *eš-maḥ*, one of

<sup>1</sup> *SB*, pp. 19—20.      <sup>2</sup> *GGAO*, pp. 317 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *e-ud-ul* is also referred to in line 66, but the context being broken, we learn nothing from this.

<sup>4</sup> E. g. in *EJ* III 31—41.

<sup>5</sup> *Obv. 2 ina e-eš-maḥ a-mur-ku-nu-ši.*

<sup>6</sup> Thus Zimmern in *ZBN*, I. p. 137<sup>6</sup>.



the temples at Uruk mentioned in VAT 7849, II 16. 17, where the *akitu* festival in Nisan is described. Unfortunately the text, before and after II 16. 17, is so broken that the meaning of the context eludes our enquiry. However this may be, I do not think we are to seek *e-š-maḥ* in Esagila nor anywhere else in Babylon; in my opinion K. 9876, Obv. 2 refers to conditions in other cities than the metropolis.—We know for certain, however, that in addition to the above described *papaḥāni* there was a treasure chamber in the northern part of Esagila where the priests kept the sacrificial gifts they had received<sup>1</sup>.—Of other localities in Esagila besides the *parak šīmāti* to which we shall return immediately, we must mention two, referred to in important texts, but the actual use and significance of which are obscure to us. In the text VAT 9418, Obv. I 1—9, which informs us of the sequence of the ceremonies at Marduk's chief festival, it is mentioned that Marduk bears his second and third cult names partly *ina bi-rit šid-di*, partly *ina šubti pa[-an] kakkab*; these two localities are mentioned after *ina bīt pa-pa-ḥi* which we stated above on p. 89 we had grounds for assuming to be Ekua, and before *ina parak<sup>ilu</sup> šīmâte<sup>te</sup>* which is again mentioned before *ina sūḫi*, i. e. the procession through the streets which starts from Esagila, thus also passing through Aiburšabu. It is therefore highly probable that the two cult names, the second and the third, are borne by Marduk at Esagila where we find both Ekua and *parak šīmāti* as we shall immediately see. Examining more closely *ina bi-rit šid-di*, the first of the localities mentioned in VAT 9418, it is important that it also occurs in the Uruk texts describing

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nerigl. Ripley Cyl. II 8—10 *abar ma-ḥi-ir-tim e-sag-ila mi-iḫ-ra-at illani ša ra-am-ku-tim ki-ni-iš-ti e-sag-ila ra-mu-u ḫi-ri-ib-ša ...*

the akītu festival in Tišrit. AO 6459, Obv. 12, refers to ceremonies performed *ina bi-rit šid-di* after a reference to rites performed in <sup>bit</sup>*pa-pa-ḥu*, and before the procession to *bit akītu* takes place. AO 6465, Obv. 15<sup>1</sup>, has the same expression in connection with *parak-šimâti<sup>pl</sup>*, hence our passages from the Uruk texts agree with the information from Babylon. Finally we read in AO 6459, Obv. 29 *ki-ma ša<sup>d</sup> Anu bi-rit šid-di ik-tal-du ina muḥ-ḥi šu-bat ḥurâši ina bi-rit šid-di ušša-ab*, from which we may perhaps infer that by *bi-rit šid-di* we are to understand a certain place in Esagila (covered? in the form of a chapel of the same kind as *papaḥu* or *parakku*). — In the second expression we have a *šubtu*, probably also in Esagila. As regards the uncertain reading, which points in the direction of a translation like “the dwelling before the star”, the reader should compare the words in Ašurb. K. 2411, IV 10—11 [ê]-*sag-ila u-šak-lil gab-ri ap-si<sup>2</sup> êkal be-lum-ti-ka [ḥur]âṣu u-za<sup>2</sup>-in u-nam-mir kīma ūme<sup>me</sup>* which seem to indicate a similar mythic locality in Esagila which we may compare with the names given for several of the inner chambers of Ningirsu’s sanctuary at Lagaš in the Gudea Cyl. A 10<sub>1-29</sub><sup>3</sup>.

Of all the Assyro-Babylonian *parakkê*, that most frequently mentioned is the “chamber of destiny”, *parak šimâti<sup>4</sup>*; in this connection, where we are dealing with

<sup>1</sup> In Rev. 6 the context is not clear.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ur-ninâ’s and Gudea’s erection of an *abzu* in Ninâ’s temple at Lagaš (AO 3179, 56-7; AO 3867, 43-4; Gudea Cyl. A 10<sub>15</sub>), also the fact that in the description of his decoration of Esagila in VR 33, III 33—34, Agum-kakrimi says that *ta-am-[tu?] lu-aš-ku-nu-[ma?]*.

<sup>3</sup> On *e-ḥur-sag-ti-la* see below in section C.

<sup>4</sup> Frequently mentioned by the Sumerian name *ubšu-ukkin-na*, “assembly-room”, for the etymology of which the reader is referred to Langdon, *SG*, p. 250; on the formation of the Semitic form *ubšukkinaku* see Langdon, *op. cit.* pp. 24—25. The Sumerian word *du-azag* which, as we shall see, is mentioned in connection with it in some texts, means

the topographical conditions only, we shall disregard the ceremony which took place in it, the determination of the destinies, and merely try to find out where *parak šîmâti* was, for on this important point scholars have been much at variance and our sources are extremely obscure. To begin with we must point out that it was not only Babylon that had a *parak šîmâti*; VAT 9418, Obv. II 11—15, mentions 7 *parakkê ilu šîmâti*, viz. at Nippur, Babylon, Borsippa, Dêr<sup>1</sup>, Uruk, *a-ga-di<sup>ki</sup>* and *hur-sag-kalam-ma<sup>ki</sup>*. In other words, we have evidence to show that the chief temples, besides a few others, in the Babylonian empire possessed such a *parak šîmâti*. As far back as 1904, before the publication of VAT 9418, Jastrow had argued in favour of the theory that the prototype of Babylon's "chamber of destiny" must be sought in Ekur<sup>2</sup>, while, from a study of the important cult text VAT 7849 describing the *akîtu* festival at Uruk in the month of Nisan, Zimmermann was under the impression, and advanced the conjecture (1918)<sup>3</sup> that the various details of the *akîtu* festival at Babylon were copied from the festival at Uruk<sup>4</sup>. The evidence of VAT 9418 is confirmed by other texts as far as Nippur and Uruk are concerned, but we learn no-

"the shining chamber of the gods" (cf. 92691, Rev. b 11 *du* = *du-u ša ili*); above in pp. 18, 30 we met with the word as the name of the seventh month in the Nippur list, which may be compared with the fact that the *akîtu* festival was celebrated in Tišrit in earlier times (and as late as the time of the Seleucids at Uruk? cf. p. 31<sup>1</sup>). For this reason amongst others Jensen's identification (*KdB*, p. 87<sup>2</sup>) of the names *itubar-zag-gar-ra* (Nisan) and *ubšu-ukkin-na* seems to me doubtful.

<sup>1</sup> In Nebuchadnezzar I.'s inscription, VR 55, I 14, this town is mentioned as Anu's town in the district of Bit-Ħabban, most probably situated in Southern Babylonia.

<sup>2</sup> *RBA*, I. p. 457.

<sup>3</sup> *ZBN*, II. p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above p. 52.

thing beyond the mere fact that the gods determine the destiny, or we simply hear of the "chamber of destiny"<sup>1</sup>.

The problems connected with *parak šimâti* (and the two Sumerian designations *du-azag* and *ubšu-ukkin-na*) were first dealt with at length by Jensen in *KdB* (1890), pp. 234—43, and his investigation contains many interesting details. Arguing chiefly from three passages (DT 122; VR 50, I 2—6; IVR 63, II 17—18) he arrives at the conclusion that *ašar šimâtum* (= *du azag*) must be sought in the mountain of the east, i. e. the mountain from which the sun (*šamaš*) rises<sup>2</sup>, that *du-azag*, which according to Neb. EJ II 54—55 is a small locality in *ubšu-ukkin-na*, must from the evidence afforded by DT 122 be sought under the ground near the regions of apsû, that *ubšu-ukkin-na* is often mentioned as situated in Ekur<sup>3</sup>, and that *e-kur* is the earth as a mountain, lying in the east<sup>4</sup>. To summarize: *ubšu-ukkin-na* must be sought under the ground in the mountain of Ekur (i. e. the earth, the world) in the east. And he adds the familiar astro-mythological reflections about Marduk as the eastern sun, etc. To this I have little to remark. From what I know of the unpublished text DT 122 from Jensen's quotation and from AV 1101, I do not consider that we are forced to conclude from DT 122 that, like

<sup>1</sup> Nippur: for Sumerian texts see Landsberger, *KK*, pp. 27<sup>5</sup>, 33 f.; Agum-kakrimi, VR 33, VII 36—38; Labartu II 17; K. 8531 + Rm 126, Rev. 14 (cf. Obv. 16. 20. 22 and II R 19, 13a, according to which the Anunnaki inhabit the *ubšu-ukkin-na*); — Uruk: for the akîtu festival in Tišrit see AO 6465, Obv. 9. 14, Rev. 18; AO 6459, Rev. 11. 16; for the same festival in Nisan see VAT 7849, I 4; III 21, and AO 6460, Rev. 5. 7. 9. 20 in the description of a nocturnal festival to Anu in his temple(?) between the sixteenth and seventeenth day of an un-named month.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. VR 50, I 2—6 *itušamaš ul-tu ša-di-i ra-bi-i ina a-ši-ka . . . iš-tu ša-di-i a-šar ši-ma-a-tum ina [a-ši-ka] . . .*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. IVR 63, II 17—18 *ub-šu-ukkin-na<sup>ki</sup> šu-bat ši-tul-ti ilâni<sup>mēš</sup> ra-bâti<sup>mēš</sup> ša ki-rib e-kur.*

<sup>4</sup> Jensen, *KdB*, pp. 185 ff. Cf. also Hrozný, *MVAG*, VIII s. p. 92.

apsû, *du-azag* must be sought under the ground, while I admit that Jensen's identification of Ekur and the earth<sup>1</sup> will no doubt hold its own, with various modifications which are without interest here. For the whole line of thought, revealed in the passages referring to *ubšu-ukkin-na* adduced by Jensen in support hereof, is alien to the *akitu* festival itself. These passages embody late cosmic speculations of the priesthood by which celestial or rather divine prototypes have been established for the entire cult festival, in accordance with the late Babylonian dogma of the priests that whatever happens on earth is only a reflection of the divine things. That these late speculations had their origin in the primitive way of thinking, nay, were simply primitive reasoning inverted, as we shall see in Chapter IV, does not preclude the fact that for our understanding of the external and internal course of the *akitu* festival they are immaterial here. And the whole of the material adduced by Jensen is therefore useless in this special connection, it being our purpose to examine *ubšu-ukkin-na*'s position in relation to Esagila. To me, at any rate, there is no doubt that the prototype of the cosmic *ubšu-ukkin-na* must be sought in the earthly *parak šimâti* and not the reverse, and that all further information to be gathered from Jensen's material will not take us one step nearer to understanding the position of the latter within the temenos of Babylon.—

Both Jastrow<sup>2</sup> and Zimmern<sup>3</sup> take it for granted that *parak šimâti* is in Esagila. In contrast to them Weissbach pointed out in 1904<sup>4</sup> that it must be understood to be an independent sanctuary, situated in the northern part of

<sup>1</sup> From IVR 63, II 17—18 we learn nothing, for in this passage *e-kur* may very well be the temple at Nippur.

<sup>2</sup> *RBA*, pp. 456—57.      <sup>3</sup> *KAT*<sup>3</sup>, p. 402.      <sup>4</sup> *SB*, pp. 18, 24.

the Kašr where the Marduk Canal and Aiburšabu cut each other. The basis for this conjecture was EJ VIII 38, which we mentioned above on pp. 66, 71—72 where we suggested that the *parakku* mentioned in the passage from Nebuchadnezzar was probably identical with the *parak sihir nâri* mentioned in K. 9876. Of course, if we bear in mind the passage in Nerigl. IR 67, I 41 ff. in which it is said that the Euphrates flows past Esagila, we cannot dismiss the idea that this latter *parakku* may possibly have been one of the numerous chapels in Esagila. But we may point out that not all the sacred localities mentioned in K. 9876 are to be sought in Esagila, and that, in our opinion, the excavations on the 'Amrân have shown that the Euphrates cannot have flowed so close by Esagila that an expression such as *parak sihir nâri* is probable for one of the chapels of this sanctuary. But however this may be, as regards the *parakku* mentioned in K. 9876, Weissbach's theory will in any case remain improbable, as will be seen from the succeeding investigation. — Hommel (1904)<sup>1</sup> localizes *parak šimâti* in Ezida, or more exactly stated (on the basis of Nerigl. IR 67, I 33—40) in Nabu's *papaḥu*, Ezida. We shall consider the passage in Neriglissar later on, but when Hommel adds that during the akîtu festival the *parak šimâti* from Esagila was removed to the *bît akîtu*, this idea is quite his own, for it is attested by no passage in any of the texts.

Our material dealing with *parak šimâti* in Babylon itself is not very extensive. True, various texts refer to a *parak šimâti* or *ubšu-ukkin-na* in this city, but none of these texts mention where we are to seek it<sup>2</sup>. However, from ST, Obv. 3, referring

<sup>1</sup> GGAO, pp. 330, 332<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> K. 3473 + 79—7—8, 296 + Rm 615, 61. 119; Bu 88—5—12, 75 + 76, X 28; K. 9876, Obv. 4; VAT 9418, Obv. II 11; Enuma eliš, II 137; III 61. 119; VI 142, perhaps *pa-rak ru-bu-tim* IV 1 and *pa-rak ilâni-ma* IV 11 are here identical with *parak šimâti*.

to the size of *Ub-šu-ukkin-na*, we see that it is in Esagila; in Obv. 1—2 Esagila's *kisallu širu* is mentioned and then Zama-ma's and Istar's court, and in Obv. 5—13 the lengths and breadths of the courts are mentioned, and the number of gates in Esagila is given, whereupon, on Obv. 16 ff., follows the description of Etemenanki. What we learn from ST is fully corroborated by EJ II; in lines 40—53 Esagila and its chapels Ekua and Kaduglisug are described, after which lines 54—65 read: *du-azag ašar šīmâti ša ub-šu-ukkin-na parak ši-ma-a-ti ša i-na zag-mu-ku ri-eš ša-at-ti ūmi 8<sup>kam</sup> ūmi 11<sup>kam</sup> ilu šar ilâni šamê iršitim bêlu ilu i-ra-am-mu-u ĩi-ri-ib-šu ilâni šu-ut šamê iršitim pa-al-ĥi-iš u-ta-ak-ku-šu ka-am-su iz-za-zu maĥ-ru-uš-šu ši-ma-at ū-um da-ir-u-tim ši-ma-at ba-la-ĥi-ia i-ši-im-mu i-na ĥi-ir-bi*. Then follows III 1—7, describing the decoration of this *parakku* and *u-nu-ti bît e-sag-ila* (III 8—12) whereupon the inscription goes on to describe the rest of the sanctuaries in Babylon, beginning with Etemenanki (III 15 ff.). Hence, at the description in II 54—65 we must probably be in Esagila. The question now arises whether we can proceed one step further and determine in what part of Esagila *parak šīmâti* was situated. Here we can quite disregard the speculations based on ST before its rediscovery<sup>1</sup>. From EJ V 12—20 (see p. 62) we merely learn that the procession street began at (in) Du-azag in Esagila and thence ran northward to the gate at the bridge over Libilĥegalla. However, Nerigl. IR 67, I 33—40 seems to furnish more detailed information; here we read: *parak ši-ma-a-ti ša ĩi-ri-ib e-zi-da [ša i-na] za-am-mu-[ku] ri-e-ša ša-at-ti [a-na i-sin-ni a]-ki-ti ta-bi-e ilu<sup>u</sup>en-lil ilâni ilu<sup>u</sup>marduk [ištu bar-sip<sup>ki</sup> i]ĥ-ĥi-ĥu a-na ĩi-ri-ib bâbili<sup>ki</sup> [ilu<sup>u</sup>nabû su]-la u na-a-ri ša ba-*

<sup>1</sup> E. g. by Hommel, *GGAO*, p. 330.

*bi-lam*<sup>ki</sup> [*i-ra*]-*am-mu-u ši-ru-uš-šu* [*ša šarru ma-aḥ-ri i-na ḥurâši ip-ti-ku*] *pi-ti-ik-šu* [*ḥurâši ru-uš-ša-a u-ša-al-bi-iš*]. The sense of this much broken passage, which may be supplemented by means of the duplicate mentioned on p. 76<sup>1</sup>, is unquestionable; it refers to Ezida, Nabu's *papaḥu* in Esagila, to which he goes in procession at the akîtu festival, and in which there is a *parak šîmâti*.

We cannot, however, conclude our investigation with only this single passage in Neriglissar to rely on. True, the fact that the latter, as we see from IR67, carried out extensive restorations, cannot be used as an argument against the statements in I 33—40, for it is hardly probable that he should have carried out any radical changes in the arrangements made by his predecessors in so important a part of the cult. We must, however, closely examine the very few passages at our disposal to see whether everything tends to show that *parak šîmâti* must be sought in Nabu's *papaḥu*, Ezida. To begin with we must point out that the two Nebuchadnezzar passages in EJ II and V do not, when compared with Nerigl. IR67, furnish the same information, quite apart from the fact that the latter passage localizes *parak šîmâti* in Ezida. EJ II and V refer to *du-azag*, whereas IR67 mentions *parak šîmâti*, and from EJ II it would seem that *du-azag* is "the place of destiny" (*ki-nam-tar-tar-e-ne*, Sem. *ašar šîmâti*), found in the "chamber of destiny" (*ub-šu-ukkin-na*, Sem. *parak šîmâti*), whereas EJ V identifies *du-azag* and *parak šîmâti*. This uncertainty is all the more to be regretted because the other passages at our disposal in which *du-azag* is mentioned show us nothing about its relation to *ubšu-ukkin-na*. As mentioned on p. 95, DT 122 does not help us, and the other passages to which



we shall return in a little while, tell us nothing of the mutual relationship of the localities. Hence I think that we must leave open the question as to whether *du-azag* was a part of or a certain place in *parak šīmāti* (e. g. a throne on a dais or something similar), which according to IR 67 is again found in Ezida, or whether it was identical with *ubšu-ukkin-na*. For we have no means of deciding what is most probable from a consideration of temple conditions in Babylon, and one passage speaks in favour of, the other passage against the supposition.

We now return to the question: is there anything that speaks in favour of or anything that speaks against the supposition that *parak šīmāti* is in Ezida as stated in the Neriglissar passage? Here we must first point out some titles given to Nabu. He is called *ilu du-azag-ga* in VR 43, Rev. 17; VR 46 No. 2, Rev. 52; Rm 610, Obv. 25; K. 29, Obv. 24. This renders it probable that the *ilu du-azag-ga* mentioned in IVR 2, IV 27—28, is Nabu. Further he is called *šar kiš-šat ilâni šami-i irši-lim* in Sargon's Ann. 310; *ilušar ilâni šamê iršitim*<sup>1</sup> VR 34, I 50 and IR 65, I 34, which answers to the title of the unnamed god who according to EJ II 54—65 takes up his residence in *parak šīmāti* on the eighth and eleventh days of Nisan. But this does not settle the matter, for Marduk is called *ilumâr du-azag* in IVR 64, Obv. 24; K. 4210, II 12, and *ilulugal du-azag-ga* in K. 8519, Rev. 6, with which may be compared expressions used about Marduk such as *iluenlil ilâni* in VR 34, I 48; EJ IV 8; VII 24, and *šar ilâni*<sup>mes</sup> in Ašurb. Ann. (Rassam Cyl.) IX 11. Thus we are left at an impasse, for we cannot determine

<sup>1</sup> Cf. DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 301.

whether the title in EJ II 58 should be referred to Marduk or to Nabu. From BE 13420 we see that on the eleventh of Nisan Marduk goes in a procession from *bit akitu* to Esagila, and thus according to EJ II 54—65 to *parak šimâti*. This circumstance would render it probable that it is Marduk who is referred to in EJ II 57—59, and that Nabu, who is in the procession belongs to the *ilâni šu-ut šamê iršitim pa-al-ḫi-iš u-ta-ak-ku-šu ka-am-su iz-za-zu maḫ-ru-uš-šu* (EJ II 60—62)<sup>1</sup>. But this conjecture does not preclude the possibility of *parak šimâti* being situated in Ezida. However, a comparison of all the passages in the Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions in which there occurs a reference to Esagila's *papaḫâni*<sup>2</sup>, i. e. Ekua, Ezida, and Kaduglisug, with EJ II 40—III 12 where Ekua, Kaduglisug, *bâb e-zi-da*, and *parak šimâti*, but not Ezida, are mentioned, renders it extremely probable that the passage in Neriglissar referring to *parak šimâti* in Ezida is trustworthy. As regards Nabu's and Marduk's share in the ceremonies in *parak šimâti* and the mutual relationship of these gods, these problems will be dealt with in a later section of this chapter (E. 3.).

On p. 93 above we saw that VAT 9418 mentioned seven different cities whose temples possessed a *parak šimâti*, and that the main temples of the chief cities throughout the Assyrian and Babylonian empire were of a similar character to Esagila, possessing such *papaḫâni* and *parakkê* as Ekua, Ezida, and Kaduglisug. This is attested by numerous passages. At Borsippa *papaḫâti* in Ezida<sup>3</sup> to Nabu

<sup>1</sup> Langdon takes another view (VAB, IV. p. 126 notes). He thinks that the title refers to Nabu and that III 1 b—3 is added to introduce Marduk.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 87—88.

<sup>3</sup> EJ III 44.

are referred to; his adytum is called Emaḥtila<sup>1</sup>, and another chapel within it is called *e-rug-ga-na*<sup>2</sup>; in another of the temples a *bît isûirši*<sup>3</sup> is referred to, (perhaps identical with the *e-har-ša-ba* mentioned in VATh 663, Obv. 18, 20). The name of Ninib's adytum in Emete(n)ursag at Kiš<sup>4</sup> was Ekišibba<sup>5</sup>, and a *pa-rik-ma-ḥu*<sup>6</sup> at Nippur is mentioned; whether this is in Ekur we cannot see from the context, but from K. 9876, Rev. 28 we learn that at Babylon the *paramaḥḥu* was in *bît akitu*<sup>7</sup>. From Sippar we hear of *pa-pa-ḥi illušamši*<sup>8</sup>, and at Ur one of the *papahâni* at the temple of Egišširgal is called Enunmaḥ<sup>9</sup>. Here it is interesting to note that Enunmaḥ was originally a temple at Nippur<sup>10</sup>, since this suggests a parallel to the Ezida in Esagila at Babylon<sup>11</sup>, besides rendering it probable that the *e-ul-maš* mentioned in AO 7439, Obv. 4<sup>12</sup>, which was originally a temple at Sippar, is a chapel at the chief temple of Uruk. The texts published by Thureau-Dangin refer to a number of *bît*, *papahâni*, and *parakkê* in this city, most of them in Anu's temple and in Eanna<sup>13</sup>, viz.

<sup>1</sup> VR 34, II 4; WB VI 21; 82-7-14, 1042, I 41; Neb. Pennsylvania Cyl. A, I 41.

<sup>2</sup> ? Neb. BE 21211, 3.

<sup>3</sup> 82-5-22, 96, Obv. 8. 15 (cf. ST, Obv. 34); on the localization of the events mentioned in this text see below in section E. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Code of Hammurabi, II 62.

<sup>5</sup> Neb. Pennsylvania Cyl. A, III 76. 80. 81. 84.

<sup>6</sup> K. 133, Obv. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Likewise Hommel, *GGAO*, p. 336<sup>1</sup>, though for other reasons. Cf. also p. 102<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> 81-4-28, 3 + 4, I 25. 37. 38.

<sup>9</sup> IR 68 No. 6, 3-4.

<sup>10</sup> 29623, Obv. 16.

<sup>11</sup> See p. 89.

<sup>12</sup> The context is quite broken.

<sup>13</sup> AO 7439, Obv. 10.

*bît pa-pa-ḥa*<sup>1</sup>, *bît pa-pa-ḥa Ištar*<sup>2</sup>, *bît KA-ŠER-HU-HU*<sup>3</sup>, *pa-pa-ḥa*<sup>4</sup>, *parakki Ani*<sup>5</sup>, *pa-rak-ku šar-ru-tu*<sup>6</sup>, and *parakki rabî*<sup>7</sup>, whereas it is doubtful whether *ki-aga-zî-da* and *ki-aga-azag-ga* should be interpreted as *papaḥâni*<sup>8</sup>, or simply as places within one or several of these, or in the courts. *E-ka-bi-du(g)-ga*<sup>9</sup>, on the other hand, seems to be a *bîtu* in Anu's temple; and in AO 6460, Obv. 6 *e-nir* which is mentioned but without further particulars in AO 6459, Obv. 4, is called *bît isirši hurâši*<sup>10</sup>. — The frequent use of the term (*ina*) *šub-ti-šu*<sup>11</sup> both in the Uruk texts and in the Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions (in connection with Esagila) does not make us much wiser<sup>12</sup>, since we cannot determine whether it refers to the temple in general or to one of its *papaḥâni*.

2. Etemenanki. Of other sanctuaries in Babylon besides Esagila we must first mention Etemenanki, the famous Tower of Babylon which is still a subject of controversy among scholars. In spite of Hommel's different arguments

<sup>1</sup> AO 6459, Obv. 11; AO 6460, Obv. 9; AO 6465, Rev. 14; AO 7439, Rev. 11.

<sup>2</sup> VAT 7849, I 25.

<sup>3</sup> AO 6459, Obv. 17.

<sup>4</sup> AO 6460, Obv. 34; AO 7439, Rev. 9; VAT 7849, I 11. 13; IV 20.

<sup>5</sup> AO 6459, Rev. 2; AO 6461, Rev. 18.

<sup>6</sup> AO 6461, Obv. 8.

<sup>7</sup> VAT 7849, IV 13; from AO 7439, Rev. 5 we see that this (Sum. *bara-maḥ* = Sem. *paramaḥḥu*) is in *bît akîtu*. In AO 6460, Obv. 14–15 we read: *ina maššarti šimêtan ina u-ru paramaḥḥi ziq-qur-rat ša bît-ri-eš* (cf. Obv. 34, in which the ziggurat is again mentioned), from which it seems apparent that there was a *paramaḥḥu* in Uruk's ziggurat. Of the latter we have no further information; the *paramaḥḥu* at Babylon is in *bît akîtu*, see p. 101.

<sup>8</sup> VAT 7849, I 8. 9.

<sup>9</sup> AO 6459, Obv. 26.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. p. 101<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. e. g. AO 6461, Obv. 18; AO 7439, Obv. 15, Rev. 12; VAT 7849, IV 15.

<sup>12</sup> Also Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* p. 97<sup>1</sup>.

intending to show that Etemenanki was part of Esagila<sup>1</sup>, situated on the Kaşr, the excavations have proved<sup>2</sup> that Etemenanki was situated somewhat to the north of Esagila just where the mound of Sakhn is seen in Plate I. Sennacherib destroyed it when he captured Babylon, but Nabopolassar began to rebuild it<sup>3</sup>, and it was completed by Nebuchadnezzar<sup>4</sup>. In all texts this structure is called a *zikūratu*, and is thus distinct from the other temples; the excavations have uncovered the foundations, but if we attempt to form an idea of its appearance from the information furnished by the texts, the numerous reconstruction attempts<sup>5</sup> show that the descriptions in the texts are too scanty to give us any distinct impression of the structure of such a *zikūratu*. The purely architectural problems do not come within the scope of this work, and in this section of our enquiry we shall merely point out what is known about Etemenanki in so far as it has any connection with the *akitu* festival. Any one who has perused the whole of the material is struck by the remarkable fact that Etemenanki is nowhere mentioned in the description of the course of the festival though numerous other sacred localities in Babylon are referred to. Nor do we meet with any reference to ceremonies performed here. Indeed, I believe I may add that beyond the constant

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e. g. the plan on p. 321 in *GGAO* and above on pp. 59, 82—83.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. particularly *MDOG*, LI. and LIII.

<sup>3</sup> 86—7—20, 1, I 32—33.

<sup>4</sup> EJ III 15—17; WB III 59—IV 22; VR 34, I 53; IR 65, I 39—40; K. 1685, I 23—26; 82—7—14, 1042, I 34; 85—4—30, 1, I 38—43; Neb. Pennsylvania Cyl. A, I 34; Neb. Pennsylvania Cyl. B, I 44—II 11.

<sup>5</sup> A survey of these is found in A. Moberg, *Babels Torn*, Lund, 1918. (*Acta Universitatis Lundensis*, Nova series XIV. No. 20); on Koldewey's latest hypothesis in *MDOG*, LIX. see also Dombart in *OLZ* 1918, pp. 161 ff.

reference to the building of Etemenanki or "its head" in the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings, and the frequent mention made of it in hymns where it is referred to or invoked in conjunction with Esagila, Ekur, and other temples, we find nothing about Etemenanki or its religious uses in the entire Assyro-Babylonian literature. Scholars have taken it for granted that the ziggurat must have been used for astronomical observations<sup>1</sup>, but of this we know nothing conclusive. We must frankly admit that here we are confronted with one of the most remarkable phenomena in the sacred history of Babylon. The huge structure, which, with its great peribolos<sup>2</sup>, covers a much more extensive area than Esagila, though this was Babylon's chief cultual building, is a strange enigma to us. When in spite of this fact we shall now at the present stage of our enquiry proceed to a closer examination of the evidence concerning Etemenanki afforded by the texts, this is due exclusively to two circumstances. In ST *ê (giš) nâ*, "the house (temple) of the bed", is mentioned in Obv. 31, and *(giš) nâ*, "the bed", in Obv. 34 during the enumeration of *pa-pa-ḥa-a-ni ša nu-ḥar* in Etemenanki; and from several passages in the very important text VAT 9555, which we shall subsequently deal with in more detail, it appears that Marduk's ritual death<sup>3</sup> was celebrated, quite cultually, at the akîtu festival. Now these two facts remind one

<sup>1</sup> Koldewey, *Babylon*, p. 192 (this idea was advanced already among the Ancients by Diod. *Bibl. histor.* II. 9); when Weissbach says in *SB*, p. 24: Die babylonischen Stufentürme dienten wahrscheinlich nicht nur religiösen, sondern auch wissenschaftlichen und militärischen Zwecken, this is all mere guesswork.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Koldewey, *Babylon*, pp. 179 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below in section E. 5.

partly of a cultual *ἱερὸς γάμος*<sup>1</sup>, and partly of Strabo's reference<sup>2</sup> to *ὁ τοῦ Βήλου τέφος*<sup>3</sup> in Etemenanki. We shall subsequently consider more closely the value of these two testimonies, and subject the whole question to a thorough discussion<sup>4</sup>. Here we have only referred to the accounts of the classical authors in order to show why we shall now proceed to a closer examination of the evidence about Etemenanki afforded by our sources.

Of the numerous passages in the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings which we mentioned above in p. 103<sup>3-4</sup> and in which the building of Etemenanki is referred to, only three are fairly detailed, viz. Neb. 85—4—30, 1, I 38—43; WB III 59—IV 22; and Neb. Pennsylvania Cyl. B, I 44—II 11; the last of these is, however, in vague and general terms and is of less interest here. In Neb. 85—4—30, 1, I 38—43 we read: *e-temen-an-ki zi-ku-ra-at bâb-ili<sup>ki</sup> e-ur-*

<sup>1</sup> We cannot accept Herodotus' evidence (I. 180—181) of Esagila and Etemenanki; the reference in ST to several rooms at the top invalidates his description of only one room (*νηὸς μέγας*) at the top. The excavation of the large stairway leading to Etemenanki (cf. *MDOG*, LIII. Fig. 5) and the fact that neither Esagila nor Etemenanki existed any longer at the time of Herodotus (cf. Arrian, *Anab.* III. 16; VII. 17; Strabo, XVI. 5; Aelian, *var. hist.* XIII. 3; Xerxes destroyed them in 479 B. C., Alexander ordered them to be rebuilt; confirmed by a contemporary cuneiform text, cf. *CT*, IV. Pl. 39) show that, in spite of his direct statement of autopsy, his descriptions cannot apply to Esagila and Etemenanki. Perhaps his description applies to Euriminanki at Borsippa. He has also erroneously made Babylon and Borsippa combined constitute a Greater Babylon as we gather especially from his references to the course of the Euphrates through the city. See further Fr. Delitzsch in *Festschrift Eduard Sachau gewidmet*, Berl. 1915, pp. 97—98.

<sup>2</sup> XVI. 1, 5.

<sup>3</sup> For this expression cf. the Sum. *gigunû* (the Gudea Stat. B 5<sub>18</sub>; Stat. D 2<sub>9</sub>; Cyl. A 24<sub>20</sub> in Ningirsu's temple, *e-ninnû*, in Lagaš; the Code of Hammurabi, II 28; IV R 24 No. 2, 3—8, in which *e-kur*, *a-ra-lu*, and *gi-gun-nû*, written *GI(G)-UNU-NA*, are paralleled) and Thureau-Dangin in *ZA*, XVIII. p. 132<sup>5</sup>, further, below in p. 108<sup>3-4</sup> and in section E. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. section E. 4. and E. 5.

*imina-an-ki zi-ḫu-ra-at bar-sip<sup>ki</sup> bi-ti-iḫ-ši-na ka-la-mu i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri e-pu-uš u-ša-ak-li-il-ma ki-iš-ši el-lu ma-aš-ta-ku ta-ak-ni-e i-na a-gur-ri abnuuknî el-li-tim i-na ri-e-ša-a-ši-na na-am-ri e-pu-uš*, from which we see that on the top of (literally “on the head of” or “in the head of”) the two ziggurats at Babylon and Borsippa a shining *kiššu* is built which is more exactly described as an ingeniously constructed *maštaku*. The Wadi Brisa passage points in the same direction, *e-temen-an-ki zi-ḫu-ra-at bâb-ili<sup>ki</sup> ša ilunabû-apal-u-šu-ur šar bâb-ili<sup>ki</sup> a-bi ba-nu-u-a te-me-en-šu u-ki-in-nu-ma 30 ammat u-za-ḫi-ru-u-ma la ul-lu-um ri-e-ša-a-ḫu-ia-a-ti a-na e-pi-ši-šu ḫatâ aš-ku-un-ma išu<sup>erine</sup> dannu-u-tim ša i-na šadû-la-ab-na-nu ḫi-iš-ti-šu-nu i-na ḫatâ-ia el-li-ti ak-ki-sa a-na ši-pi-šu aš-ta-ak-[kan] ka-nun-azu ka [lamma] ka-nun-ḫe-gal ka-u-[dî] bâbâni-šu ša-ad-[la-a-ti] i-ta-at e-temen-an-ki ki-ma ša û-um [u-nam-mir] u-ra-ki-[is-ma] išu<sup>erine</sup> meš [dannû-ti] a-na [zu-lu-li-ši-na] u-ḫa-at-ri-iš išu<sup>tal</sup>-[lu] išu<sup>hetti</sup> išu<sup>ka</sup>-[na-ku] dalâti<sup>meš</sup> el-[li-e-ti] ša išu<sup>erini</sup> aš-tak-kan-šu-nu-ti*. The mighty cedars which are several times stated to have been employed in the construction of the building point in the same direction as the reference to it as a *kiššu* in 85—4—30, 1. Before we enter upon a discussion of the particulars supplied by these two passages in Nebuchadnezzar, we shall mention another important piece of evidence concerning Etemenanki found in ST, Obv. 16—Rev. 6<sup>1</sup>. After giving the dimensions of the base of Etemenanki, its length and breadth, Obv. 25 ff. mentions six *pa-pa-ḫa-a-ni ša nu-ḫar*. In the east are Marduk’s, Nabu’s, and Tašmet’s *pa-pa-ḫa-a-ni*, in the north Ea’s and Nusku’s, in the south

<sup>1</sup> On the measurements here given and other speculations on the architectural construction of Etemenanki we shall not enter as we do not regard it as coming within the scope of our subject.



Anu and Sin's, and in the west amongst others *ê (giš) nâ*, "the house of the bed", and *ê a-nu-u*, "the house of the implements". Thereupon mention is made of a *kisallu*, which we must imagine situated in the middle with the *papaḥâni* grouped around it; and finally four gates to this court are referred to, the East, South, West, and North gates.

If now we collate these three detailed passages about Etemenanki, we shall obtain greater clarity on certain points while others seem to grow more complicated. The word *kiššu* which was employed in 85—4—30, 1 to denote the sanctuary built in the upper part of the ziggurat is no technical term like *bîtu*, *papaḥu*, or *parakku* but more probably a poetical expression for the place in which the god takes up his abode. Thus Šamaš' temple at Sippar is called *e-bar-ra ki-iš-ši ra-aš-ba*<sup>1</sup>, and it is likewise said of Esagila, *i-na e-sag-ila ki-iz-zi ra-aš-bu e-gal ša-mi-e u ir-zi-tim*<sup>2</sup>, hence it is permissible to draw the conclusion that *kiššu* is to be interpreted as a temple or a temple area. The description in ST of the six *pa-pa-ḥa-a-ni ša nu-ḥar* grouped round a court to which four gates belong, corresponds with this conception. As regards the word *nu-ḥa-ar*, it is mentioned in two passages VR 41 No. 1, Rev. 22, and K. 5433 (+ II R 26 No. 1), 35—36, in addition to ST, Obv. 25, in which latter passage it is, however, impossible to see what it means. In the first of the passages referred to the text is so corrupt that we can learn nothing of the real meaning of the word from it; in the second text, which is a bilingual vocabulary, we read *E-ŠI-E-NIR |nu-ḥar* and in the next line *IM-KAK-A*<sup>3</sup> | *zig-*

<sup>1</sup> Nabon. 85—4—30, 2, II 13—14.

<sup>2</sup> 82—7—14, 1042, I 27—28; VR 34, I 46—47, which has the variant *ki-iš-ši* for *ki-iz-zi*.

<sup>3</sup> Most frequently written *ŠI-E-NER* cf. Muss-Arnolt, p. 291 b.

*gur-ra-tum*. Until further material comes to hand, we must be permitted to infer from this that *nuḥar* and *ziḫḫuratu* are semasiologically related. The fact that ST, which was composed at Uruk in the time of the Seleucids on December 12th 229 B. C.<sup>1</sup>, employs archaic language in spite of its late date, may perhaps explain why we find such a rare word as *nuḥar* in Obv. 25 instead of the more common *ziḫḫuratu*. — In 85—4—30, 1 the word *kiššu* is appositional to *maštaku*, which is mentioned in Nabon. 85—4—30, 2, II 15—19 in connection with the king's building operations at Sippar, *mu-ša-ab ilušamši u ilu<sup>a</sup>a<sup>2</sup> u zi-ḫu-ra-ti gi-gu-na-a-šu ši-i-ri ku-um-mu da-ru-u maš-ta-ku da-[ru-u?] te-mi-en-šu-un in-na-mi-ir-ma in-na-aṭ-ṭa-la u-šu-ra-ti-šu-un*. Here we see *maštaku* as an apposition to *gigunû*. Above, in p. 105<sup>3</sup> we mentioned other passages in which we meet with this word. Further it is probable, from several reasons, that amongst other things *gigunû* had the sense of "sepulchre, sepulchral chamber"<sup>3</sup>. If now we further consider *gigunû*'s connection with *maštaku* and bear in mind the fact that the latter word is referred to in 85—4—30, 1 as a parallel to that *kiššu* in Etemenanki of which we learn in ST, Obv. 16—Rev. 6, the suggestion is obvious that there was a sepulchral chamber to Marduk in Etemenanki<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Koldewey, *MDOG*, LIX. p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. the temple Ebarra.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Leander, *SL*, p. 10; Hilprecht, *Expl.* pp. 462—66; Muss-Arnolt, p. 213; Langdon, *VAB*, IV. p. 237<sup>2</sup>; Streck, *VAB*, VII 2. p. 352<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> From linguistic considerations alone I should never venture to draw such a conclusion as regards *gigunû* (its connection in Nabon. 85—4—30, 2 with *maštaku*, which is again connected with *kiššu*, and the Code of Hammurabi, II 26—28 *mu-ša-al-bi-iš wa-ar-ki-im gi-gu-ne-e ilu<sup>a</sup>A. A.* seems to me to argue against such a conception). I argue merely from the evidence in VAT 9555 (cf. section E. 5.) in conjunction with the fact that *gigunû* may mean "sepulchre, sepulchral chamber".

In support of our conjecture we may point out that the ziggurat at Nippur<sup>1</sup> was called *e-gigunû*<sup>2</sup>. Possibly the ziggurat of Nippur was the prototype, both as regards its exterior and its interior, of the rest of the Babylonian ziggurats<sup>3</sup>. — All these facts summarized may perhaps warrant the conclusion that in the sanctuary found in the upper part of Etemenanki there was a chamber containing Marduk's tomb as well as a bridal chamber, *ê (giš) nâ*, but we must expressly emphasize that this result has only been arrived at by a combination of Nabon. 85—4—30, 2 and the passages in Nebuchadnezzar with the much later Seleucid tablet, ST, which again is more than two hundred years later than Herodotus who neither mentions *gigunû* or *maštaku* in his otherwise very full description of the temple in the "head" of Etemenanki. The assumption that *ê (giš) nâ* combined the sacred functions both of a sepulchral and a bridal chamber does not seem very satisfactory to me, and we dare hardly identify the sepulchral chamber with *pa-pah [(an) Marduk]* in ST, Obv. 25. We must, however, point out that in one respect the information we gather from ST is not clear, for it mentions six *pa-pa-ḥa-*

<sup>1</sup> About the excavation of this cf. Hilprecht, *Expl.* pp. 358—477.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. IV R 27 No. 2, 26 *e-gi-gu-ni-e* and the statements in an Ašurb. text not yet published, found in the ziggurat of Nippur, of parts of which Hilprecht has given translations in *Expl.* p. 462.

<sup>3</sup> We know little of the ziggurats in other cities than Babylon beyond what we recorded already about those of Nippur and Sippar. In a detailed passage in K. 1685, I 27—II 15, we hear of the building of *e-ur-imin-an-ki* at Borsippa by Nebuchadnezzar, but the passage says nothing of the interior of the building. In addition it is mentioned in EJ III 67 and 85—4—30, 1, I 39. Greater interest attaches to Sir Henry Rawlinson's excavations of Euriminanki at Birs-Nimrûd (*JRAS*, XVIII. pp. 1—34), the results of which recall the information given by Herodotus in I. 98. At Ur the ziggurat was called *e-lugal-malga-si-di* (IR 68 No. 1, I 5), on a similar structure at Uruk see p. 102<sup>7</sup>. About other ziggurats in Mesopotamia see Moberg's survey cited on p. 103<sup>5</sup>.

*a-ni*, but in addition to six *ê* to Marduk, Nabu, Tašmet, Ea, Nusku, and Anu and Sin (ST, Obv. 25—30), three (or four?) other *ê* are mentioned in Obv. 30—33, among which is *ê (giš) nâ*. And in order to call attention to the discrepancy in the evidence afforded by our main sources we must also mention that the Nebuchadnezzar passages do not refer to any *ê (giš) nâ*, and that the names of Etemenanki's gates in the Wadi Brisa passage (III 59—IV 22) seem identical with the four gates which are mentioned as the gates of Esagila in ST and Nerigl. IR 67, I 23. 29. We cannot of course absolutely reject the possibility that for cultural reasons unknown to us the gates may have had identical names in both places, but it looks strange<sup>1</sup>.

3. *bît akîtu*. Above, during our enquiry concerning the name of the great Babylonian cult festival, we saw that a temple, *bît akîtu*, of great importance in connection with the annual festival and perhaps deriving its name from it, was found not only at Babylon<sup>2</sup>, but also in several other Mesopotamian cities<sup>3</sup>. In that connection we cited all the passages in which it was mentioned, to which we here refer the reader, pointing out at the same time that *akîtu* alone in several passages stood for *bît akîtu*<sup>4</sup>. Before we describe the position of this temple at Babylon and state the little we know about it, we must briefly consider the different names by which it is mentioned in our texts. Besides the simple *bît akîtu* it is referred to in some passages which mention *bît akîtu* in other cities than Babylon as *bît akîtu ÊDIN*<sup>5</sup>. The inter-

<sup>1</sup> See below in section E. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 26—27.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 19—24.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 35—38.

<sup>5</sup> Esarh. K. 2711, Rev. 20; Sennach. K. 1356, Obv. 2; *MDOG*, XXXIII. p. 19 (Assur); cf. *ê-gal-edin* in Ašurb. K. 891, Obv. 6 (see p. 21).

pretation of the character *ĒDIN* is probably *šēru*<sup>1</sup>, which would be in excellent agreement with what we shall see below concerning the position of *bīt akītu*. We must, however, point out that *ĒDIN* may also mean *šīru*<sup>2</sup>, and that the passage *bīt-niḫī*<sup>3</sup> *a-ki-ti ṣi-ir-ti* in EJ IV 7 entitles us to leave open this possibility. From the Nabon. Stele IX 3–10 we learn the Babylonian names for *bīt akītu*: *ina araḥ nisanni ... šar ilāni<sup>mes</sup> ilu<sup>tu</sup>marduk ... i-na e-sigišše-sigišše bīt ik-ri-bi bīt a-ki-ti ... ra-mu-u šu-ub-ti*. Here we see that the Akkadian rendering of *e-sigišše-sigišše* is *bīt ik-ri-bi*. The correct Sumerian reading of the three characters is probably *e-zur*<sup>4</sup>, cf. VATh 663, Obv. 4, where we have *e-sigišše-sigišše-ra*, i. e. *e-zur-ra*, *-ra* being merely a phonetical supplement here<sup>5</sup>. The passage in Nabonidus seems to me to render it beyond doubt that the Akkadian name is *bīt ik-ri-bi*, especially as Hommel's reading *bīt zi-be*<sup>6</sup> must now be assumed to be due to a mistake partly on account of his erroneous identification of *bīt zi-be* in VATh 554, Rev. IV—III 4 and of *bīt akītu*<sup>7</sup>, and partly because the Sumerian reading *e-zur* points in the same direction as the Nabonidus passage. In addition to these three names (*bīt akītu* or *akītu* alone; *bīt akīt šēri* (non-

<sup>1</sup> Brünnow 4529.

<sup>2</sup> Brünnow 4531.

<sup>3</sup> Thus Langdon, *VAB*, IV. p. 128 (see above p. 39), which is wrong in any case; it reads *e-sigišše-sigišše*, of which see below.

<sup>4</sup> Delitzsch, *Sgl.* p. 227 (cp. Zimmern, *ZBN*, II. p. 44 and Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* p. 143 ad DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 401). Of the reading suggested by Streck who has collected all the material concerning *e-sigišše-sigišše* in *OLZ* 1905, pp. 330 ff., and to which we refer the reader, see above p. 15<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Meissner, *OLZ* 1905, pp. 579 f.

<sup>6</sup> *GGAO*, pp. 311, 324<sup>3</sup>, 327, 336<sup>2</sup>; has Langdon been influenced by this reading in his translation of EJ IV 7 (see above note 3)?

<sup>7</sup> See p. 14.

Babylonian?); *e-zur*, Akkadian *bit ik-ri-bi*) we know two others, one of which, *bit ni-gu-ti*<sup>1</sup>, “the temple of the feast of rapture”, is hardly a local name, but more probably a poetical term which we only meet with in this passage from Esarhaddon. The second name, *bit mahir hegalli*<sup>2</sup>, occurs in two fairly similar passages, Nabon. 81—4—28, 3 + 4, II 51 and 81—7—1, 9, II 31, which we cited above on pp. 25—26, while on pp. 39—40 we referred to the difficulties with which we were confronted in one of these passages. We consider it probable that both passages mention conditions peculiar to Babylon. But from these two passages alone, the only places in which this name occurs, we are unable to tell whether the name is a special Babylonian term for *bit akitu*, or whether it denotes one of the chapels in *bit akitu*<sup>3</sup>, or, finally, whether *bit mahir hegalli* was an independent sanctuary having no connection with *bit akitu*.

Owing to his erroneous theory of the position of Esagila, Hommel sought *bit akitu* on the mound of ‘Amrân<sup>4</sup>. We rejected this supposition (pp. 59 and 82—83), which is entirely precluded by our material and our previous investigations. In pp. 67—74 we saw that Marduk’s procession street ran from the south (Esagila) almost due north across Libilhegalla, running past the palaces on the Kaş through the Iştar Gate and thence further northward to the place where the Arahtu Canal and the Marduk Canal cut one another. From WB V 31—48 we further saw that the

<sup>1</sup> K. 2711, Rev. 20 (in Milkia see p. 22).

<sup>2</sup> Sum. *E. Da. Di. He. Gal* (Langdon, VAB, IV. p. 235<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the use of *bitu* about Zarpanitum’s chapel in Esagila (see pp. 87—89) and in the Uruk texts about various chapels in Anu’s temple and in Eanna (see pp. 101—102).

<sup>4</sup> GGAO, pp. 311<sup>3</sup>, 327<sup>2</sup>, 331<sup>1</sup>.

procession then proceeded along the Arahtu Canal in ships and thence to *bit akitu*. In this latter part where the procession proceeded on land Nebuchadnezzar planted an avenue of *ašuhû* cedars. And in EJ IV 7—13 Nebuchadnezzar further states the position of *bit akitu*: *bît-niḫi<sup>1</sup> a-ki-ti ši-ir-ti ša ilu<sup>en</sup>-lil ilâni marduk ši-kin hi-da-a-ti u ri-ša-a-ti ša i-gi-gi u ilu<sup>a</sup>-nun-na-ki i-na ka-ma-a-ti bâb-ili<sup>ki</sup> i-na ku-up-ri u a-gu-ur-ri ša-da-ni-iš e-ir-te*. On p. 60 we saw that the inner city wall which almost runs due north to south was referred to as built *ina kamât bâbilam<sup>ki</sup>*, and on p. 76 we saw that BE 7447 mentioned Nergal's procession street, no doubt to *bit akitu*, as situated in the quarter of the city called Ḫallab (or Kullab), about the position of which, however, we know nothing. But the statement *i-na ka-ma-a-ti bâb-ili<sup>ki</sup>* shows us that we are outside the actual core of the city in some place east of the Arahtu Canal and near the north-south wall (the inner city wall). The analogy from Assur's *bit akitu*, the position of which we referred to in p. 77 further supports these considerations which are founded on the evidence of EJ IV 7—13. But we cannot state the exact topographical position of *bit akitu*, the excavations having revealed nothing, and the texts affording only the evidence given above<sup>2</sup>. However, I cannot believe with Weissbach<sup>3</sup> that we must look for it on the Homera, partly because the excavations there and to the south-west of it, where the Greek theatre was found, have revealed nothing, and partly because such a position would assume that the procession

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above p. 111<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> When Langdon, in *EC*, p. 28, identifies *bit akitu* with *parak siḫir nâri* in K. 9876, I cannot, as explained above in pp. 71—72, agree with him.

<sup>3</sup> *SB*, p. 25.

turned off to the south on the Arahtu Canal and thence proceeded south-eastward on land, which is improbable if we consider the courses of the procession street and the Arahtu Canal. I think it more probable that we must seek *bit akītu* in the same easterly direction as the Homera but considerably more to the north, and that *kamātu* in EJ IV 11 may denote one of the quarters of Babylon or perhaps a suburb (see p. 60<sup>1</sup>).

As we saw, Nebuchadnezzar stated in EJ IV 7—13 that he had (re)built *bit akītu*. We hear nowhere of its erection by previous kings, but most probably Nebuchadnezzar merely restored it after the ravages of Sennacherib and Ašurbanipal. Of the internal arrangement of this Babylonian temple we know hardly anything, it seems, however, as if the chief chapel was called *paramahhu*<sup>1</sup>. Corresponding to this we hear of an important *bit papahu* called *e-dub-gal* in Assur's *bit akītu*<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, it is quite uncertain whether the *bit mahir hegalli* mentioned above in p. 112 is a chapel in *bit akītu*. The passage in Nabon. 81—7—1, 9, II 27—34 (cited on p. 25), however, seems to show that the front part of *bit akītu* was specially termed "the king's"<sup>3</sup>, and was used for cultural ceremonies. — That a *bit akītu* was a temple of considerable extent and of large internal dimensions is attested by the German excavations of Sennacherib's *bit akīt šēri* at Assur<sup>4</sup>. Presumably alterations were constantly in progress, and under the Parthian empire it seems to have been entirely rebuilt. Nevertheless we can form an idea of

<sup>1</sup> K. 9876, Rev. 28 *ki-ma itubēl ina bit a-ki-tum ina paramahhi itaš-bu ana tar-ši itubēl an-nu-u iḫ-ḫab-bi*; cf. pp. 101, 102<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> K. 1356, Obv. 4 . . . *bit pa-pa-ḫi-šu e-dub-ga[l]* . . .

<sup>3</sup> II 29 . . . *a-šib ma-ḫir-tam a-ki-it ša šarri* . . .; cf. p. 39—40.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. MDOG, XXXIII.



Sennacherib's old *bit akitu*. In its mode of construction this building at once seems to denote a departure from all previous Assyro-Babylonian usage. Instead of a brick building erected on a solid platform of sun-dried bricks Sennacherib had this *bit akitu* built of huge blocks of limestone resting on the rock itself, outside the actual boundaries of the city, abt. 900 metres from the temple of Aššur<sup>1</sup>. The ground-plan is subquadrate, and the division of the inside space seems to have been asymmetrical in the earliest period, the south-western part of the square being taken up by an entrance court or a large oblong space, which may, however, have been divided into smaller parts. As regards the rest of the structure we see three (two) rooms in continuation of each other inside the entrance which lies in the direction east south-east, after which comes a large space, at the same time hall and court, ornamented with two rows of pillars. Behind this is the Assyrian *paramahhu* which, in the Parthian structure lying at a slightly lower level and occupying part of the area of the large court or hall, is 33.20 metres broad and 7.80 metres deep. Of great interest are the large gardens or plantings brought to light by the excavations in the great hall as well as outside, especially in front of the building, covering a total area of 430 and 16900 square metres respectively. The remains of small wells connected by canals for the watering of the trees have been found during the excavations. The whole of this garden territory is something quite unique which has not been found in connection with any other Assyro-Babylonian temple, but we must remember that this *bit akitu* at Assur is the only temple of this sort hitherto found in Mesopotamia. Hence

<sup>1</sup> See p. 77.

we may be permitted to assume that in his erection of this temple Sennacherib merely followed the old traditions. The fact that the building material is different from what we know from other parts of Mesopotamia need not show that Sennacherib's *bît akîtu* is a unique structure. For the early ground-plan shows us the usual type of Babylonian architecture employed in the erection of temples, and even though the building materials were different from those commonly used, it is not very probable that the restless soldier king should have introduced a quite revolutionary novelty in so essential a sacred act as the erection of the holy *bît akîtu*, in which the great annual cult festival reached its climax<sup>1</sup>. The metropolis of Babylon, to which the Assyrian kings proceeded upon their accession in order to be invested and assume the name of rulers of Babylonia, was no doubt the prototype in this respect. And for the present, at any rate, we must be permitted to assume that the excavated *bît akîtu* at Assur is the type of that sort of temple buildings which we have mentioned from various Assyro-Babylonian cities, amongst others Babylon. —

As regards the numerous other temples at Babylon<sup>2</sup> we shall only very briefly enumerate them, since none of them appear to have played any part in the *akîtu* festival. We saw above how Nabu from Borsippa took up his residence in Esagila's *papaḥu* Ezida during the celebration of the annual festival. Something similar was no doubt the case with Nergal, Anu, Ea, Nusku, and Sin<sup>3</sup>, about the four last of whom we hear (ST) that they had their *papaḥâni*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chap. IV.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> The latter also has his own temple at Babylon, see p. 119.

in Etemenanki. This means that a number of deities had no permanent temple at Babylon, but dwelt during the festival in Esagila and its adjoining ziggurat. The excavations have brought to light four other temples besides Esagila (of Etemenanki there are only remains of the foundations on the Sakhn).

4. E-maḥ, situated on the Kaṣr between the procession street and the Araḥtu Canal almost opposite the Iṣtar Gate, was the temple of Ninmaḥ, as is shown by an Ašurbanipal cylinder<sup>1</sup> found by the excavation expedition in its adytum. In various texts Nebuchadnezzar records how he rebuilt it<sup>2</sup>. It is uncertain whether E-maḥ is identical with (5.) E-tur-kalam-ma<sup>3</sup>, Iṣtar's *bitu* at Babylon, as conjectured by Hommel<sup>4</sup>, his assumption being based exclusively upon etymological interpretations of the various temple names. The fact that Nebuchadnezzar nowhere in his building inscriptions mentions Eturkalamma, and a comparison between the contents of L<sup>1</sup> and BE 5457, would certainly seem to point in this direction, but in IVR11, Obv. 9 and 11 we see that Eturkalamma is mentioned in connection with Esagila as Emaḥtila with Ezida (see p. 101). This would render it probable that Eturkalamma belonged to Esagila's temenos<sup>5</sup>, but in the last instance we must consider the question unsolved.

<sup>1</sup> BE 5457, 13—14.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e. g. EJ IV 14; VR34, II 6; 82—7—14, 1042, I 43; it is already mentioned in the Code of Hammurabi, III 69.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ašurb. L<sup>1</sup> 13—14 *ina ûme<sup>me</sup> šu-ma ê-tur-kalam-ma bit iluīštar bābili<sup>ki</sup> eš-šiš u-še-piš*; this temple is mentioned at the time of Hammurabi and in the Annals of Nabonidus, cf. Streck, VAB, VII<sub>2</sub>. pp. 228<sup>1</sup>, 238<sup>6</sup>, where the material dealing with this subject is collected. Perhaps Eturkalamma is identical with the temple (6.) E-šag(šaga)-tur-ra (Sem. *bit šasurri*), see Weissbach, SB, p. 26; Hommel, GGAO, pp. 310—11.

<sup>4</sup> GGAO, pp. 313—14.

<sup>5</sup> Likewise Streck, VAB, VII<sub>2</sub>. p. 228<sup>1</sup>.

7. In the southern part of the Ishin-aswad Ninib's temple E-pa-ṭu-ti-la<sup>1</sup> has been excavated, Nabopolassar's building cylinders<sup>2</sup> having been found in it. The building dates in the main from the time of this king, and even though building material has been found bearing the stamp of Nebuchadnezzar, the latter king nowhere records his restoration of it, which, in fact, seems to have been trifling.

8. Very slightly to the west of Epaṭutila, on the same mound as the latter, between Esagila and the Ninib temple, a temple has been uncovered which Koldewey designated "Z"<sup>3</sup>. The inscription found in it is rather unintelligible and gives us no information of the builder or of the deity to which it was dedicated. Hommel suggested the possibility<sup>4</sup> that it might be E-šag(šaga)-tur-ra<sup>5</sup>, but this is quite uncertain, and neither the results of the excavations nor the mere enumeration of the temples of Babylon in the Nebuchadnezzar texts (see below) enable us to identify the temple known as "Z" with any of these.

9. Finally a temple has been excavated on the Merkes<sup>6</sup>. A cylinder found in it records that it was built by Nabonidus and refers to it as a "temple to Ištar of Agade". Its name is E-?-da-ri<sup>7</sup>, and as regards the distribution of the sacred chapels in the interior it calls to mind Ezida at Borsippa<sup>8</sup>.—

The rest of the temples in Babylon we only know by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *MDOG*, IX. p. 8; X. pp. 11 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e. g. BE 14940, 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Babylon*, pp. 218 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *GGAO*, p. 313.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. 117<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> *MDOG*, XLV. pp. 26—33; XLVII, pp. 20—29.

<sup>7</sup> *MDOG*, XLVII. p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Koldewey, *Babylon*, pp. 288—92.

name from the Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions, and only the position of two of them is stated, from which, however, we learn nothing. The four main passages in Nebuchadnezzar are EJ IV 14—48; VR34, II 6—11; 82—7—14, 1042, I 43—53, and Neb. Pennsylvania Cyl. A, I 43—50, from which we learn of the following sanctuaries:

10. E-nam-ḥe (Adad; position: Kumari, see p. 79).
11. E-ki-dur-inim (Nin-e-anna; position: *i-na tu-ub-ga dūri bāb-ili<sup>ki</sup>*).
12. E-ḥar-sag-el-la (Ninkarrak [Gula cf. EJ IV 40]).
13. E-di(sa)-kud-kalama (Šamaš).
14. E-giš-šir-gal (Sin).
15. E-sa-be (Gula) and

16. E-<sup>isu</sup>nig-pa-kalama-sum-ma (*Nabû ša ḥa-ri-ri<sup>1</sup>*); this is also referred to in Nabon. Ann. III 24—28 as follows: *Ūmu 4<sup>kan</sup> mKan-bu-zi-ia mârû ša mKu-[raš] a-na Ê. ŠA. PA. KALAM. MA. SUM. MU<sup>2</sup> ki illiku amêl<sup>3</sup>pit-ḥat(?) Nabû ša pa- . . . . illi(?) -ku ina ḫâtî dib-bu uš-bi-nim-ma ki ḫâtâ Nabû [iṣ-ba-]tu . . . . [iṣ-as-]ma-ri-e u mašak<sup>4</sup>iṣ-pat<sup>pl</sup> ta . . . . ku mâr Uruk . . . . Nabû ana Ê-šak-kil usahḫir (or iṣhur?) . . . .* The passage is very obscure, amongst other things owing to the bad condition of the text; the fourth day is the fourth of Nisan<sup>3</sup> and on that day Cambyses enters Nabu's temple at Babylon. The expression *ḫâtâ Nabû [iṣ-ba-]tu* in line 26 seems to indicate that Cambyses took Nabu away from here<sup>4</sup>, and in line 28 we hear that Nabu enters

<sup>1</sup> VR34, II 7 and 82—7—14, 1042, I 44; this epithet seems to denote the Nabu dwelling permanently in Babylon (cf. p. 7<sup>1</sup>) in contradistinction to the Nabu who arrives from Borsippa at the *akitu* festival, who is in one passage called *ilu<sup>u</sup>nabû ša ki-sa-al-lum* (WB III 48), cf. Langdon, *VAB*, IV. p. 153<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 2<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. III 23.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. below in section E. 2. on the interpretation of this expression.

Esagila. The information we gather from this passage is unique, but it only seems capable of one interpretation, viz. that in the first period of the Persian rule (and perhaps henceforward?) Nabu from Borsippa did not for reasons unknown to us (perhaps Ezida had been destroyed) take part in the procession to Babylon at the akîtu festival, whereas, instead, *Nabû ša ha-ri-ri* was fetched from his temple at Babylon and taken in a procession to Esagila.

17. *bît zi-be* (VATh 554, Rev. IV—III 4); above on pp. 14 and 111 we referred to Hommel's erroneous identification of this temple and of *bît akîtu*, and we mentioned the fact that he thinks this temple must lie in the direction of [*ka-*]gal A-ku. This latter supposition is, however, problematic, and our knowledge is restricted to the fact that Aku is called *bêl bît zi-be*.

(18.) *bît maḥir ḥegalli*, see pp. 112, 114.<sup>1</sup>

### C.

In the preceding part we have occasionally mentioned the time at which the akîtu festival was celebrated, and our result was that it took place in Nisan and must be regarded as the Babylonian New Year's Feast<sup>2</sup>. In this section we shall examine more closely what we know of the purely external sequence of the ceremonies of the festival, and on what days of Nisan they took place. We must at once admit that our material is very scanty. The highly important ritual text DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 in the specimen that has come down to us only deals with events until the fifth of Nisan inclusive.

<sup>1</sup> On *e-ud-ul* see p. 90, *e-eš-maḥ* pp. 90—91, and *e-ḥur-sag-ti-la* p. 92<sup>3</sup> and below in section C.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 27—31 and 42—49.

However, the evidence seems to me of such a nature that we can give a sketch of the main features of the external course of the festival, even though we must leave various points unexplained. The important texts from Uruk, dealing with the celebration of the *akītu* festival at that city, partly in Nisan, partly in Tišrit, in certain respects form valuable supplements to the material from Babylon, but the details of the festival at Uruk differ in so many points from those at Babylon that here, as in the case of Harran and Borsippa, (the only other cities besides Babylon and Uruk from which we have exact dates), we are obliged to assume a festival hemerology somewhat differently arranged from that of the capital.

Of importance for our knowledge of the sequence of the individual ceremonies are two texts, referred to above on pp. 70—72 in another connection, when we investigated the course of the procession street. These are VAT 9418 and K. 9876. It was the evidence of these two texts amongst others which decisively influenced our determination of the extent of the procession street, and on the same occasion we referred in passing to the sequence of the ceremonies connected with the festival. The first of these texts, collated with other evidence<sup>1</sup> shows us that the first four names borne by Marduk are his epithets in the various parts of Esagila<sup>2</sup>, the three next, on the other hand, are names borne by him outside Esagila, in the street (*ina sūki*), i. e. the procession street, in the (procession) ship (*ina gišma-HU-SI*), and *ina bit a-ki-ti*. The mention of this latter name seems to show us clearly that the first four names

<sup>1</sup> Amongst other things evidence on the position of *parak šimāti*, pp. 95—100.

<sup>2</sup> In Ekua, *ina bi-rit šid-di, ina šubti pa[-an] kabbab*, and *ina parak iušimâte<sup>te</sup>*.

are borne by Marduk at the akītu festival during his stay in the various sacred chambers of Esagila. And as we saw during our topographical investigations that Esagila and *bīt akītu* were the two opposite termini of the procession street, we may venture to infer that the seven names mentioned in VAT 9418 are given in a definite order of succession, viz. the one used at the akītu festival in Nisan<sup>1</sup>. These conclusions are corroborated by the liturgical text K. 9876, containing various hymns stated to have been sung (*iḫ-ḫab-bu-u*) by a priest in various places, *ina parak šīmāti*, *ina parak si-ḫir nāri*, and *ina bīt a-ki-tum ina paramaḫḫi*<sup>2</sup>. That they are hymns generally sung at the akītu festival is shown by the character of the localities; and the fact that *parak si-ḫir nāri* is probably the sanctuary mentioned in EJ VIII 38, as conjectured above on pp. 71—72, shows us that the localities mentioned in the text are given in the order of succession which was followed in the ritual of the festival.

In DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 we have a fairly complete summary of the ritual for the days from the second to the fifth of Nisan. Unfortunately these days are the least interesting as regards the ceremonies. For the days from the second to the fourth we have chiefly a description of the preparations for the festival upon which we shall enter in more detail in another connection. On the fifth day, after a detailed description of the purification of Esagila, (lines 348—84), we hear of Nabu's arrival at Esagila (lines 407—12, see above pp. 75—76), and from the directions to certain classes of priests, *amilmašmašu u amilnâš paḫri ana ṣêri uṣṣû<sup>pl</sup> ma-la ša <sup>d</sup>Nabû ina Bâbili<sup>ki</sup> ana*

<sup>1</sup> Also Zimmern, *ZBN*, II. p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Obv. 4. 14, Rev. 28.



*Bâbilî<sup>ki</sup> ul irrubu<sup>pl</sup> ištu úmi 5 adi úmi 12<sup>kam</sup> ina řeri uřřabu<sup>pl</sup>* (lines 361—63), we see, partly that Nabu remained at Babylon from the fifth to the twelfth of Nisan, partly that the *akîtu* festival must have been brought to a conclusion on the twelfth day of the same month. — When, as stated above on pp. 119—120, we learn from Nabon. Ann. III 24—28 that, on the fourth of Nisan, Cambyses fetches *Nabû řa ĥa-ri-ri*, that is to say, the Nabu of Babylon, not of Borsippa, and probably takes him to Esagila, this date as well as the cultual act itself must be regarded as something quite outside the ordinary, due to the revolutionary effect of the Persian conquest, and we can hardly compare this testimony from an unsettled period to the clear statement of the ritual text. — From DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 190—93 [*e-nu-m*]a 11/2 *bêr ME-NIM-A<sup>amil</sup> qurqurra* [*iřassî-m*]a *aban ni-siq-tu u ĥurâřa* [*iřtu*] *mak-kuri<sup>d</sup> Marduk ana epê-eř řa 2 řalmê<sup>pl</sup> ana úmi 6<sup>kam</sup> i-na-an-din-řu*, we see that, during the preparations for the *akîtu* festival, some small statuettes were made on the third day which were to be used on the sixth of Nisan, but as we have no textual record of the cult acts of that day, we must be content with the knowledge of this fact. Of the sixth day we merely hear, in the same part of DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 which mentions the making of the statuettes, that Nabu arrives at Eĥursagtila on that day: *úmu 6<sup>kam</sup> <sup>d</sup>Nabû e-ĥur-sag-ti-la ina kařâdi[-řu]* (lines 212—13), but the succeeding directions concerning the ritual say nothing about the nature or position of this locality. As far as I know, no texts in the Assyro-Babylonian literature mention a temple of this name either in or outside Babylon. We are not entitled to conjecture that it is an error for *e-ĥar-sag-el-la* (see p. 119), and the most probable

explanation is that Eḫursagtila is the name of one of the numerous chapels in Esagila.— We possess no particulars of the cult actions performed on the seventh and ninth of Nisan, while we have sporadic statements, partly in the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings and partly in the liturgical texts, concerning the ceremonies of the eighth, tenth, and eleventh days. In Neb. EJ II 54—59 we read: *du-azag ašar šîmâti ša ub-šu-ukkin-na parak ši-ma-a-ti ša i-na zag-mu-ku ri-eš ša-at-ti ûmi 8<sup>kam</sup> ûmi 11<sup>kam</sup> ilu šar ilâni šamê iršitim bêlu ilu i-ra-am-mu-u ḫi-ri-ib-šu*. From this we see that on the eighth and eleventh of Nisan Marduk<sup>1</sup> is in *parak šîmâti*, which we saw above must be sought in Esagila<sup>2</sup>. In Nabon. Stele IX 3—10 we hear that Marduk and the entire procession take up their residence in *bît akîtu* on the tenth of Nisan. Hence, on that day the egress takes place, *ina arah nisanni ûmu 10-kam e-nu-ma šar ilâni<sup>meš</sup> ilu marduk u ilâni<sup>meš</sup> šu-ut šamê iršitim i-na e-sigišše-sigišše bît ik-ri-bi bît a-ki-ti ilu<sup>bêl</sup> kit-tu ra-mu-u šu-ub-ti*, and from VATh 663, Obv. 7 [*ina û*]mi 11<sup>kam</sup> *ina ḫi-rib e-zur i-te-ni-ip-pu-šu i-sin-nu*, we see that on the eleventh of Nisan a (special) festival is celebrated in *bît akîtu*. But that the procession also left *bît akîtu* and returned to Esagila on the eleventh is shown not only by the evidence from EJ II 54—59 referring to Marduk's stay in *parak šîmâti* on the eleventh of Nisan, but also from the great festival liturgy, the hymn to Marduk, in BE 13420<sup>3</sup>, which has the following subscription: *XXXVI A-AN MU-BI-IM ina arḫi BARA-ZAG-GAR* (i e. Nisan) *ina ûmi XI KAN il<sup>bêl</sup> ištu it-ḫi-ti<sup>4</sup> ana Ê-sag-*

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 99—100.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 95—100.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the procession hymn to Anu at Uruk, Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XX. pp. 107—12.

<sup>4</sup> For this transcription by Weissbach see above p. 14.

*ila ir-ru-um-ma* <sup>amel</sup>UŠ-KU-MA(H) *it-ti* *hi-bi-eš-ši* *hi-bi-eš-ši* <sup>[i]sup</sup>*elip* *Ku-A*  
*pi-i duppi U-RA* <sup>m</sup>*Be-el-aḥ-ḥi-im-i-ri-ba* (lines 78—84)<sup>1</sup>. — It  
 is not stated at what time of the day the egress on the  
 tenth and the procession back to Esagila on the eleventh  
 took place. We only know that the passages with which  
 we are acquainted that mention the use of torches at fes-  
 tivals or processions of the gods (L<sup>4</sup> III 5—20; AO 6460,  
 Obv. 28, Rev. 2. 13. 15. 19. 20<sup>2</sup>) have no connection with the  
*akitu* festival. It is true that L<sup>4</sup> IV 19 refers to <sup>[i]sup</sup>*elip* *Ku-A*  
 which we shall see in section D. is Marduk's procession  
 ship at the annual festival, but if we keep in mind that  
 except for the first five lines the Col. IV has come down  
 to us in a quite fragmentary condition, we cannot possibly  
 draw any conclusions from the mere mention of the ship.  
 Col. III which seems without connection with Col. II re-  
 cords that Marduk's statue is brought back from Assur to  
 Esagila, but says nothing of the *akitu* festival. Hence it is  
 possible that Col. IV may have recorded the restoration of  
 Esagila and its cultual furniture (to which the procession  
 ship belonged)<sup>3</sup>. — After the assembly of the gods at *parak*  
*šimāti* the great sacrifices<sup>4</sup> probably took place at Esagila  
 on the eleventh or the twelfth of Nisan<sup>5</sup>; in Sarg. Ann. we  
 read: *araḥ Nisannu a-raḥ a-ši-i (ilu) bil ilāni ḫâtâ (ilu) bilu*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the evidence from the Nabon. Stele IX 41—49.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 45. It is, however, doubtful whether <sup>isu</sup>*dal-la-ak-ku* in 82—5—22, 96, Obv. 11 means torch, nor does K. 3476, Obv. 3 show anything.

<sup>3</sup> Zimmern's conjecture concerning K. 9876, Obv. 3 (*ZBN*, I. p. 137<sup>4</sup>) must thus be dismissed.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Neb. IR 65, III 7—15; K. 5418 a + K. 5640, III 17 and below in section E. 1.

<sup>5</sup> These are the sacrifices mentioned in Nabon. Ann. II 6—7. 11—12. 20—21. 23—25, see pp. 28—29 where we also pointed out that the sacrifices mentioned in 35968, II 3—4 had no connection with the *akitu* festival.

*rabi-[i] (ilu) Marduk (ilu) Nabû šar kiš-šat šami-i irši-tim aš-[bat] ma u-šal-li-ma u-ru-uḥ bit a-ki-ti gu(d)-maḥ-ḥi bit-ru-ti šu<sup>2</sup>-i ma-ru-u-ti kurkû(?) (iṣṣurî) paspasî(?) it-ti kad-ri-i la lib(?) -ba-a-ti u-šat-ri-ša ma-ḥar-su-un a-na ilâni ma-ḥa-zi (mâtu) Šumiri u Ak-ka-di-i niḫi [il-lu-ti?] ak-ḫi (309—14). I interpret the evidence of this text as a condensed record of the main proceedings in the akîtu festival. From Esagila the king takes Marduk and Nabu to *bit akîtu*<sup>1</sup> (whence the procession again returns to Esagila), and sacrifices are made there. I regard it as unquestionable that the sacrifices mentioned in the Annals do not take place at *bit akîtu*. I base this view in the first place on my investigations in Chapter IV on the cult ceremonies in this temple (to which the reader is here referred). But in addition, a comparison of the evidence of the Annals with Sarg. PJ 140 b—141; Sarg. Stele II 1—22, and Neb. IR 65, III 7—15 renders it extremely probable that Esagila was the place where the great final sacrifices were made. Below, in section E. 1., we shall see that in addition to these a number of smaller sacrifices took place almost throughout the entire course of the festival<sup>2</sup>.*

These few, but essential, features constitute all that we know of the hemerology of the akîtu festival at Babylon. From the second to the fourth of Nisan the preparatory ceremonies took place at Esagila, and on the fifth Nabu arrived from Borsippa after a special purification of Esagila; on the eighth, our evidence shows, cult actions were performed in *parak šîmâti*, and on the tenth of Nisan came the great procession to *bit akîtu* where a solemn

<sup>1</sup> See below in section E. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 107 + MNB 1848; VAT 9555, Obv. 44, where there is a reference to the sacrifice of a swine on the 8. Nisan, and section E. 1.

festival was celebrated on the eleventh. On the same day the procession returns to Esagila, ceremonies are performed in *parak šimāti*, and on the twelfth the great final sacrifices were probably made, after which Nabu returned to Borsippa. As will be seen from this summary, there are considerable gaps in our knowledge, and of the most important part of the festival, the part taking place from the fifth to the twelfth of Nisan, we know virtually nothing but certain main episodes. As regards these, the order of succession of the central episodes is confirmed by the important Uruk text AO 6459<sup>1</sup> which contains the ritual of the *akitu* festival as it was celebrated at that city in Tišrīt, though it also shows that there were great local differences. We hear of the preparations for the festival on the first and the sixth day, thus the gods are arrayed in sacred garments, Anu's chariots and the sacred vessels are prepared, etc. All this takes place in Anu's temple. Of the seventh day we have a very much condensed account in Obv. 10—15 *a-ri-bi ša dPap-sukkal u dGuškin-azag-banda a-na bitpa-pa-ḥa subātlu-bu-ša-at ša dAni u An-tum u subātlu-bu-ša-at ša dIštar ta-ra-aš ša alpi ina bi-rit šid-di zi-im-ri ša amilnāri u amilkalī gu-uq-qa-ni-e ša arki subātlu-bu-uš-tum u si-il-tum ḥu-up biti ma-la-ku su-qa<sup>pl</sup> išmaqurrē<sup>pl</sup> u bita-ki-ī-tum rakāsu u paṭā-ar nap-tan ša še-e-ri u li-lat ki-ma ša ūmi 7<sup>kam</sup> ša arahnisanni šaniš. To bitpa-pa-ḥu in Anu's temple corresponds Ekua at Babylon, then follow ceremonies *ina bi-rit šid-di* (in Anu's temple — in Esagila); the procession in the street and onboard the ship (to *bit akitu*) concludes the sequence as at Babylon. Thus all that we hear of on the seventh of Tišrīt at Uruk corresponds to the cult acts of the tenth of Nisan at Babylon. But not only Obv. 15,*

<sup>1</sup> Collated with AO 6465 by Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 86 ff.

from which we learn that the ceremonies on the seventh of Tišrît are identical with those performed at Uruk on the seventh of Nisan, but also the continuation in AO 6459 shows us that the ritual at Uruk was of a somewhat different character to that of Babylon. From Obv. 16 ff. it seems apparent that we are again in Anu's temple<sup>1</sup> on the eighth of Tišrît. This corresponds to Marduk's return to Esagila the day after his arrival at *bît akîtu* (on the eleventh of Nisan), but to all appearance the king's entrance into *parak šîmâti*, mentioned in AO 6465, Obv. 8—9 *šarru ma-aq-qu-u hurâši i-rid-di-e[-ma] . . . . ka-maḥ irru-ub-ma ina muḥ-ḥi parak-šîmâti<sup>[p<sup>l</sup>]</sup> . . . .*, took place on the ninth of Tišrît<sup>2</sup>, for AO 6459, Rev. 10 ff. 15 ff. refers to ceremonies performed at Anu's temple on the tenth and eleventh of Tišrît.<sup>3</sup> We cannot, however, express any conclusive opinion on this point, as the broken condition of the text leaves us at sea, but there seems to me only a slight possibility that the ceremonies in *parak šîmâti* should have taken place in both cities on the day of the return of the procession from *bît akîtu* (8th Tišrît; 11th Nisan), and that we should thus have correspondence between Uruk and Babylon. — Unfortunately the great Uruk text, VAT 7849, containing the ritual of the *akîtu* festival in Nisan, is in such a broken condition in all decisive places that it yields little of interest in this connection. On the basis of AO 6459, Obv. 15 Thureau-Dangin has conjectured<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Obv. 16. 20. 22. 25 *ina* (or *a-na*) *kisalmahḥi*.

<sup>2</sup> Which, according to the above, corresponds to the 12. Nisan at Babylon.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. AO 6461, Rev. 17—20, which refers to ceremonies performed before Anu on the 10th and 11th days of Nisan, though without describing these ceremonies.

<sup>4</sup> *Rit.* p. 99.

that this text (i. e. VAT 7849) contained the ritual for the seventh of Nisan, but the reference in VAT 7849, IV 13 ff. to the return of the procession to Anu's temple (see below) which is not mentioned in AO 6459 renders this improbable, and, in addition, it is at variance with our material from Babylon. From VAT 7849 we see in I 1—12 that the gods assemble in Anu's temple and that a number of cult acts are performed here, in II and III we have a very fragmentary description of the deities being ranged behind each other and on chariots. The passage in III 20—21 ... <sup>d</sup>Ša u šarru qât<sup>II</sup> <sup>d</sup>A-nim ultu parak šimâli<sup>pl</sup> iṣab-bat<sup>pl</sup>-ma seems to show that the procession mentioned in II and III moves away from Anu's temple. In IV we are in *bît akîtu*<sup>1</sup>, but no ceremonies here are mentioned before Anu is taken from here to *pa-pa-ḥa-šu*: <sup>d</sup>Pap-sukkal u šarru qât<sup>II</sup> <sup>d</sup>(A)-nim ultu parakki rabî iṣab-bat<sup>pl</sup>-ma irrub-ma ina pa-pa-ḥa-šu (IV 13), this can only be the *papaḥu* in Anu's temple mentioned in I<sup>2</sup>. Hence it is probable that in VAT 7849 we have a ritual text, unfortunately fragmentary, for two (not specified) days in Nisan, for use at the *akîtu* festival at Uruk. These two days correspond to the tenth and eleventh of Nisan in Babylon, but we cannot settle whether the festival calendar of Uruk agreed with the hemerology of Babylon, or whether, as in Tišrît, it deviated, but had a dating identical<sup>3</sup> with that of Tišrît.

While our examination of the Uruk texts showed agreement in the sequence of the cult actions at Babylon and Uruk, save that the dating was different in the latter city

<sup>1</sup> Cf. IV 7 *ina kisalli bît a-ki-tum*; IV 7. 13 (*ina muḥ-ḥi* or *ultu*) *parakki rabî* (= *paramaḥḥu* cf. p. 102<sup>7</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. IV 20 *bâbi pa-pa-ḥa* = I 11. 13.

<sup>3</sup> The two days not specified in VAT 7849 would according to this be the 7th and the 8th of Nisan.

(perhaps because the akîtu festival had a more condensed character in other cities than the capital), the evidence we can gather from two other Mesopotamian cities affords us little information concerning the ordering of the festival. The texts referring to events at Harran, two letters K. 1234 and 81—7—27, 30, owing to their casual nature and brevity, yield few particulars. From K. 1234, Obv. 7—11 we learn that Sin proceeds to *bît akîtu* on the seventeenth day, [*i-na*] *ûmi 17<sup>kam</sup>* [*il<sup>u</sup>sin*] *ut-lu-ši-a* [*ana bît a*]-*ki-it* [*i-t*]-*a-rab*, and from Rev. 2 *ina bîti-šu e-ta-rab* we see that he returns to his starting-point, but we do not know whether, as in Babylon and Uruk, his return takes place on the following day, nor do we know in what month Sin's procession occurred. 81—7—27, 30, Obv. 8—9 only mentions that *ûmu 17<sup>kam</sup>* *il<sup>u</sup>sin i-ta-bi ina a-ki-it u-šab*, but we hear nothing of his return or of the month. It is important, however, that the date corresponds with that of Babylon and Uruk. A letter 82—5—22, 96, referring to events at Borsippa, gives fuller evidence and dates, but it is extremely doubtful whether the reference in this text to Nabu and Tašmet's procession to *bît irši* on the fourth of Airu, *ina ši-i-a-ri ûmu 4<sup>kam</sup>*<sup>1</sup> *a-na ba-a-di il<sup>u</sup>nabû u il<sup>u</sup>taš-me-tum ina bît irši ir-ru-bu* (Obv. 6—8), where they remain from the fifth to the tenth of the same month, *ištu libbi ûmi 5<sup>kam</sup>* *a-di ûmi 10<sup>kam</sup>* [*il*]*âni<sup>mes</sup>* *ina bît irši šu-nu* (Obv. 13—14), has anything to do with the akîtu festival. True, we hear in Rev. 1 that [*ûmu*] *11<sup>kam</sup>* *il<sup>u</sup>nabû uš-ša-a*, but the succeeding difficult lines, dealing amongst other events with his fight with wild bulls (Rev. 4) and his succeeding entry into his dwelling, *ina šub-ti-šu uš-šab* (Rev. 5), rather suggests Ezida

<sup>1</sup> That the month not specified is Airu is seen from K. 501, Obv. 15—17 *ûmu 4<sup>kam</sup>* *ša ar<sup>hu</sup>airu il<sup>u</sup>nabû il<sup>u</sup>taš-me-tum ina bît irši e-ru-bu*.



to us (whence Nabu and Tašmet probably proceeded to *bît irši*), than a *bît akîtu*. Nor have we evidence of any *bît akîtu* at Borsippa (see pp. 19—24) and further, the dating of the Borsippa text makes it probable that the events referred to in the letter belong to a local fertility cult at Borsippa. Being so close to Babylon, to which Nabu and Tašmet proceeded when the *akîtu* festival was celebrated there, Borsippa did not, probably, celebrate the great annual festival herself.

#### D.

We will now consider what we know of the participants in the *akîtu* festival (the gods, the king, the priesthood, the people) and describe the sacred furniture used at the festival (the holy garments; chariots and ships employed during the procession), in so far as it does not concern the sacrifices or the rites connected with them.

##### α.

From numerous quotations we learnt above that Marduk, the city god of Babylon and supreme god of the empire, was the chief figure in the *akîtu* cult. In his temple, Esagila, the ceremonies begin, thence the procession issues, and it is he who, on the tenth day of Nisan, takes up his residence in *bît akîtu* whence he returns to Esagila on the eleventh, while the great hymn, preserved in BE 13420, is sung. The procession street, Aiburšabu, is called Marduk's sacred way and the kings again and again refer to the fact that they are going to Babylon to celebrate Marduk's Feast. Also the negative information of the annals<sup>1</sup> always points out *ilu Bêl la u-ša-a*. That he is accompanied by his consort Zarpanitum, who has her

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chapter I.

*bītu* in Esagila (see pp. 87 f.), is seen from the few passages in which she is mentioned as a participant in the procession: *u bâb ilti bêlti-ia ša maš-da-ḥu iluzar-pa-ni-tum na-ra-am-ti ilumarduk mu-šar-ši-da-at išid išukussî šar-ru-ti-ia kaspi ib-bi(?) u-šal-biš* (Nabon. Stele VIII 38—43), and . . . *ma-ḥar ili-šu* (i. e. Marduk) *u iluzar-pa-ni-tum ilunabû u ilunergal ilû<sup>meš</sup>-u-a u ilâni gi-mir-šu-nu a-šib ma-ḥir-tam a-ki-it ša šarri . . .* (81—7—1, 9, II 27—29). The other chief deity of the festival is Nabu from Borsippa, the neighbouring city. We saw above that on the fifth of Nisan he arrived along his own procession street at Esagila (see pp. 74—76, 122—123) where he takes up his abode in Ezida (see pp. 87—89), and as we shall soon see, there are constant references to him in the texts as a participator in the procession. He is accompanied by his consort Tašmet<sup>1</sup>; though this is not directly stated, we see partly from ST, Obv. 27—28 that she and Nabu have their *papaḥâni* in Etemenanki, and partly, it is expressly stated in the Nabopolassar text BE 14940, 3, that the king is *ti-ri-iš ga-ti iluna-bi-um u ilutaš-me-tum*. This, as we shall subsequently see in section E. 2., refers to the special task assigned to the king during the procession, viz. that of leading the gods by the hand out of the temples, accompanying them. K. 822, Obv. 9—12 points in the same direction — even though, as pointed out above on p. 23, it is uncertain whether the events mentioned here take place in Babylon. In this passage we read: *ilutaš-me-tum da-at-tu tu-ša-a ina libbi bīt a-ki-ti tu-u-šab*. And finally it may be mentioned that, in his PJ 143; Stele II 18—19, after a description of the akītu festival, Sargon mentions sacrifices to Marduk, Zarpanitum, Nabu, and Tašmet.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BE 13420, 45—46.

But in addition to these two couples of deities numerous others take part in the *akîtu* festival. Thus Nabonidus records: ... 2850 *i-na ummâni<sup>ni</sup> ši-il-la-ti nakri hu-me-e ... a-na za-ba-lu dup-sik-ku a-na<sup>ilu</sup> bêli<sup>ilu</sup> nabû u<sup>ilu</sup> nergal ilê<sup>meš</sup>-e-a a-lik i-di-ja aš-ru-ûk ultu e-pu-šu i-sin-nu bît a-ki-ti ...* (Stele IX 31—42). In this passage mention is made of captive soldiers presented to the deities who walk side by side with Nabonidus in the procession to *bît akîtu*, and among these deities Marduk, Nabu, and Nergal are here referred to. These two latter deities, besides being mentioned in 81—7—1, 9, II 27—29 which we quoted on p. 132, are also referred to in another Nabonidus passage as being present in *bît akîtu* besides numerous other deities, *i-na maḥ-ri be-lum<sup>ilu</sup> na-bi-um u<sup>ilu</sup> nergal ili<sup>meš</sup>-e-a u ilê<sup>meš</sup> si-ḥir-ir-ti bît a-ki-it ša<sup>ilu</sup> enlil ilâni<sup>meš</sup> ili-šu a-na ni-ki-i ma-as-ḥa-ṭi pa-ḥa-du bît maḥir-ḥegalli u ut-nin-ni bêl bêlê lu-u sa-ad-ra-ak ta-lak-ti a-na Da. Ir-a-ti* (81—4—28, 3 + 4, II 49—52). No doubt Nergal, like Nabu, arrived at Babylon by his own procession street from Cutha (see pp. 76—77) and probably joined the procession near *bît akîtu*, for the passages cited above show that he was present during the ceremonies performed there. In K. 3476, Obv. 25, too, he is mentioned as taking part in the festivities, and in Pinches, Col. D 1—5 we read: *ilâni<sup>meš</sup> ka-la-šu-nu ilâni<sup>meš</sup> ša ... bar-sip<sup>ki</sup> kûtu<sup>ki</sup> kiš<sup>ki</sup> u ilâni<sup>meš</sup> ma-ḥa-za-a-nu gab-bi ... ana bâbili<sup>ki</sup> il-la-ku-nim-ma itti-šu ana it-ki-tum du-u šarri ina ma-ḥar-šu-nu šir-ḥa i-šar-raḥ*. The deities from Borsippa, Cutha, and Kiš are Nabu (who is perhaps also mentioned in VAT 9555, Obv. 8), Nergal, and Ninib; the latter is only mentioned in this passage as taking part in the *akîtu* cult. Of other deities taking part in the festival VAT 9418, Obv. II 25—33 mentions 7 *ilâni<sup>meš</sup>*

*rabûti<sup>meš</sup> ina sa[-ḫa-ri] ta-lu-ku ša arḫu<sup>niš</sup>[anni] ûm a[kîti]*, which expression can only suggest the two processions on the tenth and eleventh of Nisan. These seven are Anu, Enlil, Ea, Maḫ, Ninurta, Gula, and Ištār-Bâbili. The latter is also referred to in VAT 9555, Obv. 20. 21. 28. 42, where Ištār ša Ninua is likewise mentioned in Obv. 33. Of the seven deities referred to in VAT 9418 the first two are mentioned in Pinches, Col. D 8—14 *aš-šu ûmi ina namari-ma<sup>itu</sup> a-num u<sup>itu</sup> en-lil ultu uruk<sup>ki</sup> u nippur<sup>ki</sup> ana bâb-ili<sup>ki</sup> . . . il-la-ku-nim-ma itti-šu i-šad-di-ḫu-u ana e-zur ki-mu-šu-nu ilâni<sup>meš</sup> rabûti<sup>meš</sup> gab-bi ana bâbili<sup>ki</sup> il-la-ku-u-ni*. Further Enlil appears to be mentioned in K. 9876, Obv. 2, as coming from Nippur. In DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 284 his throne in Esagila is mentioned, and according to ST, Obv. 27—29 both Anu and Ea have their *papaḫâni* in Etemenanki. Finally Šamaš (VAT 9555, Obv. 10. 37; Pinches, Col. D 20) and Sin (VAT 9555, Obv. 10. 37)<sup>1</sup> are said to be present at the festivities. — Thus we see that all the great deities of Mesopotamia are assembled at Babylon at the akîtu festival. They come from Borsippa, Cutha, Kiš, Uruk, Nippur, and Nineveh, but in addition to these supreme gods numerous other deities took part in the procession<sup>2</sup>. We see this partly from the expressions *ilâni gi-mir-šu-nu* (Nabon. 81—7—1, 9, II 28), *ilê<sup>meš</sup>* (Nabon. 81—4—28, 3+4, II 50), and *ilâni<sup>meš</sup> rabûti<sup>meš</sup> gab-bi* (Pinches, Col. D 13), and partly from the processional hymn in BE 13420, which, in addition to Marduk (Bêl) and Zarpanitum (Bêlit) and other great deities such as Ninib, Sin, Anu, Šamaš, Ea, Nabu, and Enlil, mentions Damgalnunna,

<sup>1</sup> Sin as well as Nusku who probably also took part in the procession had a *papaḫu* in Etemenanki (ST, Obv. 27—29).

<sup>2</sup> The great procession of the gods referred to in L<sup>4</sup> III 5—20 did not take place during the akîtu festival, cf. p. 125.

Nana, Madanu, Bau, Adad, and Šala. And in texts describing the *akitu* festival in other cities than Babylon, at Assur and Uruk, a host of deities take part in the procession. For the first city we refer the reader to K. 1356, Rev. 10—15, where we find the names of twenty-five deities besides Aššur, the central figure, also to various texts from Uruk (VAT 7849, I 5. 11—16. 24—29; II; III; IV 5. 21—23; AO 6459, Obv. 10. 16. 18. 20—21, Rev. 17; AO 6465, Obv. 17 ff., Rev. 10—16).

Above on pp. 74—76, 122—123, 132 we saw that Nabu arrived at Esagila on the fifth of Nisan, but we lack all information as to when the above mentioned non-Babylonian<sup>1</sup> deities join in the ritual of the *akitu* festival. From Pinches, Col. D it seems apparent that the gods from Borsippa, Cutha and Kiš, i. e. Nabu, Nergal, and Ninib, arrived simultaneously on the fifth of Nisan, while Anu and Enlil came later, *aš-šu ūmi ina namari-ma ilu a-num u ilu en-lil ultu uruk<sup>ki</sup> u nippur<sup>ki</sup> ana bâbili<sup>ki</sup> . . . il-la-ku-nim-ma* (8—11). The meaning of *ūmu ina namari-ma* is not clear, perhaps it denotes the day on which Marduk shows himself during the procession to the population of Babylon, that is to say, the tenth of Nisan, and from this we might be tempted to assume that Anu and Enlil were not present in Babylon until that day. But as the Pinches text is not, as we shall subsequently see, actually a ritual text, having more the character of a cult text<sup>2</sup>, it is risky to draw too far-reaching conclusions on this basis alone. We must thus content ourselves with establishing the fact that we can only give a definite date for the arrival in the capital of

<sup>1</sup> The deities who had a permanent temple at Babylon have been mentioned above in section B. η. (pp. 116—20).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above p. 54.

one of the numerous gods who participate with Marduk in the akîtu festival (viz. Nabu).

Before we leave the subject of the gods, we must consider more closely an important question, even if we cannot sift the problem to the bottom at this stage, but must for many reasons postpone it till a later section<sup>1</sup>. It is this: how are we to picture to ourselves this procession of gods which we have been dealing with in the preceding part? Are we to imagine that the deities figuring in the akîtu festival were images, made of stone or wood, covered with gold, silver, copper, or rare woods, or are we to believe that they were represented dramatically by the large staff of temple servants and priests disguised as gods in the sacred garments? I must here at once emphasize that such a question claiming an answer affirming either one or the other possibility is conditioned by our own culture, the Babylonians and their spiritual brethren throughout the world would not understand it being put. And that the answer from the culture we are here examining must be in the affirmative in both cases, we shall subsequently see, when we have investigated the sources describing the ceremonies of the akîtu festival. But at this stage of our enquiry, while we are as yet only occupying ourselves with the external part of the festival, we may for the moment disregard the cult actions performed in the chapels of Esagila and *bît akîtu*, and limit ourselves to the question whether the deities figuring in the procession are to be imagined as images or as people figuring as gods. — To begin with we must understand that the texts dealing with the akîtu festival tell us nothing on this subject, and that only a comparative study of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below in section E. 3., E. 5., and in Chapter IV.

passages in the literature in which processions of the deities are mentioned, and of pictorial representations, will help us to approach a solution of the question. The use of chariots and ships in the processions of the *akîtu* festival cannot of course tell us anything since human beings as well as images could be carried along in these.

In the passages adduced above on pp. 44—47 where processions connected with festivals other than the *akîtu* cult were mentioned, in all such as concerned the bringing home of captured gods, one or several concrete objects were the central point, namely images of the gods which were brought back to Babylon. Thus the long passage in the Ašurbanipal text L<sup>4</sup> III 5—20 describes the bringing back from Assur to Babylon of the statue of Marduk, in IVR 20 No. 1 we have a hymn sung when Marduk returned from Elam to his own city<sup>1</sup>, and in VR 33 Agum-kakrimi records how he fetched Marduk home from the land of Ḫani: *i-nu (ilu) Marduk bil (I-)sag-ila [u] Bâbili (KI) [ilân]i rabûli [i-]na pi-i-šu-nu il-lim [a-n]a Bâbili (KI) [ta]-ar-šu iḳ-bu-u . . . aḳ-pu-ud at-ta-id-ma a-na li-ki-i (ilu) Marduk a-na Bâbili (KI) pa-ni-šu aš-kun-ma tap-pu-ut (ilu) Marduk ra-im pali-i-a al-lik-ma . . . a-na mâti ruḳ-ti a-na (mātu) Ḫa-ni-i lu-u-aš-pur-ma ḳâti (ilu) Marduk u (ilu) Šar-pa-ni-tum lu-iš-ba-tu-nim-ma (ilu) Marduk u (ilu) Šar-pa-ni-tum ra-im pali-i-a a-na I-sag-ila u Bâbili (KI) lu-u-tir-šu-nu-ti*<sup>2</sup>. And in the next lines we hear of how he lets artisans place the two deities in their apartments (II 22—23), *mâri um-ma-[ni] lu-u-ši-šib-šu [-nu-ti]*, and presents *arba*<sup>2</sup> *u bilat* gold *a-na lu-bu-uš[-ti] (ilu) Marduk u (ilu) Šar-pa-ni-tum*

<sup>1</sup> Lines 13—14 *ištu ḳi-rib lim-ni-ti e-lam-ti ḫar-ra-an šu-lu-lu u-ru-uh ri-ša-a-ti [ma-]ga-ri iḣ-ba-ta ana ḳi-rib šu-an-na<sup>ki</sup>.*

<sup>2</sup> I 44—II 17.

*lu-u-ad-di-nu-ma lu-bu-uš-ta ra-bi-ta lu-bu-uš-ta hurāši šūturi (ilu) Marduk u (ilu) Šar-pa-ni-tum lu-u-lab-bi-šu-šu-nu-ti-ma*<sup>1</sup>, having first called in a craftsman<sup>2</sup>. Here the detailed text leaves us in no doubt that we are concerned with the bringing home of (wooden) statues of Marduk and Zarpanitum which are thoroughly repaired and thereupon placed in Esagila and adorned with golden garments<sup>3</sup>. But further we may point out that in the large ritual text from Babylon, DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, as well as in the directions for the ritual of the same festival in the Uruk texts, we find throughout the gods, the king, and the officiating priests appearing simultaneously and side by side so that in these passages we are justified in a conception of the gods agreeing with the above-mentioned Agum-kakrimi inscription, i. e. as statues. Thus we hear over and over again in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 that the urigallu recites a hymn before Marduk in the morning, [*amil*]urigallu itebbî-ma mē<sup>pl</sup> nâri iram-muk [ana] pâni <sup>d</sup>Bêl irrub-ma . . . ana <sup>d</sup>Bêl ikriba annâ iqabbi<sup>4</sup>, and in one of the Uruk texts, VAT 7849, III 15 ff., after the enumeration of the deities placed in their chariots we read: arki-šu <sup>amil</sup>en-na <sup>d</sup>Il-amurri <sup>d</sup>Azag-su(g) <sup>d</sup>Asilal u <sup>amil</sup>mašmašê<sup>[pl]</sup> imna u šumêla ša <sup>amil</sup>mašmašê<sup>pl</sup> 2 <sup>amil</sup>mu-ban-nu-u GIS̄-GIR uknâ uḥḥuzu išaddadu(?) <sup>iš</sup>erina ina <sup>karp</sup>atḥuluppakki ina pa-ni-šu ušeššû<sup>pl</sup>-nim-ma arki-šu mē qâtê<sup>II</sup> a-na <sup>d</sup>Ani u An-tum inaš-ši šarra u nišê<sup>pl</sup> u-lap-pat.

<sup>1</sup> II 28—35.

<sup>2</sup> *gurgur šarpi* (?) II 24.

<sup>3</sup> Various expressions in hymns to Marduk (cf. e. g. K. 7592 + K. 8717 + DT 363, Obv. 19 and K. 3351, 10. 20) may probably be referred to pictorial representations of him, a conjecture which is confirmed by similar expressions about Nabu, found in an inscription on a statue (IR 35 No. 2,4).

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 2 ff. 217 ff. 285 ff.



Here besides the gods, various classes of priests, and the king and people are mentioned. We must conceive them as mutually differing groups, and even the position of the various participators to the right or left of the procession is indicated. To this textual evidence may finally be added K. 1356 where Sennacherib gives an account of the reliefs he has caused to be made on one of the gates admitting to the *bît akîtu* built by him at Assur. We shall subsequently, in another connection, return to this most important source, here we shall only point out that in Rev. 11—15 besides Aššur twenty-five other deities are enumerated, represented walking some before some after him, *ilušar-ur ilušar-gaz . . . iluḥa-ni ilusibitti an-nu-ti ilâni<sup>meš</sup> ša ina maḥar iluaššur il-la-ku ilunin-lil . . . iluninib an-nu-ti ilâni<sup>meš</sup> ša arki ilu[aššur il-la-ku]*. This corresponds exactly to the passage in the Gudea Cyl. A 18<sup>5-15</sup>, *dingirbabbar ḥe-gal mu-na-ta-e [g]u-de-a . . . . kam-aš uru-azag-[ga] im-ma . . . . -gin . . . dingirlugal-kur-dub igi-šu mu-na-gin dingirgal-alim-ge gîr mu-na-ga-ga*. Above on pp. 44—47 we noticed the chief representations of processions of the gods. These form a supplement to the textual evidence mentioned above, and on the basis of our considerations we may now venture to conclude that statues of the gods figured in great number in the procession at the great *akîtu* festival, and in various other ceremonies<sup>1</sup>, and that it is in this form amongst others that the gods take part in the cult.

β.

We have frequently above mentioned the central position of the king in the *akîtu* festival<sup>2</sup>, and in our

<sup>1</sup> Cf. DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 2 ff. 217 ff. 285 ff. quoted above p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e. g. Chapter I, in which we quoted Sarg. PJ 140 b—141; Ann. 309—11; Stele II 1—22; Nabon. Ann. II 10—11; III 25 ff.; 35968, III 4—5; 27859, Rev. 8—9.

numerous quotations we have seen the king as the leader of the festival<sup>1</sup>, either with the gods at the head of the procession<sup>2</sup>, or as the one who arranges the festival and, at the same time, performs the ceremonies. *E-pu-šu a-di ilâni<sup>mes</sup> bît-a-ḫi-it<sup>3</sup>*, says Ašurbanipal in his Annals<sup>4</sup>. Hence in this place we have only to add some supplementary passages to the preceding ones, and indicate the main lines of his position.

Every ruler of Mesopotamia went annually to Babylon to celebrate the great cult festival. The Assyrian conquerors did not fail to appear on this occasion. Sargon's account of his journey to Babylon to celebrate the akîtu festival shows that it was an old-established custom. In the same way the mighty ruler Nebuchadnezzar relates of his predecessors that, in whatever part of Mesopotamia they had their palace or capital, they always came every year to Babylon to celebrate Marduk's festival, *pa-na-ma ul-tu û-um ul-lu-ti a-di pa-lî-e<sup>ilu</sup>nabû-aplu-u-ṣu-ur šar bâb-ili<sup>ki</sup> a-bi a-li-di-ia šarrâni ma-du-ti a-lik maḫ-ri-ia ša i-lu a-na šar-ru-tim ir-ku-ru zi-ki-ir-šu-un i-na maḫâzâni ni-iš i-ni-šu-nu a-ša-ar iš-ta-a-mu egallâli i-te-ip-pu-šu ir-mu-u šu-ba-at-su-un bu-ša-šu-nim i-na ḫi-ir-bi u-na-ak-ki-mu u-ga-ri-nu ma-ak-ku-ur-šu-un i-na i-si-nim zag-mu-ku ta-bi-e<sup>ilu</sup>enlil ilâni<sup>ilu</sup>marduk i-ru-bu a-na ḫi-ir-bi bâbili<sup>ki</sup><sup>5</sup>*. During the execution of the ceremonial we see the king taking an active part, he is not only nominally the leader of the

<sup>1</sup> E. g. in K. 1356, Rev. 10; K. 2674, Rev. I 18—20; K. 2637, 6—8; Ašurb. Ann. (Rassam Cyl.) X 24—28; Nabon. Stele IX 39—41; Nabon. 81—4—28, 3+4, II 49—52; 81—7—1, 9, II 27—31; DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 413 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For a fuller account see section E. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 15<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Rassam Cyl. X 28.

<sup>5</sup> EJ VII 9—25, cf. 85—4—30, 1, I 44—49.

festival as the head of the country, in the important texts K. 3476 and K. 1356 we see him identified with Marduk and Aššur respectively, a fact which we shall examine more closely in another connection. — Above on pp. 19—24 we saw that the *akîtu* festival was celebrated not only at Babylon but at several other Mesopotamian cities. In many of these we heard that the king (as a rule the Assyrian king) was the leader, but we have other cases where the presence and participation of the king, for reasons unknown to us, seem to have been precluded. In such cases the king had to be represented by a substitute, and no doubt this is the person referred to in 81—7—27, 30, a letter from the Sin-priest *Arad-<sup>ilu</sup>e-a* to the king<sup>1</sup>, in which Sin's *akîtu* festival (?) at Harran<sup>2</sup> is mentioned, *ûmu 17<sup>kam</sup> ilu<sup>sin</sup> i-ta-bi ina a-ki-it u-šab*<sup>3</sup>. The text then continues: *šarru be-li i-te-mu liš-kun* [<sup>KU</sup>]*gu-zip-pi lid-d[in-u-n]i [iš]-si-ia lu-[bi-lu-ni?] [E]R-ŠA-KU-MAL ina [muḥ-ḥi] [ip]-pa-aš a-na šarri [be-li-ia] i-kar-[rab] ba-laṭ na-p[iš-li] ša* *ûme<sup>me</sup> ru-ḫ[<sup>u</sup>]ti a-na šarri be-li-[ia] i-da-an* <sup>amêlu</sup>*mutir pu-te [iš]-si-ia [liš]-pu-ru [ana] pa-an [r]i(?) -šu-te*<sup>4</sup>. Here the request for a *guzippu* and one of the king's trusted men points to the king's substitute in royal robes having impersonated him at Sin's *akîtu* festival. This conjecture is supported by a passage in one of the numerous ritual texts of the *kalû* priests, AO 6472, Obv. 25—Rev. 1, in which we read: *immer niqû rabu-u a-na <sup>d</sup>A-nim tanaq-ki takribta tašakka-an arki-šu takribâti<sup>pl</sup> u er-šem-ša-ḥun-ga<sup>pl</sup>-šu-nu ina <sup>subat</sup>sissikti šarri ina kul-lat maḥâzê<sup>pl</sup> teppu-uš an-nam (-a-am) teppu-uš-ma limuttu ana šarri ul i-te-ḥi*. It is true

<sup>1</sup> Esarhaddon? Cf. Behrens, *ABBr.* pp. 24—25.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> Obv. 8—9.

<sup>4</sup> Obv. 10—Rev. 7, cf. Behrens, *ABBr.* p. 21.

that this passage has nothing to do with the akîtu festival, but it shows us that the king was represented by a robe all over the country (in this special case at Uruk). Hence it is no unnatural inference that one of the king's trusted men, wearing this (or some similar) robe may have represented the king at the akîtu festival. — It has been conjectured that conditions at the celebration of the akîtu festival in Assyria differed from those of Babylonia, the specially Assyrian *ltmu* system, according to which the year was named after one of the highest government officials, being thought to point to this official being the leader of the akîtu festival in Assyria<sup>1</sup>, like the king in Babylonia. This view is interesting, and it would be of the highest importance if all the material on this subject were collected, for we lack a thorough understanding of the religious significance of the Assyrian system; but we must here emphasize that a perusal of the material at our disposal for the study of the akîtu festival has revealed nothing that supported this conjecture. And from three Assyrian cities, two of which were at different times the capital of the country, we have conclusive evidence that it was the king who conducted the akîtu festival and took active part in the ceremonies<sup>2</sup>, just as we see the king take part in the cult at Babylon and Uruk<sup>3</sup>. — At what stage of the festival the king arrived at Babylon (if he was not residing there) is not recorded by the texts; from the great ritual text DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 we see that the king is not conducted into Esagila until the

<sup>1</sup> Sidney Smith (oral communication).

<sup>2</sup> Assur: K. 1356, Rev. 10 ff. — Nineveh: Ašurb. Ann. (Rassam Cyl.) X 24–28. — Milkia: K. 2674, Rev. I 18–20; K. 2637, 6–8.

<sup>3</sup> VAT 7849, I 6. 16–17. 23; IV 5. 11–12; AO 6459, Obv. 23. 34; AO 6465, Obv. 8. 20, Rev. 4–6. 9. 13. 17.

fifth of Nisan, shortly after the arrival of Nabu, . . . *mê<sup>pl</sup> qâtê<sup>II</sup> šarri ušba-<sup>2</sup>u-nim-ma [ana e-sag]-il ušerribu<sup>pl</sup>-šū<sup>1</sup>*, but we do not know whether this applies both to the Babylonian and the Assyrian king, nor whether the latter arrived at the city e. g. a few days before his entry into Esagila on the fifth of Nisan. The various inscriptions of the kings, when referring to their participation in the *akîtu* festival, lay special stress, as we saw above, on their festival procession to *bit akîtu*, we must therefore content ourselves with the knowledge that they arrived at Esagila on the fifth of Nisan, leaving open the remainder of the problems as to the more exact fixing of dates, until new texts may perhaps yield us fuller information on this point.

γ.

In addition to the gods and the king, a number of priests attended the *akîtu* festival, officiating at the various ceremonies during the entire course of the festival. The Uruk texts in particular inform us of the names of the various degrees of the priests, but most of these names are found scattered throughout the material from Babylon, so that, with a single characteristic exception to be dealt with below, we may take for granted a certain uniformity in the classes of priests attending the festival at Babylon and Uruk. In the following we shall therefore treat the information gathered from the Uruk texts and the Babylon texts as a whole. To begin with we must state that though a series of names for the officiating priests has come down to us, we are often puzzled as to their special duties, for the texts only tell us in some few cases what this or that

<sup>1</sup> 413—14; from what follows it is clear that *-šū* refers to the king, cf. e. g. 422 *šarru 1-šū an-na-a iqabbi*.

priest is doing; most frequently it is simply said that they take part in the processions. In the succeeding part I have quite abandoned any attempt to draw conclusions from the etymology of the name as to the special functions of each class of priests under consideration, since this is attended by the greatest difficulties.

The classes of priests most frequently mentioned are *amil mašmašê<sup>pl</sup> 1*, *amil kalê<sup>pl</sup> 2*, and *amil nârê<sup>pl</sup> 3*, which three classes are also sometimes mentioned together <sup>4</sup>. *Mašmašu* is the exorcist, and hence we see from DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 338—67, how when called in by the urigallu, he purifies Esagila and its sacred chambers <sup>5</sup> prior to the arrival of Nabu on the fifth of Nisan and before the festival fully unfolds itself. After the conclusion of the ceremonies, we read about him and another officiating priest <sup>6</sup>: *amil mašmašu u amil nâš paṭri ana šêri uššû<sup>pl</sup> ma-la ša<sup>d</sup> Nabû ina Bâbili<sup>ki</sup> ana Bâbili<sup>ki</sup> ul irrubu<sup>pl</sup> ištu ûmi 5 adi ûmi 12<sup>kam</sup> ina šêri uššabu<sup>pl</sup> 7*. This statement must no doubt be understood to mean that only the one *mašmašu* who has purified the temple is to stay outside town while the festival is proceeding, for from the Uruk texts we see that *amil mašmašê<sup>pl</sup>* take part in the whole festival <sup>8</sup>, and VAT

<sup>1</sup> VAT 9555, Obv. 27; DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 340. 354. 361; AO 6459, Obv. 27. 35, Rev. 28—29; AO 6465, Obv. 13, Rev. 6. 9. 19; AO 7439, Rev. 13.

<sup>2</sup> VAT 9555, Obv. 61—63; DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 40. 186. 278. 337; AO 6459, Obv. 7. 12; AO 6461, Rev. 19; AO 6465, Rev. 19.

<sup>3</sup> DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 40. 186. 278. 337; AO 6459, Obv. 3. 7. 12. 35, Rev. 4. 7. 8. 13. 14; AO 6465, Obv. 19.

<sup>4</sup> VAT 7849, I 18. 22. 26; III 14—16.

<sup>5</sup> 340 *amil mašmaša išassî-ma bîta i-ḥap-ma*.

<sup>6</sup> *amil nâš paṭri*, "he who bears the sword", DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 353. 360—61; also mentioned in the Ira myth, K. 2619 + K. 2755, II 11.

<sup>7</sup> 361—63.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the quotations above note 1.

9555, Obv. 27 shows us that the same was the case at Babylon. — The functions of the class of priests called *amilkalê<sup>pl</sup>*, sing. *kalû*, have been more definitely determined by various investigations by Thureau-Dangin<sup>1</sup>. He states his views as follows: — Ce prêtre avait pour mission d'“apaiser” par ses chants “le cœur des dieux”. Il s'accompagnait, en chantant, de divers instruments de percussion dont le principal, appelé *lilissu*, avait la forme d'une timbale. While most of our passages merely mention these priests, we learn of their function as chanting priests from a single passage: *(amil)kalû izza-az-ma An-na a-gal-la mi-du(g)-ga IM-r[α-bi-šu an-ki-a] [aš-e]-ne nir-gal-la niš qâti ina muh-ḥi pa-la-ag[-gi izammur]*<sup>2</sup>. In this case they recite before Anu on the eleventh of Nisan. — Of *amilnârê<sup>pl</sup>*<sup>3</sup>, the third degree of priests mentioned above, we hear repeatedly in AO 6459 that they recite and chant hymns, *amilnârê<sup>pl</sup> i-za-am-mu-ru*<sup>4</sup>, but for the rest the same applies to them as we pointed out above concerning the *amilkalê<sup>pl</sup>*, that in most cases we merely hear of their presence in processions and at ceremonies. — In addition to *kalê* and *nârê* two special classes of priests seem to be connected with the vocal ritual, viz. *amilkurgarû* and *amilassinnu*<sup>5</sup>. As a rule we hear of them in connection with the Istar cult<sup>6</sup>, and they were most probably eunuchs<sup>7</sup>. This is not at variance with the state-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *RA*, XVI. pp. 121 ff.; *Rit.* pp. 1 f.

<sup>2</sup> AO 6461, Rev. 19–20.

<sup>3</sup> In his rendering of VAT 7849 Zimmern here reads *ramkê* and translates it “Spendepriester” (*ZBN*, II. pp. 28–29), which is contradicted by the passages quoted below from AO 6459.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. 4. 7. 8. 13. 14.

<sup>5</sup> K. 3476, Obv. 28; K. 9876, Obv. 1. 11–12.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the Ira myth, K. 2619 + K. 2755, II 9, and AO 7439, Obv. 5, Rev. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Jensen, *KB*, VI 1. pp. 372, 377 and Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 116–17.

ment that at the akîtu festival they sing and play the flute, *malîlu as-sin-nu u amêlu kurgarû [e]l-li-e-a el-li-e-a-ma*.<sup>1</sup> — Besides these five classes of priests *amilêrib-bîti*, pl. *amilêrib-bîtâti*<sup>pl</sup> are often mentioned in the texts<sup>2</sup>. They are described as more active than those previously mentioned, amongst other things they pour out libations and conduct the ceremonies before the images of the gods both in the courts and in the sacred chambers. Thus we hear that [*amilê*] *rib bîti mê*<sup>pl</sup> *qâtê*<sup>II</sup> *a-na* <sup>d</sup>*Ištar inaš-ši-ma*<sup>3</sup>, that *amilêrib-bîtâti*<sup>pl</sup> [*itebbu*<sup>pl</sup>]-*u paršê-šu(-nu) kîma ša gi-na-a [ina pâni]* <sup>d</sup>*Bêl u* <sup>d</sup>*Bêlti-ia ippušu*<sup>pl</sup><sup>4</sup>, and that *amilêrib-bîti ma-aq-qu-u hurâši i-rid-di-e-ma*<sup>5</sup>. They seem to be subordinate, at any rate at Babylon, to Esagila's urigallu, and are constantly described in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 as appearing after the former has recited his hymns before Marduk and Zarpanitum. They enter the temple at a sign from him, *ištu naq-bit iq-bu-u*<sup>6</sup> *išdalâti*<sup>pl</sup> *ipet-te amilêrib-bîtâti*<sup>pl</sup> *gab-bi irrubu*<sup>pl</sup>-*ma*<sup>7</sup>.

Among the most conspicuous of the priests officiating at the akîtu festival at Babylon must be mentioned *amilurigallu*<sup>8</sup>, also called *amilurigal e-ku-a*<sup>9</sup>. He is not mentioned in the Uruk texts, and we might be tempted to see in the urigallu a special class of priest belonging to Babylon if we had not, in the Ašurbanipal text K. 891, Obv. 16—18,

<sup>1</sup> K. 9876, Obv. 11—12.

<sup>2</sup> VAT 7849, I 23; DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 37. 184. 276. 335; AO 6459, Obv. 26. 28.

<sup>3</sup> VAT 7849, I 24.

<sup>4</sup> DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 37—39. 184 f. 276 f. 335 f.

<sup>5</sup> AO 6459, Obv. 26 f.

<sup>6</sup> The subject is *amilurigallu*, cf. 285.

<sup>7</sup> Lines 334—35.

<sup>8</sup> DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 2. 34. 157. 218. 285. 385. 415. 453.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 199. 245. 281. 364. 367. 372.



the king's express statement that his two younger brothers were appointed urigallus at Assur (?) and Harran, *I ilu aššur-mu-kin-pal<sup>meš</sup>-ia aḫi-ia ḫud-din-ni ana amēlu urigallūtu ug-tal-lib ina pân ilu [aššur?]* *I ilu aššur-e-til-šamê-eršiti-balliṣsu aḫi-ia šihri ana amēlu urigallūtu ina pân ilu sin a-šib alu harrâni ug-tal-lib*. Though it is uncertain whether or not we are to read *ilu aššur* here<sup>1</sup>, it is beyond doubt that an urigallu for Sin is mentioned. It is important, too, that we can see from K. 891 that this ecclesiastical office was a very high one, perhaps the highest in the case of Babylon's urigallu, or else the king's brothers would not have been appointed to this office. A fact which would seem to point in the same direction is, that several texts refer to a deity, *dUri-gal*<sup>2</sup>, sometimes an epithet of Nergal, sometimes a solar god assimilated to Šamaš, though we have no further information of the relation between the name and the high priest of Marduk, Sin, and Aššur (?). From the ample ritual text, DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, which unfortunately only gives us particulars for the period from the second to the fifth of Nisan, we learn what duties are incumbent on the urigallu. In the morning he recites hymns before the statues of Marduk and Zarpanitum. We hear again and again: *1 bêr mûši [amil] urigallu itebbî-ma mē<sup>pl</sup> nâri iram-muk [ana] pâni dBel irrub-ma šubât kilî LAL ina pâni dBel [i]-di-ik-ku ana dBel ikriba annâ iqabbi*<sup>3</sup>, whereupon follow long hymns to the gods. He then opens the doors to the chapels and calls in the rest of the priests<sup>4</sup>. Further he orders the various officials of the temple to perform this or that

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps we are to supply *ilu [marduk]*.

<sup>2</sup> AO 7439, Obv. 8; for other passages see SAJ 4589; Deimel, *Pantheon* 1264, 1269, and Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* p. 116<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 1 ff. 157 ff. 217 ff. 285 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *amilêrib-bitâti<sup>pl</sup>*, 36 ff. 184 ff., see above p. 146.

function<sup>1</sup>, he also sends for the *mašmašu* who is to purify Esagila before Nabu's arrival<sup>2</sup>. He himself is not present during the purification ceremony as he would in that case become unclean, *hu-up-pu ša bīti amilurigal e-ku-a ul immar (-mar) šumma(-ma) i-mu-ru lâ elil*<sup>3</sup>, but after the process of purification has taken place, he is the one to pronounce the purification formula<sup>4</sup>. Further the urigallu blesses Esagila<sup>5</sup> and makes all arrangements for the sacrifices<sup>6</sup>; the latter of these functions is mentioned in two other texts referring to conditions in Babylon. The Nabon. Ann. II 7—8 state under the seventh regnal year that the akītu festival is suspended, whereas *niḫê ina Ê-šak-kil u Ê-zi-da ilâni šu-ut Bâbili u Bar-sap<sup>ki</sup> ki [šal-mu] nad-nu uri-gallu is-ruḫ-ma bīta ip-ḫid*, and we have almost a parallel to this in 35968, II 5 *a-di u-mi niḫê<sup>pl</sup> šarru ul is-ruḫ urigallu is-ruḫ-ma bīta ip-ḫid*. None of these passages refer directly to the akītu festival, but they add substantially to our knowledge of the urigallu as a sacrificial priest, and we learn the characteristic terms by which he is designated, viz. the guardian, head, and chief of the temple, i. e. Esagila. Otherwise we might easily, by the term *amilurigal e-ku-a*, be led to think of him as Marduk's special priest in Ekua, but all the evidence in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 points away from this<sup>7</sup>. Finally two more very important tasks devolve upon him. He must conduct the king into

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 190 ff. 200 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 340 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 364—65.

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 372 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ll. 273 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Ll. 385 ff. 453 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the fact that he blesses Esagila and conducts the purification of the temple, etc.

Esagila on the fifth of Nisan shortly after Nabu's arrival<sup>1</sup>, and on the fourth day he must recite *Enuma eliš* before Marduk's statue. After chanting two long hymns before Marduk and Zarpanitum he blesses Esagila in *kisalmahhu*, after which the text reads: [*e-nu-m*]a an-na-a i-te-ip-šu [*arki qut*]-tin-nu ša ki-iš ū-mu e-nu-ma e-liš [*ištu ri-š*]i-šu adi qîti-šu <sup>amil</sup>urigal e-ku-a [ana <sup>d</sup>Bêl i]-na-aš-ši ma-la ša enuma e-liš ana <sup>d</sup>Bêl [i]-na-aš-šu-u pânu ša agî ša <sup>d</sup>Ani u šubtu ša <sup>d</sup>En-lil ku-ut-tu-mu-u<sup>2</sup>.

In addition to the above-mentioned classes of priests numerous others take part in the *akîtu* festival, but we know nothing of their special functions so we must limit ourselves to mentioning their names. Among the superior degrees, perhaps equal in rank to the *urigallu*, are the <sup>amil</sup>en-na<sup>3</sup>, <sup>amel</sup>UŠ-KU-MA[H]<sup>4</sup>, [<sup>amil</sup>ka]l<sup>amil</sup>amahhu<sup>5</sup>, the chief of the <sup>amil</sup>kalê<sup>pl</sup>, and <sup>amil</sup>mahhu<sup>6</sup>. We likewise hear of the <sup>amil</sup>mâr bârî<sup>7</sup> who seems to be a soothsayer, and the <sup>amil</sup>šangû<sup>8</sup>. The latter term is otherwise the common name for the Assyro-Babylonian priests, in addition to *ramku*<sup>9</sup>, which does not occur in the texts dealing with the *akîtu* festival. — In these texts we further hear of a number of functionaries of the temple who take part in various ways

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 415 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 279—84; the covering up of Anu's crown and Enlil's throne during the recitation of *Enuma eliš* is correctly explained by Langdon, *EC*, p. 23, by a reference to the statements of earlier myths of the futile attempts of these gods to conquer Tiamat in the primeval ages; only Marduk wins the victory.

<sup>3</sup> VAT 7849, III 15.

<sup>4</sup> BE 13420, 81.

<sup>5</sup> AO 6465, Obv. 1.

<sup>6</sup> AO 6465, Obv. 2; VAT 9555, Obv. 28.

<sup>7</sup> AO 6459, Rev. 3.

<sup>8</sup> AO 6459, Rev. 3; K. 3476, Obv. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. e. g. Nerigl. Ripley Cyl. II 9.

in the great cult festival. Thus the *amilqurqurru* makes images of the gods<sup>1</sup>, the *amilnuḫatimmu* bakes and brings the sacrificial loaves<sup>2</sup>, and the *amilmârê<sup>pl</sup>*, a kind of craftsmen, take part in various ways in the arrangement and purification of the temple<sup>3</sup>. — With the exception of the *urigallu* and perhaps a few of the highest priests whose names only have come down to us and who probably played a dominant role in those parts of the ritual into which neither DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 nor the Uruk texts give us any insight, we have no ground for assuming that the other classes of priests mentioned above bore any special part at the *akîtu* festival. Thus in one of our texts from Uruk, AO 6460, which does not deal with the *akîtu* festival, we hear of a nocturnal festival to Anu attended by *amilêrib-bîti rabu-u*<sup>4</sup>, the common priests *amilêrib-bîtâti<sup>pl</sup>*<sup>5</sup>, *amilmašmašê<sup>pl</sup>*, *amilkalê<sup>pl</sup>*, and *amilnârê<sup>pl</sup>*<sup>6</sup>, besides *amilšangê<sup>pl</sup>*<sup>7</sup>, and AO 6451 which refers to the daily sacrifices in Anu's temple mentions *amilkalê<sup>pl</sup>*, *amilnârê<sup>pl</sup>*, and *mârê<sup>pl</sup>*<sup>8</sup>, also *amilnuḫatimmê<sup>pl</sup>*<sup>9</sup>.

δ.

But not only the king and the large Babylonian priesthood celebrate the *akîtu* festival with the gods, also the whole population takes part in it. Our texts from Babylon fail us on this point, but the Uruk texts dealing with the *akîtu* festival in Tišrît (AO 6459; AO 6465) and

<sup>1</sup> DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 190. 197.

<sup>2</sup> AO 6459, Obv. 7.

<sup>3</sup> DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 200. 372. 384. 404—5. 407. 414.

<sup>4</sup> Obv. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Rev. 2. 13. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Mentioned as chanting in Rev. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Rev. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Rev. 45.

<sup>9</sup> Obv. 23. 24.

in Nisan (VAT 7849) tell us over and over again of the presence of the people together with the king and the priests. This undoubtedly warrants the conclusion that conditions at Babylon were quite parallel to those at Uruk. We must remember that the great ritual text from Babylon, DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, comes to an end with the ceremonies of the fifth day after the arrival of the king at Esagila, while the rest of the texts from Babylon only afford us glimpses of the course of the festival in its entirety. The Uruk texts, on the other hand, describe all the externals of the festival. In these the same words recur again and again when the people is mentioned, viz. *mê<sup>pl</sup> qâtê<sup>II</sup> a-na <sup>d</sup>Ani u An-tum inaš-ši-ma šarra u nišê<sup>pl</sup> u-lap-pat*<sup>1</sup>. A ceremony with water (literally "hand-water") is here referred to, with which the king as well as the people are touched, after it has first been performed before Anu and Antum. From the various passages in which this ceremony is mentioned we can see at what stages of the festival the people was present. The ceremony is stated to take place in *kisalmahhu* in Anu's temple<sup>2</sup>, and likewise before the egress from the temple to *bît akitu* takes place, while the gods are standing in their chariots<sup>3</sup>, and finally *ina kisalli bît a-ki-tum*<sup>4</sup>. In other words, transferring to Babylon what we have thus gathered, this means that the people assembled in the court of Esagila, thence wandering in the procession by the prescribed route to *bît akitu*, in the court of which they remained during the succeeding ceremonies in the *paramahhu*. And undoubtedly the people again

<sup>1</sup> AO 6459, Obv. 22—23. 34; AO 6465, Obv. 20, Rev. 4; VAT 7849, III 18; IV 11—12.

<sup>2</sup> AO 6459, Obv. 23. 34; AO 6465, Obv. 20, Rev. 4.

<sup>3</sup> VAT 7849, III 18.

<sup>4</sup> VAT 7849, IV 10.

accompanied the procession when it returned to Esagila on the eleventh of Nisan, but we have no evidence of this either from Uruk or from Babylon.

ε.

At the great Assyro-Babylonian cult festivals the gods as well as the human participators wear a special festal robe. Thus in the important cult text from Sippar, VR60—61, we hear in V 39—VI 5 of a series of festal robes worn by Šamaš, Aia, and Bunene at various festivals, *šubātu damḫu kalāmu ša ilu šamaš ilu a-a u ilu bu-ne-ne . . . šubātu pu-ul-ḫu šubātu kar-bit šubātu še-ri<sup>2</sup>-tu šubātu ḫul-la-nu šubātu ni-bi-ḫu šipātu ta-bar-ru šipātu ta-kil-tu*, and in K. 474, in a letter in which Irašši-ilu, whose domicile we do not know, writes to the king about the Marduk festival in Ulûlu, Obv. 8—9 has it that *ûmu 3<sup>kam</sup> ša arḫu ulûlu šubātu lu-bu-uš-ti ša ilu bêl*. Later on in the letter, in Rev. 4. 11 assistance is requested for this investiture of Marduk. That such an investiture, not only of Marduk but also of the other participating gods as well as the human beings took place at the akîtu festival is thus antecedently probable, and this conjecture is corroborated by various texts. Thus in the Sippar text just mentioned one of the robes is referred to, *arḫu nisannu ûmu 7<sup>kam</sup> šubātu še-ri<sup>2</sup>-tu*<sup>1</sup>, i. e. the robe worn by Šamaš on the seventh of Nisan in the morning. Now above on p. 134 we saw that this deity takes part in the akîtu festival of Babylon, and the robe referred to is probably the one he wore on that occasion. On the other hand we cannot from VR60—61, V 51—52 draw any conclusion as to when Šamaš arrived at Babylon<sup>2</sup>. Further, the passage in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 190—216 points to the special robing of the gods at the akîtu

<sup>1</sup> VR60—61, V 51—52.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above pp. 135—136.

festival. It refers to the making of two statuettes of gods for use at the ceremonies on the sixth of Nisan and it is said of them *šubâta sâma lab-šu-u*<sup>1</sup>. From the celebration of the *akîtu* festival at Uruk in Tišrît we have, however, direct statements. Thus it says in AO 6459, Obv. 2 *arahlîš-rîtu ûmu 1<sup>kam</sup> dEn-lîl dE-a u šu-ut Uruk<sup>ki</sup> il-lab-biš-u*<sup>2</sup>, Obv. 6 *ûmu 6<sup>kam</sup> dAdad dŠamaš dLugal-mar-da u dNin-sun illabbašu*<sup>2</sup>, and in Obv. 11 mention is made of *šubât lu-bu-ša-at ša dAni u An-tum u šubât lu-bu-ša-at ša dIštar*. — That the king and the priests too wore special garments when taking part in the *akîtu* festival is self-evident, but we have no direct statement to that effect except in the case of the *urigallu*. About him it is said repeatedly *[amil]urigallu itebbî-ma mê<sup>pl</sup> nâri iram-muk [ana] pâni dBêl irrub-ma šubât kitî LAL*<sup>2</sup>. Here we must probably compare *LAL* with *ša(g)-lal = labâšu*<sup>3</sup>, as suggested by Thureau-Dangin<sup>4</sup>. When, on the other hand, we read in AO 7439, Rev. 7 that *[amil]kurgarû amilassinnu ša be-li-e dNa-ru-du rak-su*, this refers to special conditions at the celebration of the *Ištar* festival at Uruk, and we can hardly take this statement as a proof that the classes of priests in question appeared in women's clothing at the *akîtu* festival too. In the same text, Obv. 16, we hear of the king, *šarru niš ud-en-na ippu-uš be-li-e-šu ib-bu-tu il-lab-šu*, which shows us his special investiture for taking part in this feast as well as for the *akîtu* festival. For the latter festival, however, we have no direct statement about the conduct or appearance of the king at Babylon after the fifth of Nisan, and the Uruk texts too are silent on this point. —

<sup>1</sup> L. 208. The expressions used about Marduk in VATH 663, Obv. 3 ff must, however, be conceived as poetic.

<sup>2</sup> DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 2 f. 218. 285 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SAJ 6044. <sup>4</sup> *Rit.* p. 129<sup>2</sup>.

Under B. ε. during our topographical investigations, and under C. where we dealt with the hemerology of the akîtu festival, we mentioned the sacred procession street along which the egress from Esagila to *bît akîtu* took place. We saw that part of the way the procession went by the Arahtu Canal. Keeping in mind that above, in pp. 136—139 we conceived the gods, the chief participators in the procession, as statues at this stage of the festival, and not as represented by men dressed up in the robes of the gods, we shall understand that without chariots on which the images could be brought along, the procession would hardly be possible. That the way on the Arahtu Canal could only be traversed by means of ships, is easily understood, whether or not the gods were represented by images, for otherwise the numerous participators in the festival (the king, the priests, the people) could not possibly have continued the egress to *bît akîtu*, in the court of which, as we saw above on p. 151, we subsequently find all who took part. These, more theoretical, considerations are fully corroborated by the texts. —

### ζ.

In the annalistic record BM 35968 dating from eleventh century Babylonia, which we have mentioned several times e. g. in Chapter I, we read in II 16—18 *šattu XIII<sup>KAN</sup> šattu XIV<sup>KAN</sup> šattu XV<sup>KAN</sup> III šanâti<sup>pl</sup> ar-ki mî [lê]<sup>pl</sup> narkabat-su ša ilu<sup>Bêl</sup> ištu ûmi III<sup>KAN</sup> ša ar<sup>hu</sup>Addaru adi ar<sup>hu</sup>Nisannu ul [u-ša]-a ina ar<sup>hu</sup>Nisannu ša šattu XV<sup>KAN</sup> ilu<sup>Bêl</sup> ul u-ša-a*. Here we have a reference to *Marduk's narkabtu* in a passage stating the non-observance of the akîtu festival, from which it seems to me permissible to infer that this chariot belonged to the sacred furniture of the festival. At a later period, in two passages belonging



to texts in which he has previously referred to his restoration of Esagila Ašurbanipal mentions the fact that he has presented Marduk with a new chariot: *iš<sup>u</sup>narkabtu šir-tu ru-kub ilu<sup>u</sup>marduk e-til-li ilâni<sup>meš</sup> bêl bêlê ina hurâši kaspi abnê<sup>meš</sup> ni-siḫ-ti ag-mu-ra nab-nit-sa*<sup>1</sup>, and in K. 2411, IV 12 mention is made of [š<sup>i</sup>-in]-du *iš<sup>u</sup>narkabat šar ilâni<sup>meš</sup> šir-tu ru-kub bêl bêlê*, though we hear no more about it owing to the broken state of the succeeding text. In the important cult text VAT 9555, Rev. 15 we read: *iš<sup>u</sup>narkabtu ša a-na bit a-ki-it tal-lak-u-ni ta-la-kan-an-ni*, and from this we may probably conclude that the chariots were conveyed across the Arahtu Canal in vessels, thereupon to continue in the procession to *bit akîtu*. — This evidence from Babylon is supplemented by the texts from Uruk. In AO 6459, Obv. 3, we hear that Anu's chariot is taken out on the first of Tišrît, and every day until the eighth day makes a trial trip to *bit akîtu*: *iš<sup>n</sup>narkabat <sup>d</sup>Ani kaspi iš<sup>n</sup>narkabat <sup>d</sup>Ani hurâši û-mu 1-šu a-di ûmi 8<sup>kam</sup> it-ti qut-tin-nu ša še-riim a-na <sup>bit</sup>a-ki-i-tum e-lit ša <sup>d</sup>Ani illa-ak<sup>pl</sup>-ma*. And later, in Obv. 19—20, we hear that several chariots are gathered in *kisalmahḫu*: . . . *iš<sup>n</sup>narkabâti<sup>pl</sup> itebbû<sup>pl</sup>-nim-ma ina kisalmahḫi a-na <sup>d</sup>Ani itarra-aš*. This latter statement is an exact parallel to what we are told about the chariots in VAT 7849, I 6 f. at the celebration of the *akîtu* festival in Nisan. In the latter text, in a section describing the alignment of the procession in *kisalmahḫu* prior to the egress to *bit akîtu*, (which is unfortunately in a very dilapidated condition), we hear of the chariots of various gods: *arki-šu iš<sup>n</sup>narkabat <sup>d</sup>Inurta iš<sup>n</sup>narka[bat] . . . . . arki-šu iš<sup>n</sup>narkabat <sup>d</sup>Šamaš u iš<sup>n</sup>narkabat [<sup>d</sup>Adad] . . . . . an-na-a iš<sup>n</sup>narkabâti<sup>pl</sup> amil<sup>am</sup>ummâ-ni . . . . . iš-pat<sup>pl</sup> hurâši ša <sup>d</sup>Ani u An-t[um] . . . . . it-ti iš<sup>n</sup>narkabat <sup>d</sup>Ani*

<sup>1</sup> Ann. (Cyl. C) X 32—34.

*illa-ak<sup>pl</sup>*<sup>1</sup>. The chariots were drawn by horses<sup>2</sup>. — That it was not only at the akītu festival that chariots were employed, but in all processions of the deities<sup>3</sup> in Mesopotamia, is seen e. g. from AO 7439, Rev. 2. 12, in which mention is made of *isnarkabâti<sup>pl</sup>* at Ištar's festival at Uruk, and from IVR12<sup>4</sup> which describes an Enlil festival at Nippur, and where Obv. 23—24 and Rev. 10—11 give an account of the grand state chariot in which the god drove forth.

η.

Also the procession ships sailing on the Arahtu Canal are mentioned in several texts from Babylon, especially in the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings. In EJ III 10 *isuelippu ku-a* is given as a name for Marduk's ship, and in WB V 19—30 Nebuchadnezzar records how magnificently he constructed and equipped Marduk's *isuelippu rukub ku-a* [mā-]gur ru-ku-bi-šu elli-lim; in V 31—48 we further read: *i-na zak-mu-kam rêš šatti ilu marduk ilâni ši-ir-ba-šu u-še-ši-im-ma a-na i-si-nu tar-ba-a-tim a-ki-ta-šu ši-ir-ti u-ša-aš-di-ih-ma i-na isuelippu rukub Ku el-li-ti ilu marduk [us]-si-im-ma ka-ar [šam-ri]-iš a-ra-aḥ-ti i-[ka-]ab-bi-is bît-niḫê a-na e-ri-bi bêl ilâni ša-ku-um bêl bêlê iš-tu ma-ka-al-li-e isuelippi rukub Ku a-di bît-niḫê ma-aš-[da-ḫi]-i bêlu rabû ilu marduk up-pa-ti . . . . . ši-ib . . . . . nu-uh-šu im-nim u [šu-me]-lu isuašuhû ši-ḫu-ti aš-tak-kan-[šu-]ma. In the Ašurbanipal inscription L<sup>4</sup> IV 19 Marduk's procession ship, *isuelip Ku-A*, is also mentioned, but the much broken text tells us nothing further about it<sup>5</sup>. However, this does not matter, for the above-quoted*

<sup>1</sup> III 5—9.      <sup>2</sup> Cf. *sisû ša isunarkabti ili*, AO 6463, Obv. 12—15.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above pp. 44—47, 137—139 were these are mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> Pointed out by Zimmern, ZBN, I. p. 153—56.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Streck, VAB, VII 2. p. 271<sup>8</sup>, where the material dealing with Marduk's ship is collected.

Wadi Brisa passage tells us plainly that at the *akîtu* festival Marduk crosses in this ship from the landing stage at the Arahtu Wall to the opposite bank of the canal, whereupon the procession continues on land through the avenue of slender *ašuhû* cedars to *bit akîtu*. Finally it is mentioned in VAT 9418, Obv. I 7, that Marduk bears the name *ilušul-bab-ab* onboard the procession ship, *ina gis ma-HU-SI*. It is possible that this ship was kept at Esagila with the rest of the sacred furniture used at the *akîtu* festival. Whether or not its name *ku-a* has any connection with Ekua in the temple, as conjectured by Weissbach in the notes to his edition of the Wadi Brisa inscription<sup>1</sup>, (where he also declares, without grounds, that it was kept in Ekua), of this we know nothing; the name itself, *gis ma ku-a*<sup>2</sup>, merely means "the holy (pure) ship".

Above on pp. 74—76 when we mentioned the procession streets of Babylon we saw that on the fifth of Nisan Nabu arrived at Esagila by way of the Borsippa Canal south of Babylon, and that he continued his voyage northward up the Euphrates until he was on a level with Marduk's temple. His procession ship on this occasion bears the name *is elippi id-da-he-du*<sup>3</sup>, and in two Nebuchadnezzar passages we have a fuller account of this. In these it is merely called *isu elip nâru Gan.Ul*<sup>4</sup>: *isu elip nâru Gan.Ul ru-ku-bu ru-bu-ti-šu*<sup>5</sup> *isu elip ma-aš-da-ha zag-mu-ku i-si-in-nim šu-an-na*<sup>ki</sup> *isu ka-ri-e-šu za-ra-ti ki-ir-bi-šu u-ša-al-bi-šu ti-i-ri ša-aš-ši*

<sup>1</sup> WVDOG, V. p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. AO 6463, Obv. 1 [*gis ma ku-*] *a elip ilu marduk* and Thureau-Dangin's hesitation to adopt the reading in *RA*, XIX. p. 141<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 411.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the *Gan.Ul* Canal is the Borsippa Canal.

<sup>5</sup> *-šu* does not refer to any antecedent *ilunabû*, but in III 65 ff. Nebuchadnezzar begins a description of his building operations at Borsippa: *eš-ri-e-ti bar-zi-pa*<sup>ki</sup> *u-še-bi-iš az-nu-un . . .*

*u abni*<sup>1</sup>, and that this is not his procession ship during the voyage by the Arahtu Canal to *bît akîtu* is seen from WB VII 29—40<sup>2</sup> which shows us that the ship in question is the one in which Nabu comes to Babylon from Borsippa for the akîtu festival: *ina zag-mu-kam [rêš šatti] a-na i-si-nu ša a-ki-ti ša ilu-en-lil ilâni<sup>meš</sup> ilu-marduk ilu-nabû aplu ši-te-lu-ți ištu bar-sip<sup>ki</sup> i-ša-di-ḥu a-na ḳi-ri-ib bâbili<sup>ki</sup> ina iṣu elippi<sup>nâru</sup> Gan-UL ša ku-uz-ba za-na-tu la-la-a ma-la-tu u-šar-šî-id-ma za-ra-at ṣa-ri-ri u iṣuḳa-ri-e ki-lal-la-an a-na a-la-ak-ti ru-bu-ti-šu a-na tab-ra-at lu-li-e uš-ma-lu.*

We hear of the use of procession ships from other Mesopotamian cities too, but our material is too scanty for us to say whether it was merely at the local akîtu festival that these were employed or whether they came into play in other processions too. Of course purely local conditions would often determine whether or not such ships were used in the processions, but the numerous canals intersecting the whole of Mesopotamia, which were a vital condition for the prosperity of its agriculture, argue in favour of an extensive use of procession ships. In the Gudea inscriptions from Lagaš we hear the king mention the building of Bau's procession ship *kar-nun-ta-e-a*<sup>3</sup>, which in K. 4338, V 39, is called *gišma-pap-sal-uš-sa*<sup>4</sup>, and which was probably used at the akîtu festival, for as mentioned above in pp. 6—7 the Gudea texts refer to such a festival for Ningirsu and Bau. In the Uruk text AO 6459, Obv. 14<sup>5</sup> mention is made of *išmaqurrê<sup>pl</sup>* in the important context in which the festival rites for the seventh of Tišrît are

<sup>1</sup> EJ III 71—IV 6.

<sup>2</sup> We hear about repairs to the ship in ll. 21—28.

<sup>3</sup> Stat. D 33—5.

<sup>4</sup> L. 38 *gišma-ab-azag-ga*, see Landsberger, *KK*, p. 52<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *gišma-an-na*, Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XX. p. 108.

enumerated. Here we have a brief reference to *ma-la-ku su-qa<sup>pl</sup> išmaqurrê<sup>pl</sup> u bit<sup>u</sup>a-ki-i-tum*, i. e. the procession (in the) streets, (onboard the) ships, and (to) *bit akitu*. — It has been conjectured<sup>1</sup> that the chariots and ships mentioned in the texts were identical, a kind of ship-carriages, and it has been pointed out that on his and W. Belck's journey of exploration in Armenia in 1898—99 C. F. Lehmann found a seal cylinder on which is probably seen a ship-carriage followed by a male figure and a fabulous animal<sup>2</sup>. I must confess that I am not half convinced that in this representation we have what C. F. Lehmann calls "Erste Darstellung der aus babylonischen Texten bekannten Schiffsprocession (Šamašsumukîn II 71) begleitet von dem Thier des Wassergottes". The emphatic distinction made by the texts between *išu<sup>u</sup>narkabtu* and *išu<sup>u</sup>elippu* also points away from the possibility of the ships being ship-carriages. That *rukûbu* is used both about carriages and ships<sup>3</sup> proves nothing, since this word here simply means "conveyance".

## E.

We shall now more closely examine what might be called the internal part of the festival after having investigated its more external manifestations in the preceding sections. Our object in this section is to sift the evidence contained in our sources concerning the cult actions in order to ascertain what actually took place at the great annual cult festival. However, we shall temporarily deal

<sup>1</sup> C. F. Lehmann, *SBAW* 1900, p. 626; Weissbach, *OLZ* 1913, p. 22; Streck, *VAB*, VII<sub>2</sub>. p. 271<sup>8</sup>, cf. also Zimmern's rendering "Auf dem Schiffswagen", *ZBN*, II. p. 44, of VAT 9418, Obv. I 7.

<sup>2</sup> The seal cylinder has been published in *SBAW* 1900, p. 626.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. e. g. Ašurb. Ann. (Cyl. C) X 32—34 and K. 2411, IV 12 with Neb. EJ III 71—72 and WB V 19—20.

with the individual cult actions as isolated groups, and the reader must not attach any weight to the order in which they are treated in this section. Not until a later section (F.) shall we attempt to find out the connection between the individual cult actions and ascertain what we know of their inward order and possible sequence.

1. The sacrifices and the rest of the ritual ceremonies; sacrificial gifts; sacrificial meals; the sacrificial furniture.

It is a matter of course that in view of the limited scope we have set ourselves in this essay we do not here contemplate a description of the sacrificial acts of the *akîtu* festival based on a comparative study of the Assyro-Babylonian sacrificial ritual. And indeed, this seems to me quite superfluous. Even if the ceremonial and the prescribed ritual may contain many interesting details which might offer material for compilations, the Assyro-Babylonian sacrifice in itself contains few problems for the enquirer into the history of religion. The fundamental idea of the sacrificial acts is deeply rooted in an urban culture thousands of years old and in the conception held by the people of this culture of the relation of men to anthropomorphic gods and their dependence on them. And even though we subsequently reach a stage in the *akîtu* festival when quite a different culture, as it were, asserts itself, there is nothing to show that this dualism has altered the conception of the sacrificial acts, they remain as much a fruit of the urban culture and as ordinary as ever.

To begin with we must class separately a series of sacrificial acts which are mentioned in our texts partly in connection with the *akîtu* festival or *bit akîtu*, partly as performed in Esagila. Among the first is that *buḫumu* or "sheep-shearing" which, as mentioned above on p. 26 is

stated, according to five letters from Ammizaduga, to take place in *bit akîtu*, for we hear nothing else in our texts of such an act and, what is more important, the date of this *bukumu*<sup>1</sup> which by the way is variable, points away from all connection with the *akîtu* festival. The cult action itself is presumably a survival from the pastoral culture which was closely akin to that of the Semitic immigrants of the first dynasty. — Further we have stated above on pp. 27—29 that in our opinion 35968, II 3—4, refers to sacrifices of a later date than and probably independent of the *akîtu* festival. — Of sacrifices offered in Esagila which do not concern us here we may mention e. g. the regular sacrifices or *sattukkê* to Marduk and other deities referred to by Ašurbanipal and several of the Neo-Babylonian rulers<sup>2</sup>. — In the large ritual text from Babylon, DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, in the passage referring to the purification of Esagila on the fifth of Nisan<sup>3</sup>, we have a detailed description of the sacrifice of a lamb. This act, however, forms part of the purification ritual<sup>4</sup> and is therefore in principle independent of the special sacrificial acts connected with the various stages of the *akîtu* festival. — Finally we must point out that several of the ritual acts connected with certain stages of the cult festival are not, strictly speaking, peculiar to the *akîtu* festival. Merely to mention a few examples we may point out that both the ceremony with the “hand-water”, *mê<sup>pl</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Only the three best preserved letters are dated: “at the beginning of Adar” (17298, Rev. 1); [*arhu*Šabā]tu ūmu 10<sup>[KAM]</sup> (17334, Rev. 2), and *arhu*Šabātu ūmu 8<sup>[KAM]</sup> (Bu 91—5—9, 329, Obv. 17).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. S<sup>1</sup> 8 *sat-tuk-ki E-saq-gil ilāni mātŠumeri u Akkadî u-kin-[nu]*; Ašurb. S<sup>3</sup> 45—48; Neb. IR 65, I 13—28, in which the different kinds of *sattukkê* are enumerated; IR 65, II 36—39; Nabon. K. 1688, III 35.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 338—84.

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 353—59.

*qâtê*<sup>II</sup>, and libations are mentioned in connection with other cult festivals, thus in AO 7439, Rev. 8. 9<sup>1</sup>, which describes an Ištar festival at Uruk, and the same applies to the use of cypress wood for incense during the sacrifices<sup>2</sup>.

In the above we have occasionally in passing mentioned sacrifices at the *akîtu* festival. Thus on pp. 125—26 as a result of our examination of the Sargon passages we saw that final offerings probably took place in Esagila after the ceremonies in *bît akîtu*. In this section we shall now, on the basis of the sources at our disposal, try to obtain a comprehensive view of all the sacrificial acts of the *akîtu* festival. The nature of the material, however, forces us, also in this case, to resort to non-Babylonian sources; we are here thinking especially of the Uruk texts and the little we find in the Gudea texts, and we are of opinion that now that we are going to examine the internal part of the festival, the part which is the most important both for the participants and for the enquirer, we are warranted in adducing what the texts record concerning the cult actions of the festival from other cities besides Babylon. Just in regard to a point as essential as this, it seems to us most probable that the rituals of Uruk and Babylon were throughout uniform. Naturally I am not thinking of details or trifles which every priesthood has generally attempted to give a distinctive character, but of the great main features throughout the whole series of cult actions. Of course when generalizing from such material, derived from the Lagaš of the Gudea period, from the Uruk of the time of the Seleucids, or from Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon, we shall always run a risk on

<sup>1</sup> [m]a-aq-qu-u ħurāši i-riḏ-di-ma.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e. g. Maqlû, VIII 75.



some point or other. But as a provisional hypothesis it seems to me justifiable to use this more extensive material, since it is the same main festival with which we are concerned in the various cities. In the foregoing too, we have time after time collated testimonies from the various Assyrian or Babylonian kings, from letters or contracts, which, like the inscriptions of the kings, belong to very different periods, and we have attached equal importance to testimonies far separated in date. All this we have done from our confidence in a certain invariability in the ritual of the *akitu* festival and in its execution, a confidence which is strongly corroborated when the enquirer into the history of religion contemplates various religious cult festivals in other parts of the world, which seems to me to warrant the same confidence in our case until fresh material invalidates it. — We might have adopted the course of arranging the whole of the preceding and subsequent extensive material in purely chronological order, and thence for each century have extracted information about the *akitu* festival, but if we are to produce a connected whole, as we have here attempted, it will be necessary to attach equal value to most of the testimonies and to use passages from the most different centuries in a comprehensive statement. The material being of the nature described, we have no other expedient, and moreover, everything goes to prove that this great main festival of the Assyro-Babylonian religion remained comparatively unchanged through the varying times.

But to resume the subject of the sacrifices. Various passages tell us of general sacrifices at the *akitu* festival. Thus in AO 5482, describing offerings at the *akitu* festival

in Ur<sup>1</sup>, we hear of a series of sacrifices, but we get no fuller account of their nature, we merely learn that two are offered by the king, viz. the numerous offerings in the Gula temple<sup>2</sup> and those in Šubaru<sup>3</sup>. In the Cutha legend, K. 5418 a + K. 5640, III 17, mention is made of *niḫī zak-mukki*, and in K. 822 we read in connection with a Tašmet festival (held in a place unknown to us), Obv. 9—14 *ilu<sup>lu</sup>taš-me-tum da-at-tu tu-ša-a ina libbi bīt a-ki-ti tu-u-šab immer<sup>meš</sup>niḫē<sup>meš</sup> ina pa-ni-ša in-ni-ip-pa-ša*. Perhaps we are to understand this as a testimony to sacrifices offered in *bīt akītu*, but we cannot base anything on this passage alone, since it is questionable whether the festivities mentioned in K. 822 describe part of the *akītu* festival, viz. Tašmet's entry (note that Nabu is not mentioned) into *bīt akītu* at the annual festival, and since we have seen from the above-mentioned Sargon passages<sup>4</sup> that sacrificial acts, mentioned after *bīt akītu* has been referred to, can tell us nothing decisive concerning the place in which these cult actions were performed. As regards the *niḫē* repeatedly mentioned in Nabon. Ann., which are performed *ki šal-mu* in Esagila though no procession takes place<sup>5</sup> (which, as we saw in Chapter I, means that the *akītu* festival was suspended) it is difficult to say anything conclusive. It is hardly the offering of the regular sacrifices (*sattukke*) which is here referred to, the words *ki šal-mu* cannot show this as we see from the whole context. On the other hand, the reference to these sacrifices in Nab. Ann. bears a strong resemblance to the evidence of the Sargon passages of sacrifices

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Landsberger, *KK*, pp. 72—73 and above p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Obv. II 5 f. *šag e-d Gu-la lugal-tu(r)-ra*.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. III *lugal-tur-ra šag HA.A<sup>KI</sup>*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above pp. 125—26.

<sup>5</sup> II 7—8. 12—13. 20—21. 24, cf. also 35968, III 8—9.

to Marduk, Zarpanitum, Nabu, and Tašmet after the festival procession, even though it seems remarkable that the celebration of the *akītu* festival should have been restricted to the offering of sacrifices in Esagila. We here lack a basis from which we can properly judge how to interpret these passages. — Finally we may mention that in two passages in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 we read that *amīl* *ērib-bītātī*<sup>pl</sup> enter on the morning of the second and third of Nisan after the *urigallu* has recited hymns before Marduk and Zarpanitum in Ekua (?), and *paršē-šu(-nu) kīma ša gi-na-a [ina pāni]* *dBēl u dBēlti-ia ippušu*<sup>pl</sup><sup>1</sup>. Unfortunately we are not informed in what these ceremonies consist, but perhaps they merely belonged to the daily ritual of the temple service.

The above-mentioned passages about sacrifices and sacrificial acts in general brought us very little information. We shall now examine what sacrificial animals were used for the sacrifices, and what objects were employed for direct sacrifice, disregarding for the present the sacrificial gifts that were stored up. Our information on this point we gather partly from the textual references to sacrificial gifts, partly from passages in which sacrificial acts are described. For the earlier period the Gudea texts are of special importance, and for the later time the long passage in IR 65, III 5—17, in which Nebuchadnezzar refers to the sacrifices he offers to Nabu and Marduk on the occasion of the *akītu* festival, amongst others. The passage opens as follows: *a-aš-ra-at* *īlu* *na-bi-um u īlu* *marduk bi-e-li-e-a aš-te-ni<sup>2</sup>-a ka-a-a-nam i-si-na-a-ti-šu-nu da-am-ga-a-tim a-ki-su-nu ra-be-tim in gumahhê pa-ag-lu-ti . . . in ma-ḥa-ri-šu-nu e-te-it-ti-iḫ.*

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 38—39, 185—86.

Of sacrificial animals are mentioned:

Oxen (*alpê* Neb. IR 65, III 10; Gilgameš, XI 71—75; *alpu pišû* DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 458 f.; AO 6459, Obv. 8—9. 30—32, Rev. 6—7; AO 6465, Rev. 1).

Bulls (*gu(d)-še* Gudea Stat. E 5<sub>1</sub>—7<sub>21</sub>; Stat. G 3<sub>5</sub>—6<sub>18</sub>; *gu(d)-mah-ḫi bit-ru-ti* Sarg. Ann. 311—12; *gumahḫê* Neb. IR 65, III 9; (*immiru*) *buḫādi* K. 5418 a + K. 5640, III 20; *bīri* K. 9876, Obv. 19).

Wethers, rams, sheep, ewes (*ude-zal, ude-še, sil* Gudea Stat. E 5<sub>1</sub>—7<sub>21</sub>; Stat. G 3<sub>5</sub>—6<sub>18</sub>; *šu-<sup>2</sup>i ma-ru-u-ti* Sarg. Ann. 311—12; *kirrê* Esarh. K. 2711, Rev. 29—32; *im-mi-ir-mi-ir, gu-uk-ka-al-lam* Neb. IR 65 III 12; *šu'i* K. 9876, Obv. 19; *immirī* Gilgameš, XI 71—72; AO 6459, Obv. 8—9. 30—32, Rev. 6—7; AO 6465, Rev. 1).

Swine (*šaḫû* VAT 9555, Obv. 44).

Fowls (*kur-gil<sup>bu</sup>* Gudea Stat. E 5<sub>1</sub>—7<sub>21</sub>; Stat. G 3<sub>5</sub>—6<sub>18</sub>; *kurkû* Sarg. Ann. 311—12).

Geese and ducks (*a-uz, sal-uš-sa-ge<sup>bu</sup>* Gudea *ibid.*).

Pigeons (*bu<sup>tu</sup>tur-tur* Gudea *ibid.*).

Various sorts of birds (*i-zi<sup>bu</sup>* Gudea *ibid.*; *paspašī* birds Sarg. Ann. 311—12; *iššuri* K. 2711, Rev. 29—32; Neb. IR 65, III 13) and

Fishes (*ba<sup>sa</sup>suḫur-a* Gudea *ibid.*; *nu-u-nim* Neb. IR 65, III 13).

In a single passage mention is made of *zu-lu-ḫi-e da-am-ḫu-tim* (Neb. IR 65, III 11), though we cannot determine what sort of animals are alluded to; the same applies to *širšumê<sup>pl</sup>* (DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 387—405; AO 6459, Obv. 8—9) and *šamšu-um-mu bi-e-la-a* (Neb. IR 65, III 13).

In addition to these animals the following things are stated to be used in the sacrifices:

Wine for libations (*karâni* K. 2711, Rev. 29—32; *ti-bi-ik si-ra-aš la ne-bi ma-mi-iš ka-ra-nam* Neb. IR 65, III 15; Gilgameš, XI 71—75; DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 387—405; AO 6459, Obv. 8—9. 30—32).

Figs, dates, butter (Gudea *ibid.*).

Honey (*dīšpu* DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 387—405).

Milk (*šizbu* AO 6459, Obv. 8—9).

Oil (*šamnu* Gilgameš, XI 73; AO 6459, Rev. 12; DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 457).

Finely ground meal for use in a certain sacrifice (*akâlu mašhatu* K. 9876, Obv. 17; . . . *a-na ni-ki-i ma-as-ḥa-ṭi* . . . Nabon. 81—4—28, 3+4, II 51; 81—7—1, 9, II 31) and

Salt (*ṭābtu* DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 387—405), besides other things mentioned especially in the Uruk texts, e. g. *guqqanû* (AO 6459, Obv. 13), which are for the present obscure to us.

To this must finally be added various sorts of wood of which we mention *eru*-wood and different sorts of palm wood (Gudea *ibid.*) also cypress wood (*burāšu* K. 9876, Obv. 9, used at the purification of Esagila too, cf. DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 352. 393; cp. *ma-lit ḥurâ-ši ša q<sup>ém</sup>mašhati*, AO 6459, Obv. 32; AO 6465, Rev. 2. In this case it is probably an odorous substance used at the incense ceremonies); these woods were used partly as incense offerings, partly perhaps as actual gifts or offerings to be stored.

These are referred to in several passages; thus Nabonidus says: *ultu e-pu-šu i-sin-nu bit a-ki-ti ilu bēli u mâr ilu bēli u mâr ilu bēli u-šar-mu-u šu-bat-su-nu ṭa-ab-ti i-gi-si-e šur-ru-ḥu u-še-rib ḳi-rib-šu-un ina ma-ḥa-zi rabûti<sup>meš</sup> a-ba-lu ili u ilu ištarti<sup>1</sup>*, and from the Sargon inscriptions we learn

<sup>1</sup> Stele IX 41—49.

more fully of what these gift offerings consisted. In PJ 141—43 and the parallel passage in the Stele II 6—22 we find a list mentioning *hurâšu ruš-šu, kaspu ib-bu, irî, par-zil-la ša ni-ba la i-šu-u*, numerous sorts of precious stones, various costly substances and materials, *urkarinu*-wood, cedar- and cypress-wood (*išu irinu, išu šur-man*) besides other rare woods.

Our knowledge of the objects used at the offerings and the rest of the ceremonies that took place in Esagila is very slight and is mainly based on the information gained from DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848; VAT 7849, and AO 6459. Of the actual sacrificial furniture only Marduk's and Nabu's altars<sup>1</sup> are mentioned and the bowls used for the libations (jars, vases), *ma-aq-qu-u hurâši*<sup>2</sup>; we have no further description of the four *šap-pi hurâši* mentioned in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 391, as placed on Marduk's altar. Perhaps incense was burned in them as in the *karpāt huluppakki* referred to in VAT 7849, III 17. Of the rest of the sacred furniture we gather various details, but what we learn does not enable us to combine these scattered details to a connected whole. DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 mentions Enlil's throne, *šubtu ša dEn-lil* 284, Marduk's gold canopy, *šame-e hurâši ištu makkuri dMarduk* 369, and Anu's tiara, *agû ša dAni* 283<sup>3</sup>, while here and in other texts we hear of various sacred emblems about which it is merely stated that they stand in front of the images or are carried round by the priests and placed in *kisalmahhu* in front of the images. Thus mention is made of [*na-sap-pi*] *hurâši* (VAT 7849, I 3. 4). *ištal-lu hurâši* (AO 6459, Obv. 19; AO 6465, Obv. 12), *ma-*

<sup>1</sup> *išpaššur hurâši*, DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 386—410. 412.

<sup>2</sup> AO 6459, Obv. 23. 26. 32, Rev. 21; AO 6465, Obv. 8. 21, Rev. 2. 5; VAT 7849, I 19. 26; III 19—20; IV 4—5. 12, cf. AO 7439, Rev. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. I. 448.

*ak-ki-tum ša na-mur-tu* (VAT 7849, I 16. 24)<sup>1</sup>, *is-kakkê<sup>p1</sup>*  
*dŠamsâti<sup>p1</sup>* (AO 6459, Obv. 19), *is-u-luḥ šarrûti* (AO 6459,  
 Obv. 28)<sup>2</sup>, and *is-kippatu* and *is-miṭṭu* (DT 15 + DT 114 +  
 DT 109 + MNB 1848, 448).

As regards the nature and performance of the sacrifices we gain important indications from the particulars gathered in our investigation of sacrificial animals and sacrificial objects. But in the texts themselves we only find very few and unsatisfactory descriptions of the actual sacrifices. This is partly due to the circumstance that the most important ritual text, DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, only describes the introductory ceremonial during the first days of the festival, and partly to the fact that the *akītu* festival was no sacrificial festival in the more restricted sense of this word, or else the detailed Uruk texts which describe the entire course of the festival would not have been silent on this essential point. On the other hand we call to mind that both Gudea and Nebuchadnezzar refer to a large number of cattle as sacrificial gifts which we must assume to have been used during the festivities. We cannot, however, obtain a thorough insight into their use without a perusal of the texts. Such a perusal will show us that in the first place we must draw a sharp distinction between the central sacrifices and what I will call the accompanying sacrificial acts. The latter are met with all over the world in every great cult festival<sup>3</sup>, and their object is, as necessary links in the whole, to ensure the efficacy of the ceremonies performed, the inviolacy, certainty, and force of

<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful, however, if we are to understand an emblem by this, but the context does not enlighten us.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *is-halṭu*, DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 448; AO 7439, Rev. 4. 5. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Indian Agniṣṭoma cult.

which are as it were created by these sacrificial acts. Among such accompanying sacrifices, most of which take place in the main temple, some in the court of *bit akītu*, I count the numerous libations (of wine)<sup>1</sup>, and the "hand-water" ceremony<sup>2</sup>. The latter, by virtue of the holy power of the water, serves as a purification of gods and men before and after their various tabooed spheres have been in contact with one another. Possibly the incense offerings must also be interpreted as such accompanying sacrificial acts<sup>3</sup>. Among these must also be counted the sacrifice of some few animals, thus the sacrifice of a swine on the eighth of Nisan<sup>4</sup> and the (burnt?) offering of the white ox at the completion of the ceremonial on the fifth of Nisan<sup>5</sup>. Other such separate offerings of oxen and lambs are mentioned in AO 6459, Obv. 30—32, Rev. 6—7, but none of these passages give particulars as to the mode of execution.

In addition to these accompanying sacrifices we often hear of food offerings, i. e. offerings prepared and placed before the gods as a meal for them. Thus in DT 15 + DT

<sup>1</sup> AO 6459, Obv. 23. 26—27. 32 f., Rev. 21—22. 30—32; AO 6465, Obv. 8. 13. 21, Rev. 3—5. 17; Neb. IR 65, III 15; VAT 7849, III 19—20; IV 4—5. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *mē<sup>pl</sup> qâtē II*, AO 6459, Obv. 29. 33, Rev. 12. 16; AO 6465, Obv. 3. 20, Rev. 3; VAT 9555, Rev. 1.

<sup>3</sup> This we infer from the nature of certain sacrificial gifts and from such passages as AO 6459, Obv. 32; AO 6465, Rev. 2; VAT 7849, III 16—17 cf. AO 6459, Rev. 4. 6. Cp. also the custom of offering incense offerings at the purification of Esagila mentioned in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 347.

<sup>4</sup> VAT 9555, Obv. 44. Pinches has conjectured, in *PSBA*, XXX. p. 78, that the offering to Nergal mentioned in Neb. IR 65, II 36, took place on the eighth of Nisan at the *akītu* festival, but in the text we read: *ša ū-um 8 immêrê gi-ni-e ilu<sup>u</sup>nergal ilu<sup>u</sup>la-az ilāni ša e-šid-lam u kutū<sup>ki</sup> u-ki-in*, or "I fixed for each day 8 lambs as an offering to Nergal and Laz, the gods of Ešidlam and Cutha", and the preceding as well as the succeeding passages show us that cultural measures in other cities than Babylon are here in question.

<sup>5</sup> DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 458 ff.



114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 we read that on the fifth day, immediately before the purification of the temple and the arrival of Nabu, the urigallu places roast meat, sacrificial bread (?), salt and honey in front of Marduk in Esagila, while at the same time odorous woods are burnt and wine is poured out, . . . . *û-mu<sup>amil</sup>urigallu ana pâni<sup>d</sup>Bêl [irrubma ina pâni<sup>d</sup>B]êl i-di . . . .<sup>is</sup>paššur hurâši [i-rak-kas<sup>s</sup>ir]šumê<sup>p</sup>l ina muhhi išak-ka-an . . . . [ina muh]hi išakka-an 12 gi-nu-u ina muhhi išakka-an . . . . [hurâ]ši tâtta umallî-ma ina muhhi išakka-an . . . . [hur]âši dišpa umallî-ma ina muhhi išakka-an . . . . ina muh-*hi* išakka-an 4 šap-pi hurâši . . . . [ina mu]h-*hi* <sup>is</sup>paššuri išakka-an niknaq hurâši . . . . [ina] pâni <sup>is</sup>paššuri išakka-an riqqa u burâša . . . . karana i-na-aq-ki . . . . [an-n]a-a i-qab-bi<sup>1</sup>. It is possible, since we also meet with the expression <sup>sir</sup>š<sup>u</sup>-me-e in AO 6459, Obv. 8, that some of the offerings here alluded to, which are offered on the seventh of Tišrît, are offerings of food. These are mentioned again and again in the Reverse of the same text<sup>2</sup> as the large and the small meal in Anu's temple<sup>3</sup>, taking place in the evening<sup>4</sup>, the morning<sup>5</sup>, or the middle of the day<sup>6</sup>. Among the food offerings we may probably also count the baked offerings; the twelve *gi-nu-u* of DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 388 are probably baked loaves<sup>7</sup>, and the *ni-ki-i ma-as-qa-ti*<sup>8</sup> mentioned in*

<sup>1</sup> LI. 385—95.

<sup>2</sup> 6. 8. 12. 13. 14. 19. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *nap-tan rabu-u; qut-tin-nu.*

<sup>4</sup> *nap-tan rabu-u ša li-lat.*

<sup>5</sup> *nap-tan rabu-u ša še-e-ri.*

<sup>6</sup> *rabu-u u qut-tin-nu ša bi-ru û-mu.*

<sup>7</sup> This also applies to *a-kal*, AO 6459, Obv. 7, which is mentioned immediately after <sup>amil</sup>nuhatimmu.

<sup>8</sup> K. 9876, Obv. 17; Nabon. 81—4—28, 3 + 4, II 51; Nabon. 81—7—1, 9, II 31; the two latter passages would seem to show that this special sacrifice took place in *bît akitu*.

several passages are finely ground meal offered at the *akitu* festival. The information we have of the latter being limited to the mere mention of them, it is, however, difficult to say anything definite about them, but perhaps they, too, were baked offerings which in the form of loaves were given to the gods as food offerings, though it is not precluded that the participants in the festival may have partaken of them. But all this is mere conjecture.

The actual gift offerings and offerings stored in the main temple, such as gold, silver, base metals, precious stones, costly materials and substances, and valuable woods have been mentioned above. They were put away after the conclusion of the festival, and did not belong to the ritual proper; they must be interpreted as an expression of the increasing might and power of the gods through the accumulation of treasures in their temples and as gifts to the priesthood and for the maintenance of the temples.

But the central sacrifices? Of these we really know nothing. In AO 6459, Obv. 7—15, we have a condensed description of the events on the seventh of *Tišrit*, the day on which, at Uruk, the egress from Anu's temple to *bit akitu* took place. Perhaps we may infer from ll. 8—9 that great sacrifices of oxen and sheep were offered, with abundant use of wine (for libations) and milk on the same occasion, but the description merely gives a series of nouns, and we may with equal right interpret it as an enumeration of the sacrificial animals for the *akitu* festival; the words *širšu-me-e* in l. 8 might indicate food offerings. As will be seen, we can say nothing conclusive, and parallels for our further information are completely wanting. We hardly think that the two passages from Nabonidus men-

tioned above, in which *ni-ki-i ma-as-ha-ti* are referred to in direct connection with *bît akîtu*, allude to the central sacrifices at the *akîtu* festival. Our sole information of these is limited to the following particulars: — 1) From the Sargon passages it seems apparent, as we saw above on pp. 125—26 that the great quantity of sacrificial cattle, mentioned in these passages and elsewhere in connection with the *akîtu* festival, was slaughtered for the sacrifice after the return of the procession from *bît akîtu* to Esagila. 2) Above on pp. 139—152 we saw that the participants in the festival were exceedingly numerous. In addition to the numerous deities, the king, and the large priesthood, also the people took part, though for various reasons we are perhaps to interpret this term as representatives of the people, elected or otherwise. 3) In a building inscription from *bît akîtu* at Assur<sup>1</sup> we read: *te-me-en bît a-ki-ti ša i-sin-ni ki-re-ti* <sup>il</sup>*Ašur ina pi-i-li* <sup>aban</sup>*šadi-i uššû-šu ad-di*. The *akîtu* festival is here called Aššur's *isinnu kirêti*, which may be rendered "banquet-festival", the main stress being laid on the meal connected with the gathering. That this term should refer to the regular<sup>2</sup> or accompanying<sup>3</sup> food offerings I consider quite precluded. — If now we correlate the three points emphasized above, it seems a warrantable conclusion, at the present stage at any rate, that the *akîtu* festival was concluded by a great sacrificial meal of which all, the gods, the king, the priests, and the people partook. When we venture upon such a hypothesis — for we do not profess to call it anything else — upon such a slender foundation, it is due amongst other things to the fact that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *MDOG*, XXXIII. p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e. g. AO 6459, Rev. 24—25 *rabu-u u qut-tin-nu ša bi-ru û-mu ki-ma ša gi-ni-e*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 385—95.

we recall analogies from the great cult festivals of other peoples<sup>1</sup>.

2. "The hand ceremony".

Above we have occasionally alluded to a ceremony frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of the kings in connection with the akîtu festival, called "to take Bêl (i. e. Marduk) by the hand"<sup>2</sup>, expressed by the preterite or present of *šabātu*, the verb used in all the passages in question. Following the example of Winckler<sup>3</sup>, this ceremony is interpreted as an independent action, having its object in itself, and being an expression of the assignment of the kingship on earth to the Assyro-Babylonian rulers at the hand of Marduk, and the textbooks point out the performance of this ceremony as a main point in the celebration of the akîtu festival. To anyone who has gone over the entire material concerning the cult festival, it seems little probable, *a priori*, that it should comprise a ceremony of royal investiture of the nature in question, and if we examine more closely the passages referring to "the hand ceremony" in connection with the akîtu festival, we shall arrive at quite a different conception of the ceremony. The texts from Uruk, in particular, have thrown fresh light on the problem, and Thureau-Dangin must be mentioned as the first who, on the basis of the textual evidence, in a short note<sup>4</sup> discarded the traditional conception of "the hand ceremony". Here, however, we must

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e. g. the Panathenaea at Athens (Schol. ad Ar. *Nub.* 386; inscription from the Acropolis, abt. 330 B. C., Dittenberger<sup>3</sup>, I. p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Chapter I.

<sup>3</sup> *ZA*, II. pp. 302 ff.; cf. C. Brockelmann, *ZA*, XVI. pp. 391—92; A. J. Wensinck in *Acta Orientalia*, I. Leiden, 1922, pp. 176 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Rit.* p. 146<sup>3</sup>; Zimmern too seems to depart from the traditional conception in *KAT*<sup>3</sup>, p. 515, at least he expresses himself with great caution.

consider the whole question on a wider basis, amongst other things because, in certain passages, we are confronted with difficult problems.

It is the gods who assign the royal power to the Babylonian kings. This is recorded by Nebuchadnezzar: *iš-tu ib-na-an-ni ilu marduk a-na šar-ru-u-ti ilu nabû a-bi-il-šu ki-i-nim ip-ḫi-du ba-u-la-a-tu-šu ki-ma na-ap-ša-ti a-ḫar-ti a-ra-mu ba-na-a la-an-šu-un*<sup>1</sup>, and quite transcendently the same idea is expressed by Ašurbanipal in the introduction to the Annals: *a-na-ku I ilu aššur-bân-aplu bi-nu-tu ilu aššur u ilu bēlit mâr-šarri rabûu ša bit ri-du-u-ti ša ilu aššur u ilu sin bēl agî ul-tu ûmê<sup>meš</sup> rûḫûti<sup>meš</sup> ni-bit šumi-šu iz-ku-ru a-na šarru-u-ti u ina libbi ummi-šu ib-nu-u ana rê'û-ut mâtu. ilu aš-šur<sup>ki</sup>*<sup>2</sup>. If, keeping such passages in mind, we read the following expressions in Nabopolassar's titles, *ilu na-bi-um apal-u-šu-ur šakkanak bâb-ili<sup>ki</sup> šar mâti šu-me-ra-am u akka-di-im ru-ba-a-am na<sup>2</sup>-dam ti-ri-iš ga-at ilu na-bi-um u ilu marduk . . .*<sup>3</sup> and compare this passage with 27859, Rev. 8—9 *m Er-ba-<sup>ilu</sup> Marduk mâr m ilu Marduk-šakin-šum ina šattu II<sup>KAN</sup> ḫât ilu Bêl u mâr ilu Bêl iṣ-bat*, which latter passage unquestionably refers to the king's participation in the *akītu* festival<sup>4</sup>, we might at first sight be tempted to see in "the hand ceremony" an expression of the assignment by the gods of the royal power to the Mesopotamian rulers. The fact that the king repeats the same ceremony every year<sup>5</sup> cannot of course in principle tell against such a conception, since we know from the cult festivals of other

<sup>1</sup> EJ VII 26—31, parallel with 85—4—30, 1, I 50—51.

<sup>2</sup> Ann. (Rassam Cyl.) I 1—5.

<sup>3</sup> 86—7—20, 1, I 9—15, parallel with BE 14940, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. parallels in which the cult festival is expressly mentioned in Sarg. PJ 141; Ann. 309—10; Ašurb. L<sup>4</sup> III 6—7; Nabon. Ann. III 26.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above in Chapter I and III D. β.

peoples that all central actions — and as such we must count the investiture of the king if it took place on this occasion — were repeated, renewed every year in order to obtain the necessary efficacy. On the other hand, we are led to doubt the traditional conception on reading a passage in the Ašurbanipal text L<sup>4</sup>. Here, in II 3—13, of which we merely quote the beginning, we have: *ina ar<sup>bu</sup>aiaru arah<sup>u</sup> iluê-a bêl te-ni-še-e-ti pa-ti-ḫ[u kal gim-ri?] e-ru-um-ma ina bît ri-du-u-ti<sup>1</sup> a-šar ṭe-me u mil-[ki] ina ḫi-bit ilu<sup>aššur</sup> ab ilâni<sup>meš</sup> ilu<sup>marduk</sup> bêl bêlê šar ilâni<sup>[meš]</sup> u-ša-ḫa-an-ni eli mârê<sup>meš</sup> šarri šu-me iz-kur ana šarru-[u-ti] êkallu ina e-ri-bi-ia i(?)-ra(?)-aš gi-mir karaši ma-li ni . . . .*, and further on in II 26 we read: *ina maḫ-ri-e palê-ia š[a] ilu<sup>marduk</sup> šar gim-ri bêlu-ut [mâtu<sup>aššur</sup> u-mal-lu?]-u ḫâtê<sup>II</sup>-ia*. From this we gather the impression that the investiture of the king takes place once for all, and in *bît-ridûti*, in the palace of the ruler (at Assur) in any month demanded by the circumstances. Of course conditions attending the succession at Babylon may have been of quite a different nature, we cannot argue from the Ašurbanipal passage alone, but our confidence in the traditional conception of “the hand ceremony” has been shaken.

After these introductory considerations we will turn to the Uruk texts. Now from the description of the ritual of the akîtu festival in Nisan we learn the following: *šarru ma-aq-qu-u ḫurâši a-na An-tum [i-r]id-di-e-ma gât<sup>II</sup> An-tum ina amil<sup>mašmašê</sup>pl amil<sup>kalê</sup>pl amil<sup>nârê</sup>pl šid-di kitî [u] ma-aq-qu ḫurâši iṣab-bat-am-ma An-tum illa-ak-ma ina man-za-zi-šu [ina k]isalmaḫḫi ina muḫ-ḫi šu-bat ḫurâši pa-ni-šu a-na šît <sup>d</sup>Šamši iṣakka-an-ma ušša-ab<sup>2</sup>, i. e. the king with the*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Streck, VAB, VII<sub>2</sub>. p. 2<sup>1</sup>; VII<sub>3</sub>. p. 823.

<sup>2</sup> VAT 7849, I 17—20.

priests conducts Antum into *kisalmah̄hu* and causes her to be seated there. Likewise it is said about Ištar, *šarru ma-ak-ki-tum ša na-mur-tu [a-n]a pa-ni* <sup>d</sup>*Ištar iṣab-bat-ma qât<sup>II</sup>* <sup>d</sup>*Ištar u šu-bat* <sup>d</sup>*Ani ša* <sup>bît</sup>*pa-pa-ḥa* <sup>d</sup>*Ištar . . . . .* <sup>d</sup>*Ištar a-na kisalmah̄hi urrad-ma ina man-za-zi-šu*<sup>1</sup>. And later, when the procession is ranged ready for the egress towards *bît akîtu*, we read: *šarru ma-aq-qu-u hurá[šî] a-na pa-ni* <sup>d</sup>*A-nim i-rid-di-e-ma* <sup>d</sup>*Pap-sukkal* <sup>d</sup>*Nusku* <sup>d</sup>*Ša u šarru qât<sup>II</sup>* <sup>d</sup>*A-nim ultu parak šîmâti<sup>pl</sup>* *iṣab-bat<sup>pl</sup>-ma* <sup>d</sup>*En-lil ina imitti-šu u [E-a] ina šumêli-šu illa-ak<sup>pl</sup>-ma*<sup>2</sup>, i. e. the king and various gods at last conduct Anu out of *parak šîmâti*. That the gods, too, take part in “the hand ceremony” is corroborated by another passage. In the text published by Pinches in 1908 we read: *ilu a-num u ilu en-lil . . . ana bâb-ili<sup>ki</sup> ana ṣa-bat ḫâtâ . . . ilu bêt il-la-ku-nim-ma*<sup>3</sup>, a passage which, before the publication of the Uruk texts in 1921 aroused my doubts of the current theory of “the hand ceremony”. Finally the same ceremony is repeated after the arrival at *bît akîtu*: <sup>[d]</sup>*Pap-sukkal u šarru a-na* <sup>d</sup>*A-nim itarra-aṣ<sup>pl</sup>-ma [qât<sup>II</sup>]* <sup>d</sup>*Ani [iṣab]batu<sup>pl</sup>-ma a-na kisal* <sup>bît</sup>*a-ki-tum irrub-ma ina muḫ-ḥi [pa]rakki rabî ina kisalli* <sup>bît</sup>*a-ki-tum pa-ni-šu ana šîl* <sup>d</sup>*Šamši iṣakka-an-ma ušša-ab*<sup>4</sup>, and further on we read: *šarru ma-aq-qu-u hurâši a-na* <sup>d</sup>*Ani u An-tum i-rid-di-e-ma* <sup>d</sup>*Pap-sukkal u šarru qât<sup>II</sup>* <sup>d</sup>*[A]-nim ultu parakki rabî iṣab-bat<sup>pl</sup>-ma irrub-ma ina pa-pa-ḥa-šu [ušša]-ab arki-šu* <sup>d</sup>*En-lil u* <sup>d</sup>*E-a irrubu<sup>pl</sup>-ma imna u šumêla ušša-ab*<sup>5</sup>. At the celebration of the *akîtu* festival in Tišrît the same is

<sup>1</sup> VAT 7849, I 24—30.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* III 19—22.

<sup>3</sup> Col. D 8—11; the same is said of the gods from Borsippa, Cutha, and Kiš in Col. D 1—5.

<sup>4</sup> VAT 7849, IV 5—7.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* IV 12—14.

recorded in almost the same expressions<sup>1</sup>. From the whole context we now see clearly that “the hand ceremony” consists in the king conducting the deities from their *pa-rakku* into the temple courts where they are seated, that he likewise conducts the deities to the processions ranged for starting, and with these at the head of it begins and conducts the festival procession. The priests and other deities assist in the ceremony. Any other interpretation of the passages is precluded. And that this conception is the only one possible is confirmed by several passages in which the same ceremony is mentioned in connection with festivals that have nothing to do with the akîtu cult. In AO 7439, Rev. 9 we read in the description of the Ištar festival: *Ša u šarru qât<sup>II</sup> Ištar iṣab-bat-ma irrub-ma ina pa-pa-ḥa-šu ušša-[ab]*<sup>2</sup>, and Nabon. VR64, II 18—21 reads: *ga-tim ilâni<sup>ilu</sup> sin<sup>ilu</sup> nin-gal<sup>ilu</sup> nusku u<sup>ilu</sup> sa-dar-nun-na bêlê<sup>meš-</sup>e-a ul-tu šu-an-na<sup>ki</sup> âl šarru-u-ti-ia aṣ-ba-at-ma i-na ḥi-da-a-ti u ri-ša-a-ti šu-ba-at ḫu-ub lib-bi ki-ir-ba-šu u-še-ši-ib*. In this case it is the temple Eḫulḫul at Harran into which the king conducts the gods after its restoration. Finally we have also passages in which *ṣabātu* has another object than the hand of this or that deity, and in which *ḫât<sup>II</sup> X iṣabbat* may simply be rendered “he takes X”, thus, *amîl êrib-bîti rabu-u qât<sup>II</sup> gizillî ina amîl mašmašê<sup>pl</sup> amîl kalê<sup>pl</sup> u amîl nârê<sup>pl</sup> ultu ziq-qur-rat iṣab-bat-am-ma*<sup>3</sup>, and one of the directions to the *kalû* priest reads: *qât<sup>II</sup> lilissi ana pâni ilâni<sup>pl</sup> taṣabbat-ma ina šezerê<sup>pl</sup> tukâ-an luḡal-e dim-me-ir an-ki-a takribta tašakka-an*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> AO 6459, Obv. 27; AO 6465, Obv. 14, Rev. 6. 9. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the description of the nocturnal feast to Anu at Uruk, AO 6460, Rev. 33.

<sup>3</sup> AO 6460, Obv. 33—34.

<sup>4</sup> AO 6479, III 26—28. Cf. also that *ṣabātu ḫâtâ* is found in the



After these investigations we are in no doubt as to how we are to interpret the references to "the hand ceremony" in the inscriptions of the kings. Their statement that the king seizes Marduk's hand is merely another way of saying that at the *akîtu* festival the king conducts the procession and associates with the gods as his equals. And if we read two of these inscriptions more attentively, we shall see that their subject is just this leading of the procession by the king and not any special "hand ceremony". In Sargon we read: *arah Nisannu a-rah a-ši-i (ilu) bil ilâni kâtâ (ilu) bilu rabi-[i] (ilu) Marduk (ilu) Nabû šar kiš-šat šami-i irši-tim aš-[bat] ma u-šal-li-ma u-ru-uḥ bit a-ki-ti*<sup>1</sup>. Here it is stated in so many words that in Nisan Sargon seizes the gods Marduk and Nabu by the hand and then proceeds to *bît akîtu*. In L<sup>4</sup> we read of Šamaš-šum-ukîn in III 5—7 . . . VII <sup>I</sup> *ilu. iṣu šamaš-šum-ukîn aḥu ta-li-me-ia aš-ru VIII kâtâ<sup>II</sup> ilu-ti-šu rabi-ti ša-bit-ma i-šad-di-ḥa i[dâ-šu?]* XII *ul-tu kâr aššur<sup>ki</sup> a-di kâr bâb-ili<sup>ki</sup> a-šar i-šak-ka-[nu-šu]* . . . Though the meaning of the figures 7, 8, and 12 is quite obscure to us in this passage<sup>2</sup>, the contents of the passage are of such a nature that they leave us in no doubt on any point. L<sup>4</sup> III records how Marduk's statue is transferred from Assur to Babylon, and the words . . . *kâtâ<sup>II</sup> ilu-ti-šu . . . ša-bit-ma . . .* do not mean that Šamaš-šum-ukîn received the kingship at the hand of Marduk whereupon the statue was taken to Babylon. The text has no connection with the *akîtu* festival, and merely records that the king's brother conducted Marduk's procession, leading sense of "help" in the hymn to Marduk in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 269; cf. further Ašurb. Ann. (Cyl. B) IV 20, to which Streck has a reference in VAB, VII<sub>2</sub>. pp. 262<sup>3</sup>, 264<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ann. 309—11 parallel with PJ 141.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Streck, VAB, VII<sub>2</sub>. p. 264<sup>1</sup>.

the journey from one capital to the other. After these investigations we must in future cease speaking of a special "hand ceremony" at the akîtu festival, whereas the passages adduced in this section correctly belong to the detailed treatment of the king's participation in and functions at the festival<sup>1</sup>, amongst other things as the leader of the procession.

Before we leave this section we must briefly consider two Ašurbanipal passages which at first sight would seem to contain expressions parallel to those pointed out in the foregoing, but which really express something quite different. In L<sup>4</sup> II 26—32 we read: *ina maḥ-ri-e patê-ia š[a] ilu<sup>u</sup>marduk šar gim-ri bêlu-ut [m<sup>âtu</sup>aššur u-mal-lu?]-u ḫâtê<sup>u</sup>-ia sissiktu ilu-ti-šu rabî-ti aṣ-bat aš-te<sup>2</sup>-a aš-ra-te-e-šu ša a-lak ilu-ti-šu bâni-a u-ša-al-la u-sa-ap-pa rabû-ut ilu-u-su . . . . ḫu-su-us bâb-ili<sup>ki</sup> ša ina uq-gat libbi<sup>bi</sup>-ka ta-bu-tu-šu at-ta a-na ê-sag-gil êkal bêlu-ti-ka ki-šad-ka tir-ra su-uḫ-ḫi-ra pa-[an-ka] ma-ṣi ala-ka te-e-zib a-šar la si-ma-te-ka ra-ma-ta šub-tu at-ta-ma (?) ilu<sup>u</sup>ellil ilâni<sup>meš</sup> ilu<sup>u</sup>marduk ḫi-bi a-lak šu-an-na . . .* The passage is difficult. Ašurbanipal relates that in his first regnal year, the year in which Marduk gave him the power over Assyria<sup>2</sup>, he seized the deity's *sissiktu* and *aš-te<sup>2</sup>-a aš-ra-te-e-šu*. Then follows the king's request to Marduk that he will return to Esagila, that he himself will give orders for his return from Assur to Babylon. This return is subsequently effected, it is mentioned in Col. III, as referred to in p. 179. That the action of taking, or seizing, *sissiktu* should have anything to do with the king's receiving the power over Assyria from the gods, is not apparent from l. 26 which is merely an indication of date,

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned above in section D. β.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, once for all, cf. above p. 176.

on the other hand we have seen above in p. 141 that *sissiktu* is referred to in AO 6472, Obv. 25—Rev. 1 as a cultural robe belonging to the king. The words in l. 27 must therefore in all probability be interpreted to mean that the king puts on his cultural robe, arrays himself in his sacred dress. I take the construction with *ṣabātu* and *sissiktu* as parallel with the passages adduced in p. 178 in which we meet with the expression *ḫât<sup>II</sup> X iṣabbat*. We should then expect \**ḫât<sup>II</sup> sissiktu ilu-ti-šu rabî-ti aṣ-bat* here in L<sup>4</sup>, but possibly *ḫât<sup>II</sup>* has dropped out owing to the immediately preceding *ḫâtê-ia*. I do not, however, attach much weight to textual emendations, the whole context from L<sup>4</sup> being clear enough, even though certain expressions in l. 27 are difficult for us to understand<sup>1</sup>. The situation is briefly this: the king, at some period of his first regnal year, puts on a certain cultural robe, and dressed in this he prays to Marduk to induce him to return to Esagila in Babylon.

The second passage from Ašurbanipal, which has come down to us in two parallel versions, reads as follows: *a-na-ku<sup>I</sup> ilu aššur-bân-aplu šar<sup>mātu. ilu</sup> aššur<sup>ki</sup> ul-tu immeru niḫê<sup>meš</sup> ilu Kur-ri aḫ-ḫu-u e-pu-šu i-sin-ni bît a-ki-ti at-mu-ḫu mašku a-ša-a-ti<sup>ilu</sup> iṣ-tar ina libbi<sup>I</sup> du-na-ni<sup>I</sup> sa-am-gu-nu<sup>I</sup> šuma-ia u nikis<sup>is</sup> ḫaḫḫad<sup>I</sup> te-um-man šar<sup>mātu</sup> elamti<sup>ki</sup> š[a] ilu iṣ-tar bêltu im-nu-u ḫa-tu-u-a e-rib<sup>alu</sup> arba-ilu e-pu-uš ina ḫidâti<sup>meš</sup><sup>2</sup>. According to my notions this evidence cannot be classed with that of “the hand ceremony” of the *akitu* festival<sup>3</sup>, if for a moment we took it for granted that there was any*

<sup>1</sup> Of other senses possible for the difficult word *sissiktu*, see Jensen, *KB*, VI.1. pp. 364 f.; Streck, *VAB*, VII.2. p. 262<sup>3</sup>, and Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* p. 57 note 95.

<sup>2</sup> K. 2674, Rev. I 18—23 parallel with K. 2637, 5—11.

<sup>3</sup> As e. g. Streck does in *OLZ* 1905, p. 376<sup>3</sup> and in *VAB*, VII.2. p. 321<sup>7</sup>.

reality in this in accordance with the current conception. In the first place the expression in K. 2674 is quite different, the verb *tamâhu* being construed with *mašku ašatu*. Even though it is linguistically parallel with *ḫâtâ<sup>II</sup> ilubêl iṣabbat*, the verb is always placed last in this latter expression. In the second place the Ašurbanipal passage quoted above refers to various cult ceremonies; the fact that these are mentioned immediately after one another is by no means a proof that they belong together to anyone familiar with the brief annalistic style of the inscriptions of the kings. These cult actions are as follows: sacrifices to *iluKurru*<sup>1</sup>, the celebration of the akîtu festival, both in the city of Milkia<sup>2</sup>, thereupon a ceremony with Ištar is mentioned, the king taking or seizing her bridle-rein, and finally we hear of the king's entry into Arba-ilu, carrying with him amongst other things the head of Teumman, king of the Elamites. As soon as we have grasped the general drift of the text, we may consider whether the ceremony of "seizing Ištar's bridle-rein" has any connection with the king's entry into Arba-ilu, or, in other words, whether *at-mu-ḫu mašku a-ša-a-ti* is parallel with *ḫâtâ<sup>II</sup> ilubêl iṣabbat* and denotes that the king conducts the procession of the Ištar statue to Arba-ilu, seizing by the rein the horse drawing the chariot (or whatever is the exact meaning of *mašku ašatu*). From the succeeding description of Ašurbanipal's journey to Arba-ilu, which was Ištar's city, we might be tempted to draw this conclusion, yet it seems to me that the use of the verb *tamâhu* points away from this conception. In all the passages quoted by us above in reference to the theory of "the hand ceremony", we met

<sup>1</sup> A more correct reading is *ilušatru*, cf. above p. 21<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above pp. 21—22.

with the verb *ṣabātu*, and we have every reason to believe that it is used here as a technical term connected with the cult and independent of the whim of the scribe. Nor do we hear anything of Ištar's entry into Arba-ilu. Hence for the present I consider it justifiable to maintain the possibility that the ceremony *at-mu-ḥu mašku a-ša-a-lī ilu iṣ-tar* is a special ceremony connected with the Ištar cult, which we shall perhaps one day, when this most important cult has been comprehensively dealt with, understand better than now. But I venture to dismiss definitely the idea that this ceremony should have anything to do with the *akītu* festival.

### 3. The determination of the destinies.

If we turn to one of the current textbooks, e. g. *KAT*<sup>3</sup>, we may read there in the section on the Zagmuk festival<sup>1</sup>: Als besonders feierlich scheinen die Tage vom 8.—11. Nisan gegolten zu haben, an welchen man sich die Götter unter dem Vorsitz Marduk's im Schicksalsgemach versammelt dachte, um die Gesicke, die Loose, für das neue Jahr zu bestimmen, and it is pointed out throughout that this determination of the destinies is the central event of the *akītu* festival, the final aim of everything. On this point, however, the textbooks depend for their knowledge on a single passage in Nebuchadnezzar — the dates there given are, however, as we shall soon see, the eighth and the eleventh of Nisan. Of the character of this determination of the destinies we only hear e. g. that Marduk leitet die Schicksalsbestimmung als *mušim šimāti*, Nabû fungiert als Schreiber<sup>2</sup>. Hence it will be necessary to subject the whole question to a closer examination.

<sup>1</sup> p. 515, cf. also pp. 401, 494.

<sup>2</sup> A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, Lpz. 1913, p. 314.

In EJ II 54—65 we read: *du-azag ašar šimâti ša ub-šu-ukkin-na parak ši-ma-a-li ša i-na zag-mu-ku ri-eš ša-at-ti ûmi 8<sup>kam</sup> ûmi 11<sup>kam</sup> ilu šar ilâni šamê iršitim bêlu ilu i-ra-am-mu-u ši-ri-ib-šu ilâni šu-ut šamê iršitim pa-al-ḫi-iš u-ta-ak-ku-šu ka-am-su iz-za-zu maḫ-ru-uš-šu ši-ma-at û-um da-ir-u-tim ši-ma-at ba-la-ṭi-ia i-ši-im-mu i-na ḫi-ir-bi*. We hear here of *du-azag*<sup>1</sup>, the chamber of destiny in Esagila, in which Marduk and the gods assemble on the eighth and eleventh of Nisan. Further we read that the gods determine the destiny here for all eternity and for the king's life. This passage is not difficult to understand. The destiny of the new year is determined at an assembly of the gods which takes place in one of the sacred chapels of Esagila which we have described above in pp. 92—100. The fact that we hear of such a *parak šimâti* in the temples of other cities<sup>2</sup> too would seem to indicate that this was an old-established cult ceremony. But the passage from Nebuchadnezzar quoted above is the only text that supplies us with unmistakable evidence. In numerous passages we hear of an assembly of the gods, *puḫur ilâni*, but in spite of the fact that some of the texts contain directions for the ritual of the akîtu festival, we hear nothing of any determination of destinies<sup>3</sup>. True this ceremony is mentioned in the impressive passage in the Gudea Cyl. B 4<sub>23</sub>—5<sub>19</sub>, but however much we may admire the great poetical power of the description, we gather no certain information from it. We hear how, at the dawn of day, the king enters the temple, following Ningirsu, the mighty god of Lagaš, the

<sup>1</sup> Of this and its relation to *parak šimâti* see above pp. 98 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. VAT 9418, Obv. II 11—15 and above p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. e. g. VATh 663, Obv. 6. 10; AO 6459; VAT 7849, I 1—12; IV. A *puḫur ilâni* having no connection with the akîtu festival is mentioned e. g. in the Gudea Cyl. A 10<sub>27</sub>—<sub>29</sub>; IV R 12, Obv. 1—2; Gilgamesh, XI 120 ff.

warrior, who enters the temple like a whirlwind. Like the sun rising over Lagaš his wife Bau goes to meet him. Like a faithful wife she approaches his couch, "and like the Tigris when its waters are high, she remains at his ear, the queen, the daughter of the pure vault of heaven." *Babbar-e-am nam-tar-ra-am* <sup>dingir</sup>*ba-u DA-gi(g)-na tu(r)-ra-am ki-ŠIR-BUR-LA*<sup>ki</sup> *he-gal-la-am ud im-zal* <sup>dingir</sup>*babbar ŠIR-BUR-LA*<sup>ki-ge</sup> *kalam-ma sag-mi-ni-il*. These difficult words may be rendered thus: "Like the sun, like the one who determines destiny, Bau mounted his couch; on Lagaš she bestows fruitfulness. The day began to dawn, Babbar (i. e. the sun) from Lagaš rose over the land." But this brings us no nearer to understanding the real sense of *nam-tar-ra-am*. Why is Bau compared with the power that determines destiny? Is it a poetical simile like the comparison with the sun and the Tigris, and if so, why is precisely this simile used? Or is it because Bau, by her holy nuptials with Ningirsu which, as a prototype, create fruitfulness for Lagaš in the coming year, really does determine the fate and fortunes of the city? We have no means of answering any of these questions conclusively from a consideration of this passage alone, but we strongly emphasize that we have here touched upon a fundamental problem, nay, ultimately the essential point in our investigation of the character of the *akitu* festival, which we can only return to in another connection after having worked through the whole festival. For the problem here confronting us is this: Is the determination of destinies to be interpreted as the result of the cultual acts, an immutable predetermined consequence of the entire proceedings of the cult festival, so that prosperity and fruitfulness for Babylon or another city is merely an unrolling in the sun of

what is latent in the concentration of the festival, or is the determination of destinies a ceremony associated with an urban civilization, in which a council under the leadership e. g. of Marduk determines the destiny of the year, while Nabu writes down their decisions? We shall see in Chapter IV what answer may be given to this question.

Here, however, we return to the urban train of thought revealed in the passage from Nebuchadnezzar, seeking information elsewhere as to the nature of that determination of destinies which is there referred to. Here our thoughts will naturally turn to *Enuma eliš* where we find a series of interesting details concerning this proceeding. But before we examine these more closely, we will premise two remarks. At this stage of our enquiry we deal with the creation epic exclusively as a poetical religious text according to the traditional conception, since it is of no importance to the problem touching the determination of destinies which we are here investigating how we are to interpret this text. In Chapter IV we shall examine this subject more closely. In the second place we find no occasion in this work dealing with the *akītu* festival in Babylon, or in this place, for entering upon an exhaustive historical analysis of the relation between Marduk and the rest of the great Babylonian deities on account of his supremacy in *Enuma eliš*, as this is of little or no interest for our understanding of the details of the *akītu* festival or of its fundamental character. Only where parallels are of directly instructive value will they be adduced in this connection. — Hence about Marduk's relation to the rest of the deities in the story of the creation, the struggle with Tiamat, and the determination of destinies we shall merely



point out the following:<sup>1</sup> Before the year 2000 B. C. historical conditions raised Babylon to pre-eminence as the capital of Southern Mesopotamia, and at the same time the city god Marduk was made the supreme deity of the empire, the other city gods, chief of which were Anu in Uruk, Enlil and Ninib<sup>2</sup> in Nippur, and Ea in Eridu, being made subject to him. In a Neo-Babylonian text<sup>3</sup> we even see Marduk identified with Nergal, Zamama, Enlil, Nabu, Sin, Šamaš, and Adad, who are all conceived as merely one side of Marduk's essence and nature. However, we have several texts dating from a period when Marduk was not yet the only acknowledged creator. These belong especially to the Sumerian time, and in them we see Ea of Eridu as the creator of man and combating Apsu<sup>4</sup>, we also hear of Anšar as the creator<sup>5</sup>, and finally of Anu in the same capacity. Thus in a ritual for the restoration of a temple we read the command to recite a creation myth after introductory sacred ceremonies<sup>6</sup>: *u e-nu-ma* <sup>il</sup>*A-nu ib-nu-u šame-e ana maḥar libitti iman-nu e-nu-ma* <sup>il</sup>*A-nu ib-nu-u šame-e* <sup>il</sup>*NU-DIM-MUD ib-nu-u apsû šu-bat-su* <sup>il</sup>*E-a ina apsi iḳ-ru-ša ṭi-ṭa-[am?] ib-ni il libitti ana te-diš-ti . . . . ib-ni* <sup>is</sup>*ḳanû u* <sup>is</sup>*kištu (?) ana ši-pir nab-ni-ti (?)*. We hear of Ninib fighting against Labbu<sup>7</sup>, as Marduk combated Tiamat. In a frag-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also M. Jastrow's valuable essay *On the Composite Character of the Babylonian Creation Story* in *Ost.* II. pp. 969—82; for the Sumerian creation myths the reader is referred to King, *Legends*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hrozný, *MVAG*, VIII<sup>5</sup>. p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> 47406, Obverse.

<sup>4</sup> King, *Legends*, pp. 116—17, 125.

<sup>5</sup> K. 3445 + Rm 396; cp. herewith that Marduk is called *an-šar ša-mu-u* in VAT 9418, Obv. I 1.

<sup>6</sup> BE 13987, 23 ff., cf. also 55547.

<sup>7</sup> K. 133.

ment of the Etana myth<sup>1</sup> the Anunnaki are mentioned as those who determine destiny<sup>2</sup>, and a similar statement is made about Enlil from Nippur in IV R 12, Rev. 10, etc.<sup>3</sup> — The priesthood of Babylon sought throughout to give Marduk the place of the formerly powerful deities. Thus he superseded Enlil and Ea in the hymns<sup>4</sup>, was assimilated to Ea by being made his son, and especially occupied the position of Ea and Enlil in the myths. We see three different versions, the “Eridu myth”, the “Nippur myth”, and the “Babylon myth”, the latter with Tiamat and Marduk as the central figures, worked together in *Enuma eliš* by R(edactor)<sup>5</sup>. Thus the Eridu version is traceable in

<sup>1</sup> Published by Fr. V. Scheil in *Recueil*, XXIII. pp. 18–23.

<sup>2</sup> Obv. I 1–2 *Ra-bu-tum ilu A-nun-na ša-i-mu ši-im-tim* . . . , cf. IIR 19, 13a and above p. 94<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. that (*ilu*) *Bil*, who is called *ilu Dur-an-ki* (which shows us that Enlil from Nippur is here referred to, cf. Hommel, *GGAO*, pp. 118<sup>5</sup>, 351<sup>2</sup>), in the myth about Zû, K. 3454 + K. 3935, II 8. 10, is in possession of the tablets of destiny, of which we shall hear in more detail below.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Jastrow, *RBA*, I. pp. 495–98, 503.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Jastrow, *On the Composite Character*. Langdon in *EC*, p. 10 dates the seven tablets of *Enuma eliš* to the first Babylonian dynasty (2225–1976 B. C.), with a reference to the mention made in the Agum-kakrimi inscription (17. century B. C.) of the replacing in the sacred chambers of Esagila of the images of monsters which Marduk has defeated. Of these, six correspond to six of the eleven monsters mentioned in the epic as produced by Tiamat. Originally, he thinks, the epic only consisted of six books (tablets) — the seventh probably existed as an independent hymn to Marduk (pp. 11–12, 207<sup>17</sup>) — and he conjectures that the foundation of the epic is a Sumerian myth of Ninurta's combat with Zû (pp. 17–20) mentioned in VAT 9555, Rev. 7. In the account of Marduk's capture and death found in this text (for details see below in E. 5.) Langdon sees a transformation of the Tammuz myths to Marduk myths (pp. 50, 217). All these considerations may perhaps be right — perhaps not. The decisive point, the relation between *Enuma eliš* and the New Year's Feast, and a knowledge of what the New Year's Feast actually signifies, has escaped Langdon's attention, while the reader is put off with remarks like the following, “At any rate the Epic of Creation is also a solar myth” (p. 20), and Marduk is designated as a solar god (p. 32).

I 17. 31 f. in the antagonism between Ea and Apsu, in I 97—98, where Ea destroys Apsu, a parallel to Marduk's victory in IV 73—111<sup>1</sup>, while the Nippur version is traceable in an expression like *be-el māṭāti* in VII 116 and in the description in tablet IV of Marduk's war accoutrements. R. has combined these particulars with the Marduk version, and we trace his activities e. g. in tablet I where Apsu and Mummu go to the aid of Tiamat, and in II 3. 49—58. 72—82 (cf. III 53—54), where Anšar in vain sends out Ea. Perhaps Mummu belongs to a fourth version<sup>2</sup>. — And the fate of the great deities was shared by the less prominent ones. Probably Marduk was substituted for the Sumerian deity Gilimma<sup>3</sup> in the Sumerian story of the creation, *En.E-azag-ga*<sup>4</sup>. Hence it is probable too that as the central figure in the *akītu* festival Marduk superseded an earlier deity, the thought of Enlil or more probably of Anu<sup>5</sup> here suggests itself.

But we return to *Enuma eliš* and its evidence as to the determination of the destinies. We learn from this that there is something called *dupšimāti*<sup>pl</sup>, "the tablets of destiny," which were originally in the hands of the rebellious powers. Tiamat solemnly presents them to Kingu, her companion in arms, *id-din-šu-ma dupšimāti*<sup>pl</sup> *i-ra-[tu-uš] u-šat-mi-iḫ* (I 137; II 43; III 47. 105), and after his victory in tablet IV Marduk takes them from Kingu, *u*<sup>ilu</sup> *Kin-gu ša ir-tab-bu-u ina [e-li]-šu-un ik-mi-šu-ma it-ti*<sup>ilu</sup> *Dug-ga(-)e šu-a[.] im-ni-šu i-kim-šu-ma dupšimāti*<sup>pl</sup> *la si-ma-ti-šu i-na ki-šib-bi*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. VAT 10105, 28—29, in which Marduk defeats Apsu and not Tiamat.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jastrow, *On the Composite Character*, p. 976 and note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. King, *Legends*, p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> 82—5—22, 1048.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above p. 52.

*ik-nu-kam-ma ir-tu-uš it-mu-uḫ* (119—122). Further we hear that, as one of his conditions for engaging in battle with Tiamat, Marduk claims the right to determine the destiny of the year in future instead of the gods. He addresses himself to his father Ea as follows: *be-lum ilāni ši-mat ilāni rabūti<sup>pl</sup> šum-ma-ma ana-ku mu-tir gi-mil-li-ku-un a-kam-me Ti-amat-ma u-bal-laṭ ka-a-šu-un šuk-na-ma pu-uḫ-ra šu-te-ra i-ba-a šim-ti ina Up-šu-ukkin-na-ki mit-ḫa-riš ḫa-diš tiš-ba-ma ip-šu pi-ia ki-ma ka-tu-nu-ma ši-ma-ta lu-ši-im la ut-tak-kar mim-mu-u a-ban-nu-u a-na-ku ai i-tur ai i-in-nin-na-a se-ḫar ša-ap-ti-ia* (II 133—140, cf. III 61—66. 119—22). Our understanding of this otherwise quite clear passage is somewhat confused by the fact that in l. 133 Ea is called *ši-mat ilāni*, while Marduk in l. 136 prays to the gods to make his destiny (*šim-ti*, “my destiny”) pre-eminent. But in l. 137 we read the plain statement that Marduk is going to determine destiny in *Up-šu-ukkin-na-ki*; what he creates (literally “builds”) shall not be altered. At the exaltation of Marduk at the beginning of tablet IV it is said to him: *at-ta-ma kab-ta-ta i-na ilāni ra-bu-tum ši-mat-ka la ša-na-an se-ḫar-ka<sup>ilu</sup> A-num<sup>ilu</sup> Marduk kab-ta-ta i-na ilāni ra-bu-tum ši-mat-ka la ša-na-an se-ḫar-ka<sup>ilu</sup> A-num iš-tu u-mi-in-ma la in-nin-na-a ki-bit-ka šu-uš-ḫu-u u šu-uš-pu-lu ši-i lu-u ga-at-ka lu-u ki-na-at ši-it pi-i-ka la sa-ra-ar se-ḫar-ka* (3—9), and further on we read: *ši-mat-ka be-lum lu-u maḫ-ra-at ilāni-ma a-ba-tum u ba-nu-u ki-bi li-ik-tu-nu* (21—22). And finally, before he goes to the fray, we read in the same tablet: *i-ši-mu-ma ša<sup>ilu</sup> Bēl ši-ma-tu-uš ilāni ab-bi-e-šu u-ru-uḫ šu-ul-mu u taš-me-e uš-ta-aš-bi-tu-uš ḫar-ra-nu* (33—34). From this latter passage we learn what is understood in Enuma eliš by the determination of destinies. It is said here that the gods, before Marduk sets

out, determine his destiny, i. e. they establish, create his victory (by sacred ceremonies). We further see that this determination of destinies is not restricted to one particular occasion, in other words, it is a cultural phenomenon, something that appears as a self-evident, we may say a magical, result of sacred acts. We find the same conception in IV 3—9. 21—22; in both passages *ši-mat-ka* denotes the power possessed by Marduk to make his creation or destruction absolute and real.

If now we compare the particulars here gathered with the passage in II 133—140 (and parallels) and with the account of the tablets of destiny (I 137; II 43; III 47. 105; IV 119—122), we at once notice a difference from the material derived from the beginning of tablet IV. In II 133—140 we hear of Marduk determining destiny in an assembly of the gods in a certain place, and if we call to mind the testimonies adduced above in section B. *q.* 1. (pp. 92—100) as regards *parak šimāti* in Esagila, we can hardly avoid thinking that the passage in II 133—140 is suggested by the annually recurring ceremony, and is based on definite cultural facts. And the line of thought, associated with an urban civilization, which is implied in the account of the tablets of destiny, fits in very well with the idea of an assembly of gods in which one determines the destiny of the year while another writes it down. — And yet I am not at all sure that this is the real sense of the concept “tablets of destiny”. Two things cannot escape our notice, the fact that, as we saw above, *ši-mat-ka* must in several places in Enuma eliš be rendered “your power, your strength”, or to make things plainer and speak in the language of the history of religion, “your *mana*”, — and the fact that to begin with the rebellious powers pos-

essed the tablets of destiny, only upon their defeat did they pass into the possession of Marduk. Giving the tablets to Kingu, Tiamat says: *ka-ta kibīt-ka la in-nin-na-a li-kun ši-it pi-i-ka* (I 138; II 44; III 48. 106), and it is hardly possible to interpret these tablets as those on which Kingu inscribes the laws of the universe and its beings. On the other hand, the whole context shows that, on receiving the tablets of destiny, he gets strength, his *mana* grows, he now gets a *ši-mat la ša-na-an*, quite like Marduk in IV 3—9 (and several places in the same tablet). Hence the loss of the tablets mentioned in IV 119—122 means that Kingu has lost his strength and power, that he has been defeated.

Or, to summarize the particulars we have now gathered, *Enuma eliš*, as we shall show in more detail in Chapter IV, is a cult legend, that is to say, a free theologico-poetical treatment of the cult myth reflecting the cult acts of the *akītu* festival<sup>1</sup>. This epic shows two conflicting lines of thought, viz. on one hand the primitive conception of the *mana* of the actors, as we see it in the reference of certain passages to “destiny” and “the determination of destinies” and in the purely cultual and magical conception of “the determination of destinies”, on the other hand, a line of thought which bears the stamp of *Enuma eliš*’ relation as cult legend to the ritual of the *akītu* festival. For, according to this, a *puḫur ilāni* takes place in *parak šimāli* in Esagila, presided over by Marduk, and “tablets of destiny” are here employed in determining the destinies. The mingling of these two lines of thought explains

<sup>1</sup> The secondary relation of the cult myth to the cult was first pointed out with incomparable clearness by W. Robertson Smith in the famous Introduction to his *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (1889).

amongst other things why, to begin with, Kingu is in possession of "the tablets of destiny", and the varying sense of the word *šîmtu* in the epic.

When we have inferred a sacred use of tablets of destiny in the determination of destinies in *parak šîmâti* in Esagila at the *akîtu* festival, it is not, as will easily be perceived from the preceding considerations, solely due to the evidence of the epic, which must probably be interpreted quite differently on this point, but also to the reference of various other texts to the tablets of destiny. Now in these we meet with the astonishing fact that it is Nabu who is throughout described as the god who holds or has the tablets of destiny. Thus in Neb. K. 1685, II 23—25 in an invocation to Nabu we read the following words: *i-na i<sup>su</sup>li-u-um-ka ki-i-nim mu-ki-in pu-lu-uk ša-mi-e u ir-ši-tim i-be a-ra-ku û-mi-ja šu-du-ur li-it-tu-u-tim*, and in Bêl-Har-rân-Bêl-Utsur's stele<sup>1</sup> from the time of Tiglath-Pileser III. we hear in l. 3 that (*Ilu*) *Nabû, tup-šar ilâni, ša-bit qân duppi ellitu, na-ši duppu ši-mat ilâni*, to which may be compared parallel expressions about Nabu in IR 35 No. 2, 4 and in the Sarg. Cyl. 59 *dup-sar gim-ri mu-ma<sup>2</sup>-ir kul-lat ilâni*. Nabu is thus the god who holds the tablets of destiny, he is the scribe of the universe who writes on the tablets with his *qân duppi*.

We have now the following problems to consider: Who determines the destinies, what does it mean to determine destiny, and how was this ceremony performed? The first question seems at first sight superfluous, Marduk is the central figure of the *akîtu* festival, in Enuma eliš we hear that he is deputed by the other gods to determine the

<sup>1</sup> Published by Fr. V. Scheil in *Recueil*, XVI. pp. 176—82.

Vidensk. Selsk. Hist.-filol. Medd. XII, 1.

destinies<sup>1</sup>, and the texts call him *mu-kin puḥri ša ilāni*<sup>2</sup>, and *ilu marduk a-ša-ri-du ilāni mu-ši-im ši-ma-a-ti*<sup>3</sup>. Hence it will be most natural to interpret in accordance herewith the passages on Nabu's activities as a scribe just quoted. As Marduk's helper he holds the tablets and at his bidding writes down the destinies. However, for various reasons we cannot content ourselves with these considerations, we must briefly discuss the relation between Marduk and Nabu. We saw that in the Sargon Cylinder Nabu was called *mu-ma<sup>2</sup>-ir kul-lat ilāni*. This may of course be interpreted to mean that *kul-lat ilāni* denotes the gods with the exception of Marduk in the sacred *puḥur ilāni*, but for many reasons such interpretations are best avoided. For we cannot disregard the fact that the chief and only passage dealing with the ritual determination of destinies, EJ II 54—65<sup>4</sup>, only mentions *ilu šar ilāni šamê iršitim*<sup>5</sup> as the arbiter of destiny while above, in pp. 99—100 we saw that this title was also assigned to Nabu and that *parak šimāti* must probably be sought in Nabu's sacred chamber Ezida in Esagila. The fact that Nabu is in several passages called *mâr ilu Bêl*<sup>6</sup> or *bu-kur (ilu) Marduk riš-tu-u*<sup>7</sup> cannot invalidate this. Both Zimmern<sup>8</sup> and Langdon<sup>9</sup> have seen that we are here confronted with a problem, but both think that Nabu is the unnamed god in EJ II 58, and that Nabu was originally the arbiter of destiny. In addition

<sup>1</sup> IV 3 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Enuma eliš, VII 37.

<sup>3</sup> Nerigl. IR 67, I 6.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted above p. 184.

<sup>5</sup> L. 58.

<sup>6</sup> 27859, Rev. 9.

<sup>7</sup> 80—6—17, II 5.

<sup>8</sup> KAT<sup>3</sup>, pp. 399, 402.

<sup>9</sup> VAB, IV. p. 126, the note to EJ II 58, cf. above p. 100<sup>1</sup>.



Zimmern says about Nabu that he is "möglichlicherweise ursprünglich dieselbe Gestalt wie Marduk und wurde erst sekundär von diesem differenziert", and refers the reader to Hammurabi Louvre A, which, as previously mentioned on p. 89<sup>3</sup>, shows that Ezida at Borsippa was Marduk's temple in the time of Hammurabi. As to the historical and religious conditions covered by the Hammurabi passage we cannot express any opinion, at any rate Nabu is not mentioned either in the prologue or epilogue of the famous Code, but I do not believe that he is a later emanation of Marduk. The similarity between the two deities results from the fact that in principle all the Mesopotamian city gods are "dieselbe Gestalt", because they are all gods of the city and gods of fertility, of the same religious character. The vacillation we meet with in their titles, the same epithets being given to both, is to me only a proof that these two neighbouring deities had the same cultual titles, amongst other things because their cults were of the same character. Nor do I doubt that before Babylon was made the capital under the first dynasty, the situation in Babylonia was as follows: At Uruk Anu was the central figure of the *akitu* festival, the creator and arbiter of destiny, the same applied to Ea at Eridu, Enlil at Nippur, Nabu at Borsippa, Marduk at Babylon, etc. We have seen how the city god of Babylon supplanted these other deities in the myths of the creation, and it is likewise probable that Marduk assimilated numerous features of cultual significance from the cult festivals of the great gods Anu and Enlil. The relation to the neighbouring city of Borsippa may have been of a different and more special character. Perhaps it is a concession to this city that, both by his titles and by his place in the ceremonies of the determina-

tion of destinies, Nabu appears partly as the equal of Marduk and partly as the second mightiest of the gods, holding the tablets of destiny, and that the determination of destinies takes place in Ezida, Nabu's sacred chapel in Esagila. We must limit ourselves to the statement of such a general conjecture when we seek to explain Nabu's special position at the akîtu festival. The theory that Marduk as the city god of Babylon is the arbiter of destiny cannot possibly be rejected, even though, as our enquiry has shown, we nowhere find an uncontradicted statement to that effect.

What does it mean "to determine destiny", (or "the destinies", as it must more literally be rendered), and how is this ceremony performed? The answer to the first part of this question is attended by no difficulties. To determine destiny originally always meant something positive. The destinies determined at the annual festival must not be interpreted to have been originally a list of each individual phenomenon and event, evil or good, fortunate or unfortunate destined to take place in the coming year. Such a line of thought is entirely modern or belongs to the astrological theology of the priesthood, having, originally at least, no connection whatever with the real nature of the cult festival. The determination of destiny is a positive creation of fruitfulness and plenty, peace and happiness, for the coming year, the passage in the Gudea Cyl. B 4<sub>23</sub>—5<sub>19</sub>, upon which we dwelt above in pp. 184—185 points conclusively in this direction. But no doubt the sacerdotal conception referred to above asserted itself later; what we have learnt about a *puhur ilâni* and the tablets of destiny points in this direction. If we are here to express an opinion on how the sacred act of determining destiny was per-

formed, our answer must be twofold. A religious ceremony must have taken place in Esagila's chapel Ezida, at which Marduk, assisted by Nabu, in the midst of the assembled gods, determined the destinies of the coming year which were then inscribed on the tablets of destiny, the positive as well as the negative events, in pleno<sup>1</sup>. But as we saw above in pp. 184—186 much speaks in favour of the assumption that this ceremonious determination of destiny was introduced at a later period as a result of the special religious conditions of Babylon. For we must take into account the possibility that formerly the determination of destiny was of a purely magic and cultual character, and that it perhaps retained this character side by side with the innovation<sup>2</sup>. In Chapter IV we shall reconsider this fundamental problem on a wider basis.

#### 4. ἱερός γάμος.

We have few but conclusive testimonies that a Sacred Marriage between Marduk and Zarpanitum took place at the *akitu* festival. Our material from Babylon is confined to two passages, which are, however, supplemented by other texts, a letter referring to events at Borsippa (?), and the Gudea inscriptions from Lagaš. Taking the material from Babylon first, we remind the reader of *ê (giš) nâ*, "the house of the bed", referred to in ST, Obv. 31. 34, in the description of Etemenanki's *papahâni*. In p. 109 we advanced the conjecture that this chapel was used for a Sacred Marriage. For that such a wedding took place at the *akitu* festival at Babylon we learn from VATH 663.

<sup>1</sup> The very nature of the action seems to demand that at this stage of the festival the statues have been superseded by men acting as gods, cf. above pp. 136—139 and below in section E. 5. and Chapter IV.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the dualism, pointed out by us above pp. 191—192, in the evidence from *Enuma eliš*.

This text is a kind of calender of festivals which has unfortunately come down to us in a very fragmentary condition. Obv. 1—10 describes the akîtu festival in Nisan, the succeeding better preserved part gives an account of the Nabu festival in Airu. In Obv. 1—10 we read: [<sup>ilu</sup>*marduk* ša šar] šamê<sup>[e]</sup> u iršitim<sup>tim</sup> ni-bit-su zak-rat . . . . rabûti<sup>meš</sup> te-lil-tum uš-te-šir ana bêl bêlê . . . . [ . . . . ] di-iḫ be-lu-ti-šu in-na-an-di-iḫ i-na-aš me-lam-mu . . . . uš-te-šir ana ḫi-rib e-zur-ra . . . . [a-]ši-ib iršitim<sup>tim</sup> u ša-ma<sup>2</sup> . . . . da a ḫa . . . . -e uš-te-nir-ru-bu ma-ḫar-šu-nu . . . . ūmi 11<sup>kam</sup> ina ḫi-rib e-zur i-te-ni-ip-pu-šu i-sin-nu . . . . ša šu . . . . abkallu šad-da-nu i-ḫi-iš ana ḫa-da-aš-šu-tu . . . . <sup>ilu</sup>a-nim ir-mu-u ana šarru-u-tu . . . . ilâni<sup>meš</sup> . . . . -nu ištu maḫ-ri-šu uš-taḫ-ma-ḫu ma-ḫar-šu ilâni<sup>meš</sup> . . . . Amidst a series of fragmentary praises of Marduk we hear that he proceeds to *e-zur*, i. e. *bît akîtu*, and that the great gods enter his presence. We hear that on the eleventh of Nisan a festival to Marduk is celebrated in *bît akîtu*, and shortly after we hear of him that *i-ḫi-iš ana ḫa-da-aš-šu-tu*, “he hastened to the wedding feast.” In a letter, 82—5—22, 96, referring to a Nabu festival in Airu (at Borsippa?), we read in Obv. 6—8 *ina ši-i-ari ūmu 4<sup>kam</sup> a-na ba-a-di <sup>ilu</sup>nabû u <sup>ilu</sup>taš-me-tum ina bît <sup>isu</sup>irši ir-ru-bu*, and in Obv. 13—15 we hear further of the period when they remain in the bedchamber, *ištu libbi ūmi 5<sup>kam</sup> a-di ūm 10<sup>kam</sup> [il]âni<sup>ni</sup> ina bît <sup>isu</sup>irši šu-nu*. A *ερὸς γάμος* is here referred to, quite similar to that mentioned in VATh 663, Obv. 14—21, to which Zimmern has a reference<sup>1</sup>. Here we read: *ūmu 2<sup>kam</sup> . . . <sup>ilu</sup>nabû ša ḫa-da-aš-šu-tu in-na-an-di-iḫ te-di-[iḫ] <sup>ilu</sup>a-nu-tu ištu ḫi-rib e-zi-da ina šat mu-ši uš-ta-pa-a na-an-na-ri-iš ki-ma <sup>ilu</sup>sin ina ni-ip-ḫi-šu u-nam-mar ek-lit ina ki-rib E.ḪAR.ŠA.BA uš-te-šir i-šad-*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Behrens, *ABBr.* p. 38<sup>1</sup>.

*di-ḥu* [nam]-riš *i-ru-um-ma ana ma-ḥar* <sup>ilu</sup>NIN *ka-li šit-kun-  
nu ana ḥa-da-* [aš-šu-tu] *ina ḳi-rib E.ḤAR.ŠA.BA* *kîma ū-  
mu<sup>mu</sup> i-šak-kan na-mir-* [lu] *ina ma-aġa-al-tum mu-ši ʾa-a-bi  
it-ta-na-aġa-lu šit-la.*

To all these indubitable statements, whether derived from Babylon or Borsippa, may finally be added those of the Gudea texts. Above in pp. 184—185 we called attention to the significant passage in Cyl. B 4<sub>23</sub>—5<sub>19</sub>. In an impressive description we hear that Bau, full of love, lies down to rest by the couch of her husband, Ningirsu; their union engenders the fertility of Lagaš. The sacred ceremony which took place is not referred to in connection with the *akîtu*, or Zagnuk, festival as it is called in these texts, but parallels from other Gudea texts entitle us to refer Cylinder B's statement to this. Thus in Stat. E 5<sub>1</sub>—<sub>3</sub> we read: . . . *ud-zag-mu ezen-* <sup>dingir</sup>*ba-u nig-sal-uš-sa aġ-da* . . ., "on New Year's Day, Bau's festival day, when he brought the wedding gifts", whereupon these are enumerated, and after their enumeration it is said in 6<sub>2</sub> and 7<sub>15</sub> *nig-sal-uš-sa* <sup>dingir</sup>*ba-u* "(these were) Bau's wedding gifts"<sup>1</sup>. In another passage it is said about Gudea: *e-PA e-ub-imin-na-ni mu-na-dū ša(g)-ba nig-sal-uš-sa* <sup>dingir</sup>*ba-u nin-a-na-ge si-ba-ni-sa-sa*, "Epa, the temple of the seven zones, has he built, and therein placed Bau's wedding gifts"<sup>2</sup>. And that the holy wedding of Ningirsu and Bau is here referred to as in Cyl. B may be seen from Stat. G 2<sub>1</sub>—<sub>7</sub> . . . *nig-sal-uš-sa ša(g)-ḥul-la* <sup>dingir</sup>*nin-gir-su-ge* <sup>dingir</sup>*ba-u dumu-an-na dam-ki-aġ-ni mu-na-ta-aġ-ge* . . ., "after Ningirsu had (with) a joyful heart given Bau, his beloved wife, wedding gifts . . .",

<sup>1</sup> Parallel passages are Stat. G 3<sub>5</sub>—<sub>7</sub>; 4<sub>18</sub>; 6<sub>18</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Stat. D 2<sub>11</sub>—<sub>32</sub>.

this passage following directly upon Gudea's allusion to his erection of the Epa temple in Stat. G 111—18.

5. Death and Lamentation — Resurrection and Rejoicing.

Special interest has centred round this part of the akîtu festival, yet no one has ever attempted to give a comprehensive account of what we learn from the material. Prompted partly by Fr. Delitzsch' Babel-Bibel lecture of Jan. 13th 1902, and partly by A. Drews' *Die Christusmythe* (Jena, 1910), brief notices have appeared in the German scientific literature dealing with the Orient both by scholars<sup>1</sup> and laymen<sup>2</sup>, stating that the Zagmuk (or akîtu) festival was Marduk's resurrection festival. The investigation of the material to which we shall now proceed will show, however, that no level-headed scholar will be led to draw any conclusions as to the death and succeeding resurrection of Marduk from the material published before VAT 9555 (in *KTAR*, I. 1915—19). With Zimmern rests the credit of having first called attention to VAT 9555 in wider circles by his transcription and translation in *ZBN*, II. (1918), but instead of subjecting this interesting text to further fruitful study, he at once becomes absorbed in the attempt, so full of interest to a former period, of drawing a parallel between its contents and the Gospel account of Jesus of Nazareth<sup>3</sup>. Even if one is convinced that the mythical account of the birth and passion of Jesus contained in the Gospels has drawn upon a common Oriental stock of legends, to which the Babylonian civilization has not added the least important

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e. g. H. Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und Bibel nach ihrem religionsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang*, Berl. 1903, pp. 39—43.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e. g. M. Brückner, *Der sterbende und auferstehende Gottheiland in den orientalischen Religionen und ihr Verhältnis zum Christentum*, Tüb. 1908, p. 13 (*Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher*, I. Reihe, 16. Heft).

<sup>3</sup> *ZBN*, II. pp. 11—13.

contribution, these mechanical combinations, whether found in the works of P. Jensen, H. Winckler, E. Stucken, A. Jeremias, or H. Zimmern, always have a depressing effect on the scholar, and one declines to enter more fully upon such soulless comparisons<sup>1</sup>.

What, then, did we know of this central cult action before Zimmern called attention in 1918 to VAT 9555? Above in section D.β. and in Chapter I we saw that the kings proceed to Babylon *i-na ħi-da-a-tu u ri-ša-a-tu*<sup>2</sup>. Thus Sargon says in PJ 140—41 *a-na Babilu ma-ħa-zi (ilu) Bil ilâni i-na i-li-iṣ lib-bi nu-um-mur pa-ni ħa-diš i-ru-um-ma*, of his entry before he takes Marduk's hands and proceeds to *bît akîtu*<sup>3</sup>, but these expressions are too general for us to draw any conclusions from them. On other occasions too we hear of the rejoicing with which these festivals were attended, e. g. at Ašurbanipal's entry into Arba-ilu after the celebration of the *akîtu* festival at Milkia<sup>4</sup>, or when mention is made of Marduk's entry into Babylon during the reign of the same king, recorded both by himself<sup>5</sup> and by Šamaš-šum-ukîn<sup>6</sup>. Hence, when we read in a Nabonassar inscription<sup>7</sup> in l. 14 *a-na a-ki-ti bili-ša* (i. e. Ušur-amâtsu at Uruk) *ħa-diš ina e-ri-bi-ša*, or it is said in K. 9876,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above p. 9<sup>2</sup>. In a book entitled *Bel, the Christ of Ancient Times* (Chic. 1908) Hugo Radau has set forth his theory of a complete similarity between the Babylonian religion and the Christian doctrine of the dying and resurrected Christ. The book is a queer mixture of spurious learning and devoutness. The heading of the second section: *The Essential Doctrine of Babylonian Religion. The Belief in Resurrection*, gives an idea of its character.

<sup>2</sup> 80—6—17, II 4—10.

<sup>3</sup> A parallel passage is found in the Stele II 1—22.

<sup>4</sup> K. 2674, Rev. I 23.

<sup>5</sup> S<sup>3</sup> 41—42; L<sup>4</sup> III 15.

<sup>6</sup> S<sup>1</sup> 1—8.

<sup>7</sup> Nies and Keiser, *Bab. Inscr.* II. No. 31.

Obv. 13 [TĪ]N TIR<sup>ki</sup> (i. e. Babylon) *ri-el-tu ma-la* <sup>ilu</sup>*bêlit ki-i kul-lat par-ši*, the rejoicing described in these two passages must no doubt be ascribed to the general mood of festivity of which we heard above in the inscriptions of the kings. But in EJ IV 7—9 we meet with a more definite statement. In this passage we hear that *bît akîtu* is called the abode of rapture and rejoicing, *bît-niġî a-ki-ti ši-ir-ti ša* <sup>ilu</sup>*en-lil ilâni marduk ši-kin ħi-da-a-ti u ri-ša-a-ti*, and in K. 2711, Rev. 20 it is said of the same temple: [*u*]-*ša-tir nab-niġ-sa bît A-ki-it bît ni-gu-ti*. The last word in this passage means “delight accompanied by music, jubilation or the like”, and it recurs again in DT 83, Obv. 7 in connection with the *akîtu* festival, *ar-aġ ša ba-la-ġi i-sin-ni a-ki-ti liš-ša-kin ni-gu-tu*. From the last three passages we cannot draw any conclusions as to the death and resurrection of Marduk, only this much may be said: if we know that Marduk’s death was celebrated ritually, (and as we shall see, VAT 9555 furnishes evidence to that effect), this cult action could not have been performed in *bît akîtu*, since it is called “the abode of rapture and rejoicing”. Even though our examination of the passages referring to rejoicings and similar expressions has shown us nothing about the ritual resurrection of Marduk, it has, as we shall see in section F., been of value for our knowledge of the order of succession of the individual ceremonies,

Of Marduk’s resurrection we have no evidence. In 1900 P. Jensen advanced the conjecture<sup>1</sup> that the real meaning of the verb *tibû* was “aufstehen, sich erheben”, connecting herewith *tabû* in the sense of a noun “Auferstehung”, while he pointed out that the Babylonian New Year’s Feast was an “Auferstehungsfest, ein Fest des Aufstehens

<sup>1</sup> *KB*, VI.1. p. 306.



nach vorhergehendem Schlafe oder Siechtum oder Tode" to Marduk, "die Frühlingssonne". In this he is followed by e. g. Zimmern<sup>1</sup>, Hehn<sup>2</sup>, and Langdon<sup>3</sup>, who do not, however, enter more fully into the matter. We shall therefore be obliged to examine more closely the passages in which the words occur. To begin with we will point out that the usual sense of *tibû* is "to rise, get up (from a seat), advance<sup>4</sup>, set out", also "to rise against", cp. the noun *tibû*, "assailant, enemy", which has also the sense "the act of rising, advance, arrival", and that we do not know with certainty whether *tabû* is derived from the same root as *tibû*<sup>5</sup>. Now, in the preceding part we saw in numerous passages that the verb commonly used in connection with Marduk's procession from Esagila along the procession street to *bît akîtu* is *ašû*<sup>6</sup>, but in the letters, as Behrens<sup>7</sup> has pointed out, besides this verb<sup>8</sup> we also meet with *tibû*. Thus we read in K. 174, Obv. 8—12 *iḫ-ti-bi ma-a ûmu 15<sup>kam</sup> lu-ši-ib ma-a ûmu 22<sup>kam</sup> li-it-bi*, "he said: on the fifteenth day he must take his seat, on the twenty-second day rise", the dating and context show that it is not the *akîtu* festival which is here referred to, and in K. 470, Obv. 5—12 we have: *ša kal-bi mi-i-ti a-na-ku šarru be-li-a u-bal-liḫ-an-ni ilâni<sup>mes</sup> ša šarri it-te-bu-u i-sin-nu i-tip-šu šulmu a-na ma-aš-šar-ti ša e-kur*, "when I was a dead dog, the

<sup>1</sup> KAT<sup>3</sup> (1902), p. 371 with some doubt; *Keilinschriften und Bibel* (1903), p. 42 without hesitation.

<sup>2</sup> BA, V. pp. 255 f.

<sup>3</sup> VAB, IV. p. 115<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. e. g. Nabon. 85—4—30, 2, II 10 and the expression *tibû arki*, "to follow after (some one)".

<sup>5</sup> Jensen's analogy *ḫahû*, "to approach", for *ḫihû*, shows nothing.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. e. g. Sarg. Ann. 309; Nabon. Ann. II 6. 11. 20.

<sup>7</sup> ABBr. pp. 31—32.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. e. g. K. 822, Obv. 10; K. 1234, Obv. 8.

king bestowed life on me; the king's gods have risen and prepared a feast. Peace be with the guardian of the temple". In the first of these two passages *tibû* merely contrasts with *ašâbu*, "to sit down", and in the second passage the plural of the subject and the verb attests that there is no question of a resurrection (from the dead), but of a general departure of the gods starting to prepare for the feast. Hence Behrens, *op. cit.* pp. 31—32 rightly rejects the sense "rise (from the dead)" for the verb *tibû*, which, in a passage in *Enuma eliš*, we find in the plural form *te-bu-u-ni* construed with *i-du-uš Ti-amat*<sup>1</sup> in the sense of "stand beside, accompany".

There remains the word *tabû* which we meet with in three passages in the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings and in two passages in the letters. In Neb. EJ VII 23—25 we read: *i-na i-si-nim zaq-mu-ku ta-bi-e ilu<sup>u</sup>enlil ilâni ilu<sup>u</sup>marduk i-ru-bu a-na ki-ir-bi bâbili<sup>ki</sup>*, and we read an almost identical statement in Neb. 85—4—30, 1, I 48—49. In Nerigl. IR 67, I 33—38 in a similar connection we hear the following: *parak ši-ma-a-ti ša ki-ri-ib e-zi-da [ša i-na] za-am-mu-[ku] ri-e-ša ša-at-ti [a-na i-sin-ni a]-ki-ti ta-bi-e ilu<sup>u</sup>en-lil ilâni ilu<sup>u</sup>marduk [ištu bar-sip<sup>ki</sup> i]-t-ṭi-ḥu a-na ki-ri-ib bâbili<sup>ki</sup> [ilu<sup>u</sup>nabû su]-la u na-a-ri ša ba-bi-lam<sup>ki</sup> [i-ra]-am-mu-u ši-ru-uš-šu*. We see here that the akîtu festival is called *tabû ilu<sup>u</sup>marduk*, "Marduk's *tabû*". The same appears from the letters, but the context does not further enlighten us<sup>2</sup>. Nothing warrants the conclusion that *tabû* should in these five passages mean "(Marduk's) resurrection (from the

<sup>1</sup> I 109; III 19.

<sup>2</sup> K. 673, Rev. 13—14 ... *a-di pa-an ta-bi-e ilu<sup>u</sup>bêl* ...; Bu 91—5—9, 90, Obv. 6 ... *[i]-ḫab-bi um-ma ša ta-bi-e ili* ... "The god" of the last passage is probably Marduk, as Babylon is mentioned further on in the text.

dead)”; from the various senses of the verb *tibû* we cannot draw any such conclusion concerning a noun that may possibly belong to it. On the other hand, if we tacitly assume that *tibû* and *tabû* are derived from the same root, there is every probability that, in the above-cited five passages, *tabû* means “arrival, advance” (in a technical, cultural sense), that is to say, “advance” (from Esagila along the procession street to *bît akîtu*), since this is the principal external action of the *akîtu* festival, the great moment when Marduk shows himself to all<sup>1</sup>. There is, however, the possibility that *tabû* may be a special, cultural expression which must remain obscure to us because we do not know the etymology of the word. But if we maintain that it is connected with *tibû*, we must admit that our texts afford no evidence of any “resurrection (from the dead)”, but in that case the word *tabû* must refer to the event which was universally felt to be the chief event of the *akîtu* festival, viz. Marduk’s procession to *bît akîtu*. The final result from a linguistic point of view will then be that *ašû* and *tibû* (*tabû*) are parallel terms, the former being the most frequent in the texts describing Marduk’s procession.

The results of the above examination of the evidence concerning the rejoicing and Marduk’s resurrection need not, however, nullify the fact itself. And it is only necessary to have either the resurrection or the death confirmed by the texts, one being an inevitable consequence of the other. To begin with we will therefore examine more

<sup>1</sup> The obscure expression *ina namari-ma* in Pinches, Col. D 8–11 *aš-šu úmi ina namari-ma* <sup>ilu</sup>*a-num* u <sup>ilu</sup>*en-lil ultu uruk<sup>ki</sup> u nippur<sup>ki</sup> . . . ana ša-bat kâtâ<sup>ll</sup> . . .* <sup>ilu</sup>*bêl ana bâbilî<sup>ki</sup> il-la-ku-nim-ma*, points in the same direction, presumably; the appearance here alluded to is probably Marduk’s annual appearance, in the procession, when he is visible to the whole people.

closely what we know of a ritual lamentation associated with the akîtu festival, and thereupon what evidence we have pointing to a ceremony of death with Marduk as the central figure. In the scientific literature we do not lack statements alleging that the akîtu festival is a death festival. In its broad features the Babylonian New Year's Feast is compared with the Persian Sacaea or the Jewish Purim, Berossus is quoted (after Athenaeus)<sup>1</sup>, or parallels from the Greek Anthesteria, the Persian farwardîgân or the New Year's Feast of the Yezidis are adduced.<sup>2</sup> In the textbooks we find the statement that the akîtu festival commemorates Marduk's resurrection and death and is accompanied by a ritual lamentation<sup>3</sup>.— Now as regards the latter P. Jensen pointed out in 1900<sup>4</sup> that the word *nubattu* meant "death lament"<sup>5</sup>. That the second character must be read *-bat-*, and not e. g. *-bit-* or *-mid-* is rendered probable by the proper name *Ardu-nu-ba-at-ti*<sup>6</sup>. Now in several passages Marduk is called *bêl nu-bat-ti*, thus in Maqlû, II 157; VII 19—20 *ina qi-bit<sup>il</sup> [Marduk] bêl nu-bat-ti u<sup>il</sup> Marduk [bêl] a-ši-pu-ti*, and in Ašurb. Ann. (Rassam Cyl.) IX 9—12 *ina<sup>arhu</sup> abi arah<sup>h</sup> kaḳḳab kašti ma-rat<sup>ilu</sup> sin ka-rit-tu ūmu III<sup>kam</sup> nu-bat-tu ša šar ilâni<sup>meš</sup> ilu<sup>il</sup> marduk ul-tu<sup>alu</sup> di-maš-ka at-tu-muš*. From IV R\* 32—33 we further see that the third, seventh and sixteenth days of Ulûlu and Arahsamna are *nubattu* days. This taken in conjunction with the reference to *nubattu* in Ab in the Ašurbanipal passage *a priori* renders it little probable that the sense of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meissner, *ZDMG*, L. p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, *ZDMG*, LV. p. 390.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *KAT*<sup>3</sup>, p. 371.

<sup>4</sup> *KB*, VI.1. p. 446.

<sup>5</sup> So also Zimmern, *KAT*<sup>3</sup>, p. 371; Hehn, *BA*, V. pp. 285 f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *BE*, XV. p. 27.

*nubattu* is "death lament". It is hardly probable that such a lament should take place in three other months besides in Nisan at the *akîtu* festival. It would be strange too if a death lament were mentioned in the case of other months but not in the case of Nisan if it was one of the principal events of the *akîtu* festival. Now Behrens has done the meritorious work of going through the letter material with reference to the word *nubattu*<sup>1</sup>. We find that it occurs in two principal senses, 1) "evening", 2) "rest, quiet, festive evening, day of rest, festive day". Only in one passage, the one on which Jensen originally based his conjecture, does it seem possible to render it "day of lamentation". In K. 4397, 13—14<sup>2</sup>, we read: [*ûm*] *nu-bat-ti* | *ûm i-dir-ti*, both put equal to [*ûm k*] *i-is-pi* | *bu-ub-bu-lum*. This renders it a probable assumption that the real sense of *nubattu* is "day of rest", and that it has assumed the secondary sense of "day of lamentation, death lament". It is not Marduk's title of *bêl nu-bat-ti*, nor the probable rendering of K. 4397 which induces us to draw this conclusion. It is partly the strange fact that in the vocabulary K. 6012 + K. 10684, which is a list of the holy festival days of the normal month, *nubattu* is not given, as we should have expected from the statement in IVR\*32—33, and partly the circumstance that in Mandæan we have a noun *nūmbi*<sup>2</sup>*A*, and a nom. act. *n'Amb'Ai*<sup>2</sup>*A*<sup>2</sup>*A* derived from it, in the sense "lament, ritual death lament"<sup>3</sup>, which is no doubt a loanword. But this, I think, is as far as we can get. The attempts that have been made to explain the real

<sup>1</sup> *ABBr.* pp. 101—07.

<sup>2</sup> Parallel with II R 32, 13 ab.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *MG*, p. 266<sup>1</sup>; Pallis, *MS*, p. 75<sup>1</sup>.

sense of *nubattu* from its etymology<sup>1</sup> carry little conviction. Like Nöldeke I am not sure of the Semitic origin of the word, and the etymology suggested by Hommel would demand the celebration of a Sacred Marriage between Marduk and Zarpanitum in Ab, Ulûlu, and Arahšamna, besides at the akîtu festival, which is very improbable.

We must thus frankly admit that the investigation of the word *nubattu* has brought us no information of a ritual lament for the death of Marduk at the akîtu festival. What we know of a ritual death lament at the akîtu festival is hereafter limited to two testimonies. The first of these is rather problematic. It was touched upon above in pp. 108—110 where we saw that Marduk's *gigunû*, "sepulchre, sepulchral chamber", was probably in Etemenanki. But we strongly emphasize the fact that only the second testimony (VAT 9555) causes us to attach any weight to the statements about Marduk's *gigunû*, for alone these are unable to prove anything. Instead of confining ourselves here to quoting those passages from VAT 9555 which are of value for our argument, we consider it convenient in this place to deal with this most important text as a whole.

VAT 9555 belongs to those Assyro-Babylonian texts which are generally called commentary texts, i. e. texts having the character of commentaries, in which some of the cult actions, and in part certain cult localities, are interpreted mythologically<sup>2</sup>. However, by such a name and

<sup>1</sup> Jensen, *KB*, VI.1. p. 446 supposes that *nubattu* derives from Piel of *nabû*, "calls": *nubbû*, "to complain"; Hommel, *OLZ* 1907, p. 482 < *mubâtu*, "Nachtlager, Hochzeit", with a reference to Arab. *bâta*, *jabîtu*, "die Nacht verbringen", likewise Streck, *VAB*, VII.2. p. 72<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Zimmern, *ZBN*, II. p. 3, cp. *ZBN*, I. p. 127: Vielmehr haben wir einen recht eigenartigen kommentarähnlichen Text vor uns, der gewisse kultische Handlungen in engste Beziehung zu Mythen setzt.

definition of it we have merely determined the external character of the text. A more thorough perusal of VAT 9555 and a brief comparison with other commentary texts will give us a better idea of the true character of VAT 9555. As far back as 1906<sup>1</sup> Zimmern called attention to a text of a similar character, K. 3476, and adduced other texts which he compared with it, and the statements of which were of great significance for his view of the contents of K. 3476. The whole question being of such great importance we will examine these texts before considering VAT 9555 more closely.

In Sp I 131, Obv. 14—24, we read: *gaššu iddû ša bâba bîti amêlu marši ultappatu gaššu ilu ninib iddû a-šak-ku ilu ninib a-na a-šak-ku i-rad-da-ad zi-šur-ra-a ša irša amêlu marši i-lam-mu-u ilu lugal-gir-ra u ilu šit-lam-la-e-a 3 KU.DUB.DUB ša inaddû ilu a-num ilu en-lil u ilu e-a ušurtu ša ina maḥar irši i-š-ri-ru sa-par-ri šu-u mim-ma lim-nu i-sa-ḥa-pu sugugallû u urudnigkalagû ša ina rêš amêlu marši i-be-en-ni sugugallû ilu a-num urudnigkalagû ilu en-lil kanû urigallê ša ina rêš amêlu marši zu-ug-gu-pu ilu sibitti ilâni<sup>meš</sup> rabûti<sup>meš</sup> mârê<sup>meš</sup> ilu i-š-ḥa-ra šu-nu mašḥuldubbû ša ina rêš irši amêlu marši nadû ilu nin-amaš-azag-ga amêlu rê'u ana ilu en-lil ninkakku gibillû ša ina bîti amêlu marši šak-ni ninkakku ilu azag-šud gibillû ilu nusku.* This passage describes ceremonies performed in order to help a sick person (*amêlu maršu*). First his house-door is painted with *gaššu* and *iddû*, then his bed (*iršu*) is surrounded with *zi-šur-rû*(?) and three bundles of *KU.DUB.DUB* are laid before it. A picture (*ušurtu*) is drawn in front of the bed, probably of a net (*saparu*) with which and in which all that is evil is to be caught (*sa-par-ri šu-u mim-ma lim-nu i-sa-ḥa-pu*, line 18). Thereupon the skin of a bull (*sugu-*

<sup>1</sup> ZBN, I. pp. 127 ff.

*gallû*) is laid on the patient's head, and powerfully acting copper (*urudniḡkalagû*). Of other means to drive away the *ašakku* demon tormenting the patient are mentioned *kanûurigallê*, which is placed at his head (*ina rêš amêlu marši zug-gu-pu*, l. 21), a kid (*mašḡuldubbû*) which is laid in the top end of the bed (*ina rêš irši amêlu marši nadû*, l. 22), a censer (*niknakku*), and a torch (*gibillû*). Now during its progressive enumeration of the remedies against the *ašakku* demon quoted above, the text states that these are identical with this or that deity. Thus *gaššu* is Ninib, while *iddû* is the *Ašakku*, and the ceremony of painting both on the patient's house-door is said to indicate *ilu nin-ib a-na a-šak-ku i-rad-da-ad*<sup>1</sup>. And it is further stated that the three *KU.DUB.DUB* are Anu, Enlil, and Ea, that the skin of the bull is Anu, the copper Enlil, *kanûurigallê* is *ilu sibitti ilâni meš rabûti meš mârê meš ilu iš-ḡa-ra*, the censer is *ilu azag-šud*, and the torch Nusku.

Of quite similar character is K. 4245, Obv. II, in which are mentioned a series of sacred cult objects for use in exorcism, such as cypress wood (for incense, *burâšû*), dyed cotton (*šipâti burrumâti*), a torch (*gibillû*), a censer (*niknakku*), copper (*URUDU.ŠA.KAL.GA*), a bull's skin (*sug-gallû*), *gaššu*, *iddû*, and a live lamb (*LU.TI.LA*) — as we see, partly the same things we heard about in Sp I 131 — and each of these is likewise identified with a deity (e. g. Adad, Ninib, Gibil, Nergal, and several others whose names are not clear to us).

The interpretation of these two texts does not really present any problems. No stress is in any case laid on an actual identification, e. g. of the bull's skin and Anu, and the only explanation possible is that the exorcist states that

<sup>1</sup> Note the Arameism. The text dates from the year 138 B. C.



this or that object is filled with the virtue of this or that god, and in consequence is no ordinary profane object but a most potent holy remedy having power to defeat the *ašakku* demon. On one point only is there any possibility of this clear and simple line of thought having received "a mythological supplement". The picture drawn before the bed in Sp I 131 is said to be a net striking down all that is evil, l. 18 *uṣūrtu ša ina maḥar irši iṣ-ši-ru sa-par-ri šu-u mim-ma lim-nu i-sa-ḥa-pu*. The use of the verb *saḥāpu* reminds one of Marduk's struggle with Tiamat in *Enuma eliš*, tablet IV<sup>1</sup>. There in ll. 41—44 we hear that Marduk *i-pu-uš-ma sa-pa-ra šul-mu-u kir-biš Ti-amat ir-bit-ti ša-a-ri uš-te-iṣ-bi-ta ana la a-ši-e mim-mi-ša šūtu illānu šadū aḥarrū i-du-uš sa-pa-ra uš-tak-ri-ba ki-iš-ti abi-šu*<sup>ilu</sup> *A-nim*, and it is mainly by means of this net that Tiamat is defeated<sup>2</sup>. Hence I do not consider it precluded that the drawing of the *saparu* before the bed of the sick man has a particular meaning; it is an allusion to the scene in *Enuma eliš* describing Marduk's subjugation of the evil powers, and as such has of course great magic significance. The drawing of the net possesses divine (Marduk) virtue. But there is nothing unusual in mythological scenes from *Enuma eliš* being employed as components in the magic circle which the exorcist draws round the sick person in order to further the cure. Precisely because Marduk, as recorded in *Enuma eliš*, once at the dawn of time subdued the evil demons, reduced their power, and created the world, precisely for that reason he is the chief deity always invoked by the exorcist to defeat the evil spirits plotting against men. This is best seen by a study of the

<sup>1</sup> L. 106.

<sup>2</sup> IV 93—106.

two great series of exorcisms, Maqlû and Šurpu<sup>1</sup>. Thus in a text which is a spell against the demon of toothache, the object of which is a cure for the assaults of this demon on man<sup>2</sup>, we find in the introduction a recitation of a creation story. Anu is the creator. And a quite similar line of thought asserts itself when, at the close of a ritual text employed at the reconstruction of a temple<sup>3</sup>, we find a recitation of a creation story<sup>4</sup>. It is simply a magic ceremony to keep away the disturbing influence of the demons during and after the erection of the temple, and to bear witness to the might and power of the gods. Hence we must strongly emphasize that in principle there is nothing either in Sp I 131 or K. 4245 to distinguish these texts from the other well-known magical texts, so that it will be best to give up the name "commentary texts" or the like.

Of quite a different character, on the other hand, are K. 3476 and VAT 9555. In both these texts we have a description of certain cult actions unconnected with magic spells against the demons of sickness or misfortune, and which are interpreted mythologically. None of them shows in what connection the ceremonies were performed, but as they have nothing to do with the Assyro-Babylonian ritual of exorcism, which was highly differentiated, it is true, but was nevertheless fundamentally quite uniform, it is a probable inference that these two texts describe sacred cult actions at some important festival, what festival we

<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed account of these two collections see Pallis, *MS*, pp. 44—46.

<sup>2</sup> 55547.

<sup>3</sup> BE 13987.

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 23—39; it opens as follows: *e-nu-ma ilu-a-nu ib-nu-u šamêe* . . .

can only attempt to conjecture after having examined more closely the contents of the texts.

Many passages in K. 3476<sup>1</sup> are obscure to us, partly because the text, both at the beginning and the close, has come down to us in a very fragmentary condition, but partly also because several of the expressions are difficult owing to their rare occurrence in the literature, and because the briefness and condensed style of the whole text prevent us from supplementing by associations various passages, for our better understanding of certain words. Considered as a whole K. 3476 is, however, clear enough. A series of sacred cult actions are enumerated, each of them followed by a mythological interpretation. The style of the text is, as Zimmern<sup>2</sup> has pointed out, of great antiquity, we have to go as far back as the Gudea texts to find parallels in style, and as we see from the contents of VAT 9555, we can hardly venture to call K. 3476 a unique text. No doubt Assyro-Babylonian religious literature contains several of these texts, which it would be an interesting task to collect.

The beginning, Obv. 1—2, of K. 3476 is badly preserved, and it is hardly worth while introducing too extensive conjectural emendations here. Thereupon follows, in Obv. 3, the cultual act of kindling the fire<sup>3</sup>, which is interpreted as follows, "it is Marduk who, in his childhood . . . ." <sup>4</sup>, but the rest has been broken off. The text seems to have referred to some deed performed by Marduk in his early years, but this is merely a conjecture. From the cult act we gain no information that can enlighten us. This applies

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plates V—VII.

<sup>2</sup> ZBN, I. p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> [*i-ša-]tu ša i-ka-du-ni.*

<sup>4</sup> *ilu marduk šu-u ša ina šiḫḫri<sup>i</sup>-šu . . . .*

not only to Obv. 3, but to the whole text. On the whole there seems to be no connection between the cult action and the interpretation of it but a single association of ideas, that is to say, if culturally something is burnt, this act may be interpreted in many different ways, but in any case it must be in such a way that the central point in the mythological story indicated (the interpretation) must contain something about the powerful (burning, injuring, and destructive) effect of the fire. And if a cult act is performed in which something (some one) is broken, it may be interpreted mythologically as the destruction by one deity of another (a demon). In other words — and it is highly important for our understanding of the cult to make this clear to ourselves — the cultual acts are no mimic representation of the mythological phenomena. But before we can express any opinion on the relation between cult and myth in K. 3476, or whether or not a single myth comes into play throughout, we must acquaint ourselves more closely with the cult actions described separately in the text, and their interpretations.

In Obv. 4 it is mentioned that somebody (the subject is missing) flings burning darts high into the air<sup>1</sup>, that is *ilâni<sup>meš</sup> abê<sup>meš</sup>-šu aḥê<sup>meš</sup>-šu šu-nu ki-i iš[-mu-u] . . . .* Here, again, the continuation is wanting, and we hear nothing of what the gods, Marduk's fathers and brothers, heard. In Obv. 5—6 almost the entire description of the cult act is missing, we have only *ilâni<sup>meš</sup> u-na-aš-ša-ḫu*, which is interpreted "Marduk, whom Bêlit in his childhood lifted up and kissed"<sup>2</sup>. L. 7—8 have "the fire which leaps up before

<sup>1</sup> [šā]-kiš ki-la-te i-maḥ-ḫa-šu.

<sup>2</sup> *ilu marduk šu-[u] . . . . [ilubê]tit ina šiḥiri<sup>i</sup>-šu inaši-ma u-na-ša-ḫu-[šu].*

Bêlit, the lamb (*šu<sup>2</sup>u*) which is laid on the brazier (*kinûnu*) and which the fire (literally [*ilu bil-gi*] burns up", that is Kingu whom the fire burns up<sup>1</sup>. The cult action following hereupon, *išu zi-ka-a-le ša ištu libbi kinûni u-ša-an-ma-ru*, "burning darts sent out of the brazier", which perhaps merely denotes that flames lick the sides of the brazier, is explained in somewhat more detail in Obv. 9—13; merciless darts are sent from the quiver of Bêl<sup>2</sup> (or Marduk<sup>3</sup>), spreading terror (*puluhtu*) and killing the strong (*dan-nu i-ni-ru*). The gods, his fathers and brothers<sup>4</sup>, come out (to his aid), and the hostile gods Zû and Ašakku are bound<sup>5</sup>. Hereupon follow a number of ceremonies performed by the king (*šarru*). In the first (in Obv. 14) he holds something over his head and burns up a kid<sup>6</sup>, that is *ilu marduk šu-u ša išu bêlê<sup>meš</sup>-šu<sup>7</sup> ina muḥ-ḥi-šu iššû<sup>u</sup> mârê<sup>meš</sup> ilu bêl ilu ea ina girri i[k-mu-u?]* (Obv. 15). It is important

<sup>1</sup> *ilu kin-gu šu-u ki-i ina išâti i-ka-mu . . . .*

<sup>2</sup> *mul-mul-li la pa-du[-ti] ša išu iš-pat ilu bêl.*

<sup>3</sup> Zimmern, *ZBN*, I. p. 131<sup>3</sup>, supposes that *ilu bêlu* is Marduk here. It is impossible to form any conclusive opinion on this, but we call attention to the fact that in other parts of the text we have *ilu marduk* (Obv. 3. 4. 15. 16. 17. 19. 25), while *ilu bêlu* in Obv. 15 and 24 is hardly Marduk. The same may be supposed to apply to Obv. 9—13, since Zû is alluded to in Obv. 13 as one of foes of *ilu bêlu*. For above in p. 188<sup>3</sup> in one of the Babylonian myths, we have seen that there is antagonism between Enlil (Bêl) of Nippur and Zû. The reference in Obv. 9 to *mul-mullu* which, in *Enuma eliš*, is one of Marduk's most important weapons in his contest with Tiamat, taken in conjunction with the whole description of the contest, in Obv. 9—13, in my opinion tends to show that we have here a mingling of Marduk and Enlil myths.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Obv. 4, in which the same expression probably refers to Marduk.

<sup>5</sup> *ilânî<sup>meš</sup> . . . . ilu zu-u ilu a-šak-ku ina libbi-šu-nu šandu . . . .*

<sup>6</sup> *šarru ša DU MA KI ina muḥ-ḥi-šu inaššû<sup>u</sup> immeru unîkê<sup>meš</sup> i-ka-lu . . . .*

<sup>7</sup> From this we may perhaps suppose with Zimmern, *ZBN*, I. p. 135<sup>5</sup> that *DU MA KI* is an error for *išukak-ki*.

to note here that, in this as in the succeeding ceremonies, the king's action is identified with that of Marduk, but it is less clear how we are to interpret Bêl's and Ea's children (or sons). They seem to be Marduk's antagonists here. Like his old enemy Kingu (in Obv. 8) of the creation epic, they are burnt up, but the expression is obscure, since Marduk himself is called Ea's son, e. g. in Maqlû and Šurpu. Next, in Obv. 16, we hear that the king with a certain weapon shatters a *ḥa-ri-u* vessel (?), that is *ilu marduk ša ina u-ša-ri-šu UD ŠAL HI . . . . .* Unfortunately the mythological interpretation here is quite obscure, and the verb is missing<sup>1</sup>, we must therefore withhold our conjecture<sup>2</sup> that *UD ŠAL HI* is an error for *tam-tim* or *tam-amat*. Emendations of the text convey a clear impression of the emendator's views, but will any conscientious scholar venture to support his argument with a passage in which a modern emendation has been made by himself or others?

In Obv. 17 the king performs a ceremony which is incomprehensible to us, [*šar*]ru ša akal ka-ma-nu *amêtu šangû it-ti-šu u-šar-ka-du*, that is (Obv. 17—18) *ilu marduk ilu nabû šu-[nu] . . . . . ilu a-num umaṭṭi(?) -šu-ma iš-bir-šu*. Also the mythological interpretation is obscure; Marduk and Nabu, perhaps in conjunction with Anu and another god overwhelm (?) and crush "him", but who "he" is, we are not told. Then, in Obv. 18—20, comes a cultual act in which the king places himself *ina ma-za-si*<sup>3</sup>, and something, which has been broken off in our text, is laid in the king's hands<sup>4</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> From the verb *i-bat-tu-u* in the cultual part we might conjecture *ik-mu-u* here.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Zimmern, *ZBN*, I. p. 135<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Zimmern, *ZBN*, I. p. 133<sup>1</sup> and 82—5—22, 168, Rev. 8 *a-na amêtu ma-za-si pa-ni*.

<sup>4</sup> *ina kât šarri šaknu<sup>uu</sup>*.

while the priest (<sup>amêlu</sup>*zammaru*) chants a hymn beginning with the words <sup>ilu</sup>*na-mur-ri-tu*. This is interpreted to signify that Marduk lies (?) before (?) Ea, while the star of Venus (<sup>kakabu</sup>*dil-bat*) *ina mahri-šu . . . . .*, but is quite incomprehensible to us — perhaps it refers to certain astronomical conditions <sup>1</sup>. After a ceremony which is very badly preserved, and the interpretation of which is obscure, follows a cult act in Obv. 22—26, the central figure of which is <sup>amêlu</sup>3.*HU.SI*; he holds in his hand a sweet fig (*tittu* <sup>2</sup> *ṭâb-tu*) and enters the presence of the god with it <sup>3</sup>. This would seem to indicate that the ceremonies referred to in the text take place in the *parakku* or *papaḫu* of a temple. Here he shows the fig to the god and the king <sup>4</sup>; the latter, we may thus perhaps suppose, has been in the presence of the god during the performance of the ceremonies mentioned in Obv. 14—20. The mythological interpretation of this ceremony in Obv. 24—26 is not quite clear to us, as the beginning which must have referred to the acting person is missing. The interpretation implies that someone *ana* <sup>ilu</sup>*bêl i-ṭar-ra-du-šu umaṭṭi(?)*-*šu*, then (takes) Nergal's hand <sup>5</sup>, and thereupon enters Esagila and shows the weapon he is holding in his hand to Marduk and Zarpanitum who kiss and bless it <sup>6</sup>. The last cult action described on the Obverse, (the text on the Reverse being quite fragmentary and making no sense), deals in ll. 27—29 with a ceremony performed by the *kurgarû* priests <sup>7</sup>. It is not clear

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zimmern, *ZBN*, I. p. 133 <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> For the reading of *GIŠ.MA* cf. Zimmern, *ZDMG*, LVIII. pp. 952 f.

<sup>3</sup> *ina pân ili u-še-rab-šu*.

<sup>4</sup> *tittu ṭâb-tu ana ili u šarri u-kal-lam*.

<sup>5</sup> <sup>ilu</sup>*nergal ḫât-su-u(?) iṣ(?)*- . . . . .

<sup>6</sup> [*ana e-sa*]*k-kil êrub-ma* <sup>isu</sup>*kakku ḫâtâ<sup>II</sup>-šu a-na* <sup>ilu</sup>*marduk šar ilâni<sup>meš</sup>*  
*u* <sup>ilu</sup>*šar-pa-[ni-tum]* [*u*]-*kal-lim-ma u-na-aš-ša-ḫu-šu-ma i-kar-ra-[bu-šu]*.

<sup>7</sup> On these, see above pp. 145—46.

where it takes place as we are not sure of the meaning of *tu-ša-ri* (Obv. 27) but it is said that they rejoice and make merry<sup>1</sup>. Wherein their merriment consists is seen from the words [*ki-*] *la-te i-maḥ-ḥa-ṣu ia-ru-ra-te . . . .*, they throw burning darts, kindle fires, perhaps they also fight with each other<sup>2</sup>. All this is interpreted in Obv. 30—32 to mean that they are those (here again the subject is unfortunately missing) who cried out against Bêl and Ea, and who poured out their radiance against them<sup>3</sup>. It is impossible to decide whether Bêl and Ea or the unknown persons are the subject of *it-bu-ku*, but if the mythological interpretation has referred to a contest between Bêl and Ea on one side and "they" on the other side, it is probable that the last sentence in Obv. 32, . . . . *meš-šu-nu u-bat-ti-ḫu a-na apsê [iddû]*, must be translated thus, "they (i. e. Bêl and Ea) cut off their X and cast these (or them) into the sea."

After we have now gone through the contents of K. 3476, a number of important questions at once present themselves. On considering more closely the mythological interpretations we ask whether we are here confronted with one single myth presented in fragments or with allusions to several myths. We can answer at once that this is impossible to decide merely on the basis of the fragments with which the text acquaints us. Too much is missing here and there for us to draw any final conclusion, and a comparison with the Assyro-Babylonian myths known to us which have been preserved in their entirety does not

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the verb *i-ma-li-lu* and the noun *me-il-ḫu*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the obscure passage in Obv. 29 . . . . *ša a-ḥa-meš i-ma-taḥ-u-ma u-ša-aṣ-ba-ru*.

<sup>3</sup> . . . . *meš-e-šu-nu-ma ša ina eli ilu<sup>b</sup>bêl ilu<sup>e</sup>ea ri-ig-mu . . . . [me-l]-am-me-šu-nu ina muḥ-ḥi-šu-nu it-bu-ku . . . .*



help us. We may point out that contests between gods and other beings are often mentioned in K. 3476 (Obv. 9—13. 15. 16. 17. 30—32), and that Marduk bears the chief part in these while Kingu, who is Marduk's main antagonist in *Enuma eliš*, is burnt in Obv. 8<sup>1</sup>, and several gods, called Marduk's fathers and brothers, now and then rally round him (Obv. 4. 12). But, since these features might call to mind the general plan of *Enuma eliš*, we must further point out that Tiamat is not mentioned, but Zû and Ašakku are the antagonists of Marduk and the other deities, and that the account of Ea (Obv. 18—20) and the reference to Bêl and Ea's *mârê<sup>mes</sup>* as the antagonists of Marduk in Obv. 15, and the ceremony with the unknown person entering into the presence of Marduk and Zarpanitum in Esagila (Obv. 24—26) all seem to belong to quite different stories. The words at the beginning of the text alluding to certain events of Marduk's childhood also seem to point to another cycle of myths. In addition to this we must further point out that we do not know whether the order of the ceremonies given in the text is determined by the accompanying myth (provided, that is, that there is only one myth, or at any rate one connected cycle of myths with Marduk as the central figure), or whether the various cult acts have merely been interpreted mythologically at a later period. A consideration of the cultural acts mentioned in the text cannot help us, there is too little variation and connection in the ceremonies described. In other words, we are now confronted with the fundamental problem, referred to above in pp. 192,

<sup>1</sup> This event, which is not mentioned in *Enuma eliš*, is perhaps alluded to in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 22. Cf. Langdon, *EC*, p. 21<sup>1</sup>.

213—14 of the relation in this particular case between the cult and the myth (or the cycle of myths, or perhaps the various myths). If we were dealing with a quite primitive culture, I should not hesitate to express an opinion on this relation, for in that stage of culture the myth is always subsequent to and absolutely dependent on the cult on all central points, but I never feel quite safe when confronted by the possibility of the intervention of a priesthood, thousands of years old. Even though the interpretation of such a priesthood must of course be based on the cult and be dependent on its acts, it will nevertheless be a difficult case to decide on, because in Babylon we can never, we must almost say, get behind the urban civilization. Hence we cannot, on the basis of what we have gathered from this one text, say anything conclusive about this important problem, but we shall return to the subject after we have examined the contents of VAT 9555 more closely. — Finally we may ask what cult K. 3476 describes. The text tells us nothing, we must therefore go by internal evidence. We saw above in p. 217 that certain cult acts probably took place in the *papaḫu* or *parakku* of some temple in the presence of Marduk and Zarpanitum (Obv. 23). The idea of Ekua naturally suggests itself, and as Obv. 25 mentions Esagila in the mythological interpretation of this passage, we may perhaps see in this a corroboration of our conjecture<sup>1</sup>. When I further assume that the cult described in K. 3476 in Esagila's Ekua is a part of the akītu festival, I base this solely on the fact that the king (*šarru*) is identical in Obv. 14—19 with Marduk, taking

<sup>1</sup> This, however, only refers to the scene of action in Obv. 24—26, which we said above in p. 219 had no connection with the rest. The scene of the actions mentioned in Obv. 14—20 is undoubtedly *bīt akitu*, cp. Chapter IV's investigation and results.

this in conjunction with the evidence of K. 1356, but I shall deal with this in more detail in Chapter IV.

We now turn our attention to VAT 9555. This long text (abt. 76 lines) is much broken in various places, but a duplicate, VAT 9538, allows us to supplement Obv. 27—Rev. 13 on essential points<sup>1</sup>. Several points are difficult to understand, but the principle is the same as that mentioned during our investigation of K. 3476. First a cult act is described, then follows a mythological interpretation of it. The beginning is so dilapidated that a tolerably connected text does not occur until Obv. 4. Here we are told that some person asks: *man-nu u-še-ša-aš-šu*, “who leads him out?” In Obv. 5 (of which, however, the beginning is broken off) this is interpreted as follows: . . . . [*i*]*l-lak-u-ni u-še-ša-aš-šu-ni*. In Obv. 6 most of the cult act has been broken off, we are merely told that someone goes along<sup>2</sup>, that is *a-na hur-sa-an šu-u il-lak*. This is likewise the case with Obv. 7 where of the cult act we merely have . . . . *il-lak-u-ni*, that is “the house at the edge of the mountain in which he is questioned.”<sup>3</sup> From these introductory passages the situation appears pretty clear; some one is kept imprisoned or confined in “the mountain”, a messenger is sent to set him free. As far as we can judge from the fragments preserved, the mimical representation of the cult action seems to cover the myth, which is the opposite of what was the case in K. 3476<sup>4</sup>. The person who is quest-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zimmern, *ZBN*, II. p. 3<sup>1</sup> and his transcription *op. cit.* II. pp. 14—20, and above p. 27<sup>1</sup>. Fragments of duplicates of VAT 9555 are found in the British Museum (K. 9138 and Rm 275) which shows how widely the text was spread. See Zimmern, *ZA*, XXXIV. pp. 88—89; Langdon, *EC*, pp. 51—52, 212—13.

<sup>2</sup> [*i*]-*ra-kab-u-ni*.

<sup>3</sup> *bītu šu-u ina eli šap-te ša hur-sa-an ina libbi i-ša'-u-lu-šu*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above p. 214.

ioned at the edge of "the mountain" can only be the messenger on his way to the underworld<sup>1</sup>. Obv. 8 is very important because it shows us clearly what cult festival VAT 9555 describes. From the description of the cult ceremony we have only the fragment . . . .<sup>ki</sup> *il-lak-an-ni*, and perhaps the remains of a *sip* preceding <sup>ki</sup>, but the interpretation of the ceremony leaves us in no doubt as to what has been broken off in Obv. 8. It runs as follows: *a-na šul-me ša abi-šu ša ša-bit-u-ni šu-u il-la-ka*, "he comes on account of his father's well-being, (his father) who is kept a prisoner." The words *abi-šu* leave us in no doubt that [<sup>ilu</sup>*nabû ša ištu* <sup>alu</sup>*bar-*] should be supplied before *sip*<sup>ki</sup>. For, as we saw above in p. 194 Nabu is called Marduk's son, and thus in Obv. 8, which is entirely borne out by Obv. 24, we have a proof that it is the akîtu festival which is referred to here and in the following, for it is on that occasion that Nabu of Borsippa comes to Babylon<sup>2</sup>.

Obv. 9 mentions somebody (the subject is missing) *ša ina su-ka-ka-a-te i-du-lu-u-ni*, they run about the streets, they seek Marduk<sup>3</sup>. Thus it is he who is kept a prisoner in "the mountain". They cry: "Where is he kept imprisoned?"<sup>4</sup> Obv. 10 has: Some (women) stand with hands stretched out<sup>5</sup>, they are those who are praying to Sin and Šamaš, <sup>ilu</sup>*bêl bul-lî-[su]*<sup>6</sup>, "call Marduk to life!" Obv. 11

<sup>1</sup> Zimmern, ZBN, II. p. 12 identifies the person questioned with Marduk by which the situation becomes a parallel to the trial of Jesus before Pilate. This conception only holds good for the parallel with the New Testament, it is supported neither by the myth nor by the cultual action where the wandering is continued (*il-lak-u-ni*).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above pp. 75—76, 122.

<sup>3</sup> <sup>ilu</sup>*bêl u-ba<sup>2</sup>-u-ma*.

<sup>4</sup> *a-a-ka ša-bit*.

<sup>5</sup> . . . *ša kâtâ<sup>11</sup>-ša tar-ša-a-ni*.

<sup>6</sup> < *bul-lî-šu*.

refers again to a cultual wandering, probably to some gate or door. It is "the funeral gate to which she goes, seeking him"<sup>1</sup>, and in Obv. 12 we hear that some who are standing at [*bâb*] *ša e-sag-ila* are guards keeping watch upon Marduk. The cult ceremony in Obv. 13 is almost entirely broken off, the important interpretation reads as follows: "After the gods have imprisoned him, he has disappeared from life, into prison, away from the sun and light, they have let him descend"<sup>2</sup> (Obv. 13—14). The cult act described in Obv. 15 is obscure, we have: . . . . *ša ina šapli-šu [ik]-tar-ri-bu ša lab-bu-šu-ni*, which is interpreted: "wounds with which he has been wounded, in his blood [he lies ??]"<sup>3</sup>. Obv. 16 has: a goddess (i. e. a priestess representing a goddess, for the beginning of Obv. 16 describes the cult act) sits wailing by his side<sup>4</sup>, that is "for the sake of his well-being she has descended (gone there?)"<sup>5</sup>.

Now follows a very difficult passage in Obv. 17—19. The beginning of Obv. 17 has been broken off, but I consider it very doubtful whether, as Zimmern will have it, it has read *mâr ilu aš-šur*. For we should then have absolute identity of the person acting in the cult ceremony and in the myth, but I do not think this is supported by the context. At any rate, some person is referred to as not walking by "his" side<sup>6</sup>, crying amongst other things: "I am no malefactor"<sup>7</sup>. Then follow some cryptic words about "my right" (*[di]-na-ni*), which somebody belonging to *ilu aš-šur*

<sup>1</sup> *bâb ka-bu-raq šu-u tal-lak tu-[ba<sup>2</sup>]-šu*.

<sup>2</sup> *a-ki ilâni<sup>meš</sup> e-si-ru-šu-ni iḫ-ti-liḫ ina lib-bi na[psāti ana bit me]-siri šam-[šu] u(?) nûru ištu lib-bi us-si-ri-du-niš-[šu]*.

<sup>3</sup> *mī-iḫ-ši ša maḫ-ḫu-ṣu-ni šu-nu ina dāmē-šu . . . .*

<sup>4</sup> *[il-]tum ša is-[si]-šu kam-mu-sa-tu-ni*.

<sup>5</sup> *a-na šul-me-šu ta-ta . . . .*

<sup>6</sup> . . . . *[š]a is-si-šu la il-[lak]-u-ni*.

<sup>7</sup> *ma-a la bêl ḫi-iḫ-ṭi a-na-ku*.

has perhaps "explained", literally "opened", to him<sup>1</sup>. The mythological interpretation explains that it is *mâr ilu aš-šur*<sup>2</sup> who does not walk by "his" side, and that he is the guardian who watches over "him", and protects the fortress for "him"<sup>3</sup>. If we do not, like Zimmern, want to see in Obv. 17—19 a parallel to the thief crucified with Jesus, and to Barabbas who is set free, but bear in mind that all that we have learned in Obv. 1—16 has shown fairly good correspondence between the cultual acts and the interpretation, it is perhaps possible for us to understand this difficult passage. The myth mentions someone who watches over and protects "him", i. e. Marduk, and the fortress. Corresponding to this in the cult ceremony we have that a person "who does not accompany him" says something about being (himself) just and good, perhaps adding that his rectitude is evident to all, or words to that effect. In other words, the guardian says cultually that he is pure and fitted to be the guardian of Marduk, that which *mâr ilu aš-šur* is in the mythological interpretation. In the clauses stating that a person does not accompany "him", Zimmern thinks that "him" is Marduk. I do not think this explanation can be maintained. For the present, at any rate, we must insist that all that we have hitherto learned entitles us to believe that Marduk is imprisoned in "the mountain", wounded and dead, and that this is the most probable supposition, and is confirmed by the succeeding text (cf. e. g. Obv. 23. 27). Now in the preceding part we have heard of various people wandering along,

<sup>1</sup> *ina pa-ni-šu ip-ti-u.*

<sup>2</sup> Must presumably be understood in a mythical sense and not read "an Assyrian".

<sup>3</sup> *ma-šu-ru šu-u ina muḫ-ḫi-šu pa-ḫid alu bir-tu ina muḫ-ḫi-šu i-[na-aš-šar].*

thus the messenger who is questioned (in Obv. 7) before he is allowed to continue on his way, and perhaps this messenger is the "he" of the clauses referred to. Of course such an assumption is problematic, but we must remember that the cultual drama which is gradually unfolded before us, had special technical rites by means of which e. g. a distinction was made between the numerous different persons who set out to seek Marduk, and it is possible that precisely an expression such as . . . . . [š]a is-si-šu la il-[lak]-u-ni has afforded sufficient explanation to the initiated where we grope in uncertainty to find the right interpretation. Our comprehension of Obv. 17—19 must always remain uncertain<sup>1</sup>, because we lack the proper associations which made the whole drama alive to the Babylonian, but at any rate I dare strongly emphasize that this passage has no connection with the mythico-historical narratives of the New Testament, the only thing which Zimmern deals with.

Obv. 20—25 also causes us great difficulties owing to the obscurity of its contents, still I think it possible to arrive at a tolerably correct comprehension of it. Obv. 20 in which the subject is missing has: . . . . . [ša] ina i<sup>su</sup>tal-li ša i<sup>tu</sup>be-lit bâbili<sup>ki</sup> 'i-la-an-ni, that is that something (or somebody) is hanging on the fastening (or post) of Bêlit-Bâbili's door. Bêlit-Bâbili is probably Zarpanitum and not Ištar in Babylon<sup>2</sup>, we must therefore be in Esagila in Kaduglisug<sup>3</sup> or at the door to it. The mythological interpretation in Obv. 20—21 is as follows: *kaḳḳadu ša bêl hi-*

<sup>1</sup> Thus it is curious that we have a guardian mentioned again in Obv. 19 after guardians have been referred to in Obv. 12. Does this show that we are not in Esagila any longer?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ašurb. Ann. (Rassam Cyl.) VIII 98.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above pp. 87—88.

*iṭ-ṭi ša is-si-šu i- . . . . [i-da-]ku-šu-ni šu-tu ƙaƙƙad-su ina šir . . . . [ša] <sup>ilu</sup>be-lit bâbili<sup>ki</sup> e-ta-<sup>[?]</sup>lu*, “the head of the malefactor who is carried along (?) by his side, he is killed and his head hung on Bêlit-Bâbili’s X.” Because the words *bêl hi-iṭ-ṭi* occur both in Obv. 17 and Obv. 20 there is no reason to connect the passage beginning in Obv. 20 with Obv. 17—19; we must recollect too that in Obv. 17 the words are used in connection with the cult, while in Obv. 20 they occur in the mythological interpretation, a difference that is not immaterial. What is cultually hung up in Obv. 20 we unfortunately do not know, but Obv. 24 which we shall soon examine perhaps tends to show that it was an offering of a swine or something similar. Corresponding to this in the myth we have the killing and suspension of something (someone), possibly that (or he) that has caused Marduk’s death. Obv. 22 is much broken, but amongst other incidents a return and wandering to Borsippa is mentioned<sup>1</sup>, from which we see that the cultual connection with Borsippa was not limited to Nabu’s arrival from that city. The mythological interpretation in Obv. 23 reads as follows: . . . . *ša <sup>ilu</sup>bêl ina ħur-sa-an il-lik-u-ni alu ina muĥĥi-<sup>[šu]</sup> it-ta-bal-kat ƙa-ra-bu ina libbi-šu . . . .*, “(after) Marduk has gone into “the mountain” the city is stirred up for his sake, and fighting (takes place?) in it”. Obv. 24—25 has: . . . . *UR<sup>mes</sup> ša šaĥê<sup>mes</sup> ša ina maĥar ħarrân ša <sup>ilu</sup>nabû ki-i . . . . bar-sip<sup>ki</sup> il-la-kan-an-ni i-kar-ra-bu-ni <sup>ilu</sup>nabû ša il-lak-an-ni ina muĥ-ĥi i-za-zu-u-ni im-mar-u-ni*. This is not quite clear, but it seems to refer to part of a swine which Nabu upon his arrival from Borsippa approaches and regards. It is difficult to say how we are to interpret *i-kar-ra-bu-ni*, from the mythological

<sup>1</sup> *a-na bar-sip<sup>ki</sup> i-sa-ħar-u-ni il-lak-u-ni*.



interpretation it seems precluded that it is the verb *karābu*. This interpretation reads as follows (Obv. 25): "it is the malefactor *ša itti illubēl*," but unfortunately the rest of the sentence (Obv. 25—26) is broken into such little bits that we dare not translate more. The words *bēl hi-iṭ-ṭi ša itti illubēl* should probably be translated as follows: "the malefactor who (is) by the side of Marduk, at Marduk's side"<sup>1</sup>, but how are we to interpret that? We must first remember that we are now dealing with the myth, the cult ceremony has a swine in the place of the malefactor and probably (cf. Obv. 20) describes the suspension of parts of it. Since now we do not know the myth about the killing and death of Marduk except from this very text (VAT 9555), as our introductory investigation in this section has shown us<sup>2</sup>, we are of course badly off when we want to understand Obv. 25—26. If we were concerned with a cultual ceremony, we should have a certain right to suppose that *bēl hi-iṭ-ṭi* was a person who was captured and killed in Marduk's place as a representative of Marduk, but we have no right to infer that the transcriber of the text has here confused cult and myth because it would suit us to think so, when we have seen in the preceding part that these two things are kept quite distinct. And Zimmern's theory that it is a criminal who is captured and killed along with Marduk is only supported by the Gospel narrative of the crucifixion of Jesus between two (!) criminals. I admit that I do not consider it possible to establish scientifically in what way or why Jesus of Nazareth was executed. It may possibly have happened simultaneously with the car-

<sup>1</sup> This is not certain, however, since we have an unfamiliar *ittū* in S<sup>b</sup> 197.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above pp. 200—208.

rying out of other death sentences, or the two thieves may belong to scriptural lore and mythology, but however that may be, I think we should be very careful about reconstructing the Babylonian legend of Marduk's death after the pattern of the New Testament. Hence when we consider Obv. 25, it seems to me most reasonable, if we bear in mind the preceding part of the text, to conceive *bêl hi-iṭ-ṭi* as Marduk's slayer, reminding the reader of the fact that in the Egyptian Osiris myth Set, the brother, is the slayer, whereas in the Attis myth it is a boar that kills Attis. Marduk has been captured, wounded and killed. The latter fact is not stated in so many words, it is true, but anyone who is familiar with the mode of expression among all peoples with whom we find a myth of the death of their god, will know the shrinking from and reluctance to mentioning the word "death" in connection with the deity<sup>1</sup>. The words referring to Marduk in Obv. 13–14, mentioned by us above, leave us in no doubt, and consequently, someone must have killed Marduk. These considerations would seem to warrant the above-stated conception of *bêl hi-iṭ-ṭi*.

Now comes a series of ceremonies representing a ritual lament for Marduk, and various proceedings with his clothes and belongings. Obv. 27 <sup>[amê]lu</sup>*mašmašê<sup>meš</sup> ša ina pa-na-tu-šu il-lak-u-ni šī-īp-tu i-ma-an-nu-u-ni*, "the exorcising priests who advance before him and pronounce a spell", that is *nišê<sup>meš</sup>-šu šu-nu ina pa-na-tu-šu u-na . . . . .*, "his people wailing (?) by his side". Obv. 28 <sup>[am]êlu</sup>*maḥ-ḥu-u ša ina maḥar ilu<sup>be-lit</sup> bâbili<sup>ki</sup> il-la-ku-u-ni*, that is <sup>amêlu</sup>*mu-pa-si-ru*

<sup>1</sup> I refer the reader e. g. to the inscription on I-cher-nofret's tomb in Abydos, see H. Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos*, Lpz. 1904 (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens*, hrsg. von K. Sethe, IV<sup>2</sup>).

*šu-u a-na irtī-ša i-bak-[ki]*, “the messenger weeping before her”, he brings Zarpanitum the tidings of the slaying of her husband. The messenger recites (Obv. 29): *ma-a a-na ħur-sa-an ub-bu-lu-šu*, and in despair Zarpanitum answers: *ma-a aĥu-u-a aĥu-u-a*, “O my brother, my brother!” Obv. 30 *la-bu-su-šu ša a-na ilu bēlit uruk<sup>ki</sup> u-še-bal-u-ni*, “his clothes which are brought to Bēlit-Uruk.” That is his robe which is taken away. Obv. 31—33 is so mutilated that we must give up making anything of it, only the first cult action is clearly seen: silver, gold, and (precious) stones belonging to Marduk are carried from Esagila to (other) temples<sup>1</sup>. The next more connected section of Obv. 34—38 is badly preserved too, but nevertheless yields important information. In the cultual group we hear of the recitation of liturgical texts before Marduk in order to call him to life again and bring him out of “the mountain”. The first text mentioned is *Enuma eliš*, [*e*]-*nu-ma e-liš* [*ša da-bi-ib-u-ni ina maĥar ilu bēl*] *ina arĥu nisanni i-zamur-u-šu-ni ina muĥĥi*, “*Enuma eliš* which is recited over Marduk, chanted over him in Nisan”, that is *ša ša-bit-u-ni* . . . . ., “because he is captured . . . . .”. Other texts mentioned are [*ma-a dam-ka-a-te ša*] *ilu aš-šur šī-na e-la-pa-aš*, “these are Aššur’s beneficent deeds that I performed”, and *ma-a mi-i-nu ĥi-[i]t-ū-a?*, “what is my sin?” In Obv. 34 it is expressly stated that *Enuma eliš* is recited over Marduk because he is captured (and dead), presumably to reinvigorate and revive him so that he may return from his captivity and death<sup>2</sup>, and in Obv. 37—38 this appears even more plainly. Here we are told that a ceremony is per-

<sup>1</sup> . . . . . *kašpu lu-u ĥurāšu lu-u abnē<sup>mes</sup>-šu ša [ištu libbi] e-sag-ila a-na ekurāti<sup>mes</sup> u-še-šu-u-ni*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the recital among the Mandæans of *maskātās* during Hibil’s journey to the Abyss, see Pallis, *MS*, pp. 76—77.

formed while somebody looks towards the sky<sup>1</sup>, and perhaps some formula is recited, that is [*ana<sup>ilu</sup> sin*] *ilu šamaš u-šal-la ma-a bul-li-[ta-an-]ni*, “to Sin and Šamaš he prays: (re)call him to life”. In Obv. 38 it is said about a corresponding ceremony consisting in somebody looking towards the ground<sup>2</sup> that it is done *ša ištu libbi hur-sa-an il-[lak-u-]ni*, “in order that he may come out of the mountain.”

Now follows a long passage very difficult to understand because of its bad state of preservation. In Obv. 39 and 40, where in both cases the beginning of the description of the cult actions is broken off, we hear that Marduk and Zarpanitum do not go to *bīt akītu*<sup>3</sup>. The corresponding mythological interpretations are disconnected and fragmentary, and where we can make out connected passages, they are unintelligible to us. It is not quite clear what it means that cultually the gods do not go to *bīt akītu*, for as we know, on the tenth of Nisan the great procession to this sanctuary took place<sup>4</sup>. Perhaps the express statement that Marduk and Zarpanitum do not set out, is an attempt to explain that they cannot start yet because Marduk is dead, and not until he has returned to the assembly of the gods can the central actions of the festival be performed. Obv. 42—43 seems to say that Bêlit-Bâbili, i. e. Zarpanitum, cultually carries black wool behind<sup>5</sup>, and in the mythological interpretation we read amongst other things *da-mu ša šur-ri [ša tab-ku-ni] . . . . .*, “blood from the heart which has been shed . . . .”. From this we may perhaps infer that Zarpanitum has washed Marduk’s wounds

<sup>1</sup> [*ša šamê<sup>e</sup> i-da-gal-u-ni*].

<sup>2</sup> . . . . [*kaḳ-ḳu-ru i-da-gal-u-ni*].

<sup>3</sup> [*ilu bêl a-na bīt a-ki-ti la u-šu-ni*].

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above p. 124.

<sup>5</sup> [. . . . *RA<sup>ki</sup> ša šipâti šalmâti ina ku-tal-li-ša-]ni*.

and wiped off the blood that has flowed from them. We get no connected information from Obv. 44—51. In Obv. 44 we are told that a swine is slaughtered on the eighth of Nisan<sup>1</sup>; the next lines (Obv. 45—46) mention a *bêl* *hi-î-ti*, and since above in Obv. 24—25 we assumed a connection between the offering of the swine and the slaying of Marduk's murderer, this does not astonish us, but the state of the text is such that we cannot say more than this.

Not until we reach Rev. 1 does the text again become fairly connected. Rev. 1—5 refers to the following ceremony: "hand-water" (*mê<sup>mes</sup> kâtâ<sup>II</sup>*) is brought, of which it is said that it removes all disease<sup>2</sup>, and further we are told something that is unintelligible to us about a special robe (*šubâtuše-ir<sup>-2</sup>-i-tu*)<sup>3</sup>. The water, however, is the main factor in the ceremony. To this corresponds mythologically: [*šu-u ina libbi e-nu-ma e-liš iḫ-ti-bu-u*] *ki-i šamê<sup>e</sup> iršitim*[<sup>tim</sup> *la ib-banu-ni an-šar it-tab-ši ki-i alu u bîtu ip-šu-u-ni*] *šu-u it-tab-ši mē<sup>mes</sup> ša* [*ina muḫḫi an-šar . . . . . šu-u-tu ša hi-ti-šu ina libbi*] *ka-dam-me šu-tu e-si-ip la mē<sup>mes</sup> [la-biš]* . . . . Thus this is done because it is said in *Enuma eliš* "When heaven (and) earth were not created, Anšar came into existence; when the city and the temple were created water came into existence *ša ina muḫḫi Anšar . . . .*", then follow a number of words in which there is no connected sense to us. Thus we miss the point of the myth which must have referred to the power of the water against the evil powers, the water, which was among the first of created things, but it is interesting to see how the cult and myth correspond; the act performed in which the water plays a conspicuous part and the mythical narrative of the waters

<sup>1</sup> [. . . . . *ša ûm ḡkam ša arḫu nisanni*] *šaḫû ina pa-ni-ša i-ṭa-[ba-ḫu-ni]*.

<sup>2</sup> [*mē<sup>mes</sup> kâtâ<sup>II</sup> ša u-ḫar-rab-u-ni bi-id ip-lu(?)-ni šu-u di<sup>-2</sup>[-a]*], cf. above p. 170.      <sup>3</sup> Cf. above p. 152.

of primordial times are co-ordinated. Another important fact cannot escape our attention. *Enuma eliš* is no fixed concept. To us it means a certain version of the story of the creation, written on the seven tablets from Babylon, in which Marduk is the central figure. Here we see that *Enuma eliš* simply denotes a version of the creation story in general. To the one here mentioned, in which Anšar, who is a minor character in the version on the seven tablets, seems to be a central figure, we have parallels elsewhere (see above p. 187<sup>5</sup>). — Rev. 6 [*li-is-mu ša ina arḫunisan*]ni ina maḥar <sup>ilu</sup>bēl u ma-ḥa-za-a-ni [*gab-bu i*] . . . . ., “the foot-race (taking place) before (or in the presence of) Marduk and all *maḥazâni*”<sup>1</sup>, that is “when Aššur sent out Ninurta<sup>2</sup> to capture Zû<sup>3</sup> . . . . . (Ninurta) said to Aššur: Zû has been captured. Aššur (said) to (Ninurta): Go and tell (it) to all the gods. He told (it) them and they (rejoiced) at it”<sup>4</sup>. In these lines (Rev. 7—9) *li-is-mu*, a foot-race, possibly a contest between two different parties in a non-specified place, is thus interpreted by an allusion to the struggle between Zû and Ninurta. The former is captured and Aššur causes this to be announced to the rest of the gods. The last part of the cult act and mythological interpretation of Rev. 6 must probably be sought in Rev. 10—11. Here we see that the talk of the *kalû* priests of robbing him (Zû?) and beating him<sup>5</sup> is interpreted mythologically as an act

<sup>1</sup> Does this mean anything but “the larger cities”?

<sup>2</sup> = Ninib, cf. A. Ungnad, *OLZ* 1917, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Langdon, *EC*, p. 19<sup>1</sup> and above p. 188<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> [*ki-i ilu aš-šur ilu nin-urta*] ina muḥḥi ka-ša-di ša <sup>ilu</sup>zi-i iš-pur-u[-ni <sup>ilu</sup> . . . . . ina maḥar <sup>ilu</sup>aššur iḳ-ṭi]-bi ma-a <sup>ilu</sup>Zu-u ka-ši-id <sup>ilu</sup>aš-šur a-na <sup>ilu</sup>. . . . . [*ma-a a-lik a-na ilâ*]ni gab-bu pa-si-ir u-pa-sa-ar-šu-nū u šu-nu ina muḥ-ḥi . . . . .

<sup>5</sup> [*da-b*]a-bu gab-bu ša ina lib-bi <sup>amēlu</sup>kalē<sup>mēš</sup> . . . . . [*ša ḥa-*]ba-a-te ša i-ḥab-ba-tu-šu-ni ša u-šal-pa-tu-šu-ni.

performed by the gods mentioned in Rev. 9<sup>1</sup>. Unfortunately the text describing the actions of these gods has been broken off. The arrival of Nusku from Esabe<sup>2</sup> (Rev. 12), Gula's temple at Babylon, which is probably interpreted as the sending out of Gula<sup>3</sup> though we hear no more about it, perhaps belongs to the narrative of Rev. 6—11.

Rev. 13—16 deals with all the cult actions which, according to the mythological interpretation, show us that "he" is imprisoned and a captive. Keeping in mind Rev. 7—9 it might be imagined that "he" was intended to mean Zû, for otherwise the text has returned to the captured (and dead) Marduk who was referred to at the beginning (Obv. 1—29 esp.). I think, however, that this is precluded. A word like *ba-ki-su* (Rev. 16), "his wailing woman", would hardly be used about the rebel Zû, and it is quite easily understood too that the text in Rev. 13 ff. repeats the narrative of Marduk, stating that in spite of all that has taken place in the meantime, he is still kept captive (i. e. is dead). But we shall return to the subject of the cultual and mythical unity of the text later on. Rev. 13 refers to a cultual ceremony in which various objects are taken to Zarpanitum's *bîtu*. This is done because *la u-šar-u-šu-ni la u-šu-u-ni* (Rev. 14), "he is not set free, he does not go out". Rev. 15 <sup>isu</sup>*narkabtu ša a-na bît a-ki-it tal-lak-u-ni ta-la-kan-an-ni*, "the chariot dashing up to *bît akîtu*", that is because *bêl-ša la-aš-šu ša la bêli ta-sa-bu*<sup>2</sup>, "its master is not there, it comes charging along without its master". Rev. 16 *u iltu šak-ku-ku-tu ša ištu ali ta-lab-ba-an-ni*, "and the goddess" (i. e. a priestess acting this part), *šakkukutu*,

<sup>1</sup> *šu-u ilâni<sup>mes</sup> abê<sup>mes</sup>-šu šu-nu . . . .*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. EJ IV 40; WB, B VI 10; Langdon, EC, p. 46<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> [*itunus*] *ku ša e-sa-be ib-bir-an-ni amêtu<sup>amêtu</sup> mâr-šipri šu-u-tu itugu-la ina muh-ḫi-šu ta-šap-pa-ra.*

who out of the city *talabbanni*, that is *ba-ki-su ši-i ištu ali ta-la-bi-a*. Finally in Rev. 17—18 we have the conclusion of the text. The cultual ceremony is very briefly described: *išudaltu bir-ri ša i-ka-bu-u-ni*, “the so-called window-door”, whereas the corresponding mythological interpretation is given at great length. It states that the gods, after Marduk has been confined and has entered the house, the door of which is locked after him, bore holes in the door and cause a fight to take place inside, *ilâni<sup>mes</sup> šu-nu i-ta-as-ru-šu ina bîti e-tar-ba išudaltu ina pâni-šu e-te-di-li šu-nu hu-ur-ra-a-te ina libbi išudalti up-ta-li-šu ka-ra-bu ina lib-bi up-pu-šu*. The complex myth has a very brief cultual representation at this point, probably it is limited to the presentation of the *išudaltu* referred to in the myth. As regards the myth, it must perhaps be understood as a description of a struggle of the rest of the gods to set Marduk free, presumably resulting in their victory and Marduk’s return to life, but of these last events the text says nothing. — Rev. 19—25 does not actually belong to the text but is a final formula of imprecation against anyone who destroys the tablet. The gods mentioned as the avenging powers in the formula are chiefly Assyrian deities<sup>1</sup>, and we are reminded of the fact that VAT 9555 was found during the excavations in Assur.

Having now taken a general view of the contents of VAT 9555, we must examine more closely certain problems associated with our conception of its contents. They are mainly of the same character as those pointed out after our study of K. 3476. We must first consider whether the mythological interpretations, taken in conjunction with the cultual ceremonies, do or do not point in the direction of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Rev. 23 *ilâni<sup>mes</sup> mâtu<sup>aš</sup>-šur<sup>ki</sup> ka-li-šu-nu*.



a coherent myth and cult. Our main impression of VAT 9555 is that there is a firm coherence in both. The myth which is most detailed and admits of the clearest insight into the problem, seems everywhere where we can follow it to refer to Marduk's capture and death and the actions of the rest of the gods caused by this; the punishment of the slayer, the lament for the dead god, and the contest with the evil powers, perhaps with the object of releasing Marduk. We have no means of deciding whether the order of the events is strictly chronological, above on pp. 225<sup>1</sup>, 233 we have already pointed out that it seems peculiar that guardians are mentioned both in Obv. 12 and Obv. 19, and that the passage in Rev. 13—16 apparently repeats the contents of the beginning of the text; compare also the uniformity in the interpretation of Obv. 39—40 and Rev. 13—15. But we cannot attach sufficient weight to these objections to dismiss the idea of a coherent myth. We know too little, partly of the cultual conditions and the cult topography during the performance of the acts connected with the festival, partly of the special technique during the development of the ceremonial. This may have entailed a repetition of previously performed cult actions in order, amongst other things, to secure continuity throughout the festival. — The objections compelled by a closer examination of Obv. 34 and Rev. 6 are, however, of an entirely different order. In both passages we read *ina arhu nisanni* in the description of the cult ceremonies, denoting partly the time for the recital of *Enuma eliš*, and partly the performance of the *li-is-mu*. Above in p. 222 we saw that the reference to Nabu's arrival (Obv. 8. 24) tends to show beyond doubt that the action described in VAT 9555 takes

place in Babylon<sup>1</sup> and during the akîtu festival. But even taking for granted all these things as probable conjectures, the words *ina arbu nisanni* seem superfluous, and we wonder why precisely this is said about two of the cult actions. One would be apt to think that VAT 9555 contained cultural instructions for the Assyro-Babylonian priesthood with appertaining mythological interpretations, and that only a few (two) of these referred to the akîtu festival. This conception might further be supported by adducing the myth describing the contest between Ninurta and Zû, ending in the defeat of the latter, all according to the commands of Aššur (Rev. 6—12). In this one might see a special Assyrian "Tiamat myth", keeping in mind the reference to the Assyrian deities in the closing passages (Rev. 19—25). — Our reply to all this must be that no doubt the words *ina arbu nisanni* seem strange, but the mythological interpretation attached to them in Obv. 34 is inseparably connected with the constant dwelling on Marduk's capture (death) in the preceding and succeeding texts, and in these parts we have no exact indication of time. Hence, when the mythological section about Aššur, Ninurta, and Zû is expressly stated to take place in Nisan and thus presumably at the akîtu festival, we must be permitted to infer that this section of the myth with the cult ceremony corresponding to it (*li-is-mu*) constituted a permanent part of this festival. Probably the incorporation of Assyrian myths in the principal Babylonian festival was a political and religious concession to Assur.

The next question which we must here briefly consider is that of the relation between the cult and the myth. Above in pp. 213—14 we mentioned that in K. 3476 there

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the reference to Esagila in Obv. 12.

did not seem to be any identity between the cult ceremonies and the accompanying interpretations, but we further pointed out (pp. 219 f.) that the extreme brevity of the descriptions did not enable us to express any well-founded opinion hereon. As already indicated on p. 221, VAT 9555 presents a different and clearer case. Here, apart from Obv. 34—35 and Rev. 17—18 we have throughout what we might, with a somewhat vague term which only claims to give a provisional explanation, call a symbolical identity between the cult action and the accompanying mythological interpretation. A ritual wandering denotes, mythologically, that someone sets out (seeking Marduk), running about the streets (looking for somebody) denotes that someone is looking for Marduk; if wailing takes place at his grave, this means that the gods linger there, lamenting, etc. Here the identity is complete in the relation of man to god. In other parts we have merely a symbolical action (e. g. the sacrifice of the swine and all relating to *bél hi-it-ti*), that is to say, an action of identical character is performed, but by non-identical performers. This part of the cult reminds us strongly of what we learnt in K. 3476, and for the present entitles us to put these two texts in the same class, always bearing in mind, however, that VAT 9555 with its marked dramatic character differs from K. 3476 in essential particulars. VAT 9555 includes large sections of the cult, its ceremonies take place partly in, around, and outside the domains of the temple, while K. 3476 seems to be enacted in a more limited space, probably in part in one of Esagila's and in part in some of *bit akitu's papahâni*. But this merely describes purely external differences between the two texts, by their contents they belong to the same category; they are both cult texts, they both

describe parts of the religious drama which is performed at the akîtu festival and on which we shall dwell at greater length in Chapter IV.

In this connection, while we are examining the Babylonian evidence of Marduk's ritual death festival, we shall merely mention the particulars which we have gathered on this subject from VAT 9555. The above detailed examination of the text has shown us the pronounced dramatic character of the festival<sup>1</sup>. Not only has Marduk been

<sup>1</sup> In the Egyptian urban civilization we have also a dramatic death ritual used at the Osiris festivals, cf. A. Wiedemann, *Die Anfänge dramatischer Poesie im Alten Ägypten (Mélanges Nicole. Recueil de mémoires de philologie classique et d'archéologie offerts à Jules Nicole*, Genève, 1905, pp. 561—77, and H. Gressmann, *Tod und Auferstehung des Osiris nach Festbräuchen und Umzügen*, Lpz. 1923 (*Der Alte Orient*, 23. Bd., 3. Heft). Already Herodotus mentions Osiris' tomb (II. 170) and I-cher-nofret's tombstone gives us important information about the dramatic cult (especially in Abydos) which was associated with Osiris' death festival. This important inscription, dating from the time of Sesostris III. (XII. dynasty) and now in Berlin, has been published by H. Schäfer in *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos* (see above p. 228<sup>1</sup>). In its last part it refers to the ritual duties of this high functionary. He decorated Osiris' boat and dressed the god in his royal robes. He led the procession going out to defeat the enemies of Osiris, he accompanied the god, sailing with him in his ship, he conducted Osiris to his tomb in Peker, he revenged Osiris on the day of the great battle and slew all the enemies of the god at Lake Nedit. Finally I-cher-nofret fetched Osiris, sailing with him in the Neshemet boat. Hence Osiris must have risen, must have been freed out of his captivity in the tomb in Peker, but we note that the inscription does not mention the death of the god any more than VAT 9555 does (cf. above p. 228). The inscription brings to our knowledge fragments of an Osiris drama with I-cher-nofret as one of the performers, and the hieratic papyrus Nesi-Åmsu (BM Pap. Bremner-Rhind 10188), published by Sir Ernest Budge in *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum with Descriptions, Translations, etc.* Lond. 1910 points in the same direction. This text contains ritual instructions for the two priestesses who, at the death festival of Osiris act the parts of Isis and Nephthys mourning at the dead body of the deity. The text states that it contains festival songs sung in the temple of Osiris in the fourth month of the inundation on the 22.—26. days.

captured and imprisoned, but that these words also cover the fact that he has been wounded and has died in consequence, is shown by numerous details on which we laid strong stress during our examination of VAT 9555 above. Neither from the cult action nor from the myth can we see why Marduk was killed or who was his slayer, nor have we the slightest idea whether or not this killing was carried out ritually. The text opens with the statement that Marduk is in "the mountain", and in my opinion this indicates the beginning of the action, it is established that Marduk has been killed, is dead. We hear nothing of his return to the assembly of the gods. Words like *tabî illu marduk* and *ina namari-ma*, referred to above<sup>1</sup>, which are used as specific technical terms about the procession, may possibly have had a double sense. But it results from the nature of the case that the ritual death must be followed by a ritual return to life, the procession itself presumably gives expression to this. The possibility that the death ritual was performed after the procession, i. e. after the eleventh of Nisan, is precluded, for the *akitu* festival came to an end on the twelfth of Nisan, on which day Nabu left Babylon. Now it is expressly stated in VAT 9555, Obv. 8 and 24—25, that Nabu arrives on account of the capture and death of Marduk, and as we know that Nabu arrived on the fifth of Nisan by way of the Borsippa Canal, it seems reasonable to suppose that the death ritual

The temple is prepared for the festival and two women are selected. They must be pure and maidens. They are dressed in ritual robes (with wigs on their heads and timbrels in their hands), on the upper parts of their arms are written their names: Isis and Nephthys, i. e. they act as these and are to sing the dirges following in the text. Here we have a first-class testimony to the participation of persons impersonating gods in the drama of the Osiris cult.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 204—205 and 205<sup>1</sup>.

began on that day. On the tenth of Nisan the return (to life) takes place, for then the egress to *bît akîtu* occurs.

Finally we must here briefly examine whether we can see from VAT 9555 where the death festival took place, where we are to seek Marduk's grave which is the goal of the cultual wanderings. The text only gives few indications of locality, but from these we can at least see where some of the ceremonies are performed. Obv. 20 refers to a suspension ceremony which is interpreted mythologically as the punishment of the slayer (*bêl hi-it-ti*). This takes place *ina i<sup>su</sup>tal-li ša ilu<sup>be-lit</sup> bâbili<sup>ki</sup>*, and in Rev. 13 a number of objects belonging to Marduk are taken to *bît ilu<sup>be-lit</sup> bâbili<sup>ki</sup>*. Now, above, in pp. 87—88 we saw that Zarpanitum's sacred chapel in Esagila is never called *papaĥu* or *parakku*, but always *bîtu*, therefore there can hardly be any doubt that these expressions in Obv. 20 and Rev. 13 refer to Kaduglisug in Esagila<sup>1</sup>. Obv. 12 further refers to some persons standing before [*bâb*] *ša e-sag-ila*, that is *amêlu mašsarê<sup>meš</sup>-šu šu-nu ina muĥhi-šu paĥ-du i-na-[ša-ru-šu]*. Thus it is here stated that certain persons standing by a gate or door in Esagila mythologically speaking are the guardians watching over "him", i. e. Marduk. We hear again in Obv. 19 of a *ma-šu-ru*, without having heard in the meantime that the ritual wandering was continued so that it might be supposed that the guardians thus twice mentioned were in different places, and without being able to express any opinion on the relation between these. But the lines following Obv. 12, referring to the imprisoned, wounded, and dead Marduk at whose side a mourning goddess lingers, would seem to indicate that the *amêlu mašsarê<sup>meš</sup>* must be imagined to be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 225 above.

placed in the immediate vicinity of Marduk's grave. However, the expression *ina [bâb] ša e-sag-ila* is not very enlightening, for it might refer to a door in the interior of Esagila leading to a subterranean sepulchral chamber, or to a gate in Esagila leading out of it to Marduk's grave.

In pp. 102—10 above when we dealt with Etemenanki, we referred to the possibility that Marduk's sepulchral chamber must be sought somewhere in this temple. We based this conjecture partly on Strabo's evidence, partly on the use of the term *gigunû* for the ziggurats of Nippur and Sippar. In the case of religious conditions in Babylon, however, we can only adduce classical testimonies if they contain parallels to the testimonies of the original texts. We must never draw any inferences where we have only Greek testimonies to go by, for the information they afford is too unreliable, and the descriptions of the different authors are often at variance. We dare not attach much importance to Strabo's account since ST says nothing of Marduk's tomb in Etemenanki. — There remains the term *gigunû*, but, as we pointed out already on p. 109, no texts are preserved in which it denotes the ziggurat at Babylon. We have merely inferred, from the uniform, and at the same time unique, mode of construction of the ziggurats, that the purpose for which they were intended was the same throughout Mesopotamia. But in the same place we strongly emphasized that it is still an open question to what sacred uses the ziggurats were put.

It is true that our evidence from VAT 9555 refers to the tomb as being on the other side of a door or gate in Esagila, but this cannot enlighten us as to the position of the tomb, and the fact that Marduk's robes (?) are brought to Kaduglisug (Rev. 13) does not tell us how far they

have been brought, whether from another place in Esagila or e. g. from Etemenanki. Generally speaking it may seem peculiar to seek Marduk's tomb in the upper part of a huge structure (Etemenanki), it would seem more natural perhaps to look downwards, seeking it in the principal sanctuary, Esagila. This, however, is a modern way of arguing; in VAT 9555 we hear again and again that Marduk is imprisoned in "the mountain", in IVR 24 No. 2, 3—8 *e-ku*r, *a-ra-lu*, and *gi-gun-nu* are mentioned as parallel expressions, and we recollect, besides, that Enlil's temple at Nippur was called Ekur. Hence we cannot say that it is foreign to the Babylonian way of thinking to imagine Etemenanki, that vast extent of temples, as "the mountain"<sup>1</sup> in which Marduk's tomb was found, that is to say, the place in which he was kept imprisoned and excluded from the land of the living. But beyond this suggestion we cannot go, and of course it is far from being a proof. — I will, however, in this place again remind the reader of a peculiar fact which was just hinted at above in p. 110. If we compare WB IV 10—11 with Nerigl. IR 67, I 23. 29 and ST, Obv. 12—13, in which passages both the gates of Etemenanki and the gates of Esagila are referred to, we are struck by the fact that at any rate three of these have the same name. The names are as follows, WB: *ka-nun-azu*, *ka* [*lamma*], *ka-nun-ḥe-gal*, *ka-u-[di]*; IR 67: *bâb šît* <sup>ilu</sup>*šamši*, *bâb* <sup>ilu</sup>*lamassi a-ra-bi*, *bâb ḥegalli*, *bâb tabrâ*<sup>tam</sup>; ST: *kâ (an) Babbar ê*, *kâ (an) Lama-r[a]*, *kâ ḥe-gal*, *kâ ū-di-bar-ra*. Now we can hardly imagine that three gates both in Etemenanki and in Esagila should have had the same names, but on the other hand we cannot rest content with the explanation that e. g. the Wadi Brisa passage is due

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also A. Moberg, *Babels Torn*, Lund, 1918, pp. 72 ff.



to a slip of memory or a misscript: the gates were not Etemenanki's but Esagila's. None of these explanations are likely. I believe, however, that the three gates referred to must be sought in the peribolos which surrounded both Esagila and Etemenanki, and that the alternate use of these two names in the three passages is due to the fact that Etemenanki was regarded as part of Esagila. I know quite well that for the present both these conjectures are unproved. The excavations have brought to light a vast peribolos surrounding the foundations of Etemenanki on the Sakhn, but have shown no connection between this and Esagila. It must, however, be strongly emphasized that no really systematic excavations have been carried out on the 'Amrân outside Esagila itself, amongst other things because there was not supposed to be any connection between the two systems of temples. That Etemenanki was cultually conceived to be part of Esagila — and as such may have been "the mountain" in VAT 9555 inside which the captured, i. e. the dead, Marduk is <sup>1</sup> — must of course remain a conjecture, but I consider such a supposition a sufficient explanation of the fact that we never — the word is not too strong — meet with any reference to Etemenanki in the Babylonian texts in connection with the cult. Etemenanki is only mentioned where the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings refer to its restoration, and no word is said about its sacred uses.

## F.

We have now gone through everything that we learn from the texts about the *akîtu* festival at Babylon. Above

<sup>1</sup> Which is not contradicted by VAT 9555, Obv. 12 (cf. p. 223), but supported by our remarks on *gigunû* above.

in section C. we examined the direct evidence at our disposal concerning the hemerology of the festival. As regards several cultural acts, however, (the determination of destinies, *εεϑὸς γάμος*, the death festival of Marduk) we are left to our own conjectures when we seek to determine the order of these ceremonies in the ritual of the annual festival, conjectures which will be of no value, if they are not based on a knowledge of the actual meaning of the *akîtu* festival. The numerous sacrifices with which we dealt at length in section E. 1., were, as we saw there, mostly of the nature of accompanying offerings, the sequence of which is therefore easily determined in connection with the cult ceremonies with which they are indissolubly associated. In the same section we stated our view that the *akîtu* festival was beyond doubt brought to a conclusion with great confirmatory offerings on the eleventh and twelfth of Nisan. In consequence our present object is merely to try and place the above-mentioned three central cult ceremonies somewhere within the order of the entire sequence of cult acts as it has been established by the textual evidence. If we recapitulate this briefly, we find that we have the following definite data: from the second to the fourth of Nisan introductory ceremonies take place in Esagila, on the fifth the temple is purified and shortly after Nabu arrives from Borsippa, on the eighth ceremonies are performed in *parak šîmâti*, and on the tenth the great procession to *bît akîtu* takes place. Here a solemn festival is held on the eleventh of Nisan, and on the same day the procession returns to Esagila, in the *parak šîmâti* of which holy cultural acts are performed; the twelfth of Nisan is the last day of the festival, and Nabu returns to Borsippa.

Above on pp. 222, 239—40 we saw that the evidence of VAT 9555 rendered it extremely probable that Marduk's captivity in "the mountain", that is to say the ritual death festival, began abt. the fifth of Nisan. The possibility that the rites of death were performed after the procession had taken place on the tenth of Nisan, and therefore in *bit akîtu*, is precluded, partly by VAT 9555 which places the scene of events within the precincts of Esagila-Etemenanki, partly by the festive character of the whole procession, and finally, as pointed out already on p. 202, by EJ IV 9 in which *bit akîtu* is called *ši-kin hi-da-a-ti u ri-ša-a-ti*, "the abode of rapture and rejoicing". Besides thus being able to fix approximately the day on which the death ritual begins (the fifth of Nisan), we may also conjecture that Marduk's return to life must have taken place some time abt. the eighth of Nisan<sup>1</sup>, for in EJ II 54—59 we are told that on that day he is in *parak šimâti*, surrounded by the gods. Now, did the determination of destinies take place on that day? I believe this is quite precluded, but we can only approach the solution of this question by calling in the aid of the myths. During our investigation of VAT 9555 we saw how intimately the cult actions and the myth were connected, further we learned from this text (Rev. 3 ff.) as well as from DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 279—84 (se p. 149), that some version of the creation story was intimately associated with the ceremonial. It will therefore be natural to turn our attention e. g. to Enuma eliš in order to supplement our knowledge of the events from the eighth to the eleventh of Nisan, about which we only know that on the eighth and the eleventh there was an

<sup>1</sup> Note in this connection that the last part of the death ritual takes place on the 8. Nisan as will be seen from VAT 9555, Obv. 44.

assembly of the gods in *parak šîmâti*, and on the tenth and eleventh a procession and return to Esagila from *bît akîtu*. Of the ceremonies in the latter place we know absolutely nothing as yet.

In *Enuma eliš* it is said about conditions before the creation: *šu-ma la zuk-ku-ru ši-ma-tu la [ši-ma]* (I 8), and in tablet IV we hear of the assembly of the gods in *parak ru-bu-tim* (l. 1), in which the gods assign to Marduk the determination of destinies in return for his willingness to subjugate their enemies Tiamat and Kingu. Now *Enuma eliš* tells us nothing of an assembly of the gods in *parak šîmâti* after Marduk's victory in which he determines destiny, whereas in the fragment of K. 3449a it is mentioned in the reference to the bow-star (*kakkabu*  $\frac{1}{2}$  *aštu*) that Marduk determines its place and its destiny<sup>1</sup>. Now above in pp. 191—93 we called attention to the fact that the word *šîmtu* occurs in *Enuma eliš* in two different senses, which in our opinion sufficiently accounts for the fact that no mention is made of a cultural, local determination of destiny in *Enuma eliš*. For the victory itself over the hostile powers, and the creation following it, is the determination of destiny. This is the original primitive idea which was subsequently in the urban civilization replaced by the mechanical determination of destiny, this destiny being then written down on tablets at the assembly of the gods in some definite locality.

Now it is at any rate a fact that it was the latter form of the determination of destiny which was practised at the *akîtu* festival and that it took place under the auspices of Marduk assisted by Nabu in Esagila's *parak šîmâti*, but if we call to mind that EJ II 54—59 mentions two assem-

<sup>1</sup> Rev. 9—10 *u-kin-ma gi-is-gal-la-ša . . . . ul-tu ši-ma-a-ti ša . . . .*

blies of the gods here, one on the eighth and the other on the eleventh of Nisan, and that Marduk, accompanied by Nabu and the rest of the gods, has in the meantime gone in procession to *bît akîtu* where a special cult ceremony takes place, if we call to mind all these facts, I hardly think we can avoid the conclusion that the conjectures now to be set forth are the only ones possible.

On the eighth of Nisan the gods assemble in Esagila's *parak šîmâti* and transfer to the resurrected Marduk the leadership against the rebellious and hostile powers, and the right to determine destiny. Thereupon the procession sets out, and in the succeeding cult ceremony which takes place in *bît akîtu*, Marduk subdues his antagonists, creates heaven and earth, fruitfulness and life for the coming year. This cult ceremony is performed as a cult drama which we shall consider more closely in Chapter IV. From *bît akîtu* Marduk returns to Esagila, and here on the eleventh of Nisan a determination of destinies takes place in *parak šîmâti* in the assembly of the gods. This ceremony is simply a repetition of the act of creation in *bît akîtu*, but while the cult ceremony in the latter place is of a primitive character, the mechanical determination of destiny in Esagila is derived from the urban civilization. The presence of the two elements side by side does not argue against our provisional conjectures, for throughout the world there is hardly any religious cult in which we cannot point out different strata each denoting its separate culture or more definitely put, religion. That, as the closing ceremony of the festival, Marduk's and Zarpanitum's *ἕρως γάμος* then took place within the precincts of Esagila<sup>1</sup> after the second

<sup>1</sup> Whether the ceremony has taken place in Esagila or Etemenanki we cannot say for certain. It is true that Herod. I. 181 is strongly supported by ST's information about *ê (giš) nâ*.

determination of destiny, I regard as the only supposition possible; the Sacred Mariage is as it were a third form for the determination of destiny but like the first one, a primitive form<sup>1</sup>. The union of the two deities is an archetypical act which has a direct effect on the fertility of meadow and field, on childbirth in the cottage of the peasant and the palace of the prince, on the calving of the cows, on the multiplication of all living things. It is the great holy act, the chief sacrament of the agriculturist, the third stratum of religion which we have traced in the akitu festival.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above pp. 184—186.

## IV

Our examination in the preceding chapter of the material which could enlighten us as regards the *akītu* festival in Babylon showed us that this was no sacrificial feast as ordinarily understood in connection with an urban civilization, where sacrifices or offerings of gifts to the deity play a prominent part. We saw, however, that the festival chiefly centred round two cult actions, 1) Marduk's death, and 2) Marduk's procession to *bīt akītu* where his victory over the evil powers takes place followed by the act of the creation (i. e. the primitive determination of destiny). VAT 9555 has made clear the first of these two acts to us, whereas as regards the second, we have only suggested the possibility of its existence as a mere conjecture, based especially on a consideration of the relation between the cult and *Enuma eliš*. Furthermore, our examination of the contents of VAT 9555 leaves us in no doubt that the ceremony dealing with Marduk's capture and death must have been represented dramatically. It is a religious cult drama which was probably performed by the priests.

That we have religious cult dramas in other parts of the world of the same character as those of Assyria and Babylonia, consisting not only of a death ritual but constituting an entirety similar to the *akītu* festival, is proved by unquestionable evidence from India, Egypt, and Greece. The Egyptian testimonies we mentioned above on p. 238<sup>1</sup>

and for the Vedic-Brahmanic Agniṣṭoma cult we refer the reader to W. Caland et V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma. Description complète de la forme normale du sacrifice de Soma dans le culte Védique*, Tome I—II, Paris, 1906—07. The entire cult festival has a highly dramatic character; thus in connection with the crushing of the Soma stalks we have allusions to Indra's struggle with and victory over Vṛtra<sup>1</sup>, etc. As regards the Greek cult in Eleusis, I adduce three unquestionable testimonies to a dramatic cult. True, these are late, but they attest a cult drama independent of the Dionysian influence in Eleusis and of the later contents of the Eleusinian Mysteries: Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrept.* II. 12 *Ἀγὼ δὲ καὶ Κόρη δράμα ἤδη ἐγενέσθην μυστικόν, καὶ τὴν πλάην καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν καὶ τὸ πένθος αὐταῖν Ἐλευσίς δαδουχεῖ*; S. Asterius Amasenus, *Homilia X: Encomium in sanctos martyres* (Migne, *Patrol. graec.* XL. Paris, 1863, p. 324): *Ὁὐκ ἐκεῖ τὸ καταβάσιον τὸ σκοτεινὸν, καὶ αἱ σεμναὶ τοῦ ἱεροφάντου πρὸς τὴν ἔρρειαν συντυχίαι, μόνου πρὸς μόνην; Ὁὐκ αἱ λαμπάδες σβέννυνται, καὶ ὁ πολὺς καὶ ἀναρίθμητος δῆμος τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίζουσι τὰ ἐν τῷ σκότῳ παρὰ τῶν δύο πρατόμενα*; Apuleius, *Metamorph.* VI. 2 . . . *et inluminarum Proserpinae nubtiarum demaeacula et luminosarum filiae inuentionum remeacula et cetera, quae silentio tegit Eleusinis Atticae sacrarium* . . . Here as in Babylon and Egypt the cult drama is performed by the priests. The *Homeric Hymn* to *Demeter* must probably be understood as the Eleusinian cult legend, as *Enuma eliš* is that of Babylon, i. e. originally a cult text which has developed independently and in part become distinct from the cult. Various scholars have touched upon the idea that a cult drama of agricultural character should have been performed throughout Greece,

<sup>1</sup> Caland et Henry, *op. cit.* I. pp. 101, 151, cp. Marduk and Tiamat.



as in Eleusis; this point of view has especially been maintained in the discussion on the origin of the Attic tragedy<sup>1</sup>. — The mystery dramas met with in Hellenistic times throughout the Mediterranean countries and Nearer Asia deal with quite different subjects and are of an altogether different character. They are based on anthropological dualism, and the object of the initiation of the participants, and the reason why they join the individual mystery religions, is that they hope to obtain assurance of a life after death and create a unity between themselves and the divine world already in this life by means of the cult

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. Pn. Nilsson, *Der Ursprung der Tragödie in Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Litteratur und für Pädagogik*, XIV. Lpz. 1911, pp. 609 ff.; Jane Ellen Harrison, *Themis. A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, Camb. 1912 and Gilbert Murray, *Excursus on the Ritual Forms preserved in Greek Tragedy* (J. Harrison, *Themis*, pp. 341—63); E. Rostrup, *Attic Tragedy in the Light of Theatrical History*, Kbhvn., Lond. 1923. In a very interesting work *Psalmstudien, II. Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie*, Kristiania, 1922 (*Skrifter utgit av Videnskapsselskapet i Kristiania* 1921, II: Historisk-filosofisk Klasse, No. 6) S. Mowinckel, who like Rostrup knows the primitive cult drama well, has pointed out that in certain of the Psalms of the Old Testament (47; 93; 95—100, to mention the most important) we have survivals of the old Israelitic New Year's Feast and its ritual: Jehovah's ascension of the throne with preceding entry and procession after the victory over the demons and "the determination of destiny" (i. e. the annual creation, in later times: doom)—a ritual which has probably been enacted dramatically. Of great value is the theory set forth in the same work of the origin of the Jewish eschatology, which Mowinckel considers indissolubly associated with the cult drama of the New Year's Feast. His point of view takes us on so much surer ground than that of the scholars who have hitherto dealt with the Jewish eschatology (e. g. H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, Göttg. 1895; H. Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, Göttg. 1905; A. J. Wensinck in *Acta Orientalia*, I. Leiden, 1923, pp. 158—199), but at the same time we must bear in mind that the relation between Jewish and Persian eschatology, the problems as to the probable cultural background of the latter should be subjected to renewed investigation before we can express any definitive opinion on the origin of the Jewish eschatology.

drama. Thus we find the new drama in Eleusis, probably side by side with the old agricultural drama which was never entirely given up. Themistius<sup>1</sup> gives us an important insight into the character of the Hellenistic mystery drama<sup>2</sup>, *τό(τε)* (i. e. the soul) δὲ πάσχει πάθος, οἷον οἱ τελεταῖς μεγάλας κατοργιαζόμενοι. διὸ καὶ τὸ ῥήμα τῷ ῥήματι καὶ τὸ ἔργον τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ τελευτᾶν καὶ τελείσθαι προσέειπε. πλάναι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ περιδρομαὶ κοπῶδεις καὶ διὰ σκότους τινὲς ὑποπτοὶ πορεύειαι καὶ ἀτέλεστοι, εἶτα πρὸ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα, φόβη καὶ τρόμος καὶ ἰδρῶς καὶ θάμβος· ἐκ δὲ τούτου φῶς τι θανμάσιον ἀπήντησεν καὶ τόποι καθαροὶ καὶ λειμῶνες ἐδέξαντο, φωνὰς καὶ χορείας καὶ σεμνότητας ἀκουσμάτων ἱερῶν καὶ φασμάτων ἀγίων ἔχοντες· ἐν αἷς ὁ παντελής ἤδη καὶ μεμνημένος ἐλεύθερος γεγονὼς καὶ ἄφειτος περιῶν ἐστεφανωμένος δογιάζει καὶ σύνεστιν ὅσοις καὶ καθαροῖς ἀνδράσι . . . For mystery dramas among the Mandæans and in other Gnostic circles the reader is referred to my *Mandæan Studies*, pp. 172—77, 181—82, and 194.

The action of the cult drama described in VAT 9555 is as follows: A messenger probably sent out by Zarpānitum, runs about seeking Marduk who has suddenly disappeared. He sets out in the direction of "the mountain" where he has presumably been informed that Marduk must be sought. Before he can continue his way here, he is questioned *ina eli šap-te ša hur-sa-an* (Obv. 6), in the meantime Nabu arrives from Borsippa to learn what has happened to Marduk. At the same time others run about the streets of Babylon seeking Marduk who has vanished, and praying to Šamaš and Sin that he may return to the land of the living. They go to a gate called *bāb ka-bu-rat*

<sup>1</sup> In Joannes Stobaeus, *Antholog.* IV. 52, 49.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Apuleius, *Metamorph.* XI. 21 ff.

(Obv. 11), at which guardians are placed. Marduk is found wounded, lying in his blood, he is dead, and a goddess mourns by his side. Thereupon that (or he) that has caused Marduk's death seems to have been killed in a series of symbolical acts which the bad state of the text renders obscure to us. In the meantime the town rises in rebellion at the news of Marduk's death, civil strife breaks out among the people, a lamentation for Marduk is held. A messenger now brings Zarpanitum the news of Marduk's death, and she wails in despair: "O my brother, my brother". Marduk's garments (?) and possessions are then brought to Bêlit-Uruk, ceremonies are performed, amongst other things *Enuma eliš* is recited in order to bring back strength to the departed, and Šamaš and Sin are implored to grant his return to the land of the living. The procession to *bît akitu* must for the time being be postponed on account of what has happened (Obv. 39—40). Zarpanitum wipes the blood from his wounds with wool (Obv. 42). On the eighth of Nisan, the last day of the drama, *m<sup>meš</sup> kâtâ<sup>II</sup>*, "(living, miraculous, holy) hand-water", is fetched and a long ceremony is performed with it (Obv. 44 — Rev. 5); probably these are the waters that are to recall Marduk from death<sup>1</sup>. Preparations for slaying Marduk's enemies are made; a *li-is-mu* takes place in which Zû is captured. This is announced to the gods who rejoice that he is slain. Now all return to Marduk who is still lifeless; a wailing woman weeps over him, but the gods bore holes in the door behind which he is confined and set him free after a struggle with his guards. They recall him to life by means of the life-giving water.

There can be no doubt that the whole of this cult

<sup>1</sup> Cf. IV R 31, Rev. 34. 38.

action has been represented dramatically, and there is, moreover, one particular which indicates that the drama has been performed with a given myth for its text. The peculiar character of the latter only shows us that the cult and myth are indissolubly bound up with one another; but the episode with Aššur and Zû (Rev. 6—12), which in p. 236 we supposed was due to Assyrian influence, tends to show that a particular ritual text was used as the basis for the cultual actions. This circumstance does not, however, tell us anything decisive as to the mutual relation of the cult and the myth<sup>1</sup>; there is no doubt that the cult was the original primary foundation, and that the myth was always<sup>2</sup> the text, of somewhat later origin, corresponding to the cult, to be understood in its first beginnings as the description answering to the action, without any additions, explanations, or any interpretation whatever. As soon, however, as we pass over to the forms of an urban civilization, in which the religious drama merely survives as a rudiment which has lost touch with what was formerly life and culture, the connection between the cult and the cult text becomes less intimate. By tradition they are still indissolubly bound together, but the cult text is expanded theologically and poetically, the similes are made more elaborate and often consciously artistic, and connecting links serving to explain and interpret cult acts which have now become unintelligible, are inserted in the text. We have thus no longer a cult text, but a cult myth, or in most cases merely a cult legend, that is to

<sup>1</sup> On this subject see also above pp. 192, 213—14, 219—20, 221, 236—38, 250.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say when it is a cult myth; the poetical and ætiological myths belong to the poetry and theology of the urban culture though they may sometimes deal with a single survival of the cult.

say, an original cult text, of whose appertaining cult acts no knowledge has come down to us, and which has been expanded during the period of the urban civilization, both artistically and theologically as described above.

In this particular case, I believe, we have in VAT 9555 a theological commentary intended to explain a ritual text known to the priests, which, as it were, contains the cue to the most important of the cult acts performed between the fifth and the eighth of Nisan at the celebration of the *akitu* festival. Each of these cult acts is accompanied by an interpretation referring to the cult myth. As I have previously pointed out, I believe it is possible to reconstruct a tolerably connected cult myth by means of the brief mention of mythological events for each cult act, but it is no cult myth which has come down to us. It is a commentary employing throughout its interpretations the cult myth belonging to the *akitu* festival, without understanding that this was originally merely the text accompanying the action, simply describing the events of the action. The original cult text which it is impossible for us to reconstruct was in the course of time expanded by a series of additions peculiar to the urban civilization. A regard to the political supremacy of Assyria thus induced the insertion of the myth about Zû and Aššur in the original cult myth, and as a result we get a cult myth used by Esagila's priesthood as a ritual text at the performance of the drama of Marduk's death at the annually returning *akitu* festival. The text which has come down to us in VAT 9555 is evidently a commentary to this ritual text as well as to the cult action.

That Marduk's struggle and victory and the creation of the world were likewise represented in a religious drama was conjectured by us above in Chapter III F., but that

we can get beyond a mere conjecture will be seen from the following. In Chapter III E. 5. we saw that K. 3476 was a text corresponding in type to VAT 9555, and containing similar allusions to an original cult text. But K. 3476 is of a less eloquent nature as a means of enlightenment, partly because the conclusion of the Obverse and the whole of the Reverse are in such a bad state of preservation that the knowledge we gather from them is fragmentary, partly because the cult acts performed are restricted to a much smaller field. They may be divided into two groups, 1) ceremonies in which fire comes into use, either in the form of a burnt offering (Obv. 7), or as a fire which is kindled (Obv. 3), or in the form of battle scenes in which burning darts or the like play a prominent part (Obv. 9. 27—32), and 2) ceremonies performed by the king (Obv. 14—20). The latter are not always clear to us, but amongst other things we see that the king breaks something with a weapon (Obv. 17). Above in Chapter III E. 5. we pointed out the great difficulties attending the interpretation of the text; here we must mention four points which are essential to us in this connection and which are also indisputably certain. In the first place we meet with Zû as one of the antagonists of the gods in Obv. 13, just as we did in VAT 9555 where we supposed that Zû's presence was due to the influence of non-Babylonian cult conditions. Further, the text of the myth in K. 3476 is of such a nature as to make us suppose, as we pointed out in p. 219, that it has been composed of several cycles of myths. In the second place, several passages in the mythological text show us a contest between the gods (among which Marduk plays the main part) and their antagonists. In the third place we are told in Obv. 8 that Kingu is

burnt, from which we may probably conclude that he has been defeated; this trait, as well as the word *mulmullu* (Obv. 9) makes us think of Marduk's struggle in Enuma eliš. In the fourth place the king represents Marduk in Obv. 14—20. From these various mythological features we are now justified in inferring a connected account of Marduk's struggle and victory over certain enemies among which we may count Kingu. Further, having seen that, considered as a text, K. 3476 was parallel with VAT 9555, the mythological part of which text we saw was represented dramatically, we may conjecture that the mythological events of K. 3476 were also performed as a religious drama. In this the king acts the part of Marduk. That this battle and creation drama must have had a much less mimic character than the drama of death in VAT 9555 can be no objection to such a conjecture, for most religious dramas will, especially after they have come under the influence of an urban civilization, in the course of time acquire a strongly a-mimetic character viewed with the eyes of the later-born who lack the necessary associations and belong to a culture in which quite different questions are raised. To the Babylonians of that time both dramas were equally mimetic or a-mimetic, the words do not matter, they merely represent the classification of the later-born, which is deeply rooted in a change of culture. To people in touch with those forms of religious cult which we, during a long period of culture, have become quite disaccustomed from regarding as religion, the dramas constituted a unity.

Now, the next question is, have we other Assyro-Babylonian texts which will support our conjecture, based on the contents of K. 3476, of a battle and creation drama answering to

the death drama? In 1908 Theophilus G. Pinches published a very interesting text in *PSBA*, XXX. pp. 80—82, which he simultaneously transcribed, translated, and annotated. Above we have cited various passages from it in different connections, especially from Col. D, which mentions how the gods from Borsippa, Cutha, and Kiš as well as Anu and Enlil from Uruk and Nippur go in a procession to Babylon in order to wander with Marduk to *bīt akītu*. Undoubtedly this refers to the great procession at the annual *akītu* festival with Marduk as its central figure. Unfortunately Col. B and C are preserved in a state which merely allows us to understand one or two words in each line so that we can make out no connected account. This makes it difficult to understand Col. A which is in an excellent state of preservation, it is true, but raises great problems. Thus we have the obscure statement that Nergal speaks to En-me-šara (l. 18—22) while in other texts these two are identical<sup>1</sup>. To this may be added that the whole situation to which we are introduced right in the beginning is without a parallel in what we otherwise know of Babylonian mythology. Perhaps the text is merely part of a larger series of tablets; thus in Col. C 15 we read: *naphar samāntu . . . . .*, “eight [tablets??] in all”. — Immediately at the beginning of Col. A we are told that “he”, probably Marduk, repairs to the prison in which he sees the captive deities. He rejoices at the sight, hence it must be his enemies he sees bound<sup>2</sup>. The next passage (l. 8—23) is so difficult to understand that I give up the attempt to reconstruct the original meaning of the myth. Nergal seems to follow Marduk and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Deimel, *Pantheon*, p. 118 b; Jastrow, *RBA*, I. pp. 472 f.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 2—8 *i-riid-di ki-šuk-kiš itba(?) -am-ma ik-rib ana ki-šuk-ku ip-ti bāb ki-šuk-ku i-na-aš réš-šu-nu i-mur-šu-nu-ti-ma ka-la-šu-nu i-ḫi-di i-mu-ru-šu-ma ilāni<sup>mes</sup> šab-tu-tu gim-mil-liš ka-la-šu-nu im-la-šu-u.*



the latter says to En-me-šara, who, as previously mentioned, cannot, according to l. 18—19, be identical with Nergal, that “he” will violently destroy “them” in the morning<sup>1</sup>. On hearing this En-me-šara cries: Alas!<sup>2</sup> but adds that thus it must be<sup>3</sup>, or words to that effect. Thereupon Nergal speaks to En-me-šara without this further enlightening us as to the situation (l. 18—22). — It will be understood that it is impossible to gather any clear impression from the fragmentary account of Col. A of which the conclusion and probably also the beginning is missing, but the text seems to us to show us Marduk in opposition to captive deities besides referring to the killing of somebody, perhaps these very deities, Marduk’s antagonists. More than this Col. A hardly permits us to conclude. Now it is of great importance that Col. D which belongs to Col. A describes the cultual procession at Marduk’s *akitu* festival. This warrants the conclusion that the mythological fragment we have in Col. A has some connection with the annual festival. Our examination of VAT 9555 and K. 3476 has shown us how indissolubly cult and myth were linked together at the *akitu* festival, though what connection Col. A’s account had with this cult festival, we cannot say. But we must point out that in the text published by Pinches we saw a connection between the cult acts of the *akitu* festival and a myth which amongst other things told us something about Marduk in opposition to captive enemies. Or in other words, we have received one more indication of a contest, in which Marduk is the victor, for we may

<sup>1</sup> L. 13 *ud-diš dan-niš i-šak-kan ši-lim-šu-nu*.

<sup>2</sup> L. 15 *’-u-a iḫ-ta-bi*.

<sup>3</sup> L. 17 *dan-nu u šip-ḫi-šu-nu nis-mat (?) ad-mu-u-a*, literally “they are strong and their judgment (either “the judgment they pass”, or “the judgment passed on them”) is the desire of my children.”

presumably be permitted to infer that such a contest had preceded the capture and imprisonment referred to.

Our conjecture that a religious drama was performed at the *akîtu* festival in which Marduk, as in *Enuma eliš*, conquered Tiamat and Kingu, the enemies of the gods, has thus been temporarily corroborated by our examination of K. 3476 and the Pinches text. That this conjecture becomes certainty and that we may moreover establish where this drama has been enacted, will appear from a thorough examination of K. 1356. Above in Chapter II we saw that Marduk's great annual cult festival was often called by the same name, (*isinnu*) *bît akîtu*, as one of the temples in which part of the ceremonial of the festival took place. In the same chapter we stated that we could not determine what had been the original relation between the name of the temple and the festival, but the frequent phrase *isinnu (bît) akîtu* and the fact that the temple towards which the procession moved bears the same name, unquestionably tend to show that one of the culminating points of the festival must be sought within the walls of this temple. It seems all the more peculiar to us that none of the texts tell us what happened in *bît akîtu*.

A closer examination of K. 1356<sup>1</sup> will, however, supply us with unquestionable evidence on this subject. The text is one of Sennacherib's building inscriptions in which he records the erection of *bît a-ki-it šêri* (Obv. 2) and describes the various pictures found on its gates. — In Obv. 1—2 Sennacherib (*I ilu sin-ahê-erba*), king of Assur, relates that he has made *ša-lam ilu aššur u ilâni<sup>meš</sup> rabûti<sup>meš</sup>* [and] *bît a-ki-it šêri*. By "the picture of Aššur and the great gods" must be meant the pictorial representation of the gods on the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plates III—IV.

gates described below. It is further stated in the inscription that the temple had long been falling into decay and that he rebuilt it at the command of Šamaš and Adad<sup>1</sup>. Fire had previously destroyed it, both the adytum (*bīt pa-pa-ḥi-šu*, Obv. 4) and the outer temple (*bīt ka-mu-u*<sup>2</sup>, Obv. 3). In Obv. 5 ff. Sennacherib thereupon describes how, commanded by an augury, in accordance with (the words of) Šamaš and Adad's mouth<sup>3</sup>, he caused to be engraved a picture on a gate of red copper (*abullu siparri ruššá<sup>a</sup>*, Obv. 5), called *ši-pir ilu<sup>u</sup>ea ša nappahi*<sup>4</sup>, "a work of art by Ea (as god of the working of metals)", [*ina*] *nik-lat ramâni-ia u-še-piš-ma*, "which by virtue of my own skill in art I caused to be made". The remainder of the text consists of a description of these pictures; it is not quite clear whether they constitute one connected picture, probably in relief, or whether there are several pictures beside each other. The passage in Rev. 10—15 probably consists of a recapitulation of the description of the pictures given above stating the names of the persons, corresponding to what we find in Obv. 6—9, and the two lines in the Left Edge seem to form a continuation of this. But the repeated statements that this or that picture has been made at the command of Šamaš and Adad (cf. Obv. 12. 13. 16) render it difficult for us to judge of the number of the different pictures referred to in K. 1356; however, in this connection the question is of minor importance.

The picture or pictures represents or represent Aššur

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Obv. 3 and 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Zimmern, ZBN, I. p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> *a[-na pi]i ša ilu<sup>u</sup>šamaš u ilu<sup>u</sup>adad ina bir-ri i[<sup>k</sup>-bu]-nim-ma ši-ir abulli ša-a-šu e-šir*, Obv. 8—9.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. II R 58, 58 b-c *ilu<sup>u</sup>DI = ilu<sup>u</sup>e-a ša nap-pa-ḥi*.

setting out to fight Tiamat<sup>1</sup>. He drives forth in his chariot, Amurru is his “bridleholder” (*mu-kil ap-pa-a-ti*) or charioteer, and Aššur is armed with a bow. The *abûbu* weapon, which is also mentioned, is known to us from Marduk’s contest with Tiamat in *Enuma eliš*, IV 49. 75<sup>2</sup>. Aššur is preceded and followed by the gods, partly in chariots, partly on foot, arrayed in battle order<sup>3</sup>, *il[âni ša] ina mahri-šu illaku<sup>ku</sup> u arki-šu illaku<sup>ku</sup> ša ru-ku-bu rak-bu ša ina šêpâ-šu illaku<sup>ku</sup> . . . . ša ina mahar<sup>ilu</sup> aššur si-id-ru u arki<sup>ilu</sup> aššur si-id-ru* (Obv. 9—11). Facing these (?) we must imagine a representation of Tiamat and her children<sup>4</sup> against whom Aššur sets out to do battle, *tî-amat nab-nit [kîr-bi-šu] ša<sup>ilu</sup> aššur šar ilâni<sup>meš</sup> a-na lib-bi-šu šal-ti il-la-ku* (Obv. 11—12). In Obv. 13—14 mention is again made of the rest of the gods proceeding on foot who, with Aššur, conquer Tiamat and Tiamat’s animals (or perhaps this refers to another picture, cf. Obv. 12 b), *si-it-ti ilâni<sup>meš</sup> ša ina šêpâ-šu-nu il-la-ku . . . [a]di la-a<sup>ilu</sup> aššur tî-amat i-kam-mu<sup>5</sup> u u-ma-ma-a-nu ša tî-amat i-na(ba?)-aš(?)-ša-a . . . .*<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Obv. 6 b may be supplemented as follows from Rev. 10: [*ilu* aššur ša a-na libbi tî-amat] šal-ti illaku<sup>ku</sup>. The phrase *a-na libbi tî-amat* literally means “into Tiamat”, and the translation “towards Tiamat” is not really permissible. Nevertheless we think it justifiable as it gives the sense approximately; the special phrase here is no doubt due to associations connected with some version of a myth which we are not able to follow.

<sup>2</sup> *isu* kâštu ki-i ša na-šu-u ina *isu* narkabti ša [ra-ak-]bu a-bu-[bu ša pa-aḱ-]du *ilu* mar-tu (cf. SAJ 4137 and Deimel, *Pantheon*, p. 177) ša a-na mu-kil ap-pa-a-ti it-ti-šu rak-bu, Obv. 7—8.

<sup>3</sup> From the Assur-fragments of *Enuma eliš* which Langdon has employed in his new edition of the epic (*EC*) we see (IV 59—70) that the gods all accompany Marduk when he sets out to do battle with Tiamat, exactly as in the pictures described in K. 1356.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Enuma eliš*, III 73—102.

<sup>5</sup> The same verb is used about Marduk’s victory over Tiamat in *Enuma eliš*, IV 103.

<sup>6</sup> As the rest is missing it is impossible to determine the exact

The beginning of the Reverse is unintelligible, but from Rev. 6 b the text again makes sense. The passage from Rev. 6 b to 9 as far as I can see, is a brief summary of the preceding description. We read: *ša-lam ilu aššur u ša-lam ilāni<sup>meš</sup> [rabūti<sup>meš</sup>] ma-la it-ti-šu a-na libbi ti-amat šal-ti il-la-ku iṣ-ru-šu pat-ka-šu-u la a-du-ku u-šap-ši-lu a-na it hu-ra-nu-ti aš-šu li-iḥ-ḥa-ḫim an-na ina lib-bi uš-ša-am-id ina libbi an-nim-ma ḥi-ḫim ki-i pat-ka-šu-u anaku<sup>ku</sup> u-šap-ši-[lu]*<sup>1</sup>. Thereupon, in Rev. 10—15, it is stated which gods precede and which follow Aššur. It will be found a likely supposition that this enumeration mentioned by name the figures in the above-described pictures, but here we meet with a new and important element, not found in the preceding part of the text, viz. the appearance of Sennacherib. We read: *ša-lam ilu aššur ša a-na libbi ti-amat šal-ti illaku<sup>ku</sup> ša-lam ilu sin-aḥē-erba šar mātu aš-šur* (Rev. 10), and now follow the names of ten deities who precede, and fifteen who follow Aššur; above in Chapter III D. *a.* we mentioned the chief of these. — Finally, in the two lines in the Left Edge we read: [*ana-* or *mal-*]*ku ka-ši-du ina iṣu narkabti ša ilu aš-šur šak-nu [ti-]amat a-di nab-nit ḫir-bi-šu.* The statement made in these two lines cannot well be misunderstood, it is Sennacherib who is seen in Aššur's chariot, Sennacherib representing Aššur, placed in opposition to Tiamat and her children. Taken in conjunction with Rev. 10 this opens up the possibility that *ša-lam ilu sin-aḥē-erba* must here be understood as an apposition to *ša-lam ilu aššur*. And yet I scarcely think that this theory can be maintained; the meaning of the verb besides it being difficult to see how the four last words are to be connected.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sidney Smith, *The First Campaign of Sennacherib, King of Assyria*, B. C. 705—681. *The Assyrian Text edited with Transliteration, Translation, and Notes*, Lond. 1921, p. 83 (*The Eothen Series*. — II.).

repeated *ša-lam* in Rev. 10 seems to indicate the introduction of another person, but I take it that the picture has had as its last scene Sennacherib, representing Aššur, engaged in battle with Tiamat. The only other alternative is that Sennacherib represented Aššur throughout the whole of the picture. I have on the whole no objection to this supposition since it is culturally correct. As we have seen from K. 3476, Obv. 14—20<sup>1</sup>, the king acts the part of the leading deity in the battle drama, but I do not think that, in the large picture described in K. 1356 Aššur was throughout represented by the king. This is of course a matter of opinion, and mine is in this case based on the fact that the egress of the gods to *bit akîtu* (which we mentioned above in pp. 136—139), was not carried out by men acting the part of the gods, but by the gods themselves, i. e. by their statues.

There can be no doubt as to how we are to interpret the evidence of K. 1356. We have seen that on the gates of the Assyrian *bit akîtu* there were pictures of Aššur's (in Babylon Marduk's) contest with Tiamat, and we have seen that the king was identified with Aššur. If now we connect this with the fact that K. 3476 mentioned the king's identity with Marduk in a series of cult acts alluding to Marduk's contest with the enemies of the gods, we cannot doubt that a religious battle drama took place in *bit akîtu* during the *akîtu* festival, in which the king acted the part of the divine victor. The pictures may have been of great artistic value, produced by a great artist, but that does not prevent the representation of the battle on the gates of *bit akîtu* from being inseparably bound up with the cultual events that have taken place in this temple—

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above pp. 215 ff.

a mere artistic decoration, independent of the cult is out of the question here. Hence, according to my idea, K. 1356 supplies us with incontrovertible proof of the correctness of the suppositions as regards the cult actions in *bit akitu* based on K. 3476, which we advanced in the latter part of Chapter III F., and which were temporarily corroborated by the Pinches text referred to above.

In what way or by whom the dead Marduk was represented in the death ritual we do not know. Probably a doll served in this case as in other cults of Nearer Asia. The rest of the characters were probably performed by the male and female members of the priesthood. In the battle drama, on the other hand, the king was identical with Marduk, and this identification is due to the special religious development in the urban civilization. In the primitive civilization the person who conducts the festival (the head of the family, the chief) as well as the participants are all without exception divinities in the religious drama, a single person cannot be identified with all the possibilities of the cosmos. In the urban civilization, on the other hand, where the priesthood multiplied simultaneously with a rapid differentiation of the cult reflected in the various domains assigned to the anthropomorphic gods, a single class obtained the prerogative of that cultural divinity which belonged to every one in the primitive culture<sup>1</sup>. And it is a matter of course that the king, who was the religious head of the state in the urban culture, was the central figure in the cult drama<sup>2</sup>, and conversely,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. that in the mystery dramas of the Hellenistic period which have their root in the primitive dramas though they are entirely different as to contents (cf. above pp. 251—52), the priest is the deity, see Pallis, *MS*, pp. 170—71.

<sup>2</sup> That the Egyptian Pharaoh like the Babylonian *sarru* is the chief

the conception of the king as a divinity was due to his position in the cult drama. This conception is seen in the passages referring to the temples of the Sumerian rulers in distinction from the temples of the gods<sup>1</sup>, and from the fact that *šarru* in nomina propria was used exactly like the names of the gods<sup>2</sup>.

We must now consider how we must imagine that the battle drama performed in *bit akitu* was represented. Our knowledge of this is limited to two items, viz. the relation between the cult acts performed by the king and the corresponding myth in Obv. 14—20, mentioned in K. 3476, and the pictures referred to in K. 1356. The evidence of the former text makes us suppose that the battle drama was performed a-mimetically (cf. above p. 257); how, we are unable to say, having only the fragmentary information supplied by K. 3476. On a point of this nature we dare not enter upon conjectures since we lack the necessary cultural and mythological associations. Hence we must be content to establish the fact that the drama was performed, most probably quite a-mimetically, the king taking the part of the leading character. The pictures on the gates of Aššur's *bit akitu* might for a moment suggest that Marduk's (alias Aššur's, i. e. the king's) contest with Tiamat had been mimically and dramatically represented, but though the death drama was thus performed, I think that this idea must be abandoned. For we know for certain from K. 3476 that the central events in the battle

performer in the cult drama is seen amongst other things from the material adduced by H. Kees in *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs*, Lpz. 1912. Cf. also W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Sacred Dance*, Cambr. 1923.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thureau Dangin, *Recueil*, XIX. pp. 185—87, in which two texts of great importance are published. One of them mentions Gimil-Sin's temple, the other (*ilu*)*Na-ra-am-(ilu)Sin ilu A-ga-de(-ki)*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e. g. K. 8957, II 3 *Apil-šarri-il-a-a mār . . . .*



drama were represented symbolically and a-mimetically, and at the same time we cannot fail to point out that the picture described in K. 1356 from a purely artistic point of view is nearer to the poetical representation in *Enuma eliš* than to the cult drama in *bit akitu*. Of course it all depends on the view we take of *Enuma eliš*. If we believe it to be a cult text, there is no doubt that the battle drama was enacted mimically, but I am of opinion that parallels, partly from Babylonia, partly from other cultures<sup>1</sup>, warrant the belief that *Enuma eliš* is what we designated above as a cult legend.

In the preceding part we have quoted the contents of K. 1356 as evidence in the case of the *akitu* festival in Babylon, though they refer to *bit akitu* in the capital of Assyria. Both K. 3476 and the Pinches text, which deals with the same religious battle drama, may with certainty be referred to Babylon, and the fact that the Assyrian *akitu* festival is merely a later offshoot of the Babylonian<sup>2</sup> entitles us to round off the picture with K. 1356. At Assur, Marduk is replaced by Aššur, and the myth about Zû, which was presumably originally connected with Enlil at Nippur, is interlinked with Aššur, as we have seen amongst other things from VAT 9555, Rev. 7 ff. We know nothing of corresponding pictures at Babylon; the theory has been advanced<sup>3</sup> that the pictures of the *mušruššû*<sup>4</sup> in that city could be identified with Tiamat, but I consider this extremely doubtful. This mythical animal is represented on the Ištar Gate<sup>5</sup>, and on the gates of Esagila<sup>6</sup>, and Agum-kakrimi

<sup>1</sup> I am here thinking of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, cf. above p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above pp. 51—52. <sup>3</sup> Cf. e. g. *KAT*<sup>3</sup>, p. 504<sup>5</sup>. <sup>4</sup> Cf. above p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> EJ VI 4—7; IR 65, I 42—45; excavations have brought these to light, see the illustrations in Koldewey, *Babylon*, pp. 32—49.

<sup>6</sup> IR 67, I 21—32.

mentions a *mušruššû* in the interior of this temple<sup>1</sup>, but I think it likely that these imaginative animals, like the *rîmê* represented on the Ištār Gate, are to be conceived as symbolical pictures of divine protective powers. In K. 38, Rev. 17 a *muš-rušši tam-tim* is mentioned, but the whole context, showing that the words are used in a comparative insertion, does not permit us to render them by “*mušruššû* Tiamat” even though the series of texts to which K. 38 belongs deals with the contests of Ninrag (Ninib).

And now, what is the religious meaning of the battle drama? It is connected with the preceding drama of death, but this fact alone is not enough, as we shall subsequently see, to explain its central idea. Above in p. 254 we pointed out that the mythological narratives accompanying these two dramatic cult actions must be regarded as later than the cult. Originally they accompanied the cult as a descriptive text. This text may subsequently live on independently of the cult, and at the same time theological, artistic, and urban developments may set their stamp on the myth thus evolved so that only the frailest of ties remains between the cult and the myth. We only know the religious dramas of the *akîtu* festival from late texts dating from the Neo-Assyrian empire, but we may no doubt draw the conclusion that the nucleus of these cult actions was among the earliest components of the Babylonian religion. On the other hand, the subsequent influence of the urban civilization no doubt made itself strongly felt both in the cult ceremonies and the myth because the central idea on which the cultural drama was founded was foreign to the conditions and mental development fostered by the urban culture. Hence it is out of the question that

<sup>1</sup> VR 33, III 13.

the religious battle drama enacted in *bît akîtu* could be an imitation of certain theological and poetical myths of the god Marduk's victory over the demons, performed as a sort of pæan in praise of the power of the god or for similar purposes. But in that case the battle drama means something different and more than the defeat of the evil powers by the deity, but what?

This will not be difficult to answer for anyone who is familiar with the cultures in which the religious drama originated, generally called the primitive cultures, though in spite of the name we do not by this mean anything primordial or incipient. It is an established term for the hunting, pastoral, and incipient agricultural civilizations, most frequently complete in themselves, often with a development of thousands of years behind them<sup>1</sup>. Between these cultures and the urban civilization a great gulf is fixed. The urban type is characterized by the introduction of anthropomorphism into all existence, into Nature and the divine powers, and by the steadily increasing differentiation of the individuals of the community into units having their own peculiar characteristics. The whole foundation on which the primitive cultures build up their world of thought and action is of an entirely different kind. Vilhelm Grönbech, who has made a deep and comprehensive study of all primitive cultures, has given a brief account<sup>2</sup> of the underlying ideas common to them all, a survey of hitherto unequalled importance in the history of religion for the understanding of the culture of primitive peoples. He has

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vilhelm Grönbech, *PR*, pp. 1—4.

<sup>2</sup> *Primitiv Religion*, Sthlm. 1915; this brief survey is supplemented by his great work on the primitive culture of the Teutons (*The Culture of the Teutons*, Vol. I—II, Lond., Copenhagen, 1925 ff.) the first volume of which is especially very important.

there attempted to penetrate to the very roots, to the spiritual life itself, which is at the bottom of their religious ideas and actions.

If I was to state in brief what are the fundamental ideas of the primitive culture, I should point out, on the basis of Vilhelm Grönbeck's work and observations derived from my own study of the manifestations in word and action of the religion of primitive peoples, that their intimate intercourse with Nature breeds in them a conception of her entirely different from that to which we, living in an urban civilization, have accustomed ourselves through thousands of years. In our type of civilization various phases may be shown, in which Nature has been regarded successively from the anthropomorphic, the economic, the esthetic, and the scientific point of view. To primitive man, on the other hand, Nature is no collective conception, but a motley mass of units, each having its own special life. Here there is no introduction of anthropomorphism, no division, as in the urban culture, between the body and the "higher" soul. Everything here has life or "a soul", (if by this, in the language of the urban or "European" civilization, we understand the unity of soul and body, without thinking of a combination, a connection of two opposite elements), a soul, or *mana*, to use a Melanesian word which precisely expresses primitive man's conception. The life (nature, "soul", *mana*) of the stone is to be heavy, to have edges, to roll down the rock, to be capable of being made into a tool<sup>1</sup>. We find the same conception of animals, natural phenomena, human beings; the separate animal is no individual any more than e. g. each separate human being, but a representative of this or

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Strehlow, III 2. pp. 56—58.

that species. Individual man merely exists by virtue of his kin which represents the general fund of life manifesting itself in him amongst other individuals, just as all the separate suns that with each new day appear to the eye are different separate representatives of "the sun" (the *sun-mana*). Each species has its *mana*, but we must remember that species is not a concept employed, as in our usage, to designate human beings as opposed to animals, animals as opposed to minerals, etc.; each family in the human community constitutes a species, as distinct from other families, as e. g. the species of the raven from that of the opossum. In the conception of the *mana* of the various species we meet with no abstractive uniformity: the king's *mana* is of a different kind to that of the chief, of the peasant, whereas psychologically we invest these with the same soul.

All that lives is thus conceived as having its own distinctive character. The anthropomorphic line of thought, which makes Europeans call in the aid of child psychology to render the savage intelligible to us, merely shows how we are steeped to the neck in our own urban culture. If we were to express in one of our terms of what kind is primitive man's conception and description of the *mana* of this or that species, we must say that the *mana* of every species is determined by its "environment". In this way we can give the term "having a distinctive character" a wider application, while at the same time we have defined the peculiar character of the idea of the *mana*. The king's *mana* is his distinctive kind of vitality, the "environment" of which cannot be characterized quite generally, but is dependent on time and place, on his kin, its experience, traditions, and history, on the purely physical apparition of the king. We get on to firmer

ground when determining the *mana* "environment" of certain species of animals, because the marked variations characterizing the conception of the various groups of human beings are only found where, from a European point of view, we have different species of animals. In other words, all ravens, all eagles, all buffaloes, etc. have each their different *mana* "environment" in common, whereas the concept "all human beings" is unknown to primitive man. Various groups of human beings (i. e. the individual families) have each their different *mana* "environment", corresponding to the difference between raven and eagle, etc. This conception of the multitudinous groups (species) in life as determined by their "environment", manifests itself artistically in the descriptions of primitive man in the fact that what we conceive and reproduce impressionistically and realistically, or in the abstract or as a type, he gives us in pictures (in verse or prose, in drawings) containing more than the immediate situation presents<sup>1</sup>. When thus, among the Arunta Australians, we have the raven and the rock inseparably associated<sup>2</sup>, we must be careful not to reason esthetically as Europeans concerning this sudden introduction of the rock, the great mountain. The rock is not introduced as an effective background serving to surround the raven with a definite gloomy atmosphere of loneliness, or whatever it occurs to us to imagine, but the picture of the raven inevitably carries along with it the "environment" of the raven: the rocks, and the alknarbana trees in which it perches. Not only would the picture of the raven be incomplete but it would be quite unimaginable to primitive man if the entire "en-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Grönbech, *PR*, p. 6 and *The Culture of the Teutons*, (I.) Lond., Copenhagen, 1925, pp. 184-204.

<sup>2</sup> Strehlow, III<sub>1</sub>. pp. 50-52.

vironment" were not included in the description. This is a totally different conception of Nature and her units from that of the urban civilization. The individual groups belong together, spiritually and materially, in quite another way than with us whose development has led us to classify, differentiate, and distinguish. We have dissolved the connection determined by "environment" between the natural phenomena, which is the only way in which primitive man can conceive them.

In the primitive religious cult this line of thought reappears; it is the central idea and dominant note of all the religious ceremonies. Religious thought in its multitudinous forms, which European culture has gradually raised to eminence at the expense of action, we do not meet with. The myths and legends we find among the primitive peoples are either tribal history or merely cult texts in the sense in which we previously used the term<sup>1</sup>. Among the primitive peoples religion is identical with religious cult. And in what, then, does this consist, what happens in it? It is of course impossible to return a general answer to this question because the forms are multitudinous in the primitive culture, and depend especially on whether we are dealing with hunting, pastoral, or agricultural peoples. And the whole is made more complicated by the fact that we very rarely find these cultures in their pure state; the agricultural civilization crops out almost everywhere, having gradually been grafted on cultures originally quite different. I am, however, of opinion that the experience gathered from the most varying cults of primitive peoples entitles us to point out the following as a characterization of primitive religious cult.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above pp. 254—55.

Primitive man is placed in the midst of a world full of the most different *manas*, each having its own distinctive character determined by its "environment". In order to be able to exist, i. e. in order to possess the material necessities of life and to be spiritually in harmony with Nature which must be arranged in a cosmos, it is necessary for primitive man to enter into communication with the strange *manas*. It is dangerous to mix the *manas*, this is shown by the mutual experience of various peoples (the *taboo* of the primitive peoples takes its rise from this), only on special occasions called religious festivals or cults does this take place. Men prepare themselves for this by special initiation, well knowing that the ordinary man cannot acquit himself satisfactorily here. The religious cult denotes a mixture of *manas*; men transcend the limits of their species and identify themselves with the *manas* surrounding them in Nature and belonging to the absolutely necessary units of their cosmos. In the dramatic cult man mimically identifies himself with the sun and the fertilizing rain, with the thunder and the wind, with the waters under the earth, with all the species of animals on which his hunting depends, he fills himself with the whole of his cosmos (to Europeans it often looks a-mimetic). And then follows the culmination of the drama: the ritual creation of the conditions of life for the new year, the multiplication of the animals, the provision of sufficient quantities of rain and humidity, the suppression of dearth, disease, and other devilry, the assurance that sun and moon will keep to their orbits and that a new sun will every day follow the one that has disappeared, is dead. The religious drama of the great annual festival is thus a repeated creation and arranging of the cosmos from the beginning. Men are the



gods, to speak as Europeans, it is they who create all and through the mimic action of the drama ensure the prosperity of the coming year. The ensuing events of daily life are simply the predetermined consequence of the action of the drama, the out-let of the tensions of the culminating moments of the cult. Primitive cult knows no other god than man filled with the strange *manas*. The ordinary man, especially the chief, has a strong *mana*, it is true, but even the head of a tribe is incapable of doing anything in the religious drama. No, man must draw his strength from without, not from deities or similar inventions of the urban culture, but from all the real *manas* which his eyes show to him every day as extant powers filled with strength. And being filled in the drama with these forces, man is enabled to sustain and re-create these *manas*, the animals, the sun, the phenomena of the heavens, etc. Here thought moves in a circle, says the European, for man draws strength from without in order to create that which is outside man and give it renewed, actual existence. But if we look at it from the point of view of primitive man which we gave in outline in the preceding part, we understand that the religious cult, besides denoting the exceptional in life and at the same time its culmination, is a simple consequence of the psychological foundation of primitive culture. Precisely because the primitive idea of the *mana* is determined by "environment" as pointed out above, a mixture of different *manas* is possible. To the animal belongs not only what the European would call its nature, its appearance, and movements, but in part of the animal, in the feather of an eagle, the tip of the tail of an opossum, the whole animal is present. A man's *mana* is present too in his possessions, his cattle, his treasures,

his weapons, and his garments. Therefore an individual has power over another individual of whom he owns a part, if his *mana* is sufficiently strong. If he makes an image of some one and has sufficient strength, he may do him irreparable harm. The European calls this respectively contagious and homoeopathic magic. The whole primitive mode of thought on these points gives expression to what is contained in the idea of the *mana* determined by its "environment", viz. that the part is equal to the whole, one is equal to many. And now, in the drama, the performers identify themselves in the cult dance<sup>1</sup> with the units of the cosmos. He who wears part of the animal on his person, and mimically imitates the motions of the animal, he is the animal, he has identified himself with it. He who walks with the sun, from east to west in a circle, has identified himself with the sun, is the sun. The part is equal to the whole.

To illustrate what we have stated above about the primitive dramatic cult, we will now examine one of these in the following. It is derived from the culture of the North American Blackfeet Indians of which Walter McClintock has furnished us with important knowledge. In his book *The Old North Trail or Life, Legends and Religion of the Blackfeet Indians*, London, 1910, he has, on pp. 76—102 described his participation in one of the religious cults conducted by one of the chiefs Mad Wolf, a description which Vilhelm Grönbech adduced already in 1913 in his University Lectures at Copenhagen in illustration of his conception of primitive religious cults. The account given by McClintock of what he calls the *Ceremonial of the Beaver Medicine* is, as will be understood, conceived from the European point

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Sacred Dance*, Cambr. 1923.

of view<sup>1</sup>, but the long time he spent among the Blackfeet Indians made him an impartial observer, and therefore his account and his rendering of the cult songs must throughout be regarded as first class evidence. — The beaver cult in which he took part is no pure primitive hunting cult. Influenced by European surroundings the Blackfeet Indians have begun to cultivate the soil, forced to do so amongst other things because that which constituted the central idea in their religious as well as their material culture, the great herds of buffaloes, gradually diminishes and tends to disappear. Hence we shall on several points meet with features from the agricultural civilization in the cult, above all in the fact that women take part in it; this would be impossible in a pure hunting community. Another feature from the agricultural civilization is the stress laid on the importance of the soil to man in certain ceremonies relating to its cultivation, and, if we may trust McClintock's account, the prayers occasionally offered up to certain divine powers, which would seem to imply ideas of fixed spheres of power outside the human world, on which that world is dependent. The culture of the Blackfeet Indians is thus in a stage of transition from the primitive conditions of the hunting community to the more firmly established agricultural community. As previously mentioned this sets its stamp on the cult here and there, but its whole foundation and the central action in the drama performed is primitive throughout. We must merely distinguish the incipient agricultural ideas in order to realize the more vividly the force and peculiarity of the original ideas.

<sup>1</sup> Therefore, where he uses the word "medicine" I have throughout substituted the word *mana*, as this covers much better what is to be expressed in the primitive language than the word "medicine".

The participants in the festival assembled in Mad Wolf's *tipi*, i. e. the sacred tent painted with pictures on the outside in which the cult takes place and which is used only for this purpose. Upon entering the tent McClintock found Mad Wolf seated right at the back and to the left of him O-mis-tai-po-kah, White Grass, Isso-ko-yi-kinni, Stock-stchi, Medicine Wolf, Elk Chief, Bear Child, Ear Rings, and Double Runner.<sup>1</sup> On his right sat his wife, Gives-to-the-Sun, Natokema, wife of O-mis-tai-po-kah, and other women. — Among the Blackfeet Indians, as frequently among primitive peoples, each family is closely connected with a certain animal; some scholars designate this relation a totem relation, saying that this or that family has this or that animal for a totem. This is not the place to discuss this problem, as it does not in any way aid us in understanding the succeeding beaver cult, but we will merely point out that no "totemism" can be shown to exist among the Blackfeet Indians. On the whole this concept is a European invention which we nowhere find represented as it is given in theory in the textbooks. According to my idea the matter may be put as follows. Either "totemism" is identical with the cultual relationship of men to the surrounding cosmos (animals, the phenomena of the heavens, the vegetable and mineral world), and considered from this point of view all primitive cultures are totemistic, since this cult relationship is the centre of primitive man's religious world, and this is how I conceive "totemism". Or else it is a purely social measure characterized by a series of regulations and prescriptions concerning the protection of various species of animals which it is the duty of the various clans to superintend, and

<sup>1</sup> McClintock incorrectly calls all these "the priests".

concerning the division of the tribe into families, amongst other things for the purpose of regulating marriage. I think it would be convenient to keep these two things distinct. On certain points the social-economic and the cultural-religious aspects of "totemism" seem to overlap. However, this fact cannot prove their mutual interdependence, it is merely an accidental coincidence in the cultures that are more narrowly limited than our urban culture. In social-economic totemism we meet with the peculiarity that families are named after animals. This originates from the fact that these families used to superintend the protection and hunting of these animals. Though it cannot be shown that they are of any special significance to them in the cosmos in which we now find them, we must remember the frequency of their wanderings and the persistency of tradition which keeps the same families constantly associated with the same species of animals. —

Hence it will be impossible for us to ascertain why Mad Wolf, who celebrates the festival, is more closely associated with the beaver than with any other animal; we must be content to know that it is so, and during the performance of the ceremonial we shall see again and again that the beaver plays a prominent part in it besides the actual central figure of the festival, the buffalo. — The beaver cult opens with Bear Child rising and with a forked stick covered with sacred painted (probably a-mimetic) pictures taking a live coal from the fire and placing it before Mad Wolf. Thereupon he takes dried sweet grass from a buckskin bag, holding it aloft as a sign that the ceremonial is now to begin, and then placing it on the hot coal. As the smoke rises, a pleasant fragrance fills the *tipi*. Then Mad Wolf begins the cult, singing the seven

cult songs. They are sung by all in unison, each song being repeated four times. Mad Wolf leads the chant, swaying his body to and fro. The first song, dealing with Napi, i. e. the sun *mana*, runs as follows:

Behold Napi comes into the *tipi*.  
 He has a strong *mana*.  
 He came in.  
 I see him.

The next two songs run as follows:

The Heavens provide us with food.  
 The Heavens are glad to behold us.

and

The Earth loves us.  
 The Earth is glad to hear us sing.  
 The Earth provides us with food.

Mad Wolf ends this song with a gesture of his hands which he sweeps along the ground. The next song deals with what McClintock calls "the prongs". They are sacred sticks, forked and painted red, and they are used to take hot coals from the fire as we saw at the beginning of the cult. The song itself is not given; it was sung in unison by Mad Wolf, O-mis-tai-po-kah and their wives, who knelt beside the sacred Bundle, laying their hands on the sticks. Each in turn holds a prong against his shoulder, imitating the way in which beavers carry small sticks when building their lodge. Thereupon they extend their arms together, their hands raised and parallel, the sign of the beaver lodge, and sing together: "Pity us! Grant us your wisdom and cunning that we may escape all dangers. May our *mana* provide us with food. May all of us be blessed." From the ceremonies accompanying the prong chant we see plainly that the present use of the prongs is derived,

originally they were associated with Mad Wolf's special animal, the beaver. This animal is introduced into the cult with the fifth song dealing with the beaver, male and female. The duality calls to mind the agricultural civilization. The beaver song runs as follows:

The Old Man is coming in.  
 The Old Man has come in.  
 He sits down beside his *mana*.  
 It is a very strong *mana*.

The Old Woman is coming in.  
 The Old Woman has come in.  
 She sits down and takes the *mana*.  
 It is a very strong *mana*.

The sixth song is a buffalo song. While chanting this Mad Wolf and O-mis-tai-po-kah with their wives kneel by the side of the sacred Bundle, lift it slowly with deep reverence, singing in unison:

I take hold of the sacred Buffalo.  
 While I am walking, I walk slowly.  
 I stop with my *mana*.  
 The ground where my *mana* rests is sacred.

The seventh and last song, the most detailed of them all, is also a buffalo song. It is chanted to a series of important ceremonies:

When summer comes, He will come down  
 from the mountains.

Mad Wolf requests his wife to bring Koto-ki-a-nukko, i. e. buffalo raw hides, explaining to McClintock that during the ceremony to follow the participators will beat time on these hides with small rattles, imitating the way beavers drum by striking the water with their tails. Mad Wolf then





chief from the Blood Indians utters similar thoughts to those expressed in the fourth cult song. The phrases bear marks of the agricultural civilization and incipient traces of a contrast between men and the divine powers. Thereupon follow fresh cult songs. Mad Wolf sings the elk song while Gives-to-the-Sun and Natokema imitate the actions of elk rubbing their horns against trees. In the next cult song of the moose four men imitate with their heads the movements of moose rubbing their horns. The antelope song is sung by Mad Wolf, O-mis-tai-po-kah, and their wives, while they make the antelope sign. They hold their hands closed, one above the other, then change their position with a quick movement, in imitation of antelope running. At this point of the cult the Blood chief's wife interrupts the action, making a long "prayer" for her own tribe and for the people among whom she is visiting.

Now Mad Wolf produces the sacred pipe, which is wrapped in red flannel. Two songs are sung while the strings are untied and the cover removed. The words of the first are as follows: "Our father, the Sun! It is now time you were rising. I want to dance with you." While the pipe is still in its cover, three pipe songs are danced, the first being danced by Mad Wolf, the second by O-mis-tai-po-kah, the third by White Grass who, with the pipe, circles the fire in the direction of the sun, i. e. from right to left. At the moment of unrolling the pipe from its cover Mad Wolf gives the cry of the beaver and imitates the movements of a swimming beaver. The participators in the cult beat the buffalo hides vigorously with their rattles. Finally O-mis-tai-po-kah concludes the pipe dances by returning the pipe to Mad Wolf, who holds it up towards the north, south, east, and west. Finally there follows a ceremony

performed by the two women Gives-to-the-Sun and Natokema with an agricultural implement, a root-digger with which they imitate the action of digging roots. The cultual implement is similar to that in common use but painted with red paint with various a-mimetic figures.

Now follows one of the central actions of the cult, the opening of the sacred Bundle. Two women kneel beside the Bundle and, representing the buffalo bull, they slowly approach the Bundle. Three times the bull stops before he reaches the Bundle, the fourth time he touches the Bundle with his horns. Mad Wolf sings various songs while the women untie the strings and remove the outside cover, a large beaver skin. Mad Wolf thereupon sings another song while the women slowly unroll the beaver skin revealing the contents of the Bundle, all sorts of skins of birds and animals from the plains and the mountains. "It is difficult for one of the white race," says McClintock, "to realise the deep solemnity with which the Indians opened the sacred Bundle. To them it was a moment of deepest reverence and religious feeling".

After the opening of the sacred Bundle follows a series of cult dances, that is to say, imitations of the ways and habits of the animal whose dance is being danced. Each cult dance is accompanied by cult songs which, unfortunately, McClintock does not reproduce, but we can gain some idea of the length and elaborateness of the ceremonial when we hear that it begins early in the morning while the full moon is still visible and does not end till after sunset. Probably there is a fixed traditional order of succession for the cult dances, one by one the skin of a bird or an animal is taken out of the sacred Bundle, and the cult dance of the animal in question is performed.

It is only natural that the first dance in Mad Wolf's *tipi* should be a beaver dance. He takes a beaver skin from the Bundle and holding it up reverently he chants: "My *mana* (i. e. the beaver and its power) says, 'when I go out from the lodge and see an enemy, I dive down into the water where no one can harm me'." He then moves the beaver skin in imitation of the movements of the animal when swimming. Suddenly he blows upon a whistle, it is the beaver giving the alarm at the sight of an enemy. The other participators in the ceremonial join in the beaver song, accompanying it by the beating of the rattles. The women kneel beside the Bundle making various motions with their hands in imitation of the beaver swimming, and working, and building his lodge, swaying their bodies in time with the rhythmical beating of the rattles. Each of the performers in turn takes the beaver skin and with bowed head holds it reverently towards her breast saying: "I take you, my child, in order that my children and relatives may be free from sickness." Two other women now join Gives-to-the-Sun and Natokema in the beaver dance. They cover their heads with blankets to represent the beaver in his lodge, all the time moving their bodies rhythmically. They uncover their heads to represent the beaver coming out, they take small sticks in their mouths, imitating the beaver carrying small branches. With their hands they make swimming motions. Suddenly the beaver dives under the water, Mad Wolf slowly raises the sacred beaver skin, while the four dancers continue their movements, they imitate the beaver coming to the surface and crossing the river. After a little while they sit upright, wiping their faces with their hands and looking carefully about them in all directions, like the beaver guarding against danger. Now

follows a ceremony performed by the four women standing first in single file and then dancing round the fire, the first of them receiving the skin from Mad Wolf and then handing it on to the next and so on, until all have had it. Each of the women in turn dances round the fire with the skin across her shoulders saying: "I take you, my child that my husband and children might be free from sickness and that they may live to be old."

The next dance is the dance of the weasel. Here we meet with the same features that we now know from the beaver dance. Two snow-white winter skins of the weasel are taken from the sacred Bundle, the weasel song is sung, Mad Wolf holding the skins reverently towards his breast and pronouncing a formula for happiness and fertility. He dances round the fire, blowing upon his whistle to imitate the cry of the weasel, he likewise imitates its movements when it is hunting for food. The weasel dance now develops in a peculiar way, not originally included in the cult, and which we therefore pass over, McClintock being named after the weasel and thus being culturally initiated. — Now follows the dance of the lynx. Mad Wolf hands O-mis-tai-po-kah the decorated tail of a lynx, the latter holds it aloft and all sing in unison Gives-to-the-Sun advances, holding in her hand a stick painted red. Natokema takes the tail of the lynx, imitating the movements of the lynx hunting squirrels. First it walks round the tree, then sits down, looking up at the tree (Gives-to-the-Sun's stick). Several times it runs towards the tree as if in pursuit of a squirrel, but each time it returns and sits down. Finally it runs quickly towards the tree, and Natokema carries the tail rapidly up one side of the tree and down the other. (At this point O-mis-tai-po-kah interrupts the action

because the ceremony has not been correctly performed. He concludes it himself letting the tail climb slowly up the tree and holding it for a moment at the top, before beginning the descent). — Then follow cult dances for the following animals: the badger, the wild goose, the mallard duck (here comes an interruption, a woman mourning for her dead child entering the *tipi*), and for the otter, the mink, the prairie dog, and the lizard. The tobacco dance, which comes next, is followed by the last three cult dances for the red-headed woodpecker, the buffalo, and the dog. All these cult dances are of the same kind as those for the beaver, the weasel, and the lynx described in detail above. Hence we shall only describe one of them, the buffalo dance.

Gives-to-the-Sun and Natokema rise, they wear head dresses having horns and kneel beside the sacred Bundle with lowered heads, imitating the action of buffalo cows digging wallows in the autumn. They paw the ground and bellow, representing the buffalo throwing dirt upon its back and shaking itself, making the dust rise high into the air. Gives-to-the-Sun and Natokema then dance round, imitating mating buffalo; they stand before their mates, paw the ground, and hook at them with their horns. Mad Wolf and O-mis-tai-po-kah join in the dance; they follow the women round the fire as buffalo bulls follow cows. Now more and more people join in the dance, amongst others McClintock himself. — After the last dance, that of the dog, which is performed by women and enjoys such popularity that even mourning women who are not admitted to the cult festival in the *tipi* dance it outside, the participants make preparations for returning to their tents. The sun has set. They carefully take off their beautifully decorated ritual

dresses and change their dance moccasins for those of every day. This is the end of the festival, but before parting, they all partake of a meal together. A series of customs associated with this meal do not seem very primitive, and it is a peculiar fact that this meal, originally no doubt the ritual meal, is not eaten until after the conclusion of the festival when the participants have again put on their everyday clothes. This shows that the primitive beaver cult festival is in a stage of transition.

If, however, we eliminate such features as show an alienation from the primitive hunting community and recollect what has been said above of the traces of a superimposed agricultural civilization<sup>1</sup>, the cult of the primitive hunting community is clear enough in itself. To the European mode of thought it may seem queer; there are no gods, prayers are not offered up to any deities, all that is done is to imitate the movements and habits of various animals. But seen in the light of the above brief characterization of primitive culture, the whole cult of the Blackfeet Indians is, as it were, an illustration of our highly condensed remarks on the primitive dramatic cult. One thing only is wanting, viz. the struggle against the hostile powers, for this does not belong in the hunting community while we find it both in the primitive pastoral, and especially in the primitive agricultural stage of civilization. What we learn from the beaver cult is briefly this: the sacred festival means above all that men identify themselves with the cosmos. Sun, heaven and earth, and the four quarters of the globe are brought into the *tipi*, men dance in the direction of the sun, make movements towards the north,

<sup>1</sup> We see these in the ceremony with the root-digger and in certain of the cult "prayers".

south, east, and west, in that way they identify themselves with the heavenly bodies and with the outer ring surrounding the cosmos. Thereupon they identify themselves with the contents of the cosmos, all the animals found in the mountains and on the plains. They take part of each of these, in that way they have the whole animal and at the same time the whole species, all the individuals belonging to it, as we should say in our European way, and through the dance in which they imitate as closely as possible the habits of the various animals, they identify themselves with these; he who imitates the movements of the animal is the animal. The person taking part in the festival has thus filled himself with *mana* gathered in from every part of the universe, and according to the primitive mode of thought he may with the strongest feeling of unity sing:

I fly high in the air.

My *mana* is very strong.

The wind is my *mana*.

The Buffalo is my *mana*.

He is a very strong *mana*.

The trees are my *mana*.

When I am among them I walk around my  
own *mana*.

This is not grand cosmic poetry in the European sense, but simple primitive logic. The person who takes part in the cult is the crow or the eagle flying high in the air, and the wind, the "environment" of the one who flies high<sup>1</sup>, is thus also the "environment" of the participator in the cult, is his *mana*. And the same is the case with the buffalo and the trees among which he wanders in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Strehlow, III.1. p. 38 f.

mountains. The cult song is merely the expression of what man experiences in the cult when identifying himself with the cosmos and its individual types. We note that the beaver, Mad Wolf's sacred animal, and the buffalo, the chief game of the Indian hunter, play the leading part throughout. Thus it is the buffalo that brings the sacred Bundle, he is the enactor of the festival, and the most elaborate cult dance and cult song is dedicated to him. The beaver, on the other hand, dances the first cult dance, and it is in his skin that all the others are enclosed. We see too by what slight aids the action is conducted; often it is only by gestures and a rhythmic movement of the upper part of the body that "the dance" is performed. Through this we get to understand that the primitive dramatic action must often seem a-mimetic to the European because by the development through the agricultural and urban civilization the original meaning of the details of the cult action is gradually consigned to oblivion.

But why does man identify himself with all the animals of the plains and the mountains? Because in this way he is the animals and can govern their multiplication and determine whether they will be willing to let themselves be hunted. These are the two most important factors in the life of the hunter, plenty of game, and success in hunting it. But another point of view asserts itself too. He must uphold the cosmos, the world will not continue to exist of itself, it is a European invention that the works of the universe have been wound up once for all, and henceforward everything in Nature will take its course as it should. Primitive man, on the other hand, must uphold the universe himself, he has no gods to do it for him, and he has no certainty that the sun will rise



again on the next day. Therefore he dances the sun dance to keep the sun in its orbit, therefore all the four quarters of the globe, i. e. the entire cosmos according to primitive ideas, are included in the cult festival, therefore all the animal dances are danced, for not only the multiplication of the animals but their very existence must be ensured. Therefore the primitive annual festival is at the same time a creation of the world in the primitive sense; man procures *mana* from the outside world in order to create anew, in the great moments of concentration in the festival, in the dramatic dance, all the *mana* upon which he draws in order to be able to create. This return to the starting point expresses profoundly, I think, what is the nucleus of the primitive mode of thought, to which the primitive cult drama gives full expression. —

We have thus seen that in the hunting communities the primitive drama is a ritual creation of the cosmos of these communities in the strict sense of the word. If now we return to the *akitu* festival of Babylon, at which we have shown that a ritual drama was enacted<sup>1</sup>, we are better able to understand what is the real nucleus and meaning of this drama. Before us several scholars have hinted at the possibility of a cult drama at Babylon. As early as 1891 Zimmern surmised a purely cultural connection between the myth of the creation and the *akitu* festival, and advanced the theory “dass die babylonische Schöpfungslegende . . . gleichsam die Pericope des Zagnukfestes bildete”<sup>2</sup>. In *ZBN*, I. pp. 127—28 (1906) he had almost dis-

<sup>1</sup> This drama falls into two parts, the death drama and the battle drama, see above pp. 221—43 and pp. 255—68.

<sup>2</sup> *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprunge des Purimfestes in Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. Hrsg. von B. Stade, XI. Giessen, 1891, p. 168.

covered the true state of the case, but was prevented by drawing parallels between K. 1356 and K. 3476, and K. 4245 and Sp I 131<sup>1</sup>. In *ZBN*, II. (1918) where he ought to have confined his interest to the contents of VAT 9555<sup>2</sup>, all ends in sterile comparisons with the New Testament narratives of Jesus of Nazareth. However, on the basis of the texts published in *ZBN*, I., both Eisler (1910)<sup>3</sup> and Fries (1910)<sup>4</sup> have advanced hypotheses as to a cult drama at the akîtu festival in Babylon, but the works of both these scholars from which I have vigorously dissented in p. 9<sup>2</sup> above, are a hopeless jumble of astro-mythological explanations. Thus Fries' explanation of the origin of the cult drama<sup>5</sup> is directly derived from Winckler's doctrine of the "old-Oriental" view of the world, that everything on earth is merely a reflection of heavenly events, the cult drama is merely a repetition of certain astro-mythological observations, originally a naive Naturalism, the earliest view of the world, which was subsequently systematized by the theologizing priesthood, etc.—In a paper, *Mimus en Drama op het Babylonische Nieuwjaarsfeest*<sup>6</sup>, Fr. Böhl has advanced the conjecture that VAT 367<sup>7</sup> is a ritual text which was used for dramatic performances at the Babylonian New Year's Feast, drawing a parallel between this text and what we know from other countries of the Sacaeian festival, the Saturnalia, and similar festivals. A close examination of the text has, however,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above pp. 210—12.

<sup>2</sup> In *JEA*, VIII. pp. 41—42 Sidney Smith has drawn correct conclusions on the basis hereof.

<sup>3</sup> *Wellenmantel und Himmelszelt*, I. p. 290<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *Studien zur Odyssee*, I. pp. 91—94, 192, 211, 233—45.

<sup>5</sup> *Studien zur Odyssee*, I. pp. 91—94.

<sup>6</sup> *Stemmen des Tijds. Maandschrift voor Christendom en Cultuur*, X. Utrecht, 1920—21, pp. 42 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. E. Ebeling in *MVAG*, XXIII<sup>2</sup>. pp. 50 ff.

made me adopt the view that, provided there was a kind of Sacaeen festival at Babylon, VAT 367 had no connection with it<sup>1</sup>. But moreover, all that can be adduced in proof of a Babylonian Sacaeen festival is two passages from Gudea<sup>2</sup>, and there is nothing to indicate that the customs referred to in these passages were in use at the *akitu* festival. No similar ceremonies are mentioned in any text referring to the annual festival, and the Gudea texts state nothing about the ceremonies being performed at the New Year<sup>3</sup>. Hence, in this connection, we think we are justified in disregarding an explanation of the Gudea passages viewed in the light of similar customs among other peoples; the fact that we meet with such customs among these at the New Year is no proof that the same was the case at Babylon<sup>4</sup>.

Of course it is impossible to compare the primitive drama in the form in which we have become acquainted with it through a single example to the cult drama of the *akitu* festival, because the Babylonian drama belongs to the urban culture which again has an agricultural civilization behind it. Our brief survey of primitive culture was merely intended to show what a religious drama actually means, that we may the better understand the special character of the Babylonian drama. In short, the primitive hunting drama means a new creation of the individual *manas* of the cosmos through a ritual identification of men's *manas* with those of the world outside. With the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Zimmern in *ZA*, XXXIV. pp. 87—88.

<sup>2</sup> Stat. B 726—35 and Cyl. B 1718—21; cf. above pp. 8<sup>2</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Likewise *KAT*<sup>3</sup>, p. 516<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Hence I can neither agree with J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 2. ed. III. Lond. 1900, pp. 151 ff., nor with Brockelmann in *ZA*, XVI. pp. 396 ff.

primitive agriculturist the drama has assumed a somewhat different character even though the fundamental idea is the same. The agriculturist introduces anthropomorphism; the *manas* of the hunting community, each having its own distinct character, each determined by its "environment", are conceived as human. Here we meet with a stage in the development towards the fixed deities of the urban culture. The cosmos is conceived as being in three stories, heaven, earth, and below the earth; down below dwell the gods of fertility, often conceived as gods of the realm of the dead. The cosmos of the agriculturist has for its main pillars sun, rain, wind, and storms, these are the powers that govern the growth of the field, and the soil and the forces therein. Into all this, anthropomorphism is introduced, and the variations are great from country to country. In some the earth is conceived as the great mother from whose lap all things originate, in others the god and goddess in the earth are the givers and protectors of fertility. The agriculturist's drama centres round the alternation of the seasons, the time of rain and germination, which gives place to the harvest season, which in turn gives place to the dry season, etc. Therefore the god of fertility dies, therefore he rises again to conquer the demons of drought who threatened fertility in its very essence. Another drama pertaining to the agricultural civilization, (probably of earlier date than the anthropomorphic drama of the alternation of the seasons, with the death and resurrection of the god, the victory of the god over the pernicious powers), is the phallos cult comprising an abundance of variations and elaborate ceremonies among the different peoples, but the chief ceremony of which is the ritual coition of the god and goddess of fertility in the field, of archetypical

significance for the happiness, fertility, and prosperity of the whole agricultural community. Both the drama of the seasons and the phallos drama are performed in a similar way to the above-described drama of the hunting community. Man identifies himself ritually with the powers of the cosmos (in the hunting community these are *manas* determined by their "environment", in the agricultural community they are anthropomorphic deities), men are the gods, and in consequence they can create anew each time all the possibilities of the year. Common to the hunting and agricultural communities is thus the central idea of the drama, that the cosmos is created anew by man every year at the great cult festival. But the contents of the drama differ in the two communities. The development of anthropomorphic deities, in particular, denotes a new departure, though in principle the performance of the two dramas is the same. It rests on the primitive conception of the world outlined above, and on the conception that in the cult drama man may transcend the limits of his species and identify himself as creator with all the powers of the cosmos.

Nowhere in the Assyro-Babylonian religion can we trace a primitive agricultural conception like the one described above. The Babylonian religion is a fruit of the urban culture, a continuation of the agricultural religion, but gradually influenced by the whole social and ethical development of the individuals as well as the community, continually liable to the interference of the priesthood and — in other countries, at any rate — of the individual. Now our investigation in this work of the *akîtu* festival of Babylon has shown beyond doubt that the chief events of the festival were in the first place the death drama

with Marduk as the leading character, enacted, probably, in the temenos of Esagila, and in the second place the battle drama in *bit akîtu* in which the resurrected Marduk defeats his enemies. We have further seen that a *ἱερόδς γάμος* between Marduk and Zarpanitum was celebrated, probably as the concluding ceremony of the akîtu festival. In other words, in the urban culture of Babylon we have seen both the drama of the seasons and the phallos drama performed at the great annual festival, exactly as in the primitive agricultural civilization. That the drama was performed on a considerably larger scale than in the primitive culture and was marked by the urban conception of fixed deities, is self-evident. As we have seen, the central idea in the primitive drama, both with the hunter and the agriculturist, was the re-creation of the cosmos, the creation of the coming year, which is inseparably bound up with the performance of the drama of the seasons as well as the phallos drama. And that this conception of the creation continued to exist under urban forms in Babylon at the akîtu festival, inseparably associated with the performance of the cult drama itself, we have certain proof. Above in Chapter III E. 3. we saw that in all the texts "the determination of destiny" is referred to as one of the chief cult actions of the akîtu festival. Presumably it takes place in Ezida in Esagila and has an urban character, having become detached from the drama itself, and assuming the form of an independent ceremony of theological character. But this is the expression which the later-born give to a matter which, instinctively and bound by tradition, they conceive to be central, and which is therefore retained as a main point of the festival. And the theologically conceived "determination of destiny" in Esagila, per-

formed by Marduk aided by Nabu who writes down his words on "the tablets of destiny" amid the great assembly of the gods, is, from the point of view of the urban culture, identical with that creation of the cosmos in its entirety which we saw above took place in the primitive drama in the hunting and agricultural community. But that this creation or "determination of destiny" was originally inseparably associated with the cult drama itself in the *akîtu* festival<sup>1</sup>, and that it is merely the development of the urban culture which has caused a division, is implied in the origin of the Babylonian cult drama. And we can show too that this was the case; in addition to the drama of death and the struggle with and defeat of Tiamat there was originally at Babylon a creation of the universe exactly as in the primitive dramas.

We learn this from a closer examination of *Enuma eliš*. Two passages in our texts show a close connection between the creation epic and the *akîtu* festival; in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 279—84 we read: [e-nu-m]a an-na-a i-te-ip-šu [arki qut]-tin-nu ša ki-iš u-mu e-nu-ma e-liš [ištu ri-š]i-šu adi qîti-šu <sup>amid</sup>urigal e-ku-a [ana <sup>d</sup>Bêl i]-na-aš-ši ma-la ša enuma e-liš ana <sup>d</sup>Bêl [i]-na-aš-šu-u pânu ša aqî ša <sup>d</sup>Ani u šubtu ša <sup>d</sup>En-lil ku-ut-tu-mu-u. Thus, on the fourth day, at the conclusion of the ceremony after the small meal, the urigallu recites *Enuma eliš* before Marduk. Here there can hardly be any connection between the epic and the dramatic cult, since the latter hardly begins before the fifth of Nisan, the day on which the first part of the death drama, Marduk's imprisonment and death, takes place, and on which Nabu comes from Bor-

<sup>1</sup> Together with the phallos drama we have this cultural creation in the Gudea Cyl. B 423—519, see above pp. 184—185.

sippa, as we have concluded above in Chapter III F. from the evidence of VAT 9555. The recital of Enuma eliš must in this case no doubt be conceived as similar to the use of the poem, mentioned above on pp. 187, 212, as a powerful magic formula, able to exorcise all that is evil, this being the common conception of such texts in the urban civilization. — In VAT 9555, Obv. 34, Rev. 3, on the other hand, we see Enuma eliš directly connected with Marduk's death drama, but certain things, thus the words in Obv. 34 [e]-nu-ma e-liš [ša da-bi-ib-u-ni ina maḥar <sup>ilubē</sup>]l ina <sup>arbu</sup>ni-sanni i-za-mur-u-šu-ni ina muḥḥi ša ša-bit-u-ni, would seem to indicate that it is the same urban mode of thought as pointed out above which asserts itself here. Enuma eliš is recited in order to strengthen and possibly revive the dead Marduk, it is used as a protective formula of exorcism, as pointed out above on p. 229. And Rev. 3 must probably be understood as a piece of exegesis, water is employed in a certain ceremony, and this is extremely powerful and healing since we are told in Enuma eliš that it was among the first things of existence.

If thus these passages are of small interest in connection with our subject, even though they are characteristic for our understanding of the urban culture of Babylon, the contents of K. 1356 do not leave us in doubt as to the central position occupied by the creation epic at the akītu festival. For the pictures on the gates to Aššur's *bit akītu* described in this text represent one of the chief scenes in Enuma eliš, Marduk's contest with Tiamat. The two leading ideas in Enuma eliš are Marduk's victory over the hostile powers, and Marduk's creation of the universe, his determination of the destiny of the individual pheno-



mena of the cosmos, as it is directly stated in the text<sup>1</sup>. Here then we have quite a different conception of "the determination of destiny" from that with which we meet in the priesthood's mechanical determination of destiny by Marduk and Nabu amid the assembled gods in Esagila's Ezida. It is the idea of the creation as conceived in the primitive culture<sup>2</sup>, as opposed to the theological speculation of the urban culture<sup>3</sup>. Hence I do not hesitate to hazard the hypothesis that *Enuma eliš* was originally simply a cult text<sup>4</sup>, in the sense referred to above in pp. 254—55, belonging to the primitive agricultural drama of Babylon, which was originally performed at the *akitu* festival. The creation and ordering of the universe, "the determination of its destiny", was originally inseparably associated with the drama of the seasons and the phallos drama<sup>5</sup>. But at the same time we must strongly emphasize that in the form in which we now know *Enuma eliš*, it is no cult text. The epic is a text influenced by the urban culture, which now appears as a cult legend of a similar character to e. g. the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. It is a poetic production which has become detached from the cult, but in the sense that the poet has drawn upon the old cultural traditions. This is the very reason why the creation epic is of such interest to us; it is reminiscent of an earlier stratum of culture, in which each detail as well as the whole had a different meaning.

The creation epic was very widely known. We have several versions of the contest with Tiamat (or the dragon,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> Likewise Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien*, II. pp. 74—77 (see above p. 251<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above Chapter III E. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Likewise Mowinckel, *op. cit.* II. pp. 32, 40—41, 326 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above p. 297<sup>1</sup>.

i. e. the demon of drought) and the creation.<sup>1</sup> This is partly because the cult legends of the various larger cities have become embodied in them, and partly because the text in the urban culture was put into a freer form as a purely poetic production, a eulogy of the might and power of the god Marduk<sup>2</sup>, or was used as a magic formula against sickness, or at the erection of temples, etc.<sup>3</sup>. — Above on p. 232 we touched upon the fact that we have very few means of ascertaining what version of the epic was used at the *akitu* festival, and we cannot be sure that it was the version of the seven tablets which we generally call *Enuma eliš*. This much we may say, however. The text employed must have contained the account of Marduk's victory over Tiamat, this is shown by the pictures on *bit akîtu* (K. 1356) in Assur. The chief deity of Babylon must have been the protagonist, and that the version employed must have given an account of the creation results from the nature of the case. The conquest of evil and the re-creation of the universe are merely two sides of the same action, and the purely sacerdotal ceremony of "the determination of destiny" in Esagila's *Ēzida* likewise shows us that a creation, a "determination of destiny", was originally associated with Marduk's victory over Tiamat. We may thus undoubtedly conclude that the version of the creation epic used at the *akitu* festival was of the same

<sup>1</sup> Cf. King, *STC*, I. pp. 116—155, 157—218, also King, *Legends*, pp. 102—70, where amongst other things the Sumerian versions are mentioned, and above pp. 187—88.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Rm 282 deals with the struggle with the dragon without any succeeding creation. The action takes place in time, and men exist, cities are found, etc. Cp. with such purely poetic myths the narrative of Thor's struggle with the Midgard Serpent in the *Elder Edda*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above pp. 187, 212, 229, 298.

character, as regards the two central ideas, as the text known to us as *Enuma eliš*.

Our examination in Chapter III of the entire material concerning the *akîtu* festival showed us, before we began to investigate the cult drama, that the real central point of the *akîtu* festival must be sought in the procession and the actions, which we could not then pronounce any opinion upon, but which took place in *bît akîtu*. The succeeding examination showed us that the chief event of the festival was the performance of the cult drama in Esagila's temenos and in *bît akîtu*. And when we glance back to the original form of the *akîtu* festival in the primitive Babylonian agricultural civilization the facts are quite clear. The *akîtu* festival was originally the Mesopotamian agriculturist's great annual festival, and was presumably celebrated from city to city in almost the same form. At the annual festival the drama of the seasons and the phallos drama were performed archetypically to ensure happiness and prosperity for the ensuing year. Each time the cosmos is created anew. But while realizing this, we must at the same time strongly emphasize that the *akîtu* festival referred to in our texts is no part of a primitive agricultural civilization. We are in the midst of a highly developed and much differentiated urban culture, and we cannot get away from the fact that the agricultural drama embodied therein is probably a survival.

In the conjecture advanced above I used the word "probably" deliberately, for it is necessary to choose one's words with the greatest caution when dealing with this problem which is the most complicated in the history of religion. The facts are of course quite clear as soon as we are confronted by the pure forms, whether belonging to

what we have called the primitive, the agricultural, or the urban type of culture. But the scholar knows quite well that though this division of the cultures in strata is excellent for the purpose of obtaining a general view of the distinctive religious character of the various cultures, he very rarely, perhaps we may say never, meets with any of these cultures in the pure form. He must therefore take up for consideration the problem how long the religious conceptions of one culture will survive in another culture (at the stages with which we are dealing, conception and action are merely two aspects of the same matter). Or, to put it more concretely, how much is living substance, and how much is merely external form marked by tradition and sacerdotal interpretation when we meet with conceptions of the kind we call survivals in the urban culture? The analogies we may find on looking nearer home (Baptism, the Holy Communion, the Oriental agricultural myth of the death and resurrection of the god) are not sufficient here, for every culture has its own characteristics, its traditions and associations, which, from a religious point of view, are exactly what turn the balance in this case. Hence it will be understood that we can arrive at no general solution of the problem; every urban culture throughout the world in the past, present, and future, has had or will have its own special colour. In each particular case we must see how much the material transmitted will permit us to conclude.

Before briefly considering the akîtu festival in its entirety in order to ascertain what may be concluded as regards the survival of primitive religious forms in the Babylonian urban culture, we might imagine the following line of argument advanced. In their entire structure the

primitive cultures, whether hunting, pastoral, or agricultural, are so absolutely distinct from the urban culture that it must be possible for the scholar to state precisely what becomes rootless when the primitive religious forms of man change into urban forms. In principle we must be able to ascertain which primitive conceptions can make the passage into the new culture, what characteristic changes they undergo during this passage, and which conceptions are doomed when the primitive culture perishes. And the fact that the primitive agricultural civilization has already become anthropomorphic in its essence, and thus serves partly as a link between the primitive cultures and the urban culture, should greatly aid the scholar in his investigation. — However, all these considerations which seem quite reasonable from a historical point of view, are merely the European way of looking at the subject. They are based on the assumption that the various types of culture are fixed and delimited according to hard and fast lines. I must concede to the scholar who views the problem in this light that certain primitive modes of thought (e. g. the conception of the individual types of the cosmos as determined by their “environment”) lose all *raison d'être* in an urban culture. They cannot be transplanted but must be replaced by others. But in the case of the religious cult drama the European logical and historical way of thinking falls wide of the mark. In a pure urban culture we may say that the *raison d'être* for a dramatic identification with the gods and a herewith associated creation of the cosmos has ceased to be, and that the performance of such a drama can only be due to a custom established by tradition; but who can say whether all the participants in the cult think and feel merely as inheritors of an urban

culture? Perhaps the performers (the king and the priesthood) are completely imbued with the urban culture and merely act according to tradition, but perhaps, like certain other participants in the cult, they still feel in touch with the culture which has been left behind, and are perhaps in the great culminating moments of the cult filled with the mode of thought and action which inspired the cult drama. *Non liquet.*

The chief event of the akîtu festival, on which the whole festival turns, is the cult drama, and that this is still the case even in the Babylonian urban culture is a feature we must note. The European mode of thought distinguishes between two strata in the dramatic cult. In the dramatic representation of Marduk's death and resurrection, of his struggle with Tiamat<sup>1</sup> and the cultural creation or "determination of the destinies" of the cosmos, and in Marduk's and Zarpanitum's *ἱερὸς γάμος*, on the one hand, we trace remains of the primitive agricultural civilization. The urban mode of thought, on the other hand, is displayed in the theological "determination of destinies" in Esagila's Ezida, in the theological and artistic use made of the creation epic, as a magic formula or merely as a poetic myth, and above all in the fact that the chief divine performers in the festival takes part in it, amongst other things in the procession, in the form of statues<sup>2</sup>. Presumably the primitive agriculturist introduced anthropomorphism; he thought of everything in the cosmos as human, and all the *manas* of the cosmos assumed human characteristics; in the cult drama men identified themselves with the gods. But he did not know our conception of

<sup>1</sup> With what slight means this may be illustrated we learn partly from the beaver cult among the Blackfeet Indians, partly from K. 3476.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above pp. 136—139, 197<sup>1</sup>, 264.

fixed deities, it was merely latent in him. In the urban culture, on the other hand, the idea of a deity becomes firmly established, it is animated and differentiated; we get one god for war, one for death, for fire, water, thunder, rain, etc., corresponding to the differentiation of life. And these gods are represented pictorially in various ways; the relation between the god and his image is most frequently conceived as a relation of identity, and it is only the reflection of a later age that looks behind the wooden image and the marble and speaks vaguely of it representing, but not being, the god.

On this point, which cannot possibly be explained away, we have the greatest contrast imaginable to the underlying idea of the cult drama. The fact that the god takes part in the cult in the form of statues testifies to a quite different mode of thought to that governing the primitive cultural conception of the drama. But at the celebration of the *akitu* festival these two sharp contrasts are found unaltered side by side. The cult drama is enacted in the primitive agricultural way; at the performance in *bît akîtu* the king, identified with Marduk, acts a part; this is seen from K. 1356 as well as K. 3476. — Marduk and the rest of the deities arrive at *bît akîtu* as statues. Confronted by this, to his mind, logical contradiction the European scholar may refuse to entertain the idea that the cult drama is a survival in the midst of the further developments of an urban culture, but he must recollect that he meets with the same dualism, contradictory in his view, in the cults of the Indian, Egyptian, and Greek urban civilizations. And at the same time he must see that the people of that time may possibly, without feeling the contradiction which the European can so clearly deduce, have moved in action

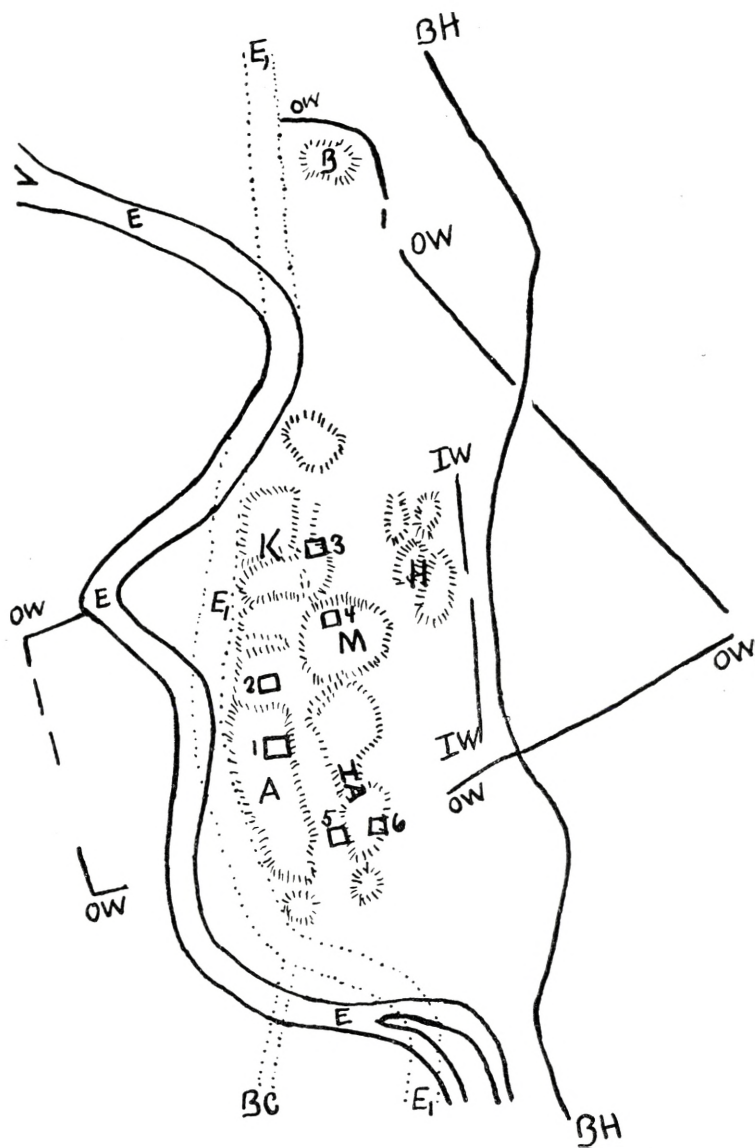
as well as in thought from what we call one stratum to another. That a time will arrive in the religious development of every culture — as is shown most clearly perhaps in the religious history of Greece — when mature reflection becomes conscious of this dualism, and when the ancient urban festivals are interpreted in a new spirit or give place to other religious forms, that is quite a different thing. But as long as we meet with the urban festivals in full vigour as is the case with the *akitu* festival as late as the time of Nabonidus, we are justified in regarding them as entireties, viewed, felt, and experienced as such by the participants, even though two different strata, each rooted in its own culture, may be pointed out.

The European must relinquish the hope of a complete psychological description of how this entirety was experienced, he has no means of getting to the bottom of the thoughts or feelings of the performers or participators in the cult during the *akitu* festival. He can only advance general considerations from a knowledge of the cultural conditions of the various strata. He lacks the associations and is out of touch with the mode of thought and feeling of which the texts only show him the external form. But I have no doubt that, both by the king and the participants in the cult, it was felt like the experience of an entirety, interpreted as the most significant event in the whole annual life of the city, when, at the *akitu* festival of Babylon, the king, in the great procession, led Marduk's statue by the hand to *bît akitu*, and there, as Marduk, defeated all evil in order to create the means of existence for the new year, spiritually as well as materially.



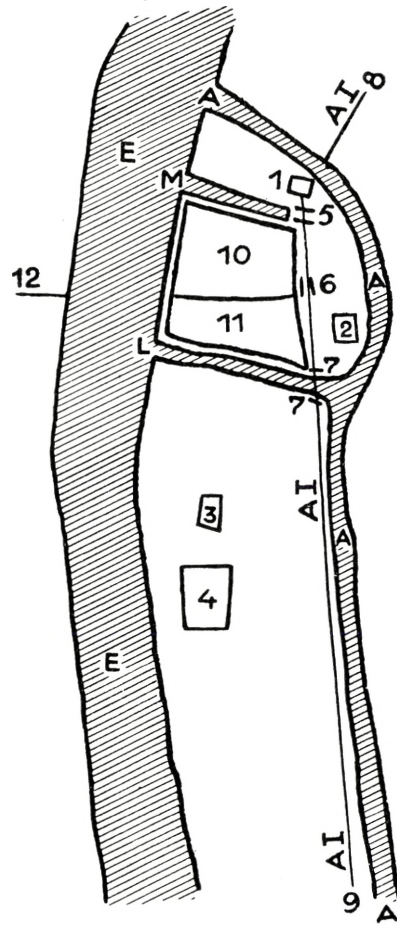
# SUPPLEMENT





MAP OF THE MOUNDS OF BABYLON AND THE  
TEMPLES EXCAVATED

- A: 'Amrân.
- B: Bâbil.
- BC: The Borsippa Canal.
- BH: Track from Baghdad to Hilla.
- E: The Euphrates.
- E<sub>1</sub>: The Euphrates at the time of Nebuchadnezzar.
- H: Homera.
- IA: Ishin-aswad.
- IW: Inner city wall.
- K: Kaşr.
- M: Merkes.
- OW: Outer city wall.
- 1: Esagila.
- 2: Sakhn.
- 3: Emaḥ.
- 4: The Iṣtar temple on the Merkes.
- 5: Temple known as "Z".
- 6: Epaḫutilla.



MAP OF THE ƘAŠR AND THE NORTHERN PART OF THE  
‘AMRÂN AT THE TIME OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR

- A: The Arahtu Canal.
- AI: Aiburšabu.
- E: The Euphrates.
- L: The Libilḫegalla Canal.
- M: The Marduk Canal.
- 1: *parak siḫir nâri*.
- 2: Ēmaḫ.
- 3: Etemenanki.
- 4: Esagila.
- 5: *bâbu elli*.
- 6: The Istar Gate.
- 7: *bâb bêlit*.
- 8: Aiburšabu looking towards *bît akîtu*.
- 9: Aiburšabu looking towards Borsippa.
- 10: Nebuchadnezzar's new palace.
- 11: The Southern Palace.
- 12: Outer city wall.





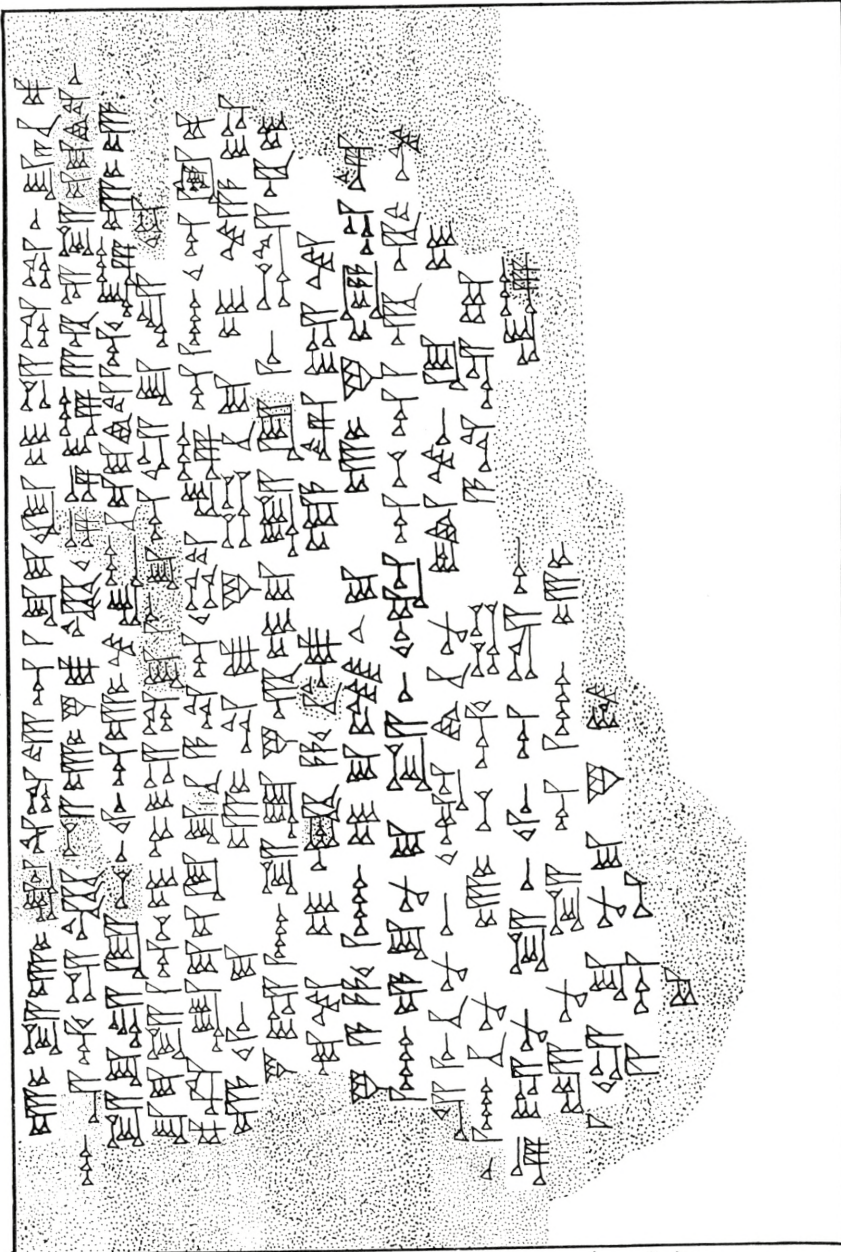
K. 3476

Obv

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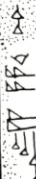






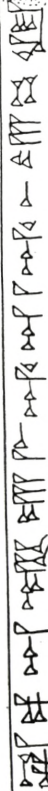

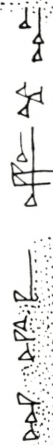

K. 3476



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K 3476

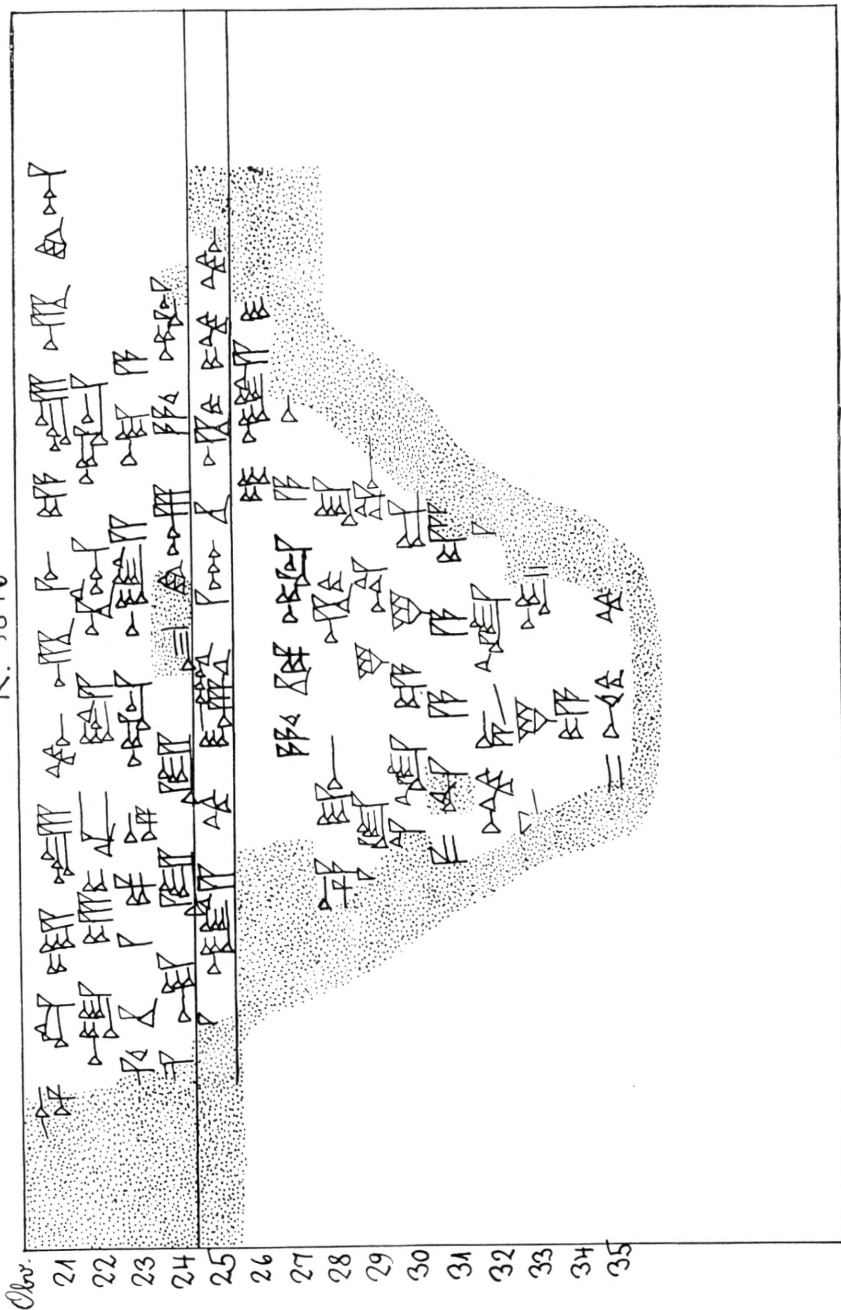
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K. 9876

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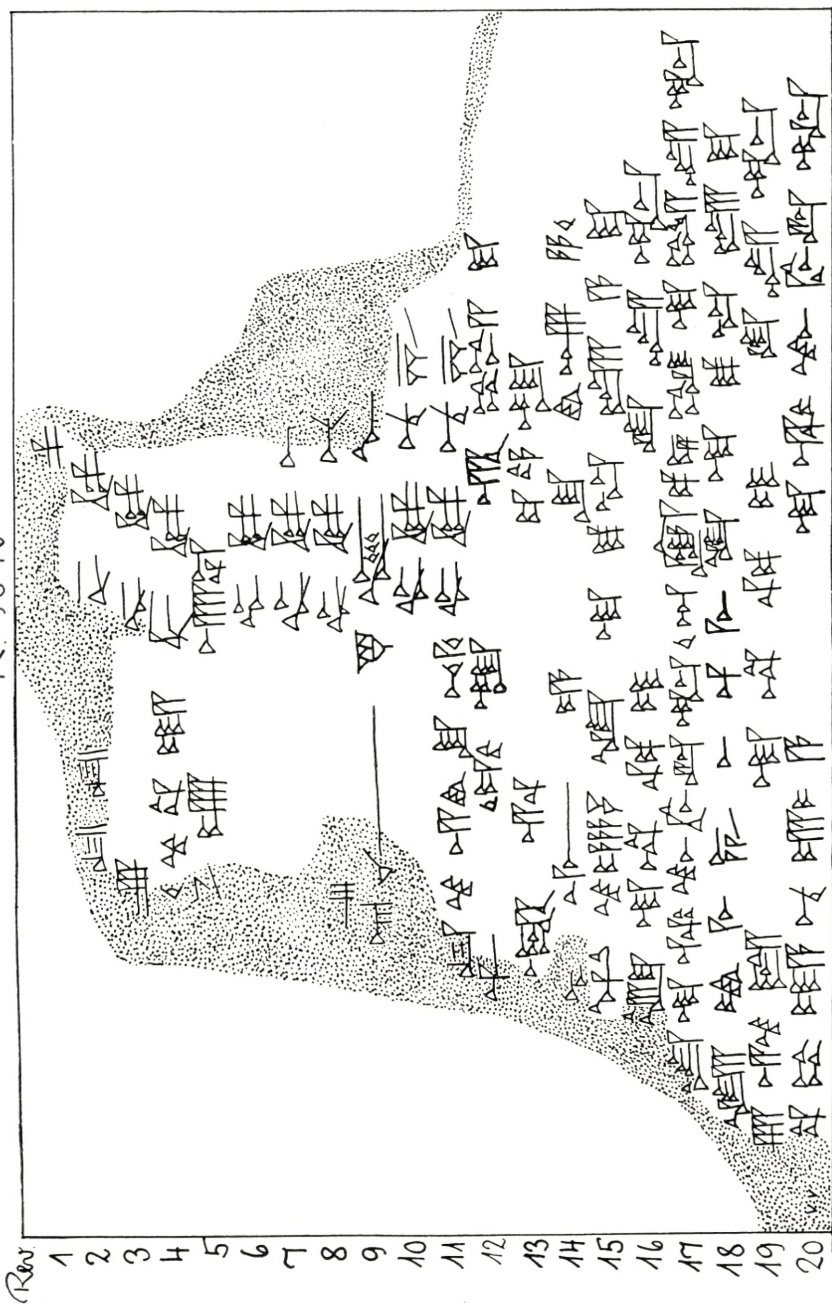
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