

# TWO TEMPLE RITUALS FROM BABYLON

*Rocío Da Riva (University of Barcelona) and  
Gianluca Galetti (Chartered Institute of Linguists [CIOL], London)*

## Abstract

BM 40790 (81-04-28, 335) and BM 40854 (81-04-28, 401) + BM 41208 (81-04-28, 756) bear ritual instructions to be carried out in the Esagil. The main activities described deal with Nabû and Nanāya in their cellas: Ezida and Euršaba, respectively. These two tablets clearly belong together, and—together with other tablets now lost—may have originally constituted a series of rituals for the whole year that were connected, in a way or another, to the New Year Festival of Nisan. A striking aspect of BM 40790 and BM 40854+ is the presence of female deities and of female and sexually ambiguous cult attendants. The two texts show a new perspective on temple rituals, in which female agency appears stronger than previously assumed.

The two ritual tablets edited below, BM 40790 (81-04-28, 335) and BM 40854 (81-04-28, 401) + BM 41208 (81-04-28, 756), bear cultic instructions to be carried out in the Esagil, the temple of Marduk at Babylon.<sup>1</sup> Although Marduk also appears, the main activities described deal not with him directly but with Nabû and Nanāya in their cellas in the Esagil, the Ezida, and the Euršaba respectively. BM 40790 and BM 40854+ belong to the 81-04-28 collection of the British Museum, which includes tablets from Babylon and Borsippa;<sup>2</sup> and they are clearly the product of the same scribe, who in all probability belonged to the priestly environment of the Esagil. Judging from the use of the *aleph* sign at the end of some of the verbal forms, and also from the form and size of the script, the tablets are datable to the Late Babylonian period (Hellenistic or Arsacid). Yet the texts perhaps do not so much add to our knowledge of the cultic activities of the Babylonian temples of the time, as inform us about the transmission of older texts in Late Babylonian times. In fact, Linssen (2004: 1) considered temple ritual texts “literary

---

1. This text was written by Rocío Da Riva on the basis of previous work by Gianluca Galetti (then London, now Barcelona), who gave all his material to Andrew George (London) when he decided not to pursue his career in Assyriology. Some years later, Andrew George put the material (photographs, copies, transliterations, and partial studies of more than fifty ritual texts) at my (Da Riva's) disposal, and, in coordination with Daniel Schwemer (Würzburg) helped me through the intricate path of temple rituals. I have no words to express my gratitude to them for their generosity. The research at the British Museum during 2015 and 2016 was carried out with the support of the ICREA Academia Research Prize (2015–2019) granted to R. Da Riva. The authors gratefully acknowledge the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish BM 40790 and BM 40854+. A comprehensive study of Late Babylonian temple rituals from the Babylon Collections of the BM, including the rituals from the “Galetti material,” is currently being carried out by R. Da Riva under the auspices of the R+D Research Project of the Spanish Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness, financed by the European Regional Development Fund (FFI2016-74827-P AEI/FEDER, UE). We would also like to thank Greta van Buylaere, Irving Finkel, Uri Gabbay, Shai Gordin, Tawny L. Holm, Marie Christine Ludwig, Mikko Luukko, Michael Maudsley, Frances Reynolds, Eleanor Robson, Gonzalo Rubio, Dahlia Shehata, Jonathan Taylor, Christopher Walker, and Mark Weeden, for their assistance at various stages of the study. We are also grateful to the anonymous reviewers whose suggestions and corrections have greatly improved it. Of course, any errors or shortcomings are our sole responsibility. Unless otherwise stated, the abbreviations follow the *Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago (CAD)*. AN=<sup>d</sup>a-nu-um = Litke 1998; LF = *Lambert Folios: The Notebooks of W.G. Lambert* (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/contrib/lambert/>); TU = Thureau-Dangin 1922.

2. George 2000: 290; see also Clancier 2009: 191, 193.

compositions copied from older originals” and he doubted they could be of any use to reconstruct the actual cults taking place in Hellenistic times.

BM 40790 and BM 40854+ contain descriptive rituals; they are not a manual of ritual procedure but prosaic compositions containing descriptions of the offerings, libations, recitations, singing, purifications, clothing of the divine images, handling of objects during the rites (mirrors, jewellery, weapons, textiles, make-up objects), and even intimate encounters between deities (statues) in the private rooms of the temples. The texts were written in a narrative tense, and the ritual action was described in the chronological order with plenty of time markers and time instructions (see commentary to BM 40790 ii 7’–8’).

Both tablets originally had four columns each, two at the obverse and two at the reverse: almost all the columns are preserved on BM 40790, but only two on BM 40854+.<sup>3</sup> As the quality of the clay and the shape and size of the manuscripts seem to suggest, the tablets belong together, and together with other tablets now lost, may have belonged to a series of rituals for the whole year. Indeed, the mention of a ceremony for the well-being of the temple “for the whole year” in BM 40790, iii 14 (*ša šá-lam bīti(É) šá kal šatti*(MU.AN.NA), may well refer to yet another set of unpreserved rituals with cultic instructions for the whole year.<sup>4</sup> The name of the month Nisan appears only once on BM 40790 (ii 7’) after a double separation mark. The presence of such a separation mark might suggest that what preceded were ritual instructions for the previous month Addaru, thus marking the beginning of a new cultic cycle; this would make the hypothesis of a series for the whole year more plausible.

It remains unclear how the cultic activities described in our texts fit the evidence we possess for the New Year Festival of Nisan in Babylon.<sup>5</sup> According to the old interpretation, based on the information provided by classical sources, the *bīt akīti*, the Akītu building dedicated to Marduk, did not exist at the time because it had been destroyed during the reign of Xerxes (486–465 BCE) during the two revolts the king crushed at the beginning of his reign and therefore the New Year Festival described in these texts can only refer to rituals celebrated before the fifth century BCE (Black 1981: 42). There is, however, no archaeological or documentary proof of Xerxes’ harsh destructions and there is no evidence to rule out the existence of the *bīt akīti* and the celebration of the festival in the Hellenistic period (Waerzeggers, 2003–2004: 150, 160; Boiy 2004: 85–86; Bergamini 2011: 29–30); therefore, these texts could very well describe rituals that actually were taking place at the time.

Although the texts are fragmentary, it seems that they contain descriptions of cultic activities on two different levels: on the one hand the Akītu around Esagil and Marduk, and on the other minor rites and ceremonies that took place on the occasion of the Akītu and were dedicated to a variety of gods both inside and outside the Esagil precinct. We might assume that normal cultic daily activities continued to be undertaken for the resident gods—whose care could not be neglected—while, in other parts of the Esagil, specific preparations for the New Year Festival were arranged. In fact, both the Akītu and the simpler daily ceremonies were quite independent from each other, as dramatically demonstrated in the context of King Nabonidus’s ten-year sojourn in the Arabian oasis of Tayma (553–543 BCE),<sup>6</sup> during which “Nabû did not go to Babylon. Bêl did not go out. The fes[tival of the New Year was not celebrated]. The sacrifices to the gods of Babylon and Borsippa were offered in the Esagila and the Ezida a[s in normal times].” (Glassner 2004: 234–37 no. 26 ii 6–8, 11–12, 20–21, 24–25).

3. Their discovery was possible thanks to a personal list of uncatalogued tablets kindly provided by I. L. Finkel to G. Galetti. BM 41208 and BM 40790 were studied by Lambert: respectively LF 09611-12 and LF 09613-15.

4. Thus far only one source is known, in which the “rites for the whole year” were written down on a single tablet: the Eanna ritual TU 38 (Linssen 2004: 6 n. 36, 11, 175 rev. 38). Note that the sumerogram MU.AN.NA may denote a six-month period between the two equinoxes; see Cohen 1993: 7, with n. 1.

5. Editions of the rituals for the New Year Festival (NYF) are: *RAcc.* 127–54; Çağırhan 1976: 1–39, who adds a small fragment (in private ownership) for day 1; Linssen 2004: 215–37. BM 41577 may also be part of the New Year Ritual, see George 2000: 260–70 (no. 1), esp. pp. 262–63, n. 17. For the New Year Festival, see Cocquerillat 1973–1974; Black 1981; Michalowski 1990; van der Toorn 1991; George 1996; Pongratz-Leisten 1998–2001; Sallaberger 1998–2001 (Sumerian sources); Sommer 2000; Boiy 2004: 23–24.; Linssen 2004: 71–86 (with bibliography); Zgoll 2006; Cohen 2015: 389–408.

6. On Nabonidus and Tayma, see Lemaire 2003; Hausleiter 2010.

It is also possible, as W. G. Lambert (Çağırğan and Lambert 1991–1993: 89) put it, that since every temple had its own ritual series, the present tablets simply provide more information referring on individual temples/cellas, in this case the Ezida and the Euršaba. Note, however, that in BM 40790 the external gates and the courtyards of the Esagil as well as the Ešasurra and some other shrines and chapels are the locations of ritual activity, suggesting that the rituals were not strictly limited to the Ezida and Euršaba cellas but extended spatially to other parts of the Esagil temple complex. In fact, BM 40790 (particularly col. ii) describes a set of ritual performances taking place between the gates of the temple. The setting of 40854+ is more difficult to establish (see below), but there is no reason to assume that it is not topographically connected to BM 40790, because both texts share many common elements.

One of the most important features of BM 40790 is the mention of day 1 of Nisan (New Year Festival), a day that is not preserved in the rituals known so far in *RAcc.* 127–54, therefore BM 40790 is the only occurrence, with Çağırğan (1976: 1 and 3 for references to day 1 and 2), of the opening ceremonies of the annual festival. The tablet also contains rituals instructions for day 2, which is also partially missing in the texts known so far (Linszen 2004: 226), and the ceremonies described in BM 40790 may be related to the ceremonies of day 2 in *RAcc.* 127–54 and would thus complete its missing sections.

As we have advanced above, although the rituals seem to have the Esagil of Marduk as topographical reference, the main divinities involved are Nabû and Nanāya and the ceremonies take place around Ezida and Euršaba, their respective cellas in Esagil. In particular, it is interesting that Nabû is already mentioned in the text on day 1 of Nisan (BM 40790, ii 20'), but the line is fragmentary, and the context not clear enough, it might refer to the preparation of his shrine in Esagil before his arrival (Black 1981: 55), because he is known to have arrived in Babylon on day 5 from Borsippa.<sup>7</sup>

In the context of the New Year Festival, the roles of Nabû as benefactor of kingship<sup>8</sup> and of his shrine Ezida are of the outmost relevance: if Nabû did not leave his town to visit Marduk at his temple in Babylon, the festival could not be celebrated (Black 1981: 43, 55–56); Nabû's attendance was as important as that of the king.<sup>9</sup> On day 8 of the Akītu, the monarch takes the hand of Marduk and leads him to the courtyard, where he is enthroned; afterwards the god is guided to the Shrine of the Destinies, which was located in Ezida, the shrine of Nabû in Esagil, where Marduk's destinies are determined; the destinies of the king were decided in the same place but on day 11 of the festival (Black 1981: 45–46).<sup>10</sup>

Since the seventh century BCE, the Akītu was a festival of both Marduk and his son (Sommer 2000: 90 n. 44). In fact, the two texts edited here might be part of the set of ceremonial procedures focused on the figure of Nabû and his divine retinue on the occasion of the New Year Festival, as a kind of appendix to the rituals described in *RAcc.* 127–54.<sup>11</sup> In particular, the rituals referred to in BM 40790 ii seem to be devoted to the purification of the gates of the Esagil and the preparation and purification of the shrines Ezida and Euršaba in the first days of the Akītu and of the clothing ceremony of Nabû's consort and of Ušur-amāssu on occasion of the annual festivity (BM 40790 ii–iii). These activities may also be related to the purifications in the Shrine of the Destinies for the determination of the destinies of both Marduk and king, ceremonies that took place in the Ezida on days 8 and 11 respectively. The connection of BM 40854+ to the New Year Festival is less clear, because the tablet is in a bad state of conservation, and only one of the preserved columns (iv) is complete enough for an understanding of the text, but we would not rule it out.

7. He then resides in his cella, Ezida, on days 5 to 11 (Da Riva 2013: 129 Neriglissar Cylinder C23 i 36–37) and on day 12 his statue is returned to Borsippa.

8. On the position of Nabû in respect to the Babylonian kingship, see Robson forthcoming. We acknowledge the permission given by the author to refer to her unpublished work.

9. On the role of the monarch in the festival, see Black 1981: 54.

10. These ceremonies are also referred to in the Neriglissar cylinder C23/1 I 33–40 (Da Riva 2008: 129–30).

11. Note that the king is not mentioned in the preserved sections of our texts, while we know he had a dominant role in the ceremony (Black 1981: 43).

It is also noteworthy that these documents highlight the presence of Ušur-amāssu outside of Uruk (see commentary to 40854+ iv 5') and presents her in a new context, which also includes the mention of a bed and of Mār-bīti, perhaps hinting at a possible yet unattested “cultic romance” between the two deities. As Mār-bīti is associated with the divine couple Nabû and Nanāya, and Ušur-amāssu is linked to Nanāya of Euršaba, this idea would not be too implausible.

Apart from Nanāya (of Euršaba) and Nabû (of Ezida), the addressees of the rituals described in these texts are their associated deities of Borsippa and Babylon, such as Qibi-dumqī, Bēlet-bīti, Bēlet-Bābili (Ištar of Babylon), Ušur-amāssu, Sutītu, Ninkarrak/Gula of Eulla, Ninurta (BM 40790) and Mār-bīti and the divine court of Nanāya of Euršaba, such as Qibi-dumqī, Aḥlamītu, Urīgallu, Ušur-amāssu, Madānu, Bēltiya (Zarpānītu) and Lisi (BM 40854+). Because little is known about the cult of minor deities in the main temples of the late first millennium BCE, the following editions will contribute to a better understanding of the Babylonian pantheon.

Of interest is the predominant role played by Nanāya in the texts: both BM 40790 and 40854+ seem to be above all compendia about the Euršaba of Nanāya, or about Nanāya of Euršaba, from old sources. The tablets are not so much copies of old originals as compilations of (old) originals, which had in common the temple and the goddess. The motivation behind this compilation could be twofold. On the one hand the texts could be a way to exalt Ištar, who had an *akītu* building in Babylon in Hellenistic times (Black 1981: 42), by means of a compilation of rites that had to do with Nanāya, who in this period was identified with Ištar. At the same time, this association increased the prestige of Nanāya. The predominant role played by Nabû in first millennium Babylonia might have boosted the importance of his consort.

In connection with the significant role played by female deities in these rituals, the presence of female cult attendants is notable both in BM 40790 as well as in BM 40854+. The two texts show a new perspective of temple rituals, in which female agency appears stronger than had previously been assumed. However, the ambiguity of Akkadian verbal forms hinders a full understanding of the sentences and makes it difficult to identify agency in the rites. In this late period, feminine subjects may have masculine verbal forms. In some cases, as in our texts here, the third feminine forms are specified (*taprus*), but they coincide formally with the second masculine: if the character is the ritual text (prescriptive/descriptive) is uncertain, ambiguity is difficult to avoid. As these texts are descriptive (there is no reason to consider them prescriptive), one would expect a third person (feminine) and not the second person (masculine) as subject. In fact, in other sections of the texts in which the subject is masculine, the verb is written in the third person (BM 40790 i 2', 4', 13', etc.). Important is the presence in both rituals of a new cultic figure, the \**ḥullālānītu*,<sup>12</sup> who is directly referred to in BM 40790, i 10', ii 12' (in plural:  $\Gamma^{mi} \Gamma hu-ul-la-a-ni-tu^{mes}$ ) and in BM 40854+ iv [3'], iv 9', and in other sections of the texts indirectly either as the subject of a verb in the third person singular or indicated by the phrase: “the ditto-woman.” Moreover, considering the general context of both BM 40790 and BM 40854+, one would assume that other ritual actions described in the texts whose performer is not specified were also carried out by the *ḥullālānītu*, particularly if they involved female deities. From BM 40790 it is clear that there was more than one *ḥullālānītu*, but their exact number is unclear. In the texts, the *ḥullālānītu* appears sprinkling, moving ritual objects, and handling mirrors and make-up palettes, etc. This person is very active in several of the rituals described in these texts, particularly in the clothing ceremonies of the female deities, in which she appears clothing and preparing the images of the gods; her figure is an interesting addition to our knowledge of female participants and performers in the Neo and Late Babylonian temple cult.<sup>13</sup> It is interesting to note that she is not the only female participant in these texts, for the *nārtu* (songstress)<sup>14</sup> appears, either alone or in a group, often forming a choir with the *kurgarrū* and singing on the occasion of ritual meals. As indicated by Waerzeggers (2010: 49–51) the presence of women in the cultic sphere of Babylonian temples diminishes in the first millennium in comparison to the Old Babylonian period, when they were much more active in the cult.

12. This term is discussed in detail in the textual note on BM 40790, i 10'; see also the introductory remarks to BM 40854+.

13. For other instances of female members of the temple cult, see the commentary to BM 40790 i 13' below.

14. The term songstress will be used in this text to indicate the female singer; no culture-specific connotation is intended.

Interestingly, in the late period, women frequently appear in connection with the worship of female deities (as in our texts), so perhaps this was a context in which they could participate in temple life.

Another interesting aspect of these two texts is that the cultic personnel performing the main tasks lacks the rank of the *šešgallu*, *aḫu rabû*, or the *ērib-bīti*, the high-ranking temple attendants usually referred to in the rituals. In BM 40790 and BM 40854+ the performers involved are either women or sexually ambiguous persons. Although their presence could be explained away considering that the rituals have to do with female deities, another explanation is possible. These cultic attendants perform purification tasks. Purification was considered a destructive act and therefore these people were contaminated, in the same way as in day 2 of the New Year Festival the *urigallu* and the exorcist were unclean and had to leave the city until Nabû had departed Babylon on day 12 (Black 1981: 43; Sommer 2000: 85–86). If our texts describe a similar situation, then one would assume that the women and third gender persons become impure because of the purifications they perform, and are ritually disposable.

### BM 40790 (81-04-28, 335)

BM 40790<sup>15</sup> may serve to confirm Cohen's hypothesis of a dual New Year Festival in the month of Nisan: one involving Marduk, and another one involving Nabû (Cohen 1993: 438–53, esp. pp. 440–41; 2015: 400–401).<sup>16</sup>

Days 2 to 4 of Nisan are covered in the New Year Festival *RAcc.* 127–54 = Thureau-Dangin 1921 (here cited according to the latest edition by Linssen 2004: 215–24), by tablets 22 and 23 of the series called *eme-gir<sub>15</sub> du<sub>7</sub>-e* (*RAcc.* 150, 152; Linssen 2004: 218 l. 216a and 224 l. 472). Tablet BM 77028 (Lambert 1997: 71–74) may belong to the same series, for on rev. 4 it is referred to as [...<sup>im</sup>du]b 25<sup>kam</sup> éš-gàr<sup>d</sup>en x [x (x)]. The text of BM 40790 could belong to tablet 21 of the same series. The double marking on column ii may well indicate that the whole series, if recovered, would cover the whole year, maybe ending with the rites of Nisan as the climax of the entire cultic year.

BM 40790 is a four-column tablet.<sup>17</sup> Column i on the obverse is poorly preserved: it starts with a gap of a few lines (three to five), and most of the left half of the column is broken, so the beginning of the lines is missing. The beginning of column ii is also missing. On the reverse, column iii is almost completely preserved, although there is a gap of two or three lines at the end of the column. Column iv is poorly preserved: only the last signs of the lines survive and the end of the column (and thus most of its colophon) is missing.

Column i describes cultic activities taking place in the Euršaba and the Ezida and their close vicinity. In spite of the paucity of the scattered information, the topographical features mentioned suggest that these two cellas, of Nanāya and Nabû respectively, must have been located within the Esagil temple complex in Babylon (see also George 1995: 192–93). The mention of the names of the external gates of the Esagil further down in col. ii confirms this.<sup>18</sup> The ritual action described in column i is very dynamic; there are many movements from one place to the other, and around the courtyards of the temple. There are also numerous ceremonies: lamentations (*qubbû*) are recited, purification rituals are performed, and wooden pot stands arranged. Then another day follows, because linen curtains (*gada-le-e*: i, 6' and *passim*) are removed (*i-na-as-suk*).<sup>19</sup> Then follow a ritual with oil for Lisi, which is connected with the station of Nabû, and sprinkling, connected with the serving of the two meals. A newly attested figure in the temple cult, the *ḫullālānītu*, appears on line i 10'. She is of major importance in this text and also in the cultic activities preserved on BM 40854+; in both texts she is a leading performer in various ceremonies and

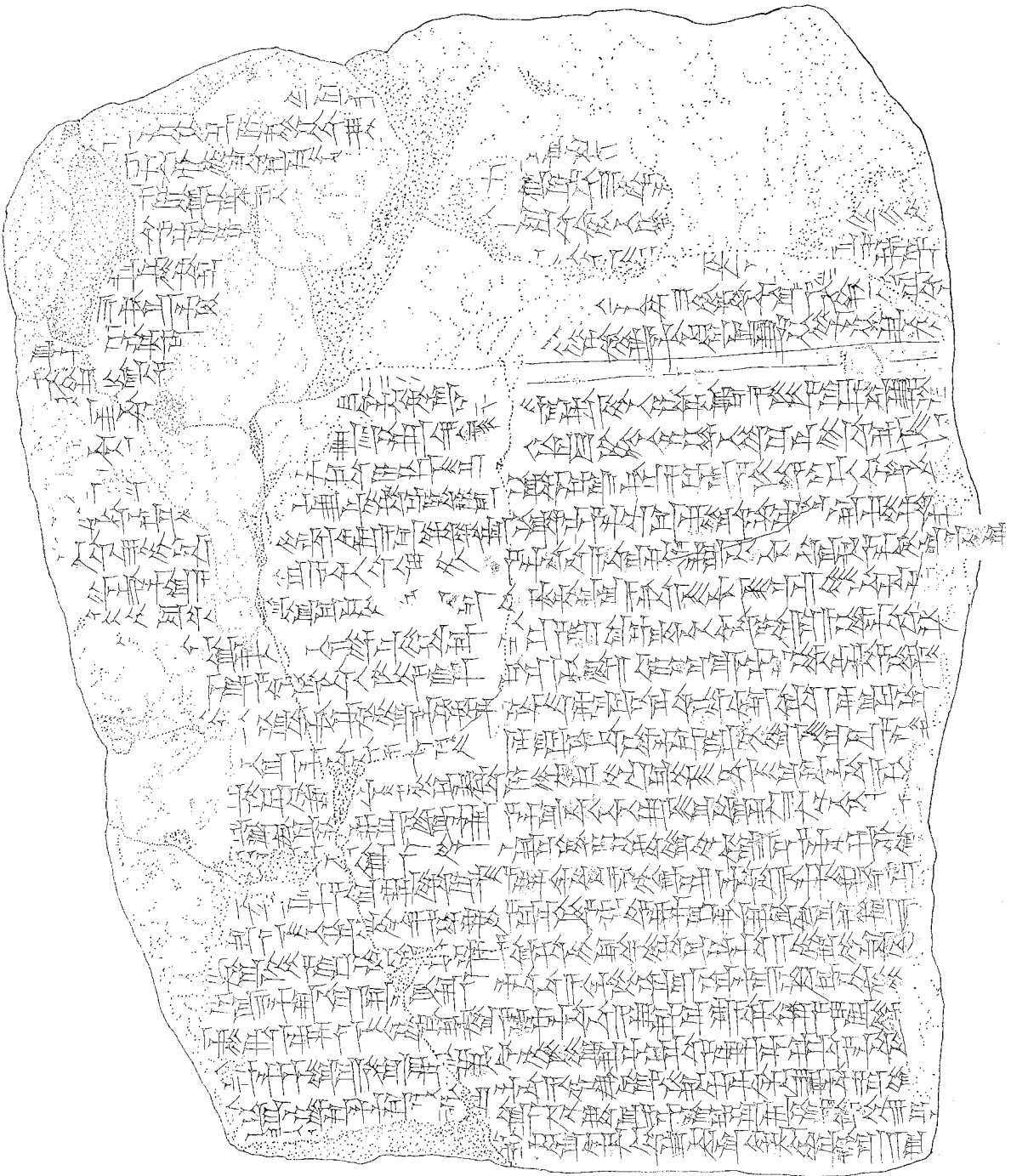
15. The copy was made by R. Da Riva.

16. Note also the occurrence in BM 36736 of three different appellations for Nabû [*Nabû ša kisalli* (obv. 16'); *Nabû ša nērebi ša kisalli* (17'); and simply *Nabû* (18')], which may hint even further at the existence of yet undiscovered individual sets of rituals for each single statue of the god. A study of BM 36736 is currently in preparation by R. Da Riva.

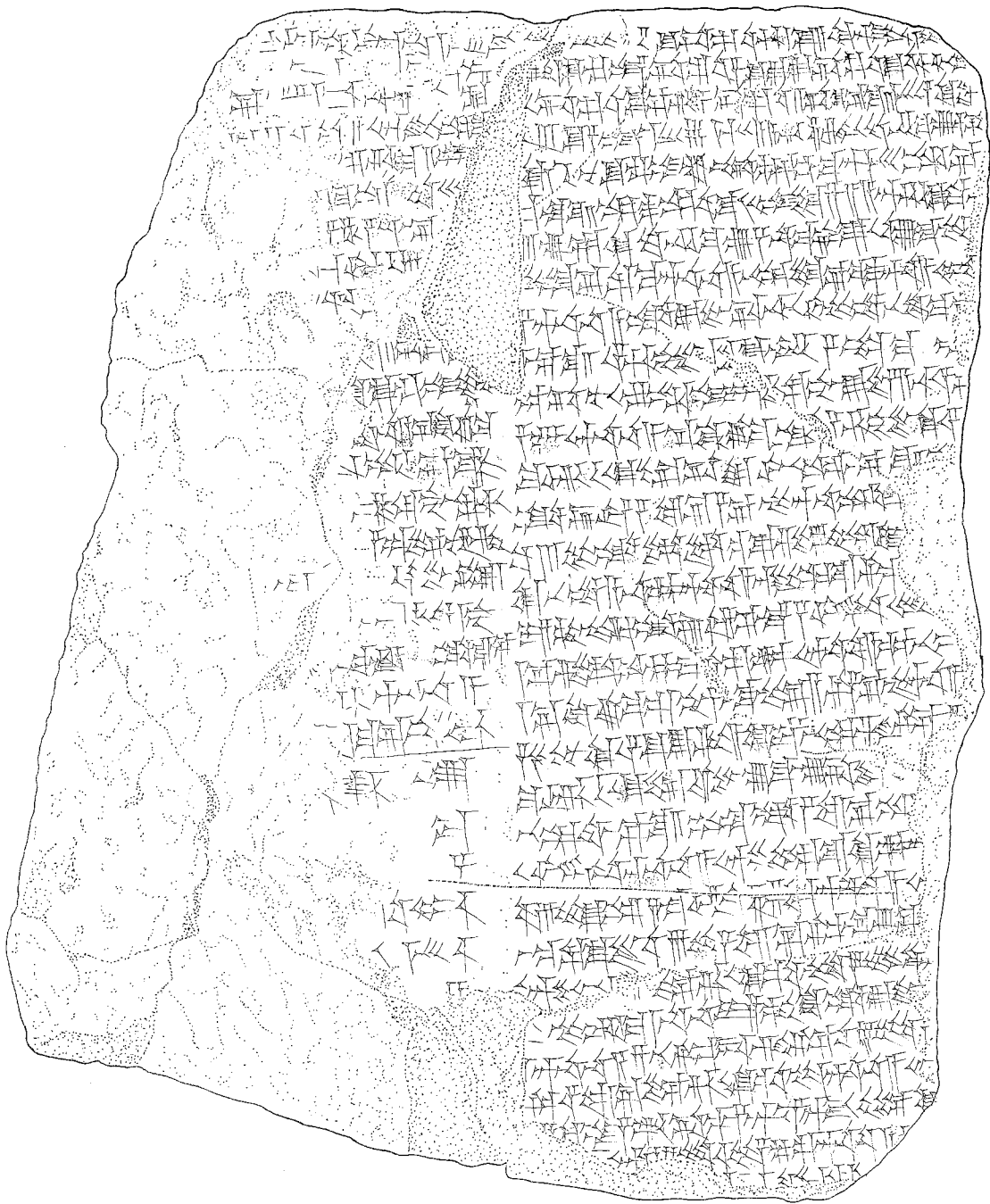
17. Notes by W. G. Lambert, LF 9613-9615 (obv. ii and rev. iii only).

18. For texts dealing with the gates of the Esagil temple complex, see George 1992: 83–98 (nos. 6–8), with commentary on pp. 389–409.

19. The removal of the curtains is well attested in the rituals for the New Year Festival of Nisan at Babylon, see *RAcc.* 149, l. 3 (Linssen 2004: 215).



BM 40790 (81-04-28, 335), obverse



BM 40790 (81-04-28, 335), reverse

rites. After a broken passage referring to textiles and something occurring in the Upper Courtyard, the songstress appears (i 13'). Another day follows, since the linen curtains are "removed" again. Two lines (i 14'–15') are then dedicated to cultic songs to be performed on specific days: *Uruhulake*, possibly for Nanāya, on day 16, as another day is lost in a gap (the kettledrum is also mentioned); what appears to be the ritual *Eršema égi mah dìm-me-er an-ki-a* on the evening of days 17 and (?) 20. After the awakening of the temple and the opening of the gate, the linen curtain is removed and the songstress and the *kurgarrû* perform their singing, which accompanies the meals of the gods, as elsewhere in the text. From this point on, until the end of column i, there are instructions concerning the movements of the statues of the gods in an area inside the Esagil (Euršaba, Ezida, Ešasurra, and the Upper and Lower Court) to the north, the Uraš-Gate to the south and a few other topographical features (see notes on i 28'–30' below) in the Šuanna quarter of Babylon. The gods Qibi-dumqī, Nanāya, Bēlet-bitī, Nabû and Gula/Ninkarrak are mentioned, as well as the *assinnu* and the *kurgarrû*.

Column ii starts with a few missing lines and a broken section in which the *Eršema égi mah dìm-me-er an-ki-a* and days 3, 11, and 20 are mentioned together with instructions related to the serving of two meals of the gods in the afternoon. A double separation line follows, which suggests that the preceding section may have been an instruction for the month of Addaru.

Next, after the double ruling, come instructions for the **first day of Nisan** (ii, 7'–22'). That it is a ritual of the morning is clearly stated in line 7'; note the presence of the linen curtains again, after the opening of the gate, and of the *kurgarrû*, the singer and the songstress. The ritual activities take place in the Ezida and the Euršaba, inside the Esagil complex. The main actors are the *ḥullālānītu*, who is involved in many of the rituals, and the songstress and the *kurgarrû*, who sing during the meals. The mention of *pišannu*-boxes of Nabû and Nanāya, in which the personal treasuries of the deities were kept, and the fact that mirrors for Nanāya, Sutītu, and Gula of Eulla are moved around clearly indicates a preparation for the clothing of the statues on day 2. Three gates of the Esagil are mentioned (Kautuea, Kaudebabbar, Kalammarabi), and another one is lost in the break (most plausibly Kahegal). The activities described seem to be part of a grand purification ceremony, in view of what is to happen in the following days. Among the ritual accoutrements, *šamnu*-oil is used extensively for what we understand to be purification rituals performed by the *ḥullālānītus* involving Ezida, and the main gates of the Esagil and their lobbies. These women have to repeat the same rituals in other chapels (É.KUR<sup>meš</sup>: ii 17') as well. Nabû and Nanāya are referred to in a fragmentary context (ii 21'), bedchambers are also mentioned (ii 19', 21'). At the end of the day, the basins for the holy water are set up.

**Day two** (ii 22'–iii 14) is dedicated to describe the (preparation for the) clothing of the statues of Nabû, Nanāya, and Ušur-amāssu. Once finished, the *ērib-bīti* has access to the secret houses of Nabû and Nanāya. Then follows a truly unique and detailed description of the textile items supplied by the weaver (ii 26'–iii 5, including two terms that are probably hapax legomena: *\*zapītu* (or *šapītu*) and *\*laršu*), to be used shortly afterwards as additional garments and ornaments (iii 5–8). The mention of jewelry (iii 4–6) as decoration in the garments suggests the presence of a goldsmith (*kutimmu*). All these activities must have been carried out very early in the morning, because line 9 states that, once finished, the gate would be opened; all this is followed by purifications and the serving of the meals, together with a *siltu*-offering. After the sprinkling of juniper and flour on the water for the purification of the hands, the ceremony for the well-being of the temple (*šalām bīti*) "for the whole year" takes place.

**Day three** (iii 15–23) starts with the lifting of a kettledrum before the opening of the gate. Nabû, Nanāya, and Ušur-amāssu are mentioned, and a purification ceremony with *šamnu*-oil takes place. The day then continues with the meals, the singing of songstress and *kurgarrû* and sprinkling, and a reference to the *pišannu*-box of Nanāya that is taken back from the Ezida to the Euršaba. In Euršaba, other ceremonies "for the whole year" (iii 19) are performed, and, on top of the regular offerings, additional ones are made. The sprinkling of juniper and flour takes place again, followed once more by another ceremony for the well-being of the temple.

Some of the activities above may as well belong to days 4 or 5, which may have been mentioned but may have been lost in the breaks, because in iii 24 **day 6** starts. The break in day 5 is most unfortunate for this was precisely



the day Nabû (and his divine retinue) arrived to Babylon from Borsippa. From this point onwards, the information becomes very condensed. Instructions also appear for **days 7, 8, 9 (?) and 11**. A chariot (*rukūbu*) on day 6 suggests the preparation of a procession and it may refer to the procession of day 8 (Linssen 2004: 68). A ritual song (“... m u<sup>d</sup>Suen nana”) is sung on day 7. Lastly, Eturkamma (iii 25) and the goddess Bēlet-Bābili (iii 30) are mentioned in connection with yet another ceremony for the well-being of the temple.

The last few lines of column iii are not preserved, and column iv offers only the final parts of the lines: Nanāya and Ušur-amāssu are mentioned again, as well as some garments, gold and food offerings. A colophon survives, but it is too fragmentary to be useful.

## Transliteration

15.2 × 12.7 × 3.5 cm

### Obverse

#### col. i

(There is a gap of a few lines at the beginning of the column)

- 1'. [x x x x é-ur<sub>5</sub>]-<sup>r</sup>šà<sup>71</sup>-ba <sup>r</sup>é<sup>71</sup> [x x (x)]
- 2'. [x x x] x x <sup>r</sup>qu-bé<sup>1</sup>-e i-qab-bi ūm(U<sub>4</sub>) 8<sup>k</sup>[<sup>am</sup> x x (x)]
- 3'. [x x x arki(EGI)R]<sup>2</sup> ḥu-ub-bu ultu(TA) é-zi-d[a x x x]
- 4'. [x x x <sup>túg</sup>gada-le]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup> i-ke-rik ša-<sup>r</sup>bat<sup>1</sup> [x x x x x x] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>
- 5'. [x x x] x šá <sup>giš</sup>gan-gan-n[a/u x x x x x x] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>
- 6'. [x x x] <sup>r</sup>túg<sup>1</sup>gada-le-e [i-na-as-suk<sup>2</sup> x x x x]
- 7'. [x x x K]I.MIN šamnu(Ī.GIŠ) <sup>r</sup>ana<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>L[i<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub> x x x x x x x x]
- 8'. [x x] <sup>r</sup>manzāz(KI.GUB)<sup>1</sup> [<sup>d</sup>Nabû(N)Ā]<sup>2</sup> arki(EGIR) <sup>r</sup>sa-raq<sup>1</sup> [x x x x x x x]
- 9'. [(x) arki(EGI)R]<sup>2</sup> tar-den-ni u ki-šuk-k[u x x x x] x x [x x]
- 10'. [x x x] x x ú na <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [x x x x x x]-ú <sup>mi</sup>ḥu-ul-la-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-n[i-tú]
- 11'. [x x x] x ti x [x x x x x] ú<sup>2</sup> <sup>túg</sup>sūnu(ÚR) ana imitti(15) u šumēli(150)
- 12'. [x x x] x x x [x x x ina kisalli(KISAL)] eli([A]N.TA)<sup>i</sup> izzaz(GUB<sup>mes</sup>)-zu
- 13'. [x x <sup>mi</sup>nārtu(N)AR]<sup>ti</sup> ina sag <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [x x x] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-ú gada-le-e i-na-as-suk
- 14'. [x x x] x ūm(U<sub>4</sub>) 16<sup>kam</sup> kī(GIN<sub>7</sub>) <sup>r</sup>ana<sup>1</sup> [ūm(U<sub>4</sub>) x<sup>k</sup>]<sup>am</sup> úru hul-a-ke<sub>4</sub> li-li-is-su
- 15'. [(x) égi<sup>2</sup> mah<sup>2</sup> di]m-me-er an-ki-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> [ina<sup>2</sup> li<sup>2</sup>]-la<sup>2</sup>-a-ti ūmu(U<sub>4</sub>) 17<sup>kam</sup>
- 16'. [x x x] <sup>r</sup>x ūm(U<sub>4</sub>) 20<sup>kam</sup> kī(GIN<sub>7</sub>) ūm(U<sub>4</sub>) 10+[x] <sup>r</sup>kam<sup>1</sup> [x x d]i-ki bīti(É) gál <sup>r</sup>šà<sup>2</sup> x x<sup>mes<sup>71</sup></sup> bītu(É)
- 17'. [x x x x] <sup>r</sup>di<sup>1</sup>-ki <sup>r</sup>bīti(É)<sup>1</sup> u [pi-t]i bābi(KÁ) gada-le-e
- 18'. [i-na-as-suk za-ma]r naptani(BUR) šá <sup>mi</sup>nar-tú u <sup>lú</sup>kurgarrú(KUR.GAR.RA)
- 19'. [x x x] x x arki(EGIR) šamnu(Ī.GIŠ) šal-mu qāt(ŠU.MIN) <sup>d</sup>Qibi(DUG<sub>4</sub>)-dumqī(SIG<sub>5</sub>)
- 20'. [(x) u DN(?)]išabbat(DAB)]<sup>bat</sup>-ma ana <sup>d</sup>rNa-na-a<sup>1</sup> itarrašū(LÁ)<sup>mes</sup>
- 21'. [x x x x] x <sup>lú</sup>assinnu(UR.SAL) <sup>mi</sup>[nārtu(NAR)]<sup>i<sup>2</sup>.mes</sup> šá mu-mar-re-e-tú
- 22'. [x x x ana] <sup>r</sup>é<sup>1</sup>-ur<sub>5</sub>-šà-ba illak(DU)<sup>ak</sup>-ma ana abul(KÁ.GAL) <sup>d</sup>Uraš
- 23'. [x x x x] <sup>r</sup>ub<sup>2</sup>-šú<sup>2</sup>-ukkin<sup>2</sup>-na<sup>1</sup> ki itarrašū(LÁ)<sup>2</sup>
- 24'. [(x) ana tar-ši] <sup>r</sup>é<sup>1</sup>-šà-sur<sup>1</sup>-ra šá kisalli(KISAL) šap-li-i itarrašū(LÁ)<sup>mes</sup>
- 25'. [(x) ana <sup>d</sup>Bēlet(GAŠAN)]-bīti(É) itarrašū(LÁ)<sup>mes</sup> ina muḥḥi(UGU) di-<sup>2</sup>i imitti(15) šá bāb(KÁ) pa-pa-ḥi
- 26'. [x x x] x <sup>r</sup>sa<sup>2</sup> ma <sup>lú</sup>kurgarrú(KUR.GAR.RA) il-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup> illak(DU)<sup>ak</sup>
- 27'. [x x x] <sup>r</sup>ak<sup>71</sup> qāt(ŠU.MIN) ili(DINGIR) išabbat(DAB)]<sup>bat</sup>-ma ana bīt(É) <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>Bēlet(GAŠAN)-bīti(É) itarraš(LÁ)
- 28'. [x x x] <sup>r</sup>é<sup>1</sup>-zi-da ana <sup>d</sup>Nabû(NĀ) itarrašū(LÁ)<sup>mes</sup> ina bāb(KÁ) né-reb <sup>d</sup>Gu-la
- 29'. [x x x] <sup>r</sup>kal<sup>71</sup> <sup>d</sup>Gula(ME.ME) irrub(KU<sub>4</sub>)-ma ana tar-ši parak(<sup>r</sup>BÁRA<sup>1</sup>) ka-ri

- 30'. [x x x] x *illak*(DU)-*ma ina bāb*(KÁ) *bīt*(É) <sup>d</sup>*Ninurta*(MAŠ) é-<sup>d></sup>lugal-gir-ra<sup>1</sup>  
 31'. [x x x x] x x x [x x x x] aš

**col. ii**

- 1'. <sup>r</sup>x (x)<sup>1</sup> egi mah d[im-me-er an-ki-a(?) x (x)]  
 2'. *ki-i šá ūm*(U<sub>4</sub>) 3<sup>kam</sup> *šá* <sup>d</sup>[x x x x x x]  
 3'. *kī*(GIN<sub>7</sub>) *ūm*(U<sub>4</sub>) 11<sup>kam</sup> *pīt*(BAD) *bāb*(KÁ) [x x x x *ūm*(U<sub>4</sub>) x<sup>k</sup>am *ūm*(U<sub>4</sub>) 20<sup>k</sup>[am]  
 4'. x x x x [x x (x)] x x x [x x x x] x *za-mar naptanu*(BUR) <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>7</sup>1 [(x)]  
 5'. [x x x] x *kī*(GIN<sub>7</sub>) *ūm*(U<sub>4</sub>) 3<sup>kam</sup> *it-ti naptanu*(BUR) *šá tar-den-ni* <sup>r</sup>šá *ki-iš*<sup>1</sup> u<sub>4</sub>-*m*[u]  
 6'. [x] *hī*<sup>1</sup> li mu *kunāšu*(ZÍZ.A.AN) u *ištēn*(1+)<sup>en</sup> *ba-tu-ú šá* KAŠ.ŠE.BAR *ina bi-rit-ti-šī*<sup>1</sup>-[na]
- 
- 7'. [DIŠ] <sup>iti</sup>*nisanu*(BÁRA) <sup>r</sup>*ūm*(U<sub>4</sub>)<sup>1</sup> 1<sup>kam</sup> *ina kašāti*(GI<sub>6</sub>.SÁ) *qī-bit šá* <sup>lú</sup>*kurgarrú*(KUR.GAR.RA) <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>*ru*<sup>1</sup>-<sup>ú</sup> *šá* <sup>lú</sup>*nāru*(N[AR<sup>2</sup> (x)])  
 8'. <sup>r</sup>*ina*<sup>1</sup> *muḫḫi*(UGU) 2/3 *bēr*(DANNA) *mūši*(GI<sub>6</sub>) *bābu*(KÁ) *ippette*(BAD)<sup>te</sup>-*ma gada-le-e*<sup>mes</sup>-*šú*<sup>?</sup> [ŠUB(?)]  
 9'. *arki*(EGIR) *me-e qātī*(ŠU.MIN) *šamnu*(Ī.GIŠ) *za-mar-šu šá* <sup>lú</sup>*kurgarrú*(KUR.GAR.RA) u <sup>mi</sup>*nar-tú*<sup>1</sup> *ša*[*l-mu* x (x)]  
 10'. *arki*(EGIR) *pi-šá-an-nu ana é-zi-da illiku*(DU)-*ma* <sup>r</sup>*šamnu*(Ī.GIŠ)<sup>1</sup> *ina é-zi-da*<sup>1</sup> *bītu*(É) [o]  
 11'. *šá*<sup>d</sup> *Na-na-a na-ma-ri šá*<sup>d</sup> *Su-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-ti* <sup>r</sup>*na*<sup>1</sup>-*ma-ri šá*<sup>d</sup> *Gu-la* <sup>r</sup>*é-ul*<sup>1</sup>-*la*  
 12'. <sup>r</sup>*mi*<sup>1</sup> *ḫu-ul-la-la-a-ni-tú*<sup>mes</sup> *ileqqâ*(TI)<sup>mes</sup> <sup>gis</sup>*qanû*(GI) *in-na-ḫu-<sup>r</sup>ú*<sup>1</sup> [(šá)(?)]  
 13'. *šamnu*(Ī.GIŠ) *šá ra-qé-e it-ti-ši-na i-lam-ma-a ká*-<sup>d</sup> *utu-è-*[a]  
 14'. *šamnu*(Ī.GIŠ) *ana qaq-qar 2-šú i-tab-ba-ku sip-pe-e bābi*(KÁ) u *daltu*(<sup>gis</sup>IG) *šá bābi*(KÁ)<sup>r</sup>*mes*<sup>1</sup> [o]  
 15'. *ilappatâ*(TAG)<sup>mes</sup> *ana áš-ruk-ka-tú ká-u*<sub>6</sub>-*de-babbar ana áš-ruk-ka-*[*tú ká-hé-gál*]  
 16'. *ana áš-ruk-ka-tú ká*-<sup>d</sup> *lamma-ra-bi irrubâ*(KU<sub>4</sub>)<sup>mes</sup>-*ma kī*(GIN<sub>7</sub>) *šá ina* <sup>r</sup>*ká*<sup>1</sup>-[<sup>d</sup>*utu-è-a*]  
 17'. *i-pu-šú* <sup>r</sup>*ip*<sup>1</sup>-*pu-šú ana ekurrâte*(É.KUR)<sup>mes</sup> *illakâ*(DU)<sup>mes</sup>-*ma kī*(GIN<sub>7</sub>) *an-na-a ippušâ*(DÛ)[<sup>mes</sup> *ana bīti*(É)]  
 18'. *šá*<sup>d</sup> *Su-ti-ti iturrâ*(GUR)<sup>mes</sup>-*ma na-ma-ri 2-šú-nu ina* <sup>r</sup>*muḫ-ḫi iššakkanâ*(GAR)<sup>1</sup>[<sup>mes</sup> (x)]  
 19'. *ina bīt*(É) <sup>r</sup>*erši*(<sup>gis</sup>NÚ) <sup>r</sup>*i-bi*<sup>1</sup>-*it-tu-<sup>2</sup> raq-qát* <sup>r</sup>*ana pi*<sup>1</sup>-*šá-an-nu utâr*(GUR)<sup>ár</sup> *k*[i x x]  
 20'. *šá*<sup>d</sup> *Nabû*(NÀ) u <sup>r</sup>*d**Na-na-a*<sup>1</sup> *šal-mu* <sup>túg</sup>*sūnu*(ÚR) *ana*<sup>d</sup> *Na-na-a u ilī*(DINGIR)<sup>mes</sup> *pa-ni é-z*[*i*<sup>2</sup>-*da*<sup>2</sup> x (x)]  
 21'. *šá bīt*(É) *erši*(<sup>gis</sup>NÚ) *šá pa-pa-ḫi šá*<sup>d</sup> *Nabû*(NÀ) *tur me er ana é-ur*<sub>5</sub>-*šà-ba inaššâ*(ĪL)<sup>a</sup> [x x]  
 22'. *šá ki-iš* u<sub>4</sub>-*mu* <sup>dug</sup>*egubbû*(A.GÚB.BA) *ukân*(GIN)<sup>an</sup> *ūm*(U<sub>4</sub>) 2<sup>kam</sup> *lu-bu-uš-t*[*i šá*]  
 23'. <sup>d</sup>*Na-na-a u*<sup>d</sup> *Ušur*(ÚRU)-*amât*(INIM)-*su ka-an-zu il-lab-bi-šú* <sup>lú</sup>*ēr*[*ib-bīti*(KU<sub>4</sub>.É) *pi-riš-tú*]  
 24'. *šá*<sup>d</sup> *Nabû*(NÀ) <sup>d</sup>*Na-na-a ú-lab-ba-áš a-di muḫḫi*(UGU) *šá 7 lu-bu-š*[*á-a-te* (o)]  
 25'. *šal-mu* <sup>lú</sup>*ērib-bīti*(KU<sub>4</sub>.É) *pi-riš-tú šá*<sup>d</sup> *Nabû*(NÀ) *ana pi-riš-tú šá*<sup>d</sup> *Na-n*[*a-a irrub*(KU<sub>4</sub>)<sup>ub</sup>]  
 26'. *an-na-a mi-iḫ-šu šá* <sup>lú</sup>*išparu*(UŠ.BAR) 1 <sup>gada</sup>*sal-ḫu* 6 <sup>túg</sup>*šibtu*(MÁŠ) *ša-ma-dú*<sup>?</sup> [x *ma-na*]  
 27'. *šuqulta*(KI.LÁ)-*šú-nu ištēt*(1+)<sup>et</sup> <sup>túg</sup>*za-pi-tu*<sub>4</sub> <sup>túg</sup>*š*<sup>2</sup>*i-ib-tu*<sub>4</sub> *šá* <sup>r</sup>*ki-tin*<sup>1</sup>-*nu 6 ma-n*[*a šuqulta*(KI.LÁ)-*šá*]  
 28'. *ištēn*(1+)<sup>en</sup> *la-ar-šú pešû*(BABBAR)<sup>ú</sup> *ištēn*(1+)<sup>en</sup> *la-ar-šú na-ba-as-su 2 túg* [x x]

**Reverse****col. iii**

1. [x] <sup>r</sup>x x x<sup>1</sup> *ištēn*(1+)<sup>en</sup> *šubât*(TÚG) *ta-kil-tú ištēn*(1+)<sup>en</sup> <sup>túg</sup>*a-di-il rab*<sup>2</sup> u <sup>r</sup>*ištēt*(1+)<sup>et</sup>1 [x (x)]  
 2. [o] *ištēt*(1+)<sup>et</sup> *ku-si-tu*<sub>4</sub> <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> *ta-kil-tú šá ku-lu-lu ta-kil-tú šubât*(TÚG) *par-ši-gu* <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>2</sup>1 [x]  
 3. [x<sup>2</sup>+] <sup>r</sup>10 *ta-kil-tú* <sup>túg</sup>*e-ri šá ta-kil-tú šitta*(2)<sup>ta</sup> *šubât*(TÚG) *bīt*(É) *qātī*(ŠU.MIN)<sup>mes</sup> *šá ki-šir* [x]  
 4. [x<sup>2</sup>+] 13 *šubât*(TÚG) *šá nēbehī*(ĪB.LÁ)<sup>mes</sup> 980 *a-a-ri ḫurāši*(KÛ.SIG<sub>17</sub>) *te-en-šú-ú* ½ *bi*[*lat*(GÚ.UN)]  
 5. [o] *šuqulta*(KI.LÁ)-*šú-nu ku-si-tu*<sub>4</sub> *ina lib-bi ta-šap-pi-ma ilū*(DINGIR)<sup>mes</sup> *il-lab-*[*bi-šú*]  
 6. [o] <sup>r</sup>giš/kal/si<sup>7</sup>1 *la qát ka-áš-ka-tú šu-ku<sup>1</sup>-tu*<sub>4</sub> *tu-za-a-a-an ištēn*(1+)<sup>en</sup> <sup>túg</sup>*kib-s*[*u*<sup>2</sup>]  
 7. [o] 3 *ammatu*(KÛŠ) *pūtu*(SAG.KI) *te-en-šú-ú šá na-ba-as-su u pešû*(BABBAR)<sup>ú</sup> *la-mu-š*[*ú-nu-tú*]  
 8. [o] <sup>r</sup>lú<sup>1</sup> *ērib-bīti*(KU<sub>4</sub>.É) *inaddi*(ŠUB)-*ma*<sup>d</sup> *Na-na-a ina muḫḫi*(UGU) *tu-lab-ba-áš an-na-a mi-i*[*ḫ-šu* (o)]

9. [o] ṛšá<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>Na-na-a arki(EGIR) lu-bu-uš-ti šal-mu bābu(KÁ) ippette(BAD)<sup>te</sup>-ma x [x x]
10. [o] ṛme<sup>1-e</sup> qātī(ŠU.MIN) u šá ḫu-ub-bu ṛištēt(1+)<sup>er1</sup> lamaḫuššū šīru(<sup>túg</sup>MA H. NÍG. L ÁM. MA)(?) x [x (x)]
11. nap-ta-nu u si-il-tu<sub>4</sub> i-ṛqer<sup>1</sup>-ru-ub ina lu-bu-šá-a-ti šá ṛtū<sup>1</sup>[x]
12. šá ṛ<sup>d</sup>Nabú(NÀ)<sup>1</sup> u <sup>d</sup>Na-na-a é-ur<sub>5</sub>-šà-ba ṛarki(EGIR)<sup>1</sup> šá ḫu-ub-bu ki-šuk-[ku]
13. ba-ar-šú u mašḫatu(ZĪ.MAD.GÁ) ta-sar-raq ina muḫḫi(UGU) me-e qātī(ŠU.MIN) x [x x]
14. arki(EGIR) sa-raq šá šá-lam bīti(É) šá kal šatti(MU.AN.NA) il-ṛkī<sup>1</sup> [x x x x]
15. ūm(U<sub>4</sub>) 3<sup>kam</sup> arki(EGIR) li-li-is-su tebū(ZI)<sup>ú</sup> ḫi-il-šu [x x x]
16. ki pīt(BAD) bābi(KÁ) a-na <sup>d</sup>Nabú(NÀ) <sup>d</sup>Na-na-a <sup>d</sup>Ušur(ÛRU)-amāt(INIM)-su šamnu(Ī.GIŠ) [x x x x]
17. i-za-am-mu-ur arki(EGIR) sa-raq za-mar naptani(BUR) šá <sup>mi</sup>nar-tú u <sup>lúf</sup>kurgarrû(KU[R.GAR.RA])
18. ana é-zī-da illak(DU)<sup>ak</sup>-ma šamnu(Ī.GIŠ) ana <sup>d</sup>Nabú(NÀ) u <sup>d</sup>Na-na-a iṣ-šab-bat pi-[šá-an-nu]
19. ana é-ur<sub>5</sub>-šà-ba itār(GUR)<sup>ár</sup> ina ṛšá<sup>1</sup>-la-mu bītāni(É)<sup>a-ni</sup> šá kal šatti(MU.AN.NA) a [x (x)]
20. šá tar-den-nu ki-šuk-ku tettiq(DIB)<sup>iq</sup> a-ki-i šá ina muḫḫi(UGU) gi-né-e ṛšá<sup>1</sup> [x x x]
21. ba-ar-šú u mašḫatu(ZĪ.MAD.GÁ) lib-bu-ú rabū(GAL)<sup>ú</sup> ta-ṛsar<sup>1</sup>-ṛraq<sup>1</sup> [x x (x)]
22. ina muḫ-ḫi me-e qātī(ŠU.MIN) talappat(TAG)<sup>at</sup> arki(EGIR) šá-lam bīti(É) il-[kī<sup>1</sup> šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>lú</sup>kurgarrû(KUR.GAR.RA)<sup>1</sup>]
23. u <sup>mi</sup>nar-tú <sup>d</sup>Na-na-a u a <sup>d</sup>Ušur(ÛRU)-amāt(INIM)-su ki <sup>d</sup>Nabú(NÀ) ṛx/<sup>d21</sup> [x x (x)]
24. ūm(U<sub>4</sub>) 6<sup>kam</sup> <sup>túg</sup>sūnu(ÚR) ṛšá<sup>1</sup>-la-ši kaspu(KÛ.BABBAR) ḫurāšu(KÛ.SIG<sub>17</sub>) ṛana<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>Na-na-a u ṛ<sup>d1</sup>[Ušur(ÛRU)-amāt(INIM)-su(?)]
25. ina <sup>giš</sup>ru-ku-bu ūm(U<sub>4</sub>) 6<sup>kam</sup> šá-lam bīti(É) šamnu(Ī.GIŠ) ina é-tūr-[kalam-ma (x) <sup>d</sup>Na-na-a(?)]
26. u <sup>d</sup>Ušur(ÛRU)-a[māt(INIM)-s] u ṛše<sup>1-e</sup>-ri u ki-iṣ u<sub>4</sub>-mu ūm(U<sub>4</sub>) 7<sup>kam</sup> <sup>lú</sup>nāru(N[AR] x x (x))
27. [(x)] ṛx<sup>1</sup> mu ṛ<sup>d</sup>en<sup>1</sup>-zu na-na i-za-am-mur arki(EGIR) lu-bu-[uš-ti]
28. [(x)] ṛana<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>Na-na-ṛa<sup>1</sup> ṣa-bat šamnu(Ī.GIŠ) kī(GIN<sub>7</sub>) gi-né-e ūm(U<sub>4</sub>) 8<sup>kam</sup> ūm(U<sub>4</sub>) ṛ9<sup>1</sup>[<sup>kam</sup>]
29. [o] šamnu(ṛĪ.GIŠ) u šá-lam bīti(É) še-e-ri u ki-iṣ u<sub>4</sub>-mu ana <sup>d</sup>Na-na-a u ṛ<sup>d1</sup>[Ušur(ÛRU)-amāt(INIM)-su(?)]
30. [(x) ina] ṛa-ki<sup>1</sup>-tum šá <sup>d</sup>Bēl(EN) ultu(TA) pi-šá-an-nu šá <sup>d</sup>Bēlet(GAŠAN)-bābīlī(TIN.TIR)<sup>k</sup>[<sup>1</sup>x x (x)]
31. [x x x] x ṛan<sup>1</sup> ūm(U<sub>4</sub>) 6+[3<sup>1</sup>]<sup>kam</sup> ūm(U<sub>4</sub>) 11<sup>kam</sup> šá <sup>d</sup>Nabú(NÀ) ana <sup>d</sup>Na-na-ṛa<sup>1</sup> ṛx<sup>1</sup> [x x (x)]
32. [x x x x x] ṛx x x x x<sup>1</sup> [x x x x x]

**col. iv**

1. [x x x x x x x] x x ṛé-ur<sub>5</sub>-šà-ba<sup>1</sup>(?) x [x] x x
2. [x x] x x x x [x x] x x [x]
3. [x x x x x] é [x] ri<sup>1</sup> ṛta-na-as<sup>1</sup>-suk [(x)]
4. [x x] x x x x x x <sup>d</sup>Na-na-a<sup>1</sup> u <sup>d</sup>Ušur(ÛRU)-amāt(INIM)-s[u]
5. [x x x x x x x] gur ri ṣi<sup>1</sup> diš<sup>2</sup> kan x [x]
6. [x x x x x x x] x túg<sup>2</sup> x x meš<sup>2</sup> ūm(U<sub>4</sub>) 20<sup>1</sup>[<sup>kam</sup>]
7. [x x x x x x x] šá ḫa šá ṛna<sup>1</sup> ina bīt(É)<sup>2</sup> [x x]
8. [x x x x x x x] x ṛ<sup>túg1</sup>sal-ḫu 6<sup>2</sup> [x x]
9. [x x x x x x x] x x [x x]
10. [x x x x x x x] x ṛ13<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>2</sup> ku<sup>2</sup> x [x x]
11. [x x x x x x x k]i ku-si-tu<sub>4</sub> bir<sup>2</sup>-m[u<sup>2</sup> (x)]
12. [x x x x x x x <sup>d</sup>N]a-na-a é-ur<sub>5</sub>-šà-ba
13. [x x x x x x x] x il-lab-biš
14. [x x x x x x x] x ṛi<sup>2</sup>-qer<sup>1</sup>-ru-ub ina šub-ti
15. [x x x x x x x] x šá ab-še-e-nu ḫurāši(KÛ.SIG<sub>17</sub>)
16. [x x x x x x x] x [x x] ṛšú<sup>1</sup> bu il
17. [x x x x x x x] x ṛi<sup>2</sup>-qer<sup>1</sup>-ru-ub
18. [x x x x x x x] x x si<sub>4</sub> [x] arki(EGIR) ina šu-me-e
19. [x x x x x x x] x ṛ<sup>d</sup>Na<sup>1</sup>-na-a

20. [x x x x x x] x x ʿma/ku<sup>1</sup> é ʿqu<sup>2</sup> bu<sup>3</sup> šú<sup>4</sup><sup>1</sup>
- 
21. [x x x x x x] x *kīma*(GIN<sub>7</sub>) *labīru*(LIBIR)
22. [x x x x x x] *ma*
23. [x x x x x x] ʿa<sup>7</sup><sup>1</sup>
24. [x x x *arāk*(GÍD.D)A] *u<sub>4</sub>-mi-šú*
25. [x x x *ana balāt napšāti*(Z)I]<sup>meš</sup>-šú
26. [x x x *uppuš*(AG<sup>2</sup>).ʿA<sup>1</sup>)  
(*remainder broken*)

## Translation

### Obverse

#### col. i

<sup>1</sup>... Euršaba ... <sup>2</sup>... he will utter cries of mourning. **Day 8** ... <sup>3</sup>... after(?) the consecration, from Ezida ... <sup>4</sup>... he will wrap(?) [the linen] curtains. Taking (of the hand?) <sup>5</sup>... of the (wooden) pot stand ... <sup>6</sup>... [he will remove?] the linen curtains ... <sup>7</sup>... [dit]to(?). *šamnu*-oil for Lisi ... <sup>8</sup>... the station of [Nab]û(?). After the sprinkling (of aromatics in a censer) ... <sup>9</sup>... after the (second) meal, and the grating ... <sup>10</sup>... the *ḫullālānītu* <sup>11</sup>... the *sūnu*-garment to the right and to the left <sup>12</sup>... [in the] Upper [Courtyard] he/they will stand. <sup>13</sup>... the songstress in ... she(?) will remove the linen curtains. <sup>14</sup> On the **16<sup>th</sup> day**, as on [the x day], the *Lilissu* (= Balaḡ) *úr u hul-a-ke<sub>4</sub>* (shall be performed for Nanāya); <sup>15</sup> the (ritual Eršema) [égi<sup>2</sup> mah<sup>2</sup> d]im-me-er an-ki-a (shall be performed) [in the eve]ning(?). **Day 17** <sup>16</sup>... **Day 20** (is) like **day 10**+**[x]** the awakening of the house ... the house <sup>17</sup>... the awakening of the house and the opening of the gate, the linen curtains <sup>18</sup> [will be removed, sing]ing for the (main) meal by the songstress and the *kurgarrû*. <sup>19</sup>... After the (ceremony with) *šamnu*-oil is finished, the hand of Qibi-dumqī, <sup>20</sup>[... (and of?) ... he/they will take], and they will take position towards Nanāya. <sup>21</sup>... the *assinnu*, the songstresses(?), who the *mumarrītu*-comb <sup>22</sup>... will go to Euršaba. And to the Uraš-Gate <sup>23</sup>... Ubšu-ukinna as they take position <sup>24</sup> [Towards E]šasurra of the Lower Courtyard they will take position. <sup>25</sup> [Towards] Bēlet-bīti they will take position. On the throne-platform at the right of the door of the cella <sup>26</sup>..., the *kurgarrû* will perform (his regular) service <sup>27</sup>... he will take the god by the hand, and he will take position towards the temple of Bēlet-bīti. <sup>28</sup>... Ezida. Towards Nabû he will take position. At the Entrance Gate of Gula <sup>29</sup>... Gula will enter, and towards the “Dais of the Quay” <sup>30</sup>... he will go, and at the gate of the temple of Ninurta, the Elugalirra(?) ... <sup>31</sup>...

#### col. ii

<sup>1</sup> ... the (ritual Eršema) égi mah d [im-me-er an-ki-a (?)] (shall be performed) <sup>2</sup> like for day 3 for DN ... <sup>3</sup> like day 11. Opening of the gate [... **day x**], **day 20** <sup>4</sup>... singing for the (main) meal ... <sup>5</sup>... like day 3, with the (second) meal of the evening <sup>6</sup>... emmer and one *batû*-vessel of ...-beer between them.

---

<sup>7</sup> In the month of Nisan, **day 1**, in the early morning, the prayer of the *kurgarrû*, the singing(?) of the singer(?) [...].

<sup>8</sup> At 2/3 double hours of the night, the gate will be opened, and its(?) linen curtains [will be removed(?)]. <sup>9</sup> After the water (for the cleansing) of the hands, oil, (and) the singing of the *kurgarrû* and the songstress is [finished].

<sup>10</sup> After the *pišannu*-box will have gone to Ezida, oil in Ezida, the cella/chapel <sup>11</sup> of Nanāya, <sup>12</sup> the *ḫullālānītu* will take <sup>11</sup> the mirror of Sutītu, the mirror of Gula of Eulla. <sup>12</sup> A reed(?)... (container (?) of) <sup>13</sup> aromatic oil they (the *ḫullālānītu*-priestesses) will take around with them (f.pl.). (As for) Kautuea, <sup>14</sup> they will pour oil twice on the ground. <sup>15</sup> They will smear <sup>14</sup> the door-jambs of the gate and the door of the gates (with it). <sup>16</sup> They will enter <sup>15</sup> the lobby of Kaudebabbār, the lobby of [Kahegal], <sup>16</sup> the lobby of Kalammarabi, <sup>17</sup> and they will do <sup>16</sup> as they did at [Kautuea], <sup>17</sup> they will go to the (other) temples and perform likewise. <sup>18</sup> They will go back <sup>17</sup> [to the chapel] <sup>18</sup> of Sutītu, and the mirrors, two of them, [they will put(?)] thereupon ...(?). <sup>19</sup> In the bedchamber they

will spend the night. The *raqqatu* will be returned to the *pišannu*-box. As soon as the ...<sup>20</sup> of Nabû and Nanāya is finished, the *sūnu*-garment for Nanāya and the (other) gods in front of Ez[ida(?)] ...<sup>21</sup> of the bedchamber of the cella of Nabû ... they will raise towards Euršaba. ...<sup>22</sup> of the evening. The holy water basin will be set. **Day 2**, clothing ceremony [of]<sup>23</sup> Nanāya and Ušur-amāssu (the images of which) are stored(?) (in the “secret house”) will be performed. The temple enter[er of the “secret house”]<sup>24</sup> of Nabû will clothe Nanāya up to seven garments.<sup>25</sup> (Once) finished, the temple enterer of the “secret house” of Nabû [will enter] the “secret house” of Nanāya.<sup>26</sup> These are the textiles of the weaver: one *sallū*-garment, six *šibtu*-garments tied up (?): [x minas]<sup>27</sup> (is) their weight. One \**zapītu*-garment(?), a *šibtu*-garment(?) of *kitinnu*-fabric: six minas [is its weight].<sup>28</sup> ... one white \**laršu*-strap(?), one *laršu*-strap(?) of red wool, two (garments) ...

### col. iii

<sup>1</sup> ... one garment of blue-purple wool, one *adīlu* (garment) large(?) and(?)one (?) ...<sup>2</sup> one *kusītu*-garment of blue-purple wool for the *kulūlu*-headband of blue-purple wool, (one) *paršīgu*-garment ...<sup>3</sup> [x<sup>2</sup>+] ten (portions of) blue-purple wool, *eru*-headbands of blue-purple wool, two garments (of) the *bit qātis* of the treasury(?) (...) <sup>4</sup> [x<sup>2</sup>+] thirteen garments for the *nēbeḫū*-sashes, 980 rosettes of gold, *tenšū*-ornaments: half a talent (is) <sup>5</sup> their weight. From among (them), she will wrap (the statue with) the *kusītu*-garment. The gods will be dressed.

<sup>6</sup> ... she will decorate the rolled(?) adornments. One *kībsu*-garment of<sup>7</sup> three cubits wide, *tenšū*-ornaments surrounded with red and white (wool), <sup>8</sup> [t]he temple-enterer will lie down, and she will clothe Nanāya with it. This is the *miḫšu*<sup>9</sup> of Nanāya. After the clothing (ceremony) is finished the gate will be opened, and ...<sup>10</sup> the water (for the purification) of the hands and for the purification (of the temple) one precious woolen garment(?)! ...<sup>11</sup> The (main) meal and *siltu*-food (offering) will be served. During the clothing of the mo[nth(?) of x]<sup>12</sup> of Nabû and Nanāya.

(As for) the Euršaba, after the purification of the grating<sup>13</sup> she will sprinkle juniper and *mašḫatu*-flour, upon the water (for the purification) of the hands ...<sup>14</sup> After the sprinkling for the (ceremony for the) well-being of the temple, which (is) for the whole year, the duties(?) of ...<sup>15</sup> **Day 3**. After the kettledrum has been lifted(?), filtered-oil ...<sup>16</sup> At the time of the opening of the gate, for Nabû, Nanāya (and) Ušur-amāssu, *šamnu*-oil ...<sup>17</sup> he will sing. After the sprinkling, the singing for the (main) meal by the songstress and the *kurgarrū*,<sup>18</sup> he(?) will go to Ezida. *šamnu*-oil for Nabû and Nanāya will be taken. The *pi[šamnu]*-box<sup>19</sup> will return to Euršaba. During the (ceremony for) the well-being of the temples, which is for the whole year ...<sup>20</sup> of the (second) meal. She will carry along the grating, like in the regular offerings of ...<sup>21</sup> She will sprinkle juniper and *mašḫatu*-flour, just like (for) the main (meal) ...<sup>22</sup> She will smear with the water (for the purification) of the hands. After the (ceremony for the) well-being of the temple (is finished), the du[ties (?) of the *kurgarrū*(?)]<sup>23</sup> and the songstress (are finished(?)). Nanāya and Ušur-amāssu, when/with Nabû, DN<sup>24</sup> **Day 6**. The *sūnu*-garment, three(?) of silver (and) gold, for Nanāya and [Ušur-amāssu(?)]<sup>25</sup> on the chariot. Day 6. (Ceremony for the) well-being of the temple, *šamnu*-oil in Eturkalamma [Nanāya(?)]<sup>26</sup> and Ušur-amāssu, morning and evening. **Day 7**. The singer ...<sup>27</sup> will sing “... mu<sup>d</sup>Suen nana.” After the clothing (ceremony)<sup>28</sup> (...) for Nanāya, holding of the *šamnu*-oil, as (in) the regular offerings. **Day 8, day 9(?)**:<sup>29</sup> *šamnu*-oil and the (ceremony for the) well-being of the temple, morning and evening. To Nanāya and [Ušur-amāssu(?)]<sup>30</sup> ... in the *akītu* of Bēl, from the *pišannu*-box of Bēlet-bābili ...<sup>31</sup>... **Day 9(?), day 11**, of Nabû, to Nanāya ...<sup>32</sup>...

### col. iv

<sup>1</sup> ... Euršaba ...<sup>2</sup> ...<sup>3</sup> ... she will throw<sup>4</sup> ... Nanāya and Ušur-amāssu<sup>5</sup> ...<sup>6</sup> ... 20th day<sup>7</sup> ... in the temple ...<sup>8</sup> ... *sallū*-garment, six(?) ...<sup>9-10</sup> ...<sup>11</sup> ... *kusītu* ...<sup>12</sup> ... Nanāya Euršaba<sup>13</sup> ... will be robbed<sup>14</sup> ... will be served in the seat<sup>15</sup> ... of the rope(?) of gold<sup>16</sup> ...<sup>17</sup> ... will be served<sup>18</sup> ... after in the roasted meat (?) (offering)<sup>19</sup> ... Nanāya,<sup>20</sup> ...

---

(Colophon:)<sup>20</sup> ... according to the original<sup>22-23</sup> ...<sup>24</sup> ... [make] his days [be long]<sup>25</sup> ... [for the life of] his so[ul]<sup>26</sup> [... had written, collated and ma]de ...

### Commentary

i 1': Given the topographical features described in this manuscript, it is evident that  $\acute{e}\text{-ur}_5\text{-}\acute{s}\grave{a}\text{-ba}$  here refers to the seat (*šubtu*) of Nanāya in the Esagil temple complex at Babylon (George 1993: no. 1196). The shrine appears in *Tintir* II: 9":  $\acute{e}\text{-ur}_5\text{-}\acute{s}\grave{a}\text{-ba}$  |  $\acute{s}\acute{u}\text{-bat}^dN[a\text{-na}\text{-}a \dots]$ ; for further references, see George 1992: 282 line 9". Evidence for its location in Babylon was already found in *BE* VIII/: 108 9: *ina Bābili*(TIN.TIR)<sup>ki</sup>  $pa\text{-ni}^dNa\text{-na}\text{-}a \acute{e}\text{-ur}_5\text{-}\acute{s}\grave{a}\text{-ba}$ . As argued by George, all the *šubtus* listed in *Tintir* II are to be located in the Esagil temple complex (George 1992: 10–11). Since the present tablet, and indirectly the related text BM 40854+, offer topographical features that are well recognized as part of Marduk's temple, the restoration of *Tintir* II 9" is nicely substantiated by the new evidence.

However, since  $\acute{e}\text{-ur}_5\text{-}\acute{s}\grave{a}\text{-ba}$  also refers to the temple of the same goddess in Borsippa (George 1993: no. 1195; Waerzeggers 2010: 26–27), it is difficult to decide the cultic location of the other preserved rituals or ceremonies. Note that this Nanāya of Euršaba was not Nabû's consort, but a homonymous deity who also became Nabû's mistress; there were two goddesses of the same name worshiped in Borsippa: Nabû's consort and Nanāya of  $\acute{e}\text{-ur}_5\text{-}\acute{s}\grave{a}\text{-ba}$  (Waerzeggers 2010: 22). Documentary evidence on the deities: 1) the offerings to Nanāya in  $\acute{e}\text{-ur}_5\text{-}\acute{s}\grave{a}\text{-ba}$  attested for the month of Kislimu (*BRM* IV: 25, 48 || *SBH* VII obv. 23–24); 2) a marriage procession of Nabû and Ninkali (to be identified with Nanāya) from  $\acute{e}\text{-zi}\text{-da}$  to  $\acute{e}\text{-ur}_5\text{-}\acute{s}\grave{a}\text{-ba}$  on Ayyaru day 2 (*SBH* VIII ii 15–21);<sup>20</sup> and 3) a procession of Nanāya from  $\acute{e}\text{-ur}_5\text{-}\acute{s}\grave{a}\text{-ba}$  to the <sup>gis</sup>*kirû*(KIRI<sub>6</sub>) *hur-sa-an-na* "Garden of the Mountain" on Ayyaru day 17 (*SBH* VIII ii 27–28).<sup>21</sup> Finally, a procession to Babylon and Kiš on Šabātu days 28 and 29 seems to refer to Nanāya of Euršaba in Borsippa (George 2000: 289–99, no. 4; Waerzeggers 2010: 130–31). For the goddess in the context of the poetry of divine love, see Nissinen 2001: 99–103, and see Holm 2017 for the Aramaic material (Papyrus Amherst 63).

The  $\acute{e}\text{-ur}_5\text{-}\acute{s}\grave{a}\text{-ba}$  is also mentioned in BM 40854+ (see edition below). The menology BM 76206+ obv. ii 2'–3' refers to a procession on day 17 (month unspecified/not preserved) of a deity whose name is not preserved, from  $\acute{e}\text{-ur}_5\text{-}\acute{s}\grave{a}\text{-ba}$  to the "Garden of the Mountain":  $\acute{u}m(U_4) 17^{kam} ultu(TA) q\acute{e}\text{-reb} \acute{e}\text{-ur}_5\text{-}\acute{s}\grave{a}\text{-b}[a\dots] / a\text{-na} kir\acute{u}(KIRI_6) hur\text{-sa}\text{-}[an \dots]$ ; further evidence, BM 76206+ iv 11' [...] <sup>r</sup><sup>d1</sup>*Na-na-a a-ši-ba-at*  $\acute{e}\text{-ur}_5\text{-}\acute{s}\grave{a}\text{-ba}$  (BM 76206+ obv. ii 2'–4' = *SBH* VIII ii 27–29).

For Nanāya see Stol 1999; Westenholz 1997; Stol 1998–2001; Ambos 2003.

i 2': The following section describes the ritual action for the eighth day of the month, but due to the poor preservation of the tablet it is uncertain how many days were included between i 2' and i 14', where the description for the rites of day 16 begins. The month name is not preserved but we assume it is Addaru, as suggested by Gabbay (2014: 161); the first day of Nisan (of the following year) begins in ii 7'.

i 3': The term *hubbu* (*habû*) refers to consecration (by purification); see also rev. iii 10 and 12. During the New Year Festival of Nisannu in Hellenistic Babylon, on the fifth day, the consecrations first of the Esagil and then of the Ezida (the cella of Nabû within the Esagil temple complex) took place by means of fire and water, with the censer (*nignakku*), the torch (*gizillû*), and the holy water-basin (*egubbû*); see Linssen 2004: 147–48.

The Ezida is the well-known cella (*papāhu*) of Nabû in the Esagil temple complex in Babylon (George 1993: no. 1237), which was refurbished by Nebuchadnezzar II during the Neo-Babylonian period.<sup>22</sup> During his visit to Babylon on occasion of the New Year Festival of Nisan, Nabû resided there on days 5 and 6. During the festival, the cella, together with Esagil, was the object of elaborate ritual purification procedures on day 5, which took place before the arrival of the statue of the god from Borsippa, as described in the Neriglissar cylinder C23/1 (I 33–40):

20. For an edition of *SBH* VIII (VAT 662 + 663), see Çağırğan 1976: 168–82; and Matsushima 1987: 158–59. See also Matsushima 1988; Cohen 1993: 449 and Linssen 2004: 68, n. 322.

21. See Linssen 2004: 68, n. 324.

22. For references to the Ezida in royal inscriptions by Nebuchadnezzar II, see further George 1992: 282–83, line 10"; Da Riva 2008: 111; 2012: 66, line 47 (Brisa inscription).

“The dais of destinies inside the Ezida—which at the New Year Festival, at the beginning of the year, for the Akītu-festival, at (the time of) the procession (lit. setting out) of Marduk, the Enlil of the gods, Nabû, the true heir, moves in procession (from Borsippa) to Babylon, on days 5 and 11, on the way to Babylon and on the way back (to Borsippa), [Nabû, the triumphant heir] takes residence upon it—[that a former king] had made in silver, I overlaid with bri[ght gold] ...”; see Da Riva 2013: 124–35. For the location of the cella inside the Esagil temple complex, see George 1995: 192–93.

i 4': The verb *karāku* in this context means “to roll up, to wrap up (the curtains)”; see *AHW* 446, “aufwickeln, zusammenfassen,” also in *CDA* 148. None of the translations offered in *CAD* K, 199 is adequate in this context. For the restoration of the line, see i 6', and BM 40854+ iv 29'.

i 5': The pot stand *ganganu* (also referred to in BM 40854+ iv 36') is often found in connection with beer; see Cohen 1993: 114.

i 6': We interpret *gada-le-e* as a form of the well-known *gada(la)lû* “linen curtain,” more commonly attested as <sup>tu</sup>GADA.LÁ, in connection with the ceremonies of the New Year Festival at Babylon (*RAcc.* 127–54, 3, 218, 287; see also Linssen 2004: 133 and 215). Since during the festival the removing (*dekû*) of the *gada(la)lû* is the first ritual action of the morning, followed by a prayer, one would expect a similar context here. Note however that in the New Year rituals attested up until now the curtains are only drawn from before the images of Marduk and Zarpānītu. The new evidence shows a wider use of *gada(la)lû*, and also provides new vocabulary connected with its use: *petû*, “to open,” *nasāku*, “to throw (away),” instead of *dekû*, and *karāku*, “to wrap, roll up,” for its opposite. See BM 40790 i 13', [18']. In BM 40854+, iv 30': ... *di-ik bīti ki pīt bābi gada-le-e ta-ke-rik arki* ... “(...). Awakening of the temple. During the opening of the gate, she will wrap(?) the linen curtains (...).” In BM 38602, 4': [KÁ ...] = *bāb pa-paḥ gadalalê*(GADA.LÁ), “the gate of the cella of the linen curtain,” among a list of the gates of the Esagil (George 1992: 96, 403). Note also the evidence from Uruk in Beaulieu (2003: 381) sub *gidlû* “door curtain.” As the evidence clearly demonstrates, curtains played a key role in these ceremonies, as the action applied to these screening devices marked ritual space and ritual time (see Grimes 2006: 89–95).

i 7': Note that the first sign could also be read [Š]U.MIN. The divine name at the end of the line very likely refers to Lisi. After the Old Babylonian period the cult of Lisi is rarely attested and the importance of this deity seems to have been lost. In the first millennium, Lisi was considered a mother goddess in the god lists and in some cultic texts. But in certain compositions Lisi was considered a male deity; see AN = <sup>d</sup>A-*nu-um*, II 70, where he is glossed as *dumu dingir-mah-ke<sub>4</sub>* = <sup>d</sup>*Be-let-i-lī* in I 371; II 1. On the ambiguity of this figure, see Michalowski 1987–1990. Lisi's temple was also called *é-ur<sub>5</sub>-ša-ba* (see George 1992: 282; 1993: no. 1197). Lisi belonged to the household of Nanāya of Euršaba, as is clearly seen from BM 40854+ iv 26' below and accompanied the goddess on her trip to Kish; see George 2000: 289–99, no. 4; Waerzeggers 2010: 30.

Alternatively, but much less probably, the traces left after the *dingir* could stand for *bī*, as in <sup>d</sup>bī-in-dug<sub>4</sub>-ba-ša<sub>6</sub>, mentioned in AN = <sup>d</sup>A-*nu-um* V, 177, as *udug é-gal-mah-ke<sub>4</sub>*, “udug-officer of Egalmah,” which may refer to the temple of Gula located close to the Esagil. See George 1992: 304–5 and the textual note on i 28'.

i 8': The reading of the sign AK as *nà* for the logogram of the name of Nabû follows an old suggestion by W. G. Lambert. Possibly, however, we should consider other readings in view of the different values offered in the lexical lists; see Pomponio 1978: 10–11, with n. 26.

The sprinkling of aromatics, etc., in a censer was part of the fumigation, a performance that was a ritual act and a ritual offering at the same time (Linssen 2004: 145–46). The fumigation could take place before or, as in this case, after the meals. Interestingly, this cultic activity appears to be linked to women in some documents (Waerzeggers 2010: 51).

i 9': *tardelinnu* was the second ritual meal, normally presented with the main meal (*naptanu*) twice a day, in the morning and evening (for the composition of the meals, see Linssen 2004: 130–38). The grate referred to here may be part of an incense burner (*CAD* K, 464–65), since the act of fumigation is also mentioned in these lines.

i 10': The term *ḥullālānītu* also appears in this text in ii 12' and in BM 40845 iv [3'], 9'; otherwise the term is not attested. Since this cultic figure is part of the staff gravitating around Ištar/Nanāya, it is tempting to consider her as

belonging to the same category of third gender, such as *kurgarrûs* and *assinnus* (see below lexical note to i 18').<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, the female gender displayed by the Akkadian word and by the feminine determinative argues against such an interpretation.<sup>24</sup>

The etymology of *ḫullālānītu* is uncertain. The term may be related to the word *ḫullānu* “shirt/coverlet,”<sup>25</sup> whose etymology is in turn unknown. However, a connection seems also possible with *ḫulālu*, a kind of precious stone, suggesting that the *ḫullānu*-garment could have been decorated with such stones. The evidence from Sippar indicates that the *ḫullānu* was part of the attire of gods,<sup>26</sup> while in Uruk it is attested as part of the apparel of goddesses: e.g., Nanāya (*PTS* 2094 i obv. 14), Ušur-amāssu (*PTS* 2094 ii obv. 12.), and Urkayītu (*PTS* 2094 ii obv. 19).<sup>27</sup> It is also quite suggestive to think of the *ḫullālānītu* as connected to the verb *ḫalālu* “to confine, shut away” (but note that this is attested in OA and OB periods only), which in the D-stem (the name of the priestess seems to suggest this), as a stative, could mean “the confined one.” This “confinement” might explain something about the background of this type of cultic figure.

Other, but less likely possible origins come from the comparison with the Aramaic material (<http://cal.huc.edu/>), with terms from the roots *ḫwl* and *ḫll*. There is the Aramaic verb, “to dance around” (Sokoloff 2003: 191), which might fit well with the tasks of the *ḫullālānītu* in our text, as she is mentioned together with musicians and *kurgarrûs*. In Akkadian, we have *mēlulu*, “to play,” a term that is also encountered in cultic contexts (*CAD* M/2, 16–17), but it is possible that the root was loaned again in its Aramaic form.

However, in the opinion of T. Holm, who most kindly checked the related Aramaic material and sent me many useful suggestions, this word would more likely be from the geminate root *ḫll* than the hollow root *ḫwl*, because of the doubled middle l and the final l. The geminate root *ḫll* means “to cleanse,” and is prone to semantic extension into the religious sphere (e.g., note the Syriac *ḫlwl*, “festival day,” and *ḫll*, “to keep a festival day”; it may also be related to the homonymous root *ḫll* meaning “to desecrate”). In this interpretation, the *ḫullālānītu* may have something to do with a cultic figure who is ritually purified. “Furthermore, there are some Aramaic noun patterns from the D stem (including *quttāl*, which is for colors and for action nouns in Syriac; see Fox 2003: 252, 279–80). The medial *-ān-* could even indicate the common Aramaic noun suffix *-ān*, although I know of no instance where it is attached to any pattern like *ḫullāl*.” (T. Holm, personal communication).

One thing seems clear: the *ḫullālānītu* was a female cult attendant, connected to the worship of female deities and to music performances. It is difficult to say if the term was of Aramaic origin but considering the references in these texts to Aramean goddesses (*Aḫlamītu* in BM 40854+ iv 6' and *Sutītu* in BM 40790 ii 11'), it would not be surprising to find an Aramean cultic performer.

i 11': In the *dullu pešū* list from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar, the *sūnu* was part of the divine attire; normally each deity received one, but Šamaš and Aya had two each. In Uruk, the *sūnu* seems to have been limited to certain deities. The composition, size, and weight of the *sūnu* varied greatly; its precise morphology and function remain uncertain, but we know that it was not (in all cases) a loincloth, as it has been usually interpreted, but rather a bandage, or a cloth of sorts to bind or wrap certain parts of the body; see the discussion in Zawadzki 2006: 102–5.

23. These cultic figures were previously attested especially for the months Du'ūzu and Simānu, see Maul 1992: 166 and George 2000: 270–80.; see Peled 2016: 155–202, esp. 175–88 for their appearance in cultic ceremonies, the New Year Festival among others.

24. Against the dubious attestation of a female *kurgarrū* (*CAD* K, 559a), see Peled 2014: 286–87; 2016: 168–69.

25. Following the translation proposed by Zawadzki 2006: 111. As suggested there, this piece of apparel was put over the *salḫu*-garment (see note on BM 40790 ii 26'–28').

26. It never appears in the catalogs of garments (of the *miḫšu tenū* type) for the goddesses. The exception is Anunnītu, who may have been clothed either like a god or like a goddess, depending on which features of her personality were being stressed; see Zawadzki 2006: 109–11.

27. See Beaulieu 2003: 202, 244 and 258. In some instances, the determinative *tūg* seems to suggest that it was made of wool, but in Sippar it is usually preceded by the determinative *ga da*, thus suggesting that it was made of linen (Zawadzki 2006: 110). *ḫullānus* not strictly belonging to the property of the deities are also attested. Zawadzki suggested that a *ḫullānu*, with a representation of the *Sibitti* (“the seven gods”), might have belonged to the *ērib-bīti* in UVB 15, 40, rev. 13'. Moreover, there is also one mention of a *ḫullānu* worn by a slave; see Zawadzki 2006: 110.



i 12': According to George, the Upper Court of Esagil (for we assume it refers to the Esagil here) was another name for the main or central courtyard of the temple, the Court of Bēl, in opposition to the Lower Courtyard, or the Court of Bēltiya (George 1992: 294, 394, 400, 404, 414, 437). Both were located inside the complex. For the structure of the Esagil, see further George 1995.

i 13': It is uncertain whether the songstress is the subject of the verb at the end of the line. The verbal form is masculine, but in this late period and in these texts, the third person was generically expressed by the masculine. However, most of the verbal forms in this text (and in BM 40854+) that have a female as the subject are in the third person feminine form. It is also difficult to say whether the songstress had any direct involvement in the removal of the curtains. The closing of the curtains marks the end of one cultic action and the beginning of another, or it may denote a division of the space in the performance. The musician-singer (*nāru*) appears abundantly in the Late Babylonian rituals, as music played a central role in cult and ceremonies (Ambos 2008; Shehata 2014; for the Late Babylonian period, see Linssen 2004: 332 sub *nāru*). We find the musician-singers in the New Year Festival of Nisan at Babylon (*RAcc.* 127–54, 40, [186], 278, 337). In the festival musicians take part in rituals performed by the high priest (*aḫu rabū*) together with temple enterers (*ērib-bīti*) and the lamentation priest (*kalū*). Moreover, in the text referring to the Kislimu ritual at Babylon (BM 32206 +), the musician performs regularly for Bēl and Bēltiya: Çağirgan and Lambert (1991–1993: 93–100, ll. 18, 49, 62, 67, 112, 132, 135). The *nāru* even sang the *Enūma Eliš* for Bēl; see Çağirgan and Lambert (1991–1993: 96, ll. 62–65), as the high priest did in the New Year Festival on day 4 of Nisan. The *nāru* had also a leading role in divine processions; see George 2000: 281 n. 38, 283 (Kislimu); and *TU* 39 obv. 3 (New Year Festival at Uruk); see also Linssen 2004: 184. The mention in several texts of large numbers of *nārus* seems to suggest that not only solo singing existed, as in the rituals at hand, but choral singing as well.<sup>28</sup> As for the songstress (*nārtu*), among evidence from administrative texts from Babylon for the Late Babylonian period, there is also evidence of a chief songstress, whom we know by name: †Nanāya-bulliṭiš. She appears together with *ērib-bīti* and *\*pīrsātānītu* in BM 80711, a letter order from the Esagil published by Jursa (2002: 107). The text also mentions a *\*sakkikuddītu*, a female occupation in the Hellenistic Esagil temple at Babylon; see also Waerzeggers 2010: 50–51. These two figures (*nārtu* and *sakkikuddītu*) appear in the ritual BM 32482+ (Da Riva in preparation). Furthermore, *nārtus* also appear in *BRM* 1: 99 39, an account of the Raḫim-Esu archive where they were paid together with *assinnu* and *kurgarrū*.<sup>29</sup>

i 14': The Balaḡ lamentation *uru hul-a-ke<sub>4</sub>*, “She of the Destroyed City” for Inanna is well known; see the edition in Cohen 1988: 650–67; also Gabbay 2015: 150, 151. From the evidence of this line it is clear that *lilissu* was a term used to refer both to the instrument and to the genre of the Balaḡ; see Gabbay 2014: 7 and n. 24, 118–39, 161. The line is poorly preserved, but as we understand it, the recitation of the Balaḡ on day 16 is a repetition of a performance that had taken place on a previous (not preserved) day. This may indicate that the prayer was recited at least twice in the same month.

i 15': Because of the broken context and also the occurrence of the well-known Balaḡ lamentation in the previous line, “X-dimmerankia” probably refers to the unpreserved Eršema égi mah dim-me-er an-ki-a, “Exalted princess, Goddess of Heaven and Earth” (also attested in ii 1', see below). We follow here Gabbay 2014: 162 n. 59 and 2015: 225–26, no. 75; see also the catalogue in Cohen 1981: 11, no. 57. An alternative is the Balaḡ for Anu, lugal dim-me-er an-ki-a (Cohen 1988: 728–30). But the latter seems unlikely, because of the absence of Anu among the gods and goddesses mentioned in the tablet (at least in the lines preserved) and the topographical context of the cult, which takes place mainly in the Esagil. One might also see here the epithet or byname of Nabû lugal(-)dim-me-er(-)an(-)ki-a, “King of the Gods of Heaven and Earth,” as it appears to be a name borrowed by Nabû from his father Marduk in late hymns; see George 1992: 282 n. 2'. The epithet is also attested

28. The same could be true for *kalūs*; see Boiy 2004: 267 (with literature). This view is supported by a list of names of *nārus* in two ration lists from the Esagil archive; see Boiy 2004: 269. For the Esagil archive see Boiy 2004: 17, especially n. 16.

29. For a survey of the archive, which is mostly composed of lists of temple expenditures, especially from the Gula temple Esabād; see Boiy 2004: 19 and Jursa 2005: 75–76.

in the Nebuchadnezzar inscription BM 85975 (CT 37: 5–20) 33: é-zi-da šu-ba-at<sup>d</sup>lugal-dim-me-er-an-ki-a pa-pa-ḫi<sup>d</sup>Na-bi-um ša ki-sa-al-lam (Da Riva 2008: C36).

In spite of the large number of Balaḡ compositions preserved from Hellenistic Babylon (Cohen 1988; Boiy 2004: 24 and notes), very few of them are mentioned in ritual tablets: u<sub>4</sub>-dam ki àm-ús, “It touches the Earth like a Storm,” and e-lum gu<sub>4</sub> sún-(na), “Revered one, Wild Bull;” see BM 32206 +: 158, 162 in Çaḡirgan and Lambert 1991–1993: 100 and the editions in Cohen 1988: 120–51, 272–318. In the opinion of Gabbay, this may be related to the addressee of the ritual. Ritual texts from Nineveh and Seleucid Uruk that mention Emesal prayers are ritual instructions intended for the *kalû*, whose duty was to perform these prayers. But most of the Seleucid temple rituals from Babylon that we have are general rituals rather than *kalû* rites and therefore one would hardly expect any mention of Balaḡ prayers in such texts (U. Gabbay, personal communication).

If the reconstruction is correct, it is an indication that this prayer was recited on the evening of day 16.

i 16’–17’: The awakening of the house and the opening of the gate mark the beginning of the cultic day; for these ceremonies, see Linssen 2004: 24–39.

i 18’, 21’, 26’: The *kurgarrû* was often associated with the *assinnu*, and most studies deal with both figures together.<sup>30</sup> They were cultic performers closely related to the cult of Ištar (see also i 10’ above). It is significant that they both appear in BM 40790 (but only the *kurgarrû* in BM 40854+; see below), since the cultic activities are centered around the goddess Nanāya, who due to syncretism in the first millennium was sometimes identified with Ištar. Both *kurgarrû* and *assinnu* are well known in Babylonian temple rituals, since they played a leading role in the cult of Bēlet-Bābili (Ištar of Babylon) in her temple é-tur-kalam-ma (mentioned in iii 25), as expressed in the rituals of the “Divine Love Lyrics”; see comment to iii 25. They also appear in BM 32656 (George 2000: 270–80), a temple ritual fragment from Hellenistic Babylon, where a procession of the *assinnu* to the “House of Lament” (*bīt sipittê*) on Simānu, day 15, and of the *kurgarrû* to the Equḷu on day 16 are attested, followed by a procession to the Uraš-Gate.<sup>31</sup>

*kurgarrûs* and *assinnus* were controversial figures in Mesopotamian society. The Erra Epic (Cagni 1969: IV 55–56) says of them: ... *kur-gar-ri* <sup>lu</sup>i-sin-[ni] / šá ana šup-lu-uḫ niši(UN)<sup>mes</sup> <sup>d</sup>Ištar(INANNA) *zik-ru-su-nu ú-te-ru ana sinnišūti*(M[UNUS-ti] “(...) the *kurgarrûs* and *assinnus*, / whose masculinity Ištar has turned to femininity to make people reverent.”<sup>32</sup>

The translation, as pointed out by S. Maul, may be misleading because the verb *šupluḫu* can mean both “to make reverent,” out of fearful respect for the divine powers of Ištar, or, more simply, “to make afraid.” In this latter sense the verb refers to more earthly anxieties, such as a sense of discomfort towards these categories.<sup>33</sup> In the incantation series Maqlû, *kurgarrûs* are even suspected, together with sorcerers and sorceresses, of performing *zikurudû*, (“life-cutting”)-magic, whose aim was to kill people; see Abusch 2016: IV 89, VII 88, 91. The prebendal status of

30. The latest discussions of these cultic figures are Peled 2016: 155–202 (with bibliography), Maul 1992, and Lambert 1992. See also George 2000: 270 n. 21; Linssen 2004: 120–22; George 2006: 175. They are both well known in temple ritual texts from the first millennium; see Peled 2016: 175–88 for *k.* and *a.* in cultic texts. According to Linssen, the *urmahlullû* (“lion man,” CAD U/W, 233) seems to have been a similar cultic performer, although he is barely attested in the texts; see Linssen 2004: 17.

31. George 2000: 270–80. Other occurrences in ritual texts are Çaḡirgan 1976: 41 K 9876 obv. 1, 11; = Pongratz-Leisten 1994: 228–32 (no. 8). See also Hunger 1976: 63 no. 53 l. 13, a medical commentary where a missing word is explained as *gul-lu-bu šá* <sup>lu</sup>KUR.GAR.RA-ú “shaven in the style of the *kurgarrû*,” which implies that he had his head shaved in a special way (courtesy A. R. George). From administrative texts from Hellenistic Babylon we know one *kurgarrû* by name: Bēl-ab-ušur/Bēl-ittanna (CT 49: 160 l. 22), but the temple in which he performed his duties is not known. The same person is also attested in the list of professions CT 49: 183, and in an account of the Raḫim-Esu archive where he was paid together with *nārātu* “songstresses” and *assinnū* (BRM 1: 99 39). There is also Berens 103 (Pinches 1915), an apprenticeship contract from Borsippa (Kan 18/I/19) for <sup>lu</sup>kur-gar-ra-ú-tu u <sup>lu</sup>ḫu-up-pu-ú-tu for two years and five months, the teacher is a certain Nanāya-ušalli (possibly a *kurgarrû* himself) and the apprentice is called Bēl-aḫḫe-erība; see Hackl 2010; Kedar 2014; Peled 2016: 169. For apprenticeship contracts, see also Hackl 2011.

32. Restoration and translation by Lambert 1992: 148. AHW 1047a, sub *sinnišānu*, restores: *sinnišāni*(M[UNUS-a<sup>2</sup>-ni<sup>2</sup>?]). See MSL XII: 226, p. 133, where *assinnu* is explained as *sinnišānu*.

33. Maul 1992: 159. For a recent study and interpretation of this passage, see Peled 2016: 80–82.

the *kurgarrû* is uncertain, as is the possibility that this “ritualist” could also be a temple enterer (*ērib bīti*); on this issue, see van Driel 2002: 114 and n. 94.

i 19': In the Neo-Assyrian state cult, Qibi/Qibi-dum/nqī was a goddess from the Marduk temple in Assur; see Krebernik 2006–2008. This passage seems to indicate that she also had a dwelling in the Marduk temple in Babylon.

i 21': The *mumarrītu* is a sort of comb; see Salonen 1965: 109–10; Veldhuis 2000: 391; Durand 2010: 42 n. 40. For the comb and mirror mentioned in this text, see the ritual commentary from Babylon/Borsippa, BM 34035 11 (Livingstone 1986: 61), dealing with the goddesses of the Ezida, where both are mentioned (although using different vocabulary); see Gabbay 2016: 178–79 (courtesy U. Gabbay).

i 22': The Uraš-Gate (*Tintir* V: 49), excavated by the German team, was located in the southeast section of the inner city wall of Babylon, facing a road leading to Dilbat, the city of the god Uraš (George 1992: 22–25).

i 23': The Ubšu-ukkinna, the “Court of the Divine Assembly,” was located in the Esagil and is dealt with (together with its chapels) in *Tintir* II 16'–24' (George 1992: 52–54, 286–92); see also the *Esagil Tablet* obv. 3, 11–14 (George 1992: 114) and Linssen (2004: 195). It was the place where songs and lamentations were performed during the New Year Festival, among them the ceremony of *dik bīti*, the awakening of the temple (Linssen 2004: 30, 75, 76, 116, 123), mentioned in this text in lines i 16'–17' above.

i 24': The Ešasurra, the temple of the goddess Išhara (*Tintir* IV 20) was located in Šuanna, just north of the Uraš-Gate (George 1992: 24 fig. 4). It has been identified with Temple Z (George 1992: 58 and 314–16; 1993: no. 1024).

i 25', 27': Bēlet-bīti is one of the seven divine “ladies” (dNIN.MEŠ) listed in the Archive of Mystic Heptads (KAR 142 iii 35'–38'). See Pongratz-Leisten 1994: 224 and George 2000: 296. The location of the temple (perhaps just a chapel or shrine) of this goddess in the Esagil(?) is unknown.

i 26': The term *ilku* is used for the regular duties of the *kalû* (*il-ki šá*<sup>10</sup>GALA) and other priests in the Neo-Babylonian ritual text *LKU* 51: 12', 21', r.3', r.13', r.19', r.24', r.26'.

i 28': Although the text is fragmentary, the *bāb(KĀ) né-reb*<sup>d</sup>*Gu-la*, “The Entrance Gate of Gula,” seems to be a part of the Esagil, as already listed in BM 35046: 29 (*Gate List of Esagil*): *bāb(KĀ) né-reb*<sup>d</sup>*Gu-la ká-gùn-a šùm-šu*, “The entrance gate of Gula is called Kaguna (“Coloured Gate”)”; see George 1992: 94–95 and 399 for commentary. Unfortunately, the gate cannot be located more accurately. It is also attested, with an alternative spelling, in the Kislimu ritual for Esagil BM 32206 +, 41: *bāb e-reb*<sup>d</sup>*Gu-la* (Çağırğan and Lambert 1991–1993: 95). The gate appears with the same spelling in *ABL* 877 obv. 16. As suggested by George, this gate may have been the principal gate of E-galmah “The exalted House” (maybe to be identified with Ehursagsikilla “House, Pure Mountain”), the temple of Gula mentioned once in *Tintir* IV, 5, in close connection with Erabriri “House of the Shackle Which Holds in Check,” the temple of Madānu; see further George 1992: 303–6, 399. If restored correctly, the mention of *é-šà-sur-ra* in i 24' would imply that the rituals prescribed in this section also involved other temples in the surrounding area close to the Esagil. However, it remains unclear whether the Egalmah was part of the Esagil, or whether it was located nearby.

i 29': The passage refers to the statues of the divinities being moved from one place to another, and it suggests the dynamism of the ritual action and the multiplicity of locales where the performance was taking place. The “Dais of the Quay” (*parak(BĀRA) ka-ri*) is otherwise unattested, but it was presumably located, as the name suggests, on the quays on the East bank of the Euphrates, possibly in the Šuanna quarter. It may be a reference to the Ekarzaginna (“House of the Quay of Lapis Lazuli”) mentioned in *Tintir* IV, 3 (George 1992: 58, and commentary 300–303), the temple of Ea, located between the Esagil and the river bank, probably also in Šuanna. This is reinforced by the fact that the temple of Ninurta, located nearby, is mentioned in the following line.

i 30': The *bīt(É)*<sup>d</sup>*Ninurta*(MAŠ) is probably the *é-hur-sag-ti-la*, the very first place that Nabû reaches coming from Borsippa on Nisan, day 6, for the New Year Festival (*RAcc.* 133, 213). The temple is located in the Šuanna quarter of Babylon, near the Uraš-Gate; see further George 1992: 59 (*Tintir* IV, 19) 313–14; 1993: no. 489. No temple of Lugalirra appears in the topographical texts; but see the remarks in George (1992: 26 n. 75, 368–70).

ii 1': For the restoration *egi mah d[im-me-er an-ki-a]*, see Gabbay (2015: 226). See also commentary to i 15' above.

ii 4': One might think of a restoration [<sup>mi</sup>*nar-tú* u <sup>lu</sup>*kurgarrú*(KUR.GAR.RA)], see. i 18', but there is no room at the end of the line.

ii 6': KAŠ.ŠE.BAR is well known in LB documents (see Nbn 386 2, 12; VS VI: 85 4), but its reading is unknown. The *baṭû* is a kind of pitcher or jar (CAD B, 178) used in ritual contexts for beer and other liquid offerings.

ii 7'-8': The reading of the signs at the end of ii 7' is uncertain, but one would tentatively suggest *šāru*(*šēru*) *šá* <sup>lu</sup>*nāri*(N[AR']) "the song of the singer"; see Gabbay 2014: 82 n. 12. Alternatively one might also read <sup>r</sup>*za*<sup>11'</sup>-<sup>r</sup>*mar*<sup>12'</sup>-*šu*<sup>1</sup>, see l. ii 9'.

The formula "DIŠ *ina* <sup>iti</sup>MN U<sub>4</sub>X<sup>kam</sup>" already appears in temple rituals dealing with the Babylonian New Year Festival; see RAcc. 127-54, ll. 1, 157, 285, 474, cited according to the edition in Linssen (2004: 215-24). Other temple rituals for other months from both Babylon and Uruk present the same wording; see George 2000: 290, n. 45. For other expressions of time related to rituals, see George 2000: 269, note on iii 23.

The two time instructions *ina* GI<sub>6</sub>.SÁ" (=day 1b below) in l. 7', and 2/3 DANNA GI<sub>6</sub> in l. 8' (=day 1c below) present a problem. The preserved days on BM 40790 do not bear any such information as to the exact time when the rituals took place. Time instructions in the extant manuscripts of the Babylonian New Year Festival are as follows:

**day 1a:** *ina* [š]*e-rim* (Çağırğan 1976: 1, fragment in a private collection);

**day 1b:** *ina* GI<sub>6</sub>.SÁ;

**day 1c:** 2/3 DANNA GI<sub>6</sub>;

**day 2:** 1 DANNA GI<sub>6</sub>;

**day 3:** 1 1/3 DANNA GI<sub>6</sub> (reconstructed by Linssen 2004: 217 (l. 157), and note on p. 234);

**day 4:** 1 2/3 DANNA GI<sub>6</sub>;

**day 5:** 2 DANNA GI<sub>6</sub>.

The integration of the evidence from RAcc. 127-54 and BM 40790 offers a nice time progression. The problem is to understand what *kašātu*(GI<sub>6</sub>.SÁ) means here. AHW 458a offers "früher Morgen" and CAD K, 263 "morning" with no further specification; but see the mention of 2N-T343 in the lexical section and the translation "early morning." Among the lexical equations attested, one of them (*še-er-tú* = *ka-ša-a-tu*<sub>4</sub> see LTBA 2: 1 XI 124 || CT 18, 23e 27. See AHW 458a) may suggest a general term with no exact time specification. Nevertheless, according to this new evidence, we propose the new equation (at least valid for the present manuscript): *ina* GI<sub>6</sub>.SÁ = 1/3 DANNA GI<sub>6</sub>, while understanding *ina* [š]*e-rim* above as a general term for "morning," without any specification of time.

One would like to restore a verbal form of *nasāku* at the end of ii 8', but there is no room for a syllabic writing.

ii 11': AN = <sup>d</sup>*a-nu-um*, IV 135, offers the equation <sup>d</sup>*in* a n n a .<sup>r</sup>*su* <sup>1</sup>.*ti*.ID = *su-ti-tu*. The name *Sutitu* appears here among a list of epithets of Inanna in relationship to geographical names (IV 117-36). The goddess also appears in VS 6: 113 2, see also VS 1: 36 iv 9: SANGA <sup>d</sup>*su-ti-ti*. She was popular in Borsippa during the Neo-Babylonian period (Waerzeggers 2010: 29). According to ii 17f. of this text, *Sutitu* had a chapel or shrine in the Esagil (if the reconstruction of the end of the line is correct), probably near the Court of Bēl, if physical proximity can be inferred from the mention of the gates (ii 13'-16') and of the chapel (ii 17f.) in consecutive lines. There are no other references to such a place in the documentation. However, it is uncertain whether this was a permanent dwelling, or a temporary one, perhaps considering *Sutitu* as a visiting deity to Babylon during the New Year Festival (like *Gula* of the Eulla; see below). For offerings to *Sutitu* in Babylon and Borsippa, see Unger 1931: 158. As an adjective, *Sutitu* is well known designating "Sutean;" see the textual note on BM 40854+ iv 6' below. *Sutitu*, along with *Adad* of Aleppo, is one of the few foreign deities worshipped in Babylon (Zadok 2014: 118). For the personnel of *Sutitu* in Borsippa, see Zadok 2012: 50, 54-55. *Gula* of the Eulla refers to *Gula/Ninkarrak*, whose temple in Sippar was rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar (George 1993: no. 1167; Da Riva 2008: 111). The goddess was probably visiting Babylon on the occasion of the New Year Festival.

ii 12': The end of the line is unclear: one would suggest reading either <sup>gis</sup>*qanû*(GI) \**in-na-hu*<sup>2</sup>-<sup>r</sup>*ú*<sup>21</sup> or <sup>gis</sup>\**gi-in-na-hu*<sup>2</sup>-<sup>r</sup>*ú*<sup>21</sup>. The context offers two different cultic actions performed by the *hullālānītu*-priestesses: they are engaged

carrying mirrors (in the preceding lines) and (subsequently) they appear smearing the external gates of the Esagil with oil all around the court of Bēl. Thus, the end of the line has to be the object of the verb in ii 13' *it-ti-ši-na i-lamma-a*, and so it must refer either to a container of sorts made of reeds(?) or of wood in which the aromatic oil mentioned in the following line was carried around by the *ḥullālānītu*-priestesses as they went from gate to gate. We are not altogether sure, however, that the sign after *gi š* should be read as *gi*; it could also be *zi*, <sup>gis</sup>\**zi-in-na-ḥu*<sup>2</sup>-*ṛ*<sup>1</sup>.

In his manuscript, Galetti read <sup>gis</sup>*qanū*(GI) *in-na-ḥu-ṛ*<sup>1</sup> as object and verb and proposed an association of the verb at the end of the line with the locution *inhī innahū*, as found in the *Divine Love Lyrics*: Lambert (1975: 104–5, BM 41005 obv. iii 13, *in-ḥi in-na-ḥu* “[the *kurgarrū*-priest will ...] perform his cultic song”). See also Edzard 1987: 57–58; George 2000: 271 n. 23. The context, however, does not seem to allow this connection.

ii 14'–15': For similar instances of smearing on temple fixtures, see *TU* 41 obv. 10 (Linssen 2004: 245, 250) and *RAcc.* 127–54, 350 (Linssen 2004: 221; George 1992: 229 no. 44).

ii 15'–16': What is given here seems to be the most likely restoration of the missing gate names. *ká-u<sub>6</sub>-de-babbar* and *ká-<sup>d</sup>lamma-ra-bi* are, respectively, the southern and northern external gates of the Esagil, as they survive in the *Gate List of Esagil* (George 1992: 93, comment on pp. 391–93). The ritual activities seem, thus, to proceed in clockwise fashion (East, South, West, North), starting from *ká-<sup>d</sup>utu-è-a* in the East (ll. 13'–15'). There, pouring and smearing of the door jambs and the doors of the gates with oil are the main cultic activities performed by the *ḥullālānītu*-priestesses. While no specific area of this gate is mentioned (it may be lost in the break), the lobbies (*ašrukkatu*; for the translation of the term as “lobby,” see George 1992: 435–36) of the remaining three gates are specified as the location of cultic activity. These places had chapels or shrines (the *ekurrātu* of ii 17') of several deities, for instance in Kaudebabbar of Bēlet-ilī (left) and Dagān (right), see *Tintir* II 40–41 (George 1992: 48, 280 and 435–36). Other references to niches located in gates are found in George (1992: 28–81, 436).

It is interesting to notice that the ritual progression attested here is the opposite of what would normally be expected. This can be seen, for example, in the two manuscripts forming the *Gate List of Esagil*, BM 35046 obv. 2–5 (although heavily restored), and BM 38602 || VAT 13817 8'–11', where the progression runs anticlockwise: East, North, West, South (see George 1992: 92–97, nos. 6–7).

One open question here is whether the rituals performed around the four gates of the temple were unique features of the New Year Festival or whether they were included in the daily ceremonies of the awakening of the temple and opening of the gates. Note that the *dik bīti* and *pīt bābi* rituals described by Linssen (2004: 27–39) do not include pouring and smearing of the doors, but this could be an accident of the documentation.

ii 19': The term *raqqatu* can either designate a garment, or (in Neo-Babylonian texts) a metal object. It is unclear which of the two is referred to here. One might expect a determinative of textile names (<sup>ti<sub>6</sub></sup>) before the name of a garment, though not necessarily. In Uruk *raqqatu* is “a component of the necklace (syll.). In Neo-Babylonian texts from Sippar this word occurs in inventories of sacred jewelry (*CAD* R, 170, s.v. *raqqatu* A, 2. “a metal object”). At Uruk it is attested as a component of the necklace, or of the counterpoise of the necklace (...)” (Beaulieu 2003: 386).

ii 21': The signs *tur me er* are clearly seen on the tablet, but we are not sure what to make of them. In the opinion of Gabbay, this could be an incipit of an Emesal(?) prayer, but the verb *našū*, although it occurs with prayers, does not occur with Balaḡ's and Eršema's prayers. One of the reviewers kindly suggests that it could be a distorted writing of the divine name Itur-Mer, but the context in our text is unclear and to the best of our knowledge this Old Babylonian god is not attested elsewhere in the ritual texts from Babylon dated to the first millennium.

ii 22'–iii 12: The *lubuštu* ceremony is attested from the second half of the third millennium BCE onwards; see Giovino 1981; Matsushima 1993, 1994, 1995: 233–49; and Linssen 2004: 51–56, with previous literature. As a monthly ceremony, during the Neo-Babylonian period the evidence comes from both ritual and administrative texts: for a list of sources from Uruk and Babylon, see Linssen 2004: 52–53. While in Sippar the ceremony was celebrated in six months over the year (Bongenaar 1997: 306; Zawadzki 2006: 153–55), in Uruk eight months are so far attested (Beaulieu 2003: 17–21, 36–39), and only one in Babylon, in a letter recording the clothing ceremony of Bēl on Ulūlu, day 3 (*ABL*, 496 [K 474]: 8–9); for the Ezida (six months attested) see Waerzeggers 2010: 137–39.

Given the scanty evidence, it still remains unclear whether during this period the ceremony had a fixed monthly schedule. During the Hellenistic period there is no reference to it as a monthly ceremony anywhere in Babylon, and all the evidence comes from Uruk. Ritual texts mentioning the *lubuštu* are the list of offerings and ceremonies *TU* 38 obv. 36, rev. 37 (Linssen 2004: 175); and the cultic calendar *TU* 48. Administrative texts that refer to the ceremony are *ērib-bīt pirištūtu-* + *kutimmūtu*-prebend texts, for which see Linssen 2004: 54, n. 198. It appears that the ceremony was connected not just with one god at a time, but with several; for example, Nanāya is attested together with Anu, Enlil and Bēlet-ša-Rēš: *OECT* 9: 50; see Beaulieu 2003: 215–16. The *lubuštu*-ceremony during the Hellenistic period is better attested in Babylon as an annual ceremony. Evidence comes from the ritual calendar SBH VIII<sup>34</sup> ii 3 (for Marduk on Nisan, day 8), ii 15 (for the divine marriage of Nabû on Ajjaru, day 2), v 8 (Kislimu, day 3), v 19 (Kislimu, day 16); and from BM 32306 + (Bēltiya and Tašmētu on Kislimu, day 3; and probably Tašrīt, day 7), for which see Çağırğan and Lambert (1991–1993: 95) obv. i 43 and ii 53 respectively; see also Linssen 2004: 66–67. Clothing ceremonies in the Esagil are also mentioned in BM 47812+48588 obv. 16', 19', 20', 22', but no date is preserved.<sup>35</sup>

ii 23': The verb *kanāzu* ("to put in storage") is only attested in the stative (*CAD* K, 148). It might refer here to the statues of Nanāya and Ušur-amāssu, which are stored (?) in the "secret house" (*bīt pirišti*); see comment to ii 25'. Another explanation is possible: these two images could be similar to the two figurines made of gold and precious stones taken from the treasury of Marduk in day 3 of the Akitu festival and placed in the temple of Madānu until day 6, when they are thrown into the ashes (Linssen 2004: 217–18, ll. 190–216).

ii 24': This reference to up to seven "garments" (*adi muḥḥi ša 7 lubuš[āti]*) recalls the ritual instructions for the month of Nisan (George 2006) in which this mystic figure appears in reference to rituals and to the items of clothing of Anunnītu.

ii 25': In the Hellenistic period, the *ērib-bītis* ("temple enterers") of the Esagil are attested in *RAcc.* 149–54 (ll. 37, 276 and 335), where the doors of the temple were opened for them only after the *aḫu rabū*<sup>36</sup> had performed part of the rituals. Although the *ērib-bīti* is often considered a general member of the priestly class, there were some other categories of craftsmen who, needing access to the temple, were referred to in this way (Boiy 2004: 266; see in particular the reference to the Uruk clan list *VS* 15: 1). Note that in BM 80711, a letter from the Esagil (Jursa 2002: 107–9, text no. 1), the temple-enterers of the Esagil, the *pirsātānītu* and the chief songstress send a letter to the scribes and the *bēl piqitti* of the Esagil, asking for some items of clothing.<sup>37</sup> Contrary to the view that the *ērib-bīti* is a general member of the priestly class, Bongenaar suggested (without being able to prove it) that "the term ... is not a general word, class, position or honorific title, but has just one meaning: "the owner of an *ērib-bītūtu* prebend." ... which ... involved certain cultic duties, [and] was a condition of holding certain offices or performing certain jobs in the temple organization" (Bongenaar 1997: 149).

The *bīt pirišti* was a storage room for garments, ornaments and jewelry of both priests and divine statues (Linssen 2004: 116; Boiy 2004: 84). The *bīt pirišti* of Bēl and Bēltiya are attested in the Kislimu ritual tablet BM 32206 +, l. 50 (Çağırğan and Lambert 1991–1993: 95); and in BM 36736+ obv. 2'<sup>1</sup>–6'(Da Riva in preparation). See also *CT* 55: 308 6–7 (Nbn 03/VI/11); and *CT* 57: 279 4. The *bīt pirišti* was only accessible to *ērib-bītis*. This place appears frequently in the context of clothing ceremonies and in connection with *kutimmūtu* prebends, and so

34. Edited in Çağırğan 1976: 168–82.

35. Da Riva, in preparation.

36. For the latest discussion of the term, see Bongenaar 1997: 149–50. Apart from *RAcc.*, the *aḫu rabū* also appears in the Kislimu ritual tablet BM 32206 + (Çağırğan and Lambert 1991–1993: 94, ll. 20, 22). The *aḫu rabū* was, according to Neo-Babylonian sources, the leader of the *ērib-bītis*, or rather a *primus inter pares*. As a matter of interest, note the variant(?) *ērib-bīti rabū* "chief temple enterer" in *TU* 41 obv. 33, for which see Linssen 2004: 122–24.

37. The text has the seals of a temple enterer, the chief songstress and of two other ladies who were also probably *pirsātānītu*. The term *pirsātānītu* is translated by Jursa as "initiated," using etymological criteria: "a woman who has to do with secrets [of the *bīt pirišti*]," a sort of female equivalent of the *ērib-bīt pirišti*. The *pirsātānītu* is attested in BM 32482 + (Da Riva in preparation) with the *sakkikuddītu*, another female member of the Esagil temple personnel.

on. In Uruk there was a well-attested prebend *ērib-bīt pirištūtu*, often mentioned with the *kutimmūtu* (van Driel 2002: 112–17; Linssen 2004: 54–55; Corò 2005: 27–28). According to McEwan, a goldsmith (*kutimmu*) would be expected to appear together with the *ērib-bīt pirišti* (McEwan 1981a: 81–85) The clue to his presence might be the mention in our texts of the rosettes (iii 4) and of *šu-kut-tu<sub>4</sub> tu-za-a-a-an* “she will decorate the adornments” (iii 6). For goldsmiths in temple contexts see Bongenaar (1997: 363–65).

ii 26': The following section (to our knowledge, the only such occurrence in a temple ritual manuscript) concerning the textiles (*miḥṣu*) supplied by the (temple-)weaver seems to be a mix of two different traditions of administrative texts listing garments for the clothing of the divine statues. Garments are listed both by their weight (as in *dullu pešū* texts) and by their number (as in *miḥṣu tenū* texts); see Zawadzki 2006: 3–10. It is significant that the first item is a *salḫu*-garment, which is always placed in the first position in *miḥṣu tenū* texts. Unfortunately, the individual nature of the garments listed remains mostly unclarified, but it is interesting to note a progression in the list from the inner garments (*salḫu*) to the outer garments (*kusitu*, *kulūlu* in iii 2), as would be expected in the case of wrapping cultic statues (Zawadzki 2006: 106). For the temple weavers, see Zawadzki 2006: 50–86. The *salḫu*, often made of linen, was the basic piece of clothing of the gods. It was an inner garment, possibly a tunic (Zawadzki 2006: 105–9). It is uncertain whether *šamdu* (“harnessed” CAD S, 95; if the reading is correct) is a qualification of <sup>túg</sup>*šibtu*(MAŠ), for the exact meaning of <sup>túg</sup>*šibtu* is uncertain (Zawadzki 2006: 91–95).

ii 27': The meaning of *išēt(1+)<sup>et</sup> túg<sub>4</sub>za-pi-tu<sub>4</sub> túg<sup>?</sup>ši-ib-tu<sub>4</sub> šá<sup>?</sup>ki-tin<sup>1</sup>-nu* “1 *zapītu*-garment(?), a *šibtu*-garment(?) of *kitinnu*-fabric” is uncertain. We understand *šibtu ša kitinnu* as being in apposition to *zapītu*, but the sign before *ši* is certainly an e, not a túg. Note that this garment alone weighs six m in a (ca. three kilos). The word <sup>túg</sup>*z/ša-pi-tu<sub>4</sub>* is a hapax, possibly a feminine form of *šabū* (“dyed garment”), see Beaulieu (2003: 15). On *kitinnu* in the texts, see Zawadzki 2006: 24–29.

ii 28': The word *\*laršu* is another hapax; it may be a variant of *maršu* (CAD M/1, 296), a term with several meanings: a strap or a thong; “leather strap” CDA 198. One reviewer suggests *lā(w)aršu* “(a garment that is) not dirty,” but it seems unlikely in this context. For the meaning of *nabāsu* (a type of dyed wool) see Zawadzki 2006: 41.

iii 1: For *takiltu*, a kind of blue-purple wool, see Zawadzki 2006: 43–46. All the garments and items of clothing mentioned in iii 1–3 are made of this material. The term *adīlu*, often attested in the plural and associated with the *kusitu*-garments, was perhaps a tassel or a fringe: Beaulieu 2003: 15; Zawadzki 2006: 133–34. The sign after <sup>túg</sup>*a-di-il* is clearly RAB.

iii 2: In most of the texts, *kusītu* seems to be an elaborate and precious outer garment of the gods (Zawadzki 2006: 117–18), but here it seems to be part of the headdress *kulūlu* (CAD K, 527–28). The term *paršigu* also refers to a headdress, perhaps a turban of sorts (CAD P, 203–5).

iii 3: As the beginning of this line (and of the following one) is broken, it is difficult to say whether something is missing before the number. The term *eru* indicates a headband (Beaulieu 2003: 15). In Neo-Babylonian times, the *bīt qāti* was a side chamber often used as a storehouse, but by the Hellenistic period, in Uruk at least, the *bīt qātis* “served as stations where individual doorkeepers monitored and controlled circulation within and around the temple precinct”; see Baker 2013: 39. Part of it was used to store the wool for the production of cultic garments; George 2000: 297, comment to l. 5; Zawadzki 2006: 139. The end of the line is unclear, but *kišir* could be understood as “treasury” (CAD K, 441), which would fit well in the context.

iii 4: The term *nēbeḫu* refers to a belt or girdle of sorts (Zawadzki 2006: 118–21). In some instances (as here) it is decorated with gold ornaments; see PTS 2927 and other references to decorated garments in Beaulieu 2003: 156–57. The word *tenšu* indicates a golden ornament in the garments of the divine statues, and it is often found (as here) in association with the *ayyaru* rosettes (CAD T, 344). In YOS 6: 117 5 golden *ayyaru* and *tenšu* are mentioned in equal quantities (706 each), suggesting a direct relation between the two kinds of item. The number of garments decorated is not mentioned, unless we understand that it refers to the thirteen belts. In any case, half a talent amounts to approximately 15 kilos of gold. All these garments were prepared for Nabū, Nanāya, and Ušur-

amāssu, but no differences in the quantity and quality of the clothing allocated to each god are mentioned in the text.<sup>38</sup> Note that both in this line and in iii 7 below, the sign ŠU in the word *te-en-šu-ú* is written like MA or BA.

iii 5: The *kusītu*-garment was the outer item of clothing for the divine images.

iii 6: We understand *ka-áš-ka-tú* as a plural form of *karku* “rolled, gathered” (CAD K, 217; CDA 149), qualifying either the preceding word, perhaps another ornament of the garments, or the following word *šukuttu*, jewelry. The *kibsu* is a linen garment or linen fabric frequently associated with divine statues, CAD K, 339; Zawadzki 2006: 104.

iii 7: Three cubits are approximately 150 cm. In texts dealing with garments, items are usually described by their weight or number, seldom by their dimensions see Zawadzki 2006: 3–10.

iii 8: The temple-enterer participated actively in the clothing ceremony by delivering the items from the *bīt pirišti* (ii 25’), but the third person singular feminine verbal form points to a female attendant (the *ḥullālānītu*) as the person who is clothing the divine images. The term *miḥṣu* in this context seems to be a general term to indicate clothing.

iii 10: <sup>tu</sup>MAH.NÍG.LÁM.MA could be interpreted as a variant of <sup>tu</sup>NÍG.LÁM.MA = *lamaḥuššú*, a precious woolen(?) garment; perhaps *lamaḥuššú šīru*.

iii 11: Note that in TU 39 obv. 13 (Linssen 2004: 185) the *siltu*-offering also follows the *lubuštu* ceremony. One would expect a month name at the end of the line.

iii 13: The sprinkling of juniper and *maṣṣatu* indicates fumigation; see Linssen 2004: 146–47.

iii 14: For the duties of the temple personnel, see commentary to i 26’ above.

iii 15: In other texts, the *ḥiṣu* (pressed/filtered oil) is written Ì.GIŠ ḥal-ša; see TU 38: 41; TU 44 iv 8 (Linssen 2004: 173, 254), or Ì.GIŠ BÁR.GA; see TU 45: 9; van Dijk and Mayer 1980: no. 10 12; Weissbach 1903: no. 12 8 (Linssen 2004: 283, 299, 301); Ì.GIŠ BÁR.GÉ, TU 44 iii 24 (Linssen 2004: 254). The verb could be either *iššú* or *tebú*, but the latter is more likely here, suggesting a procession, as is attested elsewhere; see Gabbay 2014: 171.

iii 18: This is the *pišannu*-box mentioned in ii 10’, when it was carried to the Ezida.

iii 19: The plural *bītāni*(É)<sup>a-mi</sup> may refer to the chapels inside the main temple.

iii 22: Reconstruction after i 26’ and iii 14.

iii 24: As mentioned above (i 11’), the meaning of <sup>tu</sup>sūnu is not clear; it seems to have a variety of forms, sizes and functions. In our text, the *sūnu* is qualified as *šá-la-ši* (from *šalāš* or *šalāšiu*, so either “bound three times,” “third,” or “three”), is made of gold and silver, and associated with Nanāya and another deity (whose name is not preserved, but one would tentatively restore it as Ušur-amāssu) and apparently related to the procession on the boat (iii 25).

iii 25: *é-tūr-kalam-ma* was the temple of Bēlet-Bābili (Ištar of Babylon), an aspect of the goddess as the Ištar of the city. It was located in the quarter Eridu inside the Esagil complex. In his 33rd year, Hammurapi rebuilt the temple for Anu, Ištar and Nanāya (see Charpin 1980: 93; also George 1993: no. 1117), thus making it the cult-center for the gods of Uruk. Since the Old Babylonian period, the temple was a major cult-center of Ištar, and there are written references to *é-tūr-kalam-ma* until the first century BCE (George 1992: 307–8). The temple plays a role in the rituals of the *Divine Love Lyrics*, known from several Late Assyrian and Late Babylonian fragments and edited by Lambert (1975). For the interpretation and classification of both the ritual and the poetry see Edzard 1987: 57–69, and Nissinen 2001: 123–25; for recent bibliography, see Fincke 2013; see also Groneberg 1999, 2007; Frahm and Jiménez 2015: 316, 328–29. The text BM 34679 (CT 51: 101) may also belong to the same rituals, which seem to have survived down to the Arsacid period (Da Riva 2017); see also McEwan 1981a: 14; and Linssen 2004: 120–22. The ritual also appears in BM 32656 (George 2000: no. 2), a fragment from Hellenistic Babylon, where the cultic figures of the *assinnu* and the *kurgarrû* are prominent. The temple is referred to in the astronomical diary AD 1–328 which confirms the existence of the building in the Hellenistic period and its location inside the Esagil complex by means of the mention of a garden (Boiy 2004: 88). The temple is also mentioned in the documents from the

38. For the situation in Uruk and Sippar, see respectively Beaulieu 2003: 15–25, 36–39 and Zawadzki 2006: 192–207.



Raḥīm-Esu archive. Texts *BRM* 1: 99; *CT* 49: 150 and McEwan (1981b: 139, *AB* 246) provide further topographical data on the temple. The administrative document from the Arsacid period (*BRM* 1: 99 rev. 37–44) mentions payment of silver for several groups of persons involved in a procession on day 1 of an unknown month: among others we find *kurgarrûs*, *assinnus*, and Borsippeans. According to Linssen, the procession may have taken place during the *Love Lyrics Ritual of Ištar of Babylon* in her temple Eturkamma, and the reference to these categories of people indeed constitutes indirect evidence for the ritual being performed in the Arsacid period (Linssen 2004: 69). For an edition of this text, see McEwan 1981b: 143–46; Hibbert 1984; Peled 2016: 171–72.

According to the administrative documentation (*BRM* 1: 99 26 and *CT* 49: 150 23) and the ritual text (Çağırğan and Lambert (1991–1993: 102–6), the entrance gate of Madānu (*bāb ēreb* <sup>d</sup>*Madānu*) probably belonged to the temple (see also George 1992: 397) and it is further mentioned in the rituals of the *Divine Love Lyrics*. The text also refers to the gate of Bēltiya (*bāb* <sup>d</sup>*Bēltiya* and *ēreb* <sup>d</sup>*Bēltiya*), thus confirming the information provided by *BRM* 1: 99 25–28 and *CT* 49: 150 22–25.

One would expect Nanāya at the end of the line, for Ušur-amāssu is the deity mentioned in the following line.

iii 27: It is unclear what kind of composition “... mu <sup>d</sup>Suen nana” may be, but it does not look like a Balaḡ or Eršema. The mention of the musician in the previous line may indicate that it is an unknown prayer from the corpus of the *nāru*. Emesal prayers are only connected to the *kalû* in the first millennium and the god Sîn is not well attested in these prayers. These remarks were most kindly provided by U. Gabbay.

iii 29: At the end of the line one would restore Ušur-amāssu.

iv: The column is too fragmentary for a proper translation.

iv 6: The signs are written on an erasure and are difficult to read, but one would suggest the name of a garment, either <sup>túg</sup>*sūnu*(ÚR) x or <sup>túg</sup>*kib-ḡsu*<sup>1</sup>, followed by the plural determinative <sup>meš</sup>.

iv 11: See philological note to BM 40854+ i 5’.

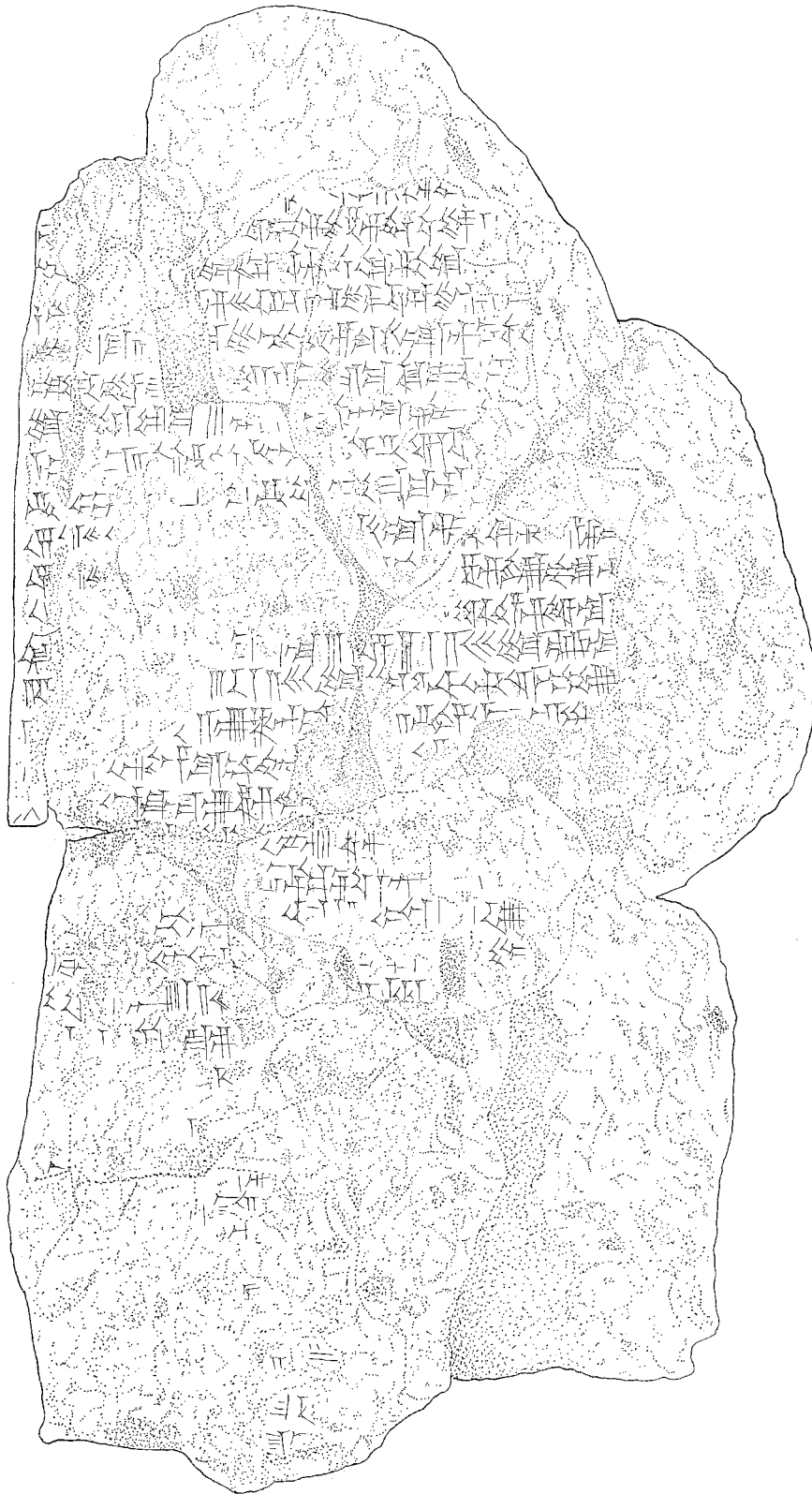
iv 15: We understand *ab-še-e-nu* from *abšānu* “rope (as part of the yoke)” and not as *absinnu* “furrow” (*CAD* A/1, 65); the context is unclear, however.

iv 20–26: The colophon seems to have been written when the clay was beginning to dry, and the surface had hardened. For similar expressions, see Hunger 1968.

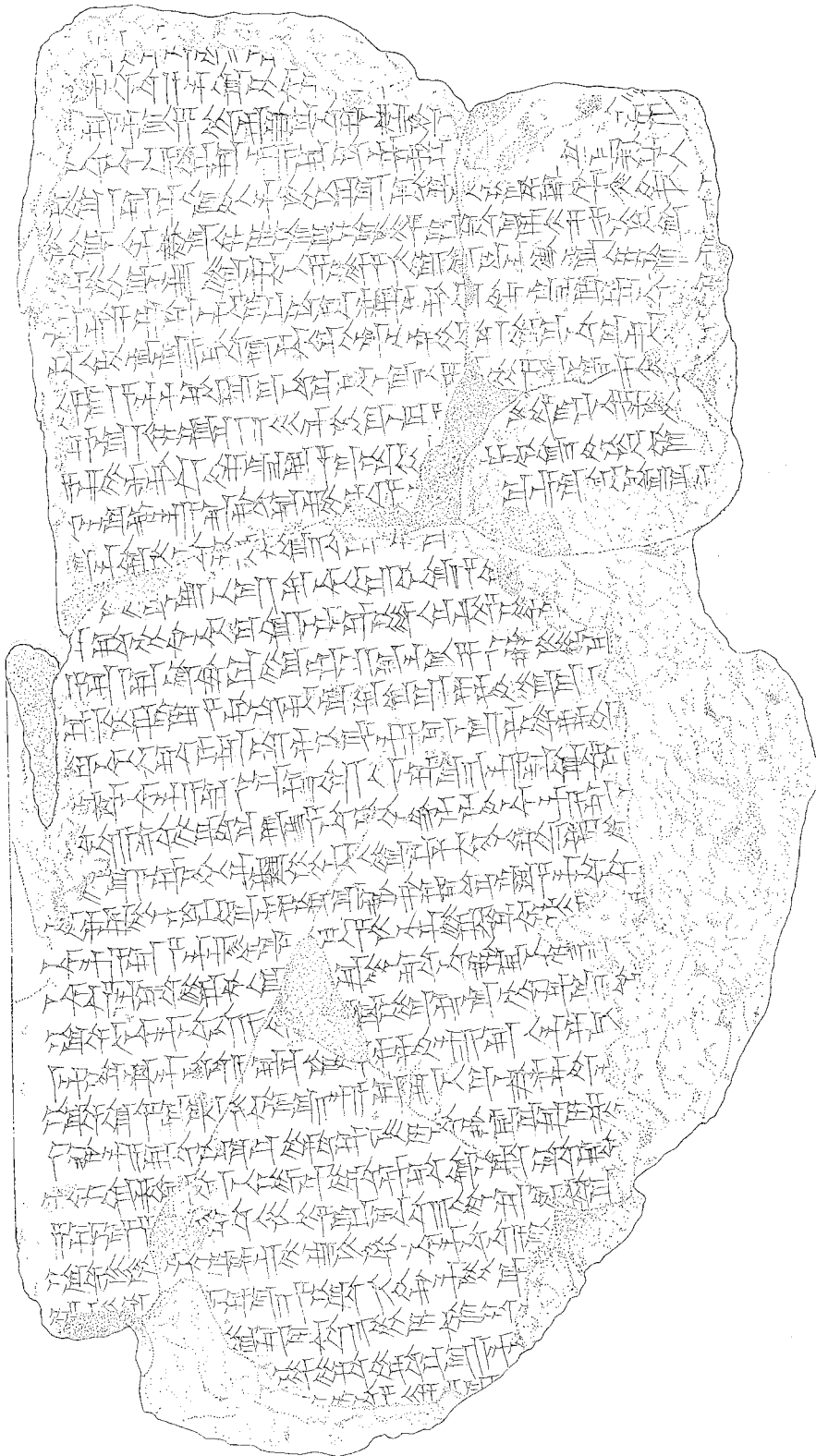
### BM 40854 (81-04-28, 401) + BM 41208 (81-04-28, 756)

As noted above, the scribe who produced this manuscript is the same as the person who wrote BM 40790, and the evidence suggests that the rites and ceremonies described in both texts were related. The rituals contained in BM 40854+ involve mostly Nanāya and Mār-bīti, but other gods are also mentioned, some of them belonging to the divine court of Nanāya of Euršaba, such as Qibi-dumqī, Aḥlamītu, Urigallu (the divine standard), Ušur-amāssu, Madānu, Bēltiya (Zarpānītu, consort of Marduk), Lisi, and Nabû. As in BM 40790 the cultic places mentioned are the Euršaba and the Ezida, but the month name never appears here (or at least it is not preserved). Only one day (day 3) is mentioned (iv 31’, 34’), but only as a reference for the rituals to be performed (*kī ūm 3<sup>kam</sup>*). The setting of the ceremonies is uncertain. While BM 40790 presents well-known topographical features of the Esagil, and can be reliably associated with ceremonies in Marduk’s temple in Babylon, the present manuscript, given the lack of data, may well describe cultic activities performed in Borsippa, or even cultic activities of Borsippean gods visiting the Esagil.<sup>39</sup>

39. See also the ritual text BM 41239 (George 2000: 289–99), which mentions that Mār-bīti spent the night of Šabātu 28 in Madānu’s shrine in Babylon before proceeding the following day with other deities from Borsippa to Kiš, see also Frahm and Jiménez 2015: 326. For the gods of Borsippa, see Waerzeggers 2010: 20–32.



BM 40854 (81-04-28, 401) + BM 41208 (81-04-28, 756), obverse



BM 40854 (81-04-28, 401) + BM 41208 (81-04-28, 756), reverse

In our opinion, there are three possible scenarios for the activities presented in BM 40854+.<sup>40</sup> Considering the context of the best-preserved section of the tablet (rev., col. iv) the most likely setting in our opinion is the Euršaba and the other temples or shrines in the Esagil of Babylon. In this case, BM 40854+ would belong to the same set of rituals or ceremonies as BM 40790 and the goddess Nanāya mentioned in the text can be identified with Nabû's consort in Babylon. However, the text may also refer to the Euršaba of Borsippa and Nanāya of Euršaba. Euršaba was the seat of Nanāya, who as we mentioned above should not be identified with Nabû's consort, but with a second Nanāya, who also became Nabû's mistress (Waerzeggers 2010: 22, 26–29). Finally, BM 40854+ may contain information on part of the ceremonies taking place on the occasion of the visit of Nanāya of Euršaba to Babylon. From the Late Babylonian ritual text BM 41239 (George 2000: 289–99, no. 4) we know that Nanāya of Euršaba also travelled to Babylon with a large divine company (including the gods Mār-bīti and Lisi) on Šabātu 28 in order to join Marduk on a joint visit to Kiš planned for the following day. Information on this event is confirmed by evidence from the Ezida archives dated between the reigns of Nabonidus and Darius (Waerzeggers 2010: 130–34).

The context of BM 40854+ is unclear, because not only the Euršaba and Nanāya are mentioned but also the Ezida and Nabû (iv 13', 32'), although it is unclear if the Ezida refers to the temple in Borsippa or to the homonymous cella in the Esagil. Note also that Nanāya and Mār-bīti, who are mentioned together in this text, are associated in Borsippa (Waerzeggers 2010: 26), but there is no evidence of this connection in Babylon. At the same time, Nanāya's court in our text comprises figures such as Ušur-amāssu, who is hardly mentioned at all in the Borsippean material (Waerzeggers 2010: 31).

The obverse of the tablet is quite fragmentary. The preserved portions (column i) provide little information regarding the activities described, and column ii is missing altogether. Column i bears some similarities to BM 40790: there are references to golden elements of the divine jewelry, including a crescent-shaped breast ornament (1'–2', 11', 15', 17', 18'); further down a cosmetic box (6') appears, and there is a mention of the washing of the hands ceremony (8'), woolen items (8'–9', 12'), oil (19'), and of activities performed with those elements. There are indications of action, of movements (*dekû*: 3', 5', 10'; *malû*: 13'; *šutuqu*: 14') and setting of (people and items) to the left and right, and the performer of these actions is a female figure, as suggested by the 3rd person feminine verbal forms. Unfortunately, not much can be made out of these fragments.

On the reverse, column iii is missing, apart from some faint traces, but column iv is well preserved although a few lines at the beginning are gone. The text preserved in col. iv has one of the few instances in which a female member of the temple personnel clearly and actively participates in these Late Babylonian rituals. As was the case in BM 40790, a significant part of the ritual action in this section of the text seems to be carried out by the *ḫullālānītu*, restored in iv 3' and attested in iv 9', and by the songstress, who appears alone or together with the ambiguous *kurgarrû*.

Column iv of the text begins with a mention of Nanāya and Qibi-dumqī in a fragmentary context. Then, starting from line 3', something is being assigned to Beltīya—probably a mirror, since mirrors are again mentioned in this tablet, as they already were in BM 40790. What follows (4'–5') appears to be an encounter between Mār-bīti and Ušur-amāssu in a bedchamber. After the second meal, an elaborate ritual (6'–12') takes place involving a divine standard (<sup>d</sup>Urīgallu), a “young” Aḫlamītu and the *kurgarrû*. The standard is placed near the station (*manzāzu*) of Aḫlamītu (7'), and a baked brick is set facing south on a mat(?) in line 8'. The *ḫullālānītu* appears here again (l. 9'), as in BM 40790. A *ḫullānu*-garment is mentioned and the *ḫullālānītu* performs a ritual, revolving around the standard, using a mirror and a bronze make-up palette and some oil. The following lines (13'–28') focus on Mār-bīti, whose movements from the Ezida to the Euršaba, and around Kaḡal (of Esagil), are described. His weapons are the center of some cultic activity. The god is the object of purification procedures and, inside his cella, he is presented with food offerings, some of them taken from the table of Nanāya. A gardener is then mentioned together with date palms. Other ritual activities follow, again involving a bedchamber in the cella of Mār-bīti and a ceremony for

40. The copy published here was made by Da Riva.

the awakening of the temple and the singing of the songstress and the *kurgarrû* in ll. 29<sup>3</sup>–31<sup>3</sup> (as in BM 40790). At the end of the text there is a reference to Nabû, Nanāya, Urigallu, and a singer (32<sup>3</sup>–36<sup>3</sup>).

If we opt for the first above-mentioned scenario (the Esagil) as a setting for BM 40854+, the rituals described may be considered as a sort of appendix of minor rites to the major rites directly connected with the Nisan activities presented in BM 40790. It seems from the extant evidence that the Nisan rituals included not only a set of major activities like the ones we know from *RAcc.* 127–54 etc., but also different sets of more specific rites directed to a variety of gods both inside and outside the Esagil precinct. And indeed, as some authors have already noted (Çağırğan and Lambert 1991–1993: 89), on that occasion every temple of Babylon may have had its own set of rites and ceremonies.

## Transliteration

15.5 × 8.7 × 3.0 cm

### Obverse

#### col. i

(approximately 10 lines missing)

- 1'. [x x x x x] x x x *hurāšu*(<sup>1</sup>KÛ.SIG<sub>17</sub>) [x x x x x x]
- 2'. x [x x x x x] <sup>1</sup>šá<sup>21</sup> *irātu*(GABA)<sup>mes?</sup> *hurāši*(KÛ.SIG<sub>17</sub>) <sup>2</sup>šá *uskāri*(USKA[R])<sup>2</sup> x x x x x x
- 3'. x [x] x [x x x] x-tu<sup>2</sup> *gišimmari*(GIŠIMMAR) *ultu*(<sup>1</sup>TA<sup>1</sup>) *ili*(<sup>1</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup>) <sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-de-ek-ke [x x x x x x]
- 4'. <sup>1</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>lú<sup>1</sup>[x x x] x *ina šumēli*(150)-šú <sup>1</sup>taš<sup>2</sup> šá<sup>2</sup> zi<sup>21</sup> *ari*(PA) *gišimmari*(GIŠIMMAR) bu-<sup>1</sup>úr<sup>21</sup>-s[ag<sup>2</sup>-gu<sup>2</sup>-ú<sup>2</sup> x x x (x)]
- 5'. <sup>1</sup>mu<sup>21</sup> <sup>1</sup>ki<sup>21</sup> [x<sup>2</sup>] <sup>1</sup>ana *qāti*(ŠU<sup>2</sup>.MIN) <sup>2</sup>šá<sup>21</sup> [x x] x *bir-mu hurāši*(<sup>1</sup>KÛ<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>SIG<sub>17</sub>) *ana tar-ši ili*(DINGIR) *ta-d*[e-ek-ke]
- 6'. *arki*(<sup>1</sup>EGIR<sup>1</sup>)-šú *abulla*(KÁ.GA[L]<sup>2</sup> *ippette*(BAD)<sup>2</sup>]<sup>1</sup>te<sup>21</sup> x x <sup>1</sup>ta<sup>21</sup> x *ana ma-qí-i-šú* x [x x x (x)]
- 7'. tu [x] x <sup>1</sup>lam-ma<sup>1</sup> 3 x x <sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-*hal-la-aš* x [x x x (x)]
- 8'. me-<sup>1</sup>e *qāti*(ŠU<sup>2</sup>.MIN)<sup>1</sup> x x x <sup>1</sup>ištēn(1+)<sup>em</sup> <sup>1</sup>me<sup>2</sup>-ze<sup>2</sup>-e<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup>h<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup>šá<sup>21</sup> *šipāti*(SÍG)<sup>há<sup>21</sup></sup> *ana lib*[*bi*(ŠÁ)<sup>bi</sup> x x x (x)]
- 9'. *ištēn*(1+)<sup>em</sup> *mé*-[ze<sup>2</sup>-e]<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup>h<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup>šá<sup>21</sup> *šipāti*(<sup>1</sup>SÍG)<sup>há<sup>21</sup></sup> <sup>1</sup>ina<sup>21</sup> <sup>1</sup>bi<sup>21</sup> <sup>1</sup>ku<sup>21</sup> <sup>1</sup>ma<sup>21</sup> si [x x x x x x x]
- 10'. *imittu*(15) <sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup> *šumēlu* (150) [x x x x x] x [x] <sup>1</sup>ana tar<sup>1</sup>-*ši ili*(DINGIR) <sup>1</sup>ta-de-ek<sup>1</sup>-[ke] <sup>1</sup>šá<sup>21</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>21</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>21</sup> [x x]
- 11'. *imittu*(<sup>1</sup>15<sup>1</sup>) <sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup> *šumēlu* (<sup>1</sup>150<sup>1</sup>) [x x x x x] x x [x] *hurāšu*(KÛ.SIG<sub>17</sub>) *lu-ub-ku ina*<sup>2</sup> x [x x (x)]
- 12'. *pān*([GI] x x x x x x x x x) x <sup>1</sup>li/il/mah<sup>21</sup> <sup>1</sup>hi <sup>2</sup>šá *šipāti*(SÍG)<sup>há</sup> *ina*<sup>2</sup> *qāti*(ŠU<sup>2</sup>.[MIN]) x x x (x)
- 13'. <sup>1</sup>di<sup>21</sup> [x x x x] x x <sup>1</sup>la<sup>21</sup> 3 <sup>1</sup>ana<sup>1</sup> *imitti*(<sup>1</sup>15<sup>1</sup>) <sup>1</sup>3<sup>21</sup> *ana šumēli* (150) *tu-mál-l*[a-a x (x)]
- 14'. 2-šú *ana* [*imitti*(15) *tušetti*<sup>2</sup>] 3-šú *ana šumēli*(150) <sup>1</sup>tu-še-et-ti-iq<sup>1</sup> *ana*<sup>2</sup> *me-qu-ú*<sup>2</sup> [x x (x)]
- 15'. x [x x x x] <sup>1</sup>su<sup>21</sup> <sup>1</sup>ú <sup>1</sup>ha<sup>2</sup>-an-du<sup>21</sup>-[<sup>1</sup>hu<sup>2</sup> šá<sup>2</sup>] *hurāši*(<sup>1</sup>KÛ.SIG<sub>17</sub>) <sup>2</sup>šá lim x x x x [x x (x)]
- 16'. x [x x x] x *hurāšu*(<sup>1</sup>KÛ.SIG<sub>17</sub>) <sup>2</sup>šá *su-du*<sup>2</sup>-[<sup>1</sup>ru x x x] x x [x x x x x x x]
- 17'. x [x x x] <sup>1</sup>KÁ<sup>2</sup>.GAL<sup>21</sup> <sup>1</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>-ú *hurāšu*(KÛ.SIG<sub>17</sub>) [x x x x x x x x x]
- 18'. [x x x x x] x x x <sup>1</sup>hurāšu(<sup>1</sup>KÛ.SIG<sub>17</sub>) [x] x [x x x x x x x x]
- 19'. [x x x x x] x *šamnu*(Ī.GIŠ) *ta*-<sup>1</sup>šá<sup>21</sup>-<sup>1</sup>an<sup>21</sup>-[x x x x]
- 20'. [x] x [x x] *bi*<sup>2</sup> x [x] x x x x x x x x <sup>1</sup>ú x [x x x x (x)]
- 21'. [x x x] x [x x] <sup>1</sup>mi<sup>21</sup> x [x x x x] x x [x x] <sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> [x x x x (x)]
- 22'. [x x x] <sup>1</sup>ta<sup>21</sup> x <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup>ana<sup>1</sup> *šumēli*(<sup>1</sup>150<sup>1</sup>) [x x x x] <sup>1</sup>šá<sup>21</sup> <sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup> x x [x x x x]
- 23'. [x x x] x x x <sup>1</sup>lu u<sup>2</sup> *bi*<sup>1</sup> [x x x x x x x x]
- 24'. (scattered traces in the next 10 lines)

#### col. ii

(missing)

## Reverse

## col. iii

(only tiny traces of the beginning of five lines are preserved in the top-left corner of the column, see copy)

## col. iv

(a couple of lines missing)

- 1'. [x x x x] <sup>r</sup>ana<sup>r1</sup> pān(IGI<sup>r1</sup>) <sup>r</sup>dNa-na-a<sup>1</sup> x x [x x x x x x x x]
- 2'. [x šá<sup>r2</sup>] <sup>d</sup>Na-na-a <sup>d</sup>Qí-bi-dumqī(SIG<sub>5</sub>) [x] x [x x x x] x [x] x
- 3'. [x x ana] bīt(É) <sup>d</sup>Bēlti(GAŠAN)-ía te-si-iḫ-ma na-mar ḫurāši(KÛ.SIG<sub>17</sub>) <sup>mi</sup>[ḫu-ul-la-la-a-ni-tú(?) x x x x] tallak(UDU<sup>1</sup>)<sup>ak</sup> [o]
- 4'. [<sup>mi</sup>na]r-tú ina pāni(IGI)-šú a-di bīt(É) <sup>d</sup>Mār(A)-bīti(É) tallak(DU)<sup>ak</sup> šamnu(Ì.GIŠ)<sup>r</sup> [x x x x] x <sup>r</sup>ana<sup>r1</sup> bīti(É)<sup>r</sup> ta-šab-bat
- 5'. [tetebbâ(ZI)]-am-ma ana bīt(É) erši(<sup>gis</sup>NÚ) u <sup>d</sup>Ušur(ÛRU)-amāt(INIM)-su ta-šab-<sup>r</sup>bat<sup>1</sup> arki(EGIR<sup>1</sup>) sa-raq šá tar-den-ni
- 6'. [<sup>d</sup>Urigallu(ÛRI.GAL) u <sup>d</sup>Aḫ-la-mi-i-tu<sub>4</sub> seḫertu(TUR)<sup>tu4</sup> <sup>lu</sup>kurgarrû(KUR.GAR.RA) ultu(TA) parakki(BÁRA) man-za-za il-qé
- 7'. [(x)] <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>Urigallu(ÛRI.GAL) ú-sar-ri ina imitti(15) bābi(KÁ) šá tar-ši manzāz(KI.GUB) <sup>d</sup>Aḫ-la-mi-tu<sub>4</sub>
- 8'. [(x)] <sup>r</sup>ab<sup>1</sup>-ni a-gur-ru ina ḫu-ra-du uš-šab pa-ni-šú ana šūti(IM.U<sub>18</sub>.LU) šak-na
- 9'. [<sup>mi</sup>]ḫu-ul-la-la-a-ni-tú <sup>tu4</sup>ḫu-ul-la-nu ina kišādi(GÚ)-šú tanaddi(ŠUB)<sup>di</sup>-ma na-ma-ri
- 10'. [m]u-šá-lu šá parzilli(AN.BAR) tanašši(ÍL)-ma na-ma-ri ina qāt(ŠU.MIN) imitti(<sup>r</sup>15<sup>1</sup>)-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> mu-šá-lu <sup>r</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> qāt(<sup>r</sup>ŠU.MIN<sup>1</sup>) šumēli(<sup>r</sup>150<sup>1</sup>)-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> [(x)]
- 11'. [tu-k]al-la ana mi-ḫir ana šumēli(150) <sup>d1</sup>Urigallu(ÛRI.GAL) taš-<sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>-[kan x x] <sup>lu</sup>kurgarrû(KUR.GAR.RA) ina imitti(15) <sup>d</sup>Urigallu(ÛRI.[GAL] (x))
- 12'. [man]-za-zi pa-ni-šú ana šūti(IM.U<sub>18</sub>.LU) iššakkan(GAR)-ma il-q[é x illak(DU)<sup>r</sup>] <sup>r</sup>ak<sup>1</sup> sinništu(MUNUS) KI.MIN ḫi-il-šu
- 13'. [t]a-ḫal-la-aš <sup>d</sup>Mār(A)-bīti(É) ultu(TA) é-zí-da šá x [x x x]-ma ina a-la-<sup>r</sup>ki-šú<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>tanašši(ÍL)-ma<sup>1</sup>
- 14'. [(x) k]<sup>r</sup> <sup>d</sup>Madānu(DI.KUD) ina ašē(È)-šú sinništu(MUNUS) KI.MIN <sup>r</sup>te<sup>r1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>si<sup>r1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>iḫ<sup>r1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> [x x x x x x]
- 15'. [x <sup>d</sup>Urigallu(Û)RI.<sup>r</sup>GAL<sup>1</sup>] tašabbat(DAB)<sup>bat</sup>-ma ana šub-ti-šú tutâr(GUR) sinništu(MUNUS) KI.MIN šá x [x x x x x x]
- 16'. [(x)] x ta mu-šal taleqqe(TI)-ma ki sip-pe-e bābi(KÁ) u <sup>gis</sup>daltu(IG) šá abulli(KÁ.GA[L])<sup>r</sup> x x x (x)
- 17'. [<sup>d</sup>Mār(A)-bīti(É) ana é-ur<sub>5</sub>-šà-ba irrum(KU<sub>4</sub>)<sup>um</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> ana bīt (<sup>r</sup>É<sup>1</sup>) <sup>d</sup>Bēlti(GAŠAN)-ía itarraš(LÁ)<sup>as</sup> <sup>lu</sup>ērib-bīti(KU<sub>4</sub>.<sup>r</sup>É<sup>1</sup>) [x x (x)]
- 18'. [me]-e ana muḫḫi(UGU) šēpi(GÌR.MIN) šá-ni-iš <sup><gis></sup>tal-la inaddi(ŠUB)<sup>di</sup>-ma ana pa-pa-ḫi irrub(KU<sub>4</sub>)-ma ana [pāni(IGI)<sup>r</sup> x x (x)]
- 19'. [ina š]ub-ti-šú uš-šab iš-pa-tu<sub>4</sub> šá <sup>d</sup>Mār(A)-bīti(É) ina <sup>kuš</sup>appati(PA) bāb(KÁ) pa-pa-ḫi <sup>r</sup>ana<sup>r1</sup> pāni(<sup>r</sup>IGI<sup>r1</sup>) [x x]
- 20'. [<sup>gis</sup>]paššūru(BANŠUR) ina pān(IGI) <sup>d</sup>Mār(A)-bīti(É) ittariš(LÁ)<sup>is</sup> sa-lam u me-e qātī(ŠU.MIN) ana <sup>d</sup>Mār(A)-bīti(É) ki-šuk-k[u šá]
- 21'. [<sup>d</sup>N]a-na-a ta-še-et-ma ku ú nignaqu(NÍG.NA)<sup>qu</sup> ina libbi(ŠÀ) pa-pa-ḫi ina pān <sup>d</sup>Mār(A)-bīti(É) x [x]
- 22'. [lib<sup>r</sup>]-bu-šu me-e <sup>uzu</sup>rapaštu(GIŠ.KUN) marratu(ŠEŠ)<sup>mušen</sup> u sukannīnu(TU.KUR<sub>4</sub>)<sup>mušen</sup> šīru(UZU) šizbu(GA) 2 šap-p[u x x]
- 23'. [o] <sup>r</sup>ištēn(1+)<sup>en1</sup> šap-pu karāni(GEŠTIN) ištēn(1+)<sup>en</sup> ma-ak-ka-su as-né-e ultu(TA) <sup>gis</sup>paššūri(BANŠUR) šá <sup>d</sup>Na-na-[a (x)]
- 24'. ina pān(IGI) <sup>d</sup>Mār(A)-bīti(É) iššakkan(GAR)<sup>an</sup> gi ad <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r1</sup> <sup>r</sup>ri<sup>r1</sup> šá <sup>lu</sup>nukaribbu(NU.<sup>gis</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub>) gišimmari (GIŠIMMAR)-šú x x x [x x] x [(x)]
- 25'. ina pāni(IGI)-šú tašakkan(GAR)<sup>an</sup> ta-sar-raq u ku [x x] é<sup>2</sup> bu ta-na-as-suk <sup>r</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> pān(<sup>r</sup>IGI<sup>1</sup>) <sup>d</sup>Mār(<sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>)-

- bīti*(É<sup>1</sup>) [*tašakkan*(GAR)<sup>am</sup>]
26. *arki*(EGIR)-šú *ina pān*(IGI) <sup>d</sup>*Na-na-a* <sup>r</sup>*u*<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>*d**Li*<sub>9</sub><sup>1</sup>-*si*<sub>4</sub> *taṣaṭṭar*(DUH)-*ma sa-la-mu me-e qātī*(ŠU.MIN) *ki* [x x x x]
27. *ana* <sup>d</sup>*Li*<sub>9</sub>-*si*<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>*Na-na-a* *bīt*(É) *erši*(<sup>gis</sup>NÚ) <sup>r</sup>*šá*<sup>1</sup> *pa-pa-ḥi* <sup>d</sup>*Mār*(A)-*bīti*(É) *u ili*(DINGIR) *pa-ni* [x x x]
28. *arki*(EGIR) *ki-šuk-ku it-tar-šu qātī*(ŠU.MIN) <sup>d</sup>*Mār*(A)-*bīti*(É) *tašabbat*(DAB)<sup>bat</sup>-*ma ina libbi*(ŠÀ) *pa-pa-ḥi ana* <sup>r</sup>*d*<sup>1</sup>[GN x (x)]
29. *itarraṣ*(LÁ)<sup>as</sup> <sup>d</sup>*Mār*(A)-*bīti*(É) *uṣṣi*(É)-*ma gada-le-e*<sup>mes</sup> *i-na-as-suk-ma bītu*(É) *i-ḥa-a*[*b*<sup>3</sup> x x]
30. *ina*(<sup>on</sup>erasure) *mūši*(GI<sub>6</sub>) *dī-ik bīti*(É) <sup>r</sup>*ki*<sup>2</sup> *pīt*(BAD) *bābi*(KÁ) *gada-le-e ta-ke-rik arki*(EGIR) *sa-r*[*aq* x x x x]
31. *za-mar naptani*(BUR) *šá* [<sup>mi</sup>]*nārtu*(<sup>r</sup>NAR<sup>1</sup>)<sup>tu</sup> *u* <sup>lu</sup>*kurgarrú*(KUR.GAR.RA) *kī*(GIN<sub>7</sub>) *ūm*(U<sub>4</sub>) <sup>3</sup>*kam ina é-ur*<sub>5</sub>-*šà-ba* [x x x x x]
32. *arki*(EGIR) <sup>lu</sup>*nāru*(NAR) <sup>r</sup>*ina pān*(IGI) <sup>1</sup><sup>d</sup>*Nabú*(NÀ) *itebbu*(ZI) <sup>lu</sup>*nāru*(NAR) *ina pān*(IGI) <sup>d</sup>*Na-na-a* GAŠ[AN x x x]
33. x x x x [x] *me-e qātī*(ŠU.MIN) *šá arki*(EGIR) *tar-den-ni* <sup>d</sup>*Urigallu*(ÛRI.GAL) [x x x x x]
34. [x x x x x <sup>lu</sup>]*ērib-bīti*(KU<sub>4</sub>.É) *kī*(GIN<sub>7</sub>) *ūm*(U<sub>4</sub>) <sup>3</sup>*kam i-šu-du* x [x x x x x x]
35. [x x x x x x] *bābu*(KÁ) *li-li-is-su ana* <sup>d</sup>*N*[*a-na-a* x x x x x x]
36. [x x x x x x <sup>gis</sup>ga]*n-gan-na*<sup>1</sup> *šá man-za-*<sup>r</sup>*za*<sup>1</sup> x [x x x x x x]
- (some lines missing at the end of the column)

## Translation

### Obverse

#### col. i

(too fragmentary for translation, see the philological notes)

#### col. ii

(missing)

### Reverse

#### col. iii

(only traces of the beginning of five lines are preserved at the top-left corner of the column)

#### col. iv

<sup>1</sup>... before Nanāya ... <sup>2</sup>[of] Nanāya, Qibi-dumqī ... <sup>3</sup>... she will assign to the temple of Beltīya, and the mirror of gold the [*ḥullālānītu*]... she will go <sup>4</sup> [the song]stress in front of it, she will go to the temple of Mār-bīti. *šammu*-oil ... she will take to the temple, <sup>5</sup> [she will get] up to the bedchamber, and she will lead Ušur-amassu (by the hand). After the sprinkling of the (second) meal <sup>6</sup>(of) the (divine) standard and the young Aḥlamītu, the *kurgarrú* from the dais “He took position” <sup>7</sup> will make a circle (around) the (divine) standard. At the right side of the gate, opposite the station of Aḥlamītu, <sup>8</sup> the glazed (baked-)brick will sit on the *ḥurādu*-mat(?). Its face is set to the south. <sup>9</sup> The *ḥullālānītu* will throw a *ḥullānu*-blanket off her neck, <sup>10</sup> she will pick up <sup>9</sup> the mirror <sup>10</sup> (and) the bronze make-up palette. The mirror in (her) right hand, the make-up palette in (her) left hand <sup>11</sup> she will hold in balance. To the left of the (divine) standard she will put(?) ..., the *kurgarrú* to the right of the standard, <sup>12</sup> the position is placed to the south in front of him, and he took(?) [(and) he will] go(?). The ditto-woman (=ḥullālānītu) *ḥilšu*-oil <sup>13</sup> she will filter(?). Mār-bīti will ... from Ezida, and, while he proceeds, she will lift (it?), and <sup>14</sup> when Madānu goes out, the ditto-woman she will assign(?)... <sup>15</sup>... the (divine) standard she will take. She will restore (the standard) to its

seat. The ditto-woman that(?) ...<sup>16</sup>... she will take the make-up palette. As soon as the door-jambs of the gate and the door of Ka gal [*are smeared*],<sup>17</sup> Mār-bīti will enter the Euršaba, and will take position towards the chapel of Bēltiya. The temple-enterer ...<sup>18</sup> Water upon the feet (will be thrown) twice. He will lay down the carrying poles, and will enter the cella. And to ...<sup>19</sup> He will stay in his seat. The quiver of Mār-bīti (*will stay?*) in the *appatu*. The gate of the cella before(?) ...<sup>20</sup> The (offering) table will be prepared in front of Mār-bīti. (Ceremony for the) well-being (of the temple) and water (for the purification) of the hands for Mār-bīti. The grating [of]<sup>21</sup> Nanāya she will put aside. The incense burner (*that will be moved?*) inside the cella in front of Mār-bīti [...] <sup>22</sup> therein water, loin, *marratu*-bird, dove, meat, milk, 2 *šappu* ...<sup>23</sup> one *šappu*-container of wine, one (portion of good-quality) dates, (and) Dilmun-dates from the (offering) table of Nanāya<sup>24</sup> will be placed in front of Mār-bīti. The... of the gardener, his date palm ...<sup>25</sup> she will place in front of him, she will sprinkle (it) and ... she will remove. In front of Mār-bīti [she will place (it)].<sup>26</sup> After this, she will clear (it) from the presence of Nanāya and Lisi. (Ceremony for the) well-being (of the temple), water (for the purification) of the hands ...<sup>27</sup> for Lisi (and) Nanāya. The bedchamber of the cella of Mār-bīti and the god in front of [...] <sup>28</sup>After the grating has been laid out, she will lead Mār-bīti by the hand, and in the cella, in front [of ...]<sup>29</sup> he will take position. Mār-bīti will go out, and he will remove the linen curtains. The temple will be puri[fied]<sup>30</sup> during the night. Awakening of the temple. During the opening of the gate, she will wrap(?) the linen curtains. After the sprinkling ...<sup>31</sup> singing for the (main) meal by the songstress and the *kurgarrū*, as on day 3. In the Euršaba ...<sup>32</sup> after the singer has departed (from) before Nabū, the singer (will) ... in front of Nanāya, the lady. ...<sup>33</sup>... water (for the purification) of the hands after the (second) meal. The (divine) standard ...<sup>34</sup>... the temple enterer as on day 3 will turn about ...<sup>35</sup>... ([during the opening] of) the gate. The kettledrum for Nanāya ...<sup>36</sup>... the (wooden) pot stand of the station ...

### Philological Commentary

There is a draft of the transliteration, of BM 41208 only, among the Lambert Folios: LF 9611–09612.

i 2': The first signs in the line after the break are difficult to read, but the reading *irātu*(GABA)<sup>meš</sup>, “breasts,” is a possibility, as the words at the end of the line *hurāši šá uskāri* are clear. The *irtu ša uskāri* “crescent-shaped breast-plate” (usually in singular, not in plural as here) is attested among the jewelry of Aya in Sippar (BM 60808) and of Nanāya, Ištar and Bēltu-ša-Rēš in Uruk (Beaulieu 2003: 10, 141, 191–92, 217–18). For shapes and items of divine jewelry see Bongenaar 1997: 363 (Sippar texts) and Beaulieu 2003: 10–14 (Uruk material).

i 3': The branch or leaves of the date palm are also mentioned in i 4', but the context is unclear. It may be used for a ceremonial or ritual belt. In the New Year Festival, a belt made of palm leaves is also present: *RAcc.* 127–54, ll. 209, 455 (Linssen 2004: 218, 223). Date palm trees are mentioned on different occasions during the Kislīmu ritual, edited by Čağirgan and Lambert (1991–1993). For the palm festival, see Linssen 2004: 118. The context is fragmentary, but here (and in i 5') it seems that the jewelry(?) is being removed (*dekū*) from the images of the gods.

i 4': There is a determinative lú after the *šá* at the beginning of the line, but as the following signs are missing, it is not clear to which profession or temple official the line refers; one would expect a goldsmith or a temple-enterer here, see comment to i 3' above. After *ina šumēli*(150)-šú one would expect a *taparras* form, in the third person feminine; so *taš-šá-kan* would be a good option, but the last sign looks like ZI or NAM rather than KAN. At the end of the line (bu ʿúr<sup>71</sup> x [x x x (x)]) one would expect a qualifying adjective or an apposition to *ari*(PA) *gišimmari*(GIŠIMMAR), perhaps *bursaggú*, a kind of meal offering, but this is unclear.

i 5': The word *birmu* (CAD B, 257–58) refers to a multicolored trim to adorn garments. In this line the *birmu* was made of gold and it is raised towards the divine image; see also BM 40790 iv 11.

i 6': KÁ.GAL is restored after iv 16'. At the end of the line *ma-qi-i-šú* may be from *mēqū* “cosmetics” (CAD M/2, 20), but the context is unclear.

i 7': The sign tu at the beginning of the line could belong to a 3rd person feminine verbal form, but we are un-



able to read the following signs. The verbal form *taḥallaš* probably refers to anointing or purifying with *ḫilšu*-oil; see commentary to iv 13' below.

i 8' - 9': The term preceding *šipāti*(SÍG)<sup>h4</sup> in both lines cannot be identified, for the surface of the tablet is very damaged. We would tentatively suggest *mēzeḫu*, a kind of sash, scarf or belt borne by divine statues and temple personnel (*CAD M/2*, 46).

i 11': Perhaps a D form of *labāku* (*CAD L*, 7–8): “to macerate” or “to soften with oil.”

i 15': One could restore *ḫandūḫu* (*CAD H*, 79), an unidentified part of the lock which, according to the evidence, could be made of precious metals as here; see also Beaulieu 2003, 12.

i 16': We suggest *sudduru/sudūru* (a sumptuous garment), see *CAD S*, 342.

i 19': One would expect a verb related to the semantic field of anointing, making libations, etc. with the oil, perhaps *pašāšu*, *labāku*, *tabāku*, or even *ḫalāšu*, but none of these verbs fit the traces of the signs at the end of the line.

iv 2': For the goddess Qibi-dumqī, see above commentary to BM 40790 i 19'.

iv 3': The temple of Beltiya (also mentioned in iv 17') may refer either to the Ehalanki, the shrine or chapel of Marduk's consort Zarpānītu in the Esagil (George 1992: 11), or to the temple or chapel that Beltiya shared with Marduk in the Ezida (Waerzeggers 2010: 11, 22, 25). For the restoration of the *ḫullālānītu* at the end of the line, see iv 9'.

iv 4': Nothing much is known about Mār-bīti “the son of the house” (Krebernik 1987–1990). He was considered the vizier of Nabū (Pomponio 1998–2001: 21) and began to be associated with Nanāya in documents from Borsippa (*VS* 1: 36 i 17–20; see Krebernik 1987–1990: 357); for Mār-bīti in Borsippa, see also Waerzeggers 2010: 26–29. His warlike aspect is clear from the evidence on the present text, where he has a “quiver” among his accessories (see iv 19', with textual note.). He also appears in the ritual for Šabātu from Babylon mentioned above (George 2000: 289–90, no. 4). The temple of Mār-bīti mentioned here may refer to his temple in Borsippa, near the Adad Gate (George 1993: no. 1355) or, less probably, either to the Emahgirzal (é-mah-gir<sub>17</sub>-zal), near Babylon and Borsippa (George 1993: no. 732), or to his temple in Elip, near Babylon (George 1993: no. 1356).

iv 5': Ušur-amāssu was a goddess of justice, and among the most important ones in the Uruk pantheon (Beaulieu 2003: 226–55; Beaulieu 2014–2016: 511–12). From the Old Babylonian period onward she was a male deity: *TCL* 15: 10, 196. On the issue of a male and female Ušur-amāssu, see Jean 1934. The male Ušur-amāssu is listed in the OB Genouillac god list, and in the Middle Assyrian period, where one finds the equation <sup>d</sup>ú-sur-a-mat-su = dumu <sup>d</sup>iškur-ke<sub>4</sub> (AN = <sup>d</sup>a-nu-um, III 248). Once this deity was introduced to Uruk to serve Ištar, he became female, and as such was still worshipped during the Hellenistic period: *KAR* 132 ii 13 (Linssen 2004: 202). She appears also in *LKU* 51, a ritual similar to *TU* 42 + (a festival for Ištar), for which see Linssen 2004: 121–22. See also Falkenstein 1941; Charpin 1986: 412–13; Cohen 1993: 427; George 2000: 289–99 no. 4; *RIMB* II, 128–29. In documents from the Eanna archive, she is often paired with Aš/rkai'tu “the Urukite,” a resident of her temple (Beaulieu 2003: 229). Ušur-amāssu appears outside Uruk in BM 41239, a ritual mentioning Eturkalamma and the procession of several deities from Borsippa to Kiš (George 2000: 289–99, no. 4; Beaulieu 2014–2016: 512).

iv 6': The evidence for <sup>d</sup>Urigallu “(divine) standard,” as preserved in AN = <sup>d</sup>a-nu-um, clearly shows a connection with astral deities; see AN = <sup>d</sup>a-nu-um III 117, <sup>d</sup>URI.GAL = Šamaš; III 40: <sup>d</sup>uru<sub>x</sub>(EN)<sup>d</sup>-ru-gal = sukka<sup>d</sup> <sup>d</sup>lāl-ke<sub>4</sub> “vizier of <sup>d</sup>LĀL”; the latter (<sup>d</sup>a-la-x-x<sup>d</sup>LĀL) is qualified in turn (III 37) as sukka<sup>d</sup> <sup>d</sup>en:zu-ke<sub>4</sub>, “vizier of Sîn.” Due to first millennium syncretism, Nanāya was sometimes identified with Ištar, daughter of Sîn and sister of the sun god. In Uruk two distinct standards are known, one belonging to Ištar, and one to Ušur-amāssu; see Beaulieu 2003: 353–54. For the deified standard, see also Beaulieu 2014–2016: 414–15.

Aḫlamītu, the “Aramean goddess,” is also attested in Neo Babylonian administrative texts *VS* 6: 77 5 (and *Nbn* 117 3), and, possibly, in a ritual from Uruk, *LKU* 51: see further references in Linssen 2004: 242, n. 8'; see also *ABL* 518: 13.<sup>41</sup>

41. The words *aḫlamū* “Aramean” and *sutū* “Sutean” were used as a designation of West-Semitic nomads in Babylonian literary and histori-

At the end of the line, *man-za-za il-qé* (“He took position”) seems to be the proper name of a cultic dais, which, as the context suggests, is to be located in either the Ezida or the Euršaba, or in close vicinity to them. However, from the point of view of Akkadian usage one would expect *šabātu* instead of *leqú*.

iv 7’: For the verbal form *ú-sar-ri* one would exclude a derivation from *surrú* “to provide plentifully,” and suggest a derivation from *surru*, “to make a circle”; note however that in Late Babylonian rituals it usually occurs together with *súrtu* “circle(?)”: CAD S, 190.

iv 8’: We suggest *abnu agurru*, glazed brick; see CAD A/1, 162. The meaning of *hurādu* in this context remains obscure. A commentary to *Uruanna* IIIb equates it with *a-bat-tum šá <na>-a-ri* “pebble of the river” (CT 41: 45a 16). A baked brick in ritual contexts also appears in the Kislimu ritual BM 32206 +, ll. 65, 109; see Çağırhan and Lambert 1991–1993: 96, 98 and in BM 32656, iv 13’ (George 2000: 276).

iv 9’: For the *hullālānitu* see textual note on BM 40790 i 10’ above.

iv 13’: [*t*]a-*ḫal-la-aš* may refer to a process of cleaning by combing (CAD H, 40), using the *ḫilšu*-oil mentioned in the preceding line (see also comment to BM 40790 iii 15). Another possibility, although problematic, is to assume that what is actually going on here is the “squeezing” (by lightly pressing sesame seeds) of *ḫilšu*-oil. This would imply that the process is performed, quite awkwardly, on the spot; the oil would then be used ceremonially like the *šamnu*-oil earlier in the text.

iv 14’: Note the connection between and Madānu and Mār-bīti in George 2000: 293 obv. 8; see also George 1992: 304.

iv 16’: It is uncertain to which gate this KÁ.GAL may refer to, because the setting of the ritual action is not clear. It might be either the ceremonial name of the Great Gate of the Court of Bēl in the Esagil mentioned in the *Gate List of Esagil* no. 7: 5’ (George 1992: 96) or rather a common name for the entrance of a temple or chapel (pp. 403–4).

iv 19’: Reference to cultic accessories of Mār-bīti is also made in BM 42287 (81-07-01, 47) (Da Riva in preparation), which offers a detailed description of the god’s weapons. There is no direct mention of an *išpatu* “quiver,” but <sup>sis</sup>*qaštu*(BAN) “bow” (obv. 6) and *šiltāḫu* (*šil-taḫ*) “arrow” (obv. 3–5) occur.

iv 21’: The signs before NÍG.NA<sup>qu</sup> are clearly KU-Ú. We would suggest a form of *etēqu*(DIB) in the subjective.

iv 23’: For the containers of liquid offerings, see Linssen 2004: 132–33.

iv 24’: We have no suggestion for the sequence gi ad ṛx<sup>ṛ1</sup> ṛri<sup>ṛ1</sup>. It may denote an object made of reed (<sup>gi</sup>), perhaps an instrument of the gardener. A date palm appears in i 3’–4’ in a fragmentary passage. Here in iv 24’ a gardener is mentioned but the context is unclear. Perhaps this person was connected in a way or another to the prebendary *rab-banē*, attested in Sippar, Uruk and Dilbat; see Da Riva 2002: 136–71; Jursa 2010: 159, 324–25, 335–36. For gardeners and *rab-banē* in ritual contexts and the connection with the cultivation of aromatics, see also George 1992: 398, commentary to *Gate List of Esagil* no. 6, 25.

iv 29’: We suggest a *ḫābu* (“to consecrate, exorcise, to purify by fumigation”). See the New Year ritual RAcc. 140, 340 (Linssen 2004: 221), where the purification is carried out by the exorcist.

iv 29’: See commentary to BM 40970 i 6’.

iv 30’: See commentary to BM 40970 i 4’.

iv 35’: One might find the syntactical connection between *bābu* and *lilissu*. If, instead of *ká* we read *dé*, this could be the end of a Balaḡ incipit to Inana, perhaps *ab-gin<sub>7</sub> gù-dé-dé* (suggestion of U. Gabbay).

iv 36’: The *gangannu* pot stand is also mentioned in BM 40970 i 5’.

---

cal texts from the first half of the first millennium BCE; see Zadok 1985: 276–77; Fales 2013: 18–20, 28; for Arameans in Babylonia, see Fales 2011; Zadok 2012. Moreover, these two terms were used almost interchangeably in Babylonian parlance (see Brinkman 1968: 285–86). This fits nicely with the occurrence of *Sutitu* in BM 40790 ii 11’ (see above).

## References

- Abusch, Z.  
2016 *The Magical Ceremony Maqlû: A Critical Edition*. Leiden: Brill.
- Ambos, C.  
2003 Nanaja – eine ikonographische Studie zur Darstellung einer altorientalischen Göttin in hellenistisch-parthischer Zeit. *ZA* 93: 231–72.  
2008 Das “Neujahrs”-Fest zur Jahresmitte und die Investitur des Königs im Gefängnis. Pp. 1–12 in *Fest und Eid: Instrumente der Herrschaftssicherung im Alten Orient. Kulturelle und Sprachliche Kontakte* 3, ed. D. Prechel. Würzburg: Ergon.
- Baker, H. D.  
2013 Beneath the Stairs in the Rēš Temple of Hellenistic Uruk. A Study in Cultic Topography and Spatial Organization. *Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie* 6: 18–42.
- Beaulieu, P.-A.  
2003 *The Pantheon of Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian Period*. Leiden: Brill.  
2014–16 Ušur-awässu (Ušur-amässu). *RIA* 14: 511–12.
- Bergamini, G.  
2011 Babylon in the Achaemenid and Hellenistic Period: The Changing Landscape of a Myth. *Mesopotamia* 46: 23–34.
- Black, J. A.  
1981 The New Year Ceremonies in Ancient Babylon: ‘Taking Bel by the Hand’ and a Cultic Picnic. *Religion* 11: 39–59.
- Boiy, T.  
2004 *Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic Babylon*. OLA 136. Leuven: Peeters.
- Bongenaar, A. C. V. M.  
1997 *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: Its Administration and Its Prosopography*. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archeologisch Instituut te Istanbul.
- Brinkman, J. A.  
1968 *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158–722 B.C.* AnOr 43. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.
- Çağırğan, G.  
1976 “The Babylonian Festivals.” PhD diss., University of Birmingham.
- Çağırğan, G., and Lambert, W. G.  
1991–93 The Late Babylonian *Kislîmu* Ritual for Esagil. *JCS* 43–5: 89–106.
- Cagni, L.  
1970 *Das Erra-Epos: Keilschrifttext*. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Charpin, D.  
1980 A propos de l’an 34 de Hammurapi. *RA* 74: 93.  
1986 *Le clergé d’Ur au siècle d’Hammurabi (XIXe–XVIIIe siècles av. J.-C.)*. Geneva: Droz.
- Clancier, P.  
2009 *Les bibliothèques en Babylonie dans la deuxième moitié du 1er millénaire av. J.-C.* AOAT 363. Münster: Ugarit Verlag.
- Cocquerillat, D.  
1973–74 Recherches sur le verger du temple campagnard de l’Akîtu (KIRI<sub>6</sub> hallat). *WO* 7: 96–134.
- Cohen, M. E.  
1981 *Sumerian Hymnology: The Eršemma*. Cincinnati: KTAV.  
1988 *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia*. Potomac, MD: Capital Decisions.  
1993 *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East*. Bethesda, MD: CDL.  
2015 *Festivals and Calendars of the Ancient Near East*. Bethesda, MD: CDL.
- Corò, P.  
2005 *Prebende templari in età seleucide*. Padova: Sargon.
- Da Riva, R.  
2002 *Der Ebabbar-Tempel von Sippar in frühneubabylonischer Zeit (640–580 v.Chr.)*. AOAT 291. Münster: Ugarit Verlag.  
2008 *The Neo-Babylonian Royal Inscriptions: An Introduction*. GMTR 4. Münster: Ugarit Verlag.  
2012 *The Twin Inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar at Brisa (Wadi esh-Sharbin, Lebanon): A Historical and Philological Study*. Afo Beiheft 32. Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien.  
2013 *The Inscriptions of Nabopolassar, Amēl-Marduk and Neriglissar*. SANER 3. Berlin: de Gruyter.

- 2007 A New Attestation of Ḫabigbat in Late Babylonian Sources. *WO* 47: 259–64.  
in preparation *Some Temple Rituals from Hellenistic Babylonia*.
- Dijk, J. van, and Mayer W. R.  
1980 *Texte aus dem Res-Heiligtum in Uruk-Warka*. *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, Beiheft 2. Berlin: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abt. Baghdad.
- Driel, G. van  
2002 *Elusive Silver: In Search of a Role for a Market in an Agrarian Environment Aspects of Mesopotamia's Society*. PIHANS 95. Istanbul and Leiden: The Netherlands Institute for the Near East.
- Durand, J.-M.  
2010 *Etre chef d'un état amorrite*. Pp. 31–58 in *City Administration in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 53e Rencontre assyriologique internationale*, vol. 2, ed. L. Kogan. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Edzard, D. O.  
1987 Zur Ritualtafel der sog. 'Love Lyrics'. Pp. 57–67 in *Language, Literature, and History. Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*, ed. F. Rochberg-Halton. AOS 67. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
- Fales, F. M.  
2011 Moving around Babylon: On the Aramean and Chaldean Presence in Southern Mesopotamia. Pp. 91–112 in *Babylon Wissenskultur in Orient und Okzident*, ed. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum et al. Berlin: de Gruyter.  
2013 All'inizio: L'aramaico mesopotamico più antico. *AION* 73: 15–32.
- Falkenstein, A.  
1941 *Topographie von Uruk. Teil 1: Uruk zur Seleukidenzeit*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.
- Fincke, J.  
2013 Another fragment of the "Love Lyrics" from Babylon (BM 47032). *NABU* 2013/76.
- Fox, J.  
2003 *Semitic Noun Patterns*. HSS 52. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns and Harvard Semitic Museum.
- Frahm, E., and Jiménez, E.  
2015 Myth, Ritual, and Interpretation. The Commentary on *Enūma eliš* I–VII and a Commentary on Elamite, Month Names. *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 4: 293–343.
- Gabbay, U.  
2014 *Pacifying the Hearts of the Gods: Sumerian Emesal Prayers of the First Millennium BC*. HES 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.  
2015 *The Eršema Prayers of the First Millennium BC*. HES 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.  
2016 *The Exegetical Terminology of Akkadian Commentaries*. Leiden: Brill.
- George, A. R.  
1992 *Babylonian Topographical Texts*. OLA 40. Leuven: Peeters.  
1993 *House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.  
1995 The Bricks of E-Sagil. *Iraq* 57: 173–97.  
1996 Studies in Cultic Topography and Ideology (review article of Pongratz-Leisten 1994). *BiOr* 53: 363–95.  
2000 Four Temple Rituals from Babylon. Pp. 259–99 in *Wisdom, Gods and Literature: Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W. G. Lambert*, ed. A. R. George, and I. L. Finkel. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.  
2006 Babylonian Texts from the Folios of Sidney Smith, Part Three: A Commentary on a Ritual of the Month Nisan. Pp. 173–85 in *If a Man Builds a Joyful House: Assyriological Studies in Honor of Erle Verdun Leichty*, ed. A. K. Guinan et al. CM 31. Leiden: Brill.
- Giovinazzo, G.  
1981 La "cerimonia della vestizione" (*lubuštu*) nei testi achemenidi datati al regno di Ciro. *Annali* 41: 527–59.
- Grimes, R. L.  
2006 *Rite Out of Place: Ritual, Media, and the Arts*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Groneberg, B. R. M.  
1999 "Brust" (*irtum*)-Gesänge. Pp. 169–95 in *Munuscula Mesopotamica, Festschrift für Johannes Renger*, ed. B. Böck, E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, and T. Richter. AOAT 267. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.  
2007 Liebes- und Hundebeschwörungen im Kontext. Pp. 91–108 in *Studies Presented to Robert D. Biggs*, June 4, 2004, ed. M. T. Roth et al. AS 27. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Hackl, J.  
2010 Apprenticeship Contracts. Pp. 700–725 in *Aspects of the Economic History of Babylonia in the First Millennium BC*, ed. M. Jursa. AOAT 377. Münster: Ugarit Verlag.  
2011 Neue spätbabylonische Lehrverträge aus dem British Museum und der Yale Babylonian Collection. *Afo* 52: 77–97.

- Hausleiter, A.  
 2010 L'oisie de Taymâ. Pp. 219–61 in *Routes d'Arabie. Archéologie et Histoire du Royaume d'Arabie Saoudite*, ed. A. I. Al-Ghabban et al. Paris: Somogy éditions d'art / Musée du Louvre.
- Hibbert, P. M.  
 1984 Liebeslyrik in der arsakidischen Zeit. *WO* 15: 93–95.
- Holm, T. L.  
 2017 Nanay and Her Lover: An Aramaic Sacred Marriage Text from Egypt. *JNES* 76: 1–37.
- Hunger, H.  
 1968 *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone*. AOAT 2. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.  
 1976 *Spätbabylonische Texte Aus Uruk. Teil I*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- Jean, C.-F.  
 1934 Ušur-Amâtsu et Ušur-Amâtsa. *RA* 31: 167–69.
- Jursa, M.  
 2002 Florilegium babiloniacum: Neue Texte aus hellenistischer und spätachämenidischer Zeit. Pp. 107–30 *Mining the Archives*, ed. C. Wunsch. *Babylonische Archive* 1. Dresden: ISLET.  
 2005 *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents. Typology, Contents and Archives*. GMTR 1. Münster: Ugarit Verlag.  
 2010 *Aspects of the Economic History of Babylonia in the First Millennium BC: Economic Geography, Economic Mentalities, Agriculture, the Use of Money and the Problem of Economic Growth*, with contributions by J. Hackl et al. Veröffentlichungen zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Babyloniens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. 4. AOAT 377. Münster: Ugarit Verlag.
- Kedar, S.  
 2014 Apprenticeship in the Neo-Babylonian Period: A Study of Bargaining Power. Pp. 537–46 in *La famille dans le Proche-Orient ancien: réalités, symbolismes, et images Proceedings of the 55th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Paris 6–9 July 2009*, ed. L. Marti. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Krebernik, M.  
 1987–90 Mār-Bīti. *RIA* 7: 356–57.  
 2006–8 Qibi-dum/nqī. *RIA* 11: 177.
- Lambert, W. G.  
 1975 The Problem of the Love Lyrics. Pp. 98–135 in *Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East*, ed. H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.  
 1992 Prostitution. Pp. 127–61 in *Außenseiter und Randgruppen: Beiträge zu einer Sozialgeschichte des Alten Orients*, ed. V. Haas. *XENIA* 32. Konstanz: Universitätsverlag.  
 1997 Processions to the Akītu-House (review article of Pongratz-Leisten 1994). *RA* 91: 49–80.
- Lemaire, A.  
 2003 Nabonidus in Arabia and Judah in the Neo-Babylonian Period. Pp. 285–98 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, ed. O. Lipschitis and J. Blenkinsopp. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Linssen, M. J. H.  
 2004 *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon: The Temple Ritual Texts as Evidence for Hellenistic Cult Practice*. CM 25. Leiden: Brill and Styx.
- Litke, R. L.  
 1998 *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists, AN : <sup>d</sup>A-nu-um and AN : Anu šā amēli*. New Haven: Yale Babylonian Collection.
- Livingstone, A.  
 1986 *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Matsushima, E.  
 1987 Rituel hiérogamique de Nabû. *ASJ* 9: 131–75.  
 1988 Les rituels du mariage divin dans les documents accadiens. *ASJ* 10: 93–128.  
 1993 Divine Statues in Ancient Mesopotamia: Their Fashioning and Clothing and Their Interaction with the Society. Pp. 209–19 in *Official Cult and Popular Religion in the Ancient Near East. Papers of the First Colloquium on the Ancient Near East: The City and Its Life, Held at the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Mitaka, Tokyo), March 20–22, 1992*, ed. E. Matsushima. Heidelberg: Winter.  
 1994 On the Material Related to the Clothing Ceremony: *lubuštu* in the Later Periods in Babylonia. *ASJ* 16: 177–200.  
 1995 Some Remarks on the Divine Garments: *kusītu* and *naḥlaptu*. *ASJ* 17: 233–49.

- Maul, S. M.  
 1992 *kurgarrû* und *assinnu* und ihr Stand in der babylonischen Gesellschaft. Pp. 159–71 in *Außenseiter und Randgruppen: Beiträge zu einer Sozialgeschichte des Alten Orients*, ed. V. Haas. XENIA 32. Konstanz: Universitätsverlag.  
 1998 Marduk, Nabû und der assyrische Enlil. Die Geschichte eines sumerischen šu'ilas. Pp. 159–97 in *Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994: tikip santakki mala basmu*, ed. S. M. Maul. CUMO 10. Groningen: Styx.
- McEwan, G. J. P.  
 1981a *Priest and Temple in Hellenistic Babylonia*. FAOS 4. Wiesbaden: Steiner.  
 1981b Arsacid Temple Records. *Iraq* 43: 131–43.
- Michalowski, P.  
 1987–90 Lisi(n). *RIA* 7: 32–33.  
 1990 Presence at the Creation. Pp. 131–36 in *Lingering over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*, ed. T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard, and P. Steinkeller. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Nissinen, M.  
 2001 Akkadian Rituals and Poetry of Divine Love. Pp. 93–136 in *Mythology and Mythologies. Methodological Approaches to Intercultural Influences*, ed. R. M. Whiting. Melammu Symposia 2. Helsinki, The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2001.
- Peled, I.  
 2014 *assinnu* und *kurgarrû* Revisited. *JNES* 73.2: 283–97.  
 2016 *Masculinities and Third Gender: The Origins and Nature of an Institutionalized Gender Otherness in the Ancient Near East*. AOAT 435. Münster: Ugarit Verlag.
- Pinches, T.  
 1915 *The Babylonian Tablets of the Behren Collection*. Asiatic Society Monographs. London: Royal Asiatic Society.
- Pomponio, F.  
 1978 *Nabû: il culto e la figura di un dio del pantheon babilonese ed assiro*. Roma: Istituto di studi del Vicino Oriente.  
 1998–2001 Nabû. A. Philologisch: Ch. 6 Festivals. *RIA* 9: 22–23.
- Pongratz-Leisten, B.  
 1994 *Ina šulmi irub: Eine Kulttopographische und Ideologische Programmatik der Akitu-Prozession in Babylonien und Assyrien im I. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* BaFo 16. Mainz: von Zabern.  
 1998–2001 Neujahr(sfest). B. Nach Akkadischen Quellen. *RIA* 9: 294–98.
- Robson, E.  
 forthcoming King, God, Scholar: A Deteriorating Relationship in First-Millennium Babylonia. In *Ancient Knowledge Networks: Social Geography of Cuneiform Scholarship in the First Millennium BC*. London: University College, London Press.
- Sallaberger, W.  
 1998–2001 Neujahr(sfest). B. Nach Sumerischen Quellen. *RIA* 9: 291–94.
- Salonen, A.  
 1965 *Die Hausgeräte der alten Mesopotamier, nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen. Eine lexikalische und kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung Teil I*. AASF 139. Helsinki: Helsinki Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- Shehata, D.  
 2014 Sounds from the Divine: Religious Musical Instruments in the Ancient Near East. Pp. 102–28 in *Music in Antiquity: The Near East and the Mediterranean*, ed. J. Goodnick Westenholz, Y. Maurey and E. Seroussi. Berlin: de Gruyter Oldenbourg; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University.
- Sokoloff, M.  
 2003 *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*. Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Sommer, B. D.  
 2000 The Babylonian Akitu-Festival: Rectifying the King or Renewing the Cosmos? *JANES* 27: 81–95.
- Stol, M.  
 1999 Nanea Νεναία. Pp. 612–14 in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, ed. K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, and P. W. Van Der Horst. 2nd rev. ed. Leiden: Brill.  
 1998–2001 Nanaja. *RIA* 9: 146–51.
- Thureau-Dangin, F.  
 1922 *Tablettes d'Uruk à l'usage des prêtres du Temple d'Anu au temps des Seleucides*. TCL 6. Paris: Geuthner (= TU).

- Toorn, K. van der  
 1991 The Babylonian New Year Festival: New Insights from the Cuneiform Texts and their Bearing on Old Testament Study. Pp. 331–44 in *Congress Volume 1989*, ed. J.-A. Emerton. VTSup 43. Leiden: Brill.
- Unger, E.  
 1931 *Babylon. Die heilige Stadt nach der Beschreibung der Babylonier*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Veldhuis, N.  
 2000 Sumerian Proverbs in their Curricular Context. *JAOS* 120: 383–99.
- Waerzeggers, C.  
 2003–4 The Babylonian Revolts Against Xerxes and the ‘End of Archives.’ *AfO* 50: 150–73.  
 2010 *The Ezida Temple of Borsippa: Priesthood, Cult, Archives*. Achaemenid History 15. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Weissbach, F. H.  
 1903 *Babylonische Miscellen*. WVDOG 4. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Westenholz, J. G.  
 1997 Nanaya: Lady of Mystery. Pp. 57–84 in *Sumerian Gods and their Representations*, ed. I. L. Finkel and M. J. Geller. CM 7. Groningen: STYX.
- Zadok, R.  
 1985 *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes. Band 8. Geographical Names According to New- and Late Babylonian Texts*. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften) Nr. 7/8. Wiesbaden: Reichert.  
 2012 Occupations and Status Categories (Classes) in Borsippa. Pp. XXXI–LXII in *Israel and the Diaspora in the Time of the Second Temple and the Mishnah*, ed. Y. Shahar, A. Oppenheimer, and R. Mustigman. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University.  
 2014 Judeans in Babylonia: Updating the Dossier. Pp. 109–29 in *Encounters by the Rivers of Babylon: Scholarly Conversations between Jews, Iranians and Babylonians in Antiquity*, ed. U. Gabbay and Sh. Secunda. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Zawadzki, S.  
 2006 *Garments of the Gods: Studies on the Textile Industry and the Pantheon of Sippar according to the Texts from the Ebabbar Archive*. Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Zgoll, A.  
 2006 Königslauf und Götterrat. Struktur und Deutung des babylonischen Neujahrsfestes. Pp. 11–80 in *Festtraditionen in Israel und im Alten Orient, Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie* 28, ed. E. Blum and R. Lux. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.